THIRTY-SECOND

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

DANTE SOCIETY

(CAMBRIDGE, MASS.)

1913

ACCOMPANYING PAPERS

A Letter concerning Dante's Conception of Fortuna

By Louis Dyer

Bibliographical Notes on the Manuscripts of Boccaccio's *Life of Dante* and the *Compendium* together with the *Canzoniere* in the Plimpton Collection of the Library of Wellesley College

By Margaret H. Jackson

BOSTON
GINN AND COMPANY
(FOR THE DANTE SOCIETY)
1915

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STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS

(From May 21, 1912, to May 20, 1913)

Balance in the hands of the Treasurer, May 21, 1912	$991.12	
Members' fees till May 20, 1913	440.00	
Subscriptions to Latin Concordance	154.85	
Sale of Sheldon Concordance	7.00	
Copyrights, etc.	44.97	
		$1637.94
Paid Clarendon Press	$450.00	
Paid the Treasurer of Harvard College (for Library)	150.00	
Refunded from sales of the Fay Concordance	72.00	
Printing, postage, etc.	17.15	
Balance on hand, May 20, 1913	948.79	
		$1637.94

BY-LAWS

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

The Society offers an annual prize of one hundred dollars 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 drawn from the life or works of Dante. The competition is open to students and graduates of similar standing of any college or university in the United States.

For the year 1913–1914 the following subjects were proposed:

1. *A study of the vocabulary of Dante's Lyrics.*
2. *The classification of Dante's Miscellaneous Lyrics.*
3. *The influence of Boethius on the Vita Nuova and the Convito.*
4. *A discussion of the authorship of Il Fiore.*
5. *A study of Dante's influence upon English literature (or upon any single author or period).*
6. *The relation of Dante's theological doctrines to the present teachings of the Church of Rome.*
7. *The relation of modern scientific discovery to Dante's conception of the divine order of the universe.*
8. *The main reasons for the increase of interest in the Divina Commedia during the past fifty years.*
9. *Dante and Cecco d'Ascoli.*
10. *A study of the decline of Dante's influence in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.*
11. *Modern traits in Dante.*
12. *Dante in the anecdotic literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.*
13. *The influence of Guido Cavalcanti on Dante.*
14. *A criticism of Torraca's edition of 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, or to propose new subjects for the approval of the Council of the Society.

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 entitled *Dante's Obligations to the Schoolmen, especially to Thomas Aquinas.*

GEORGE RICE CARPENTER . . . . 1888.

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

KENNETH MCKENZIE . . . . 1894.

For an essay entitled *The Rise of the Dolce Stil Nuovo.*

JEREMIAH DENIS MATTHIAS FORD . . . . 1895.

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

ANNETTE FISKE . . . . 1897.

For an essay entitled *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.

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 dicitori usati di sprimere."*

FRITZ HAGENS . . . . 1903.

For an essay entitled *A Critical Comment of the De Vulgari Eloquio.*

CHANDLER RATHFON POST . . . . 1906.

For an essay entitled *The Beginnings of the Influence of Dante in Castilian and Catalan Literature.*

ALEXANDER GUY HOLBORN SPIERS . . . . 1907.

For an essay entitled *Characteristics of the Vita Nuova.*

RALPH HAYWARD KENISTON . . . . 1909.

For an essay entitled *The Dante Tradition in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries.*

ROGER THEODORE LAFFERTY . . . . 1912.

For an essay entitled *The Philosophy of Dante.*

GEORGE HUSSEY GIFFORD . . . . 1913.

For an essay entitled *Expressions of Gratitude in Dante.*

ANNUAL REPORT

The thirty-second annual meeting of the Society was held at the house of the Secretary, Longfellow Park, Cambridge, on May twentieth, 1913. The usual reports were presented, and the officers of the preceding year were all reëlected. It was announced that two essays had been submitted for the Dante prize and that a half-prize of fifty dollars had been awarded to Mr. George Hussey Gifford, of the senior class in Harvard College, for a study of "Expressions of Gratitude in Dante." After the transaction of the regular business the President spoke briefly of an important contribution to Dante scholarship by a member of the Society, the edition of the *Divine Comedy* then just completed by Professor Grandgent.

Since the annual reports have been allowed, for various causes, to fall in arrears, it has seemed best to the Council to issue the present one, accompanied by two short papers, without further delay. Material for two other reports is in preparation, and they will probably be printed during the current year.

Of the papers now published, that of Miss Jackson makes an interesting addition to the series of bibliographical articles included in earlier reports. It is a satisfaction to know that the valuable manuscripts here described are the property of an American library and

are not far distant from the Society's own Dante collection. Mr. Dyer's letter, which forms the second paper, was never meant by the writer for publication, but gives an account of an extended essay on Dante's conception of Fortune which Mr. Dyer sent to Professor Norton and which the Council intended to print. A topical outline of the paper, too brief and fragmentary to be suitable for publication, is in the possession of the Secretary, but the completed essay is apparently lost. It was probably returned by Professor Norton for final revision to Mr. Dyer, who died before finishing the work. The letter now printed therefore appears to be the only existing statement by Mr. Dyer of a theory of considerable interest concerning one of the sources of Dante's philosophy and the development of the mediæval idea of Fortune. A few sentences at the end, which deal merely with estimates of the length of the paper, have been omitted in printing.

Unfortunately the treatise of Aegidius Romanus, *De Bona Fortuna*, to which Mr. Dyer makes reference, seems not to be accessible in Cambridge. According to Nicola Mattioli, a recent biographer of Aegidius (*Studio Critico sopra Egidio Romano Colonna*, Roma, 1896, pp. 140–141), it was printed at Venice in 1496 and 1551, and manuscripts of it exist at Paris, Vienna, Milan, Bruges, and the English Cambridge, as well as at Oxford. Mattioli's description of the work, however, is too brief to be of any assistance in the examination of Mr. Dyer's arguments. In one puzzling statement, too,

Mattioli identifies the *De Bona Fortuna* with a commentary entitled *In Parva Naturalia*, — an indication of some combination of texts or confusion of headings in the manuscripts. It is a matter of dispute whether Aegidius wrote any work on the *Parva Naturalia*, but the title seems most applicable to the treatise *De Morte et Vita*, which apparently corresponds to Aristotle's Περὶ Νεότητος καὶ Γήρως, καὶ Ζωῆς καὶ Θανάτου, καὶ Ἀναπνοῆς, and is said to be found in two early editions combined with the *De Bona Fortuna*. The latter work, according to the description of it, again very meagre, given in the *Histoire Littéraire de la France* (Vol. XXX, p. 474), is based, not upon the *Parva Naturalia*, but upon passages from the *Magna Moralia* and the *Eudæmian Ethics*. Moreover, the sentence about νοῦς and τύχη, cited by Mr. Dyer as the ultimate source of Dante's quotation in the *Convivio*, occurs in the *Magna Moralia*, Book II, Chapter 8.

It is to be hoped that some scholar, in pursuance of Mr. Dyer's suggestions, will make careful examination of the *De Bona Fortuna*, and perhaps also of other discussions of Fortune in the works of Aegidius. In the *Commentarius in Octo Libros Physicorum* (Venice, 1504, fol. 36), for example, there is an exposition of Aristotle's *Physics*, Book II, Chapters 4–6, probably the most familiar and influential of all the Aristotelian discussions of Fortune.

FRED NORRIS ROBINSON

Secretary

JULY 3, 1915

A LETTER CONCERNING DANTE'S CONCEPTION OF FORTUNA

By Louis Dyer

Sunbury Lodge, 68 Banbury Road, Oxford
February 25, 1908

To the Dante Society,
Cambridge, Mass.
By the kindness of C. E. Norton Esq.

Gentlemen,

In view of a correspondence between Professor Norton and myself, and between Professors Robinson and Norton, of which last the drift has been kindly conveyed to my knowledge by Professor Norton, I venture through Professor Norton to make the following statement, which I have the less hesitation in doing because of my former close connexion with your Society. My statement contains the result in type-written MSS. of a twelvemonth's hard work bestowed by me from June 1905 to June 1906 upon the topic of Dante's conception of Fortuna. This work culminated in my discerning what I consider to be the source of Dante's picture of Fortuna in *Inferno*, VII, 67–95, with which, — apart from *Paradiso*, XXVII, 139–148, *Canzone*, III, and touches in the description of riches and *nobiltà* in *Convito*, IV, — every other mention by him of Fortuna is in glaring contrast.

This source I find in a MS. of the end of the XIIIth century, No. 281 among the Merton College MSS. It contains first among several items one (covering ten large folio vellum leaves with four columns each and one column on leaf 11) entitled *De Bona Fortuna Aristotelis Ægidii scriptum*. Briefly and baldly stated, my reasons for thinking this Commentary to have been familiar to Dante are:

(1) In *Convito*, IV, xi, ll. 84 ff., Dante quotes a dictum from Aristotle, with a strikingly vague reference "disse Aristotile." Also he takes the liberty in quoting of using the word *soggiace*, —

foreign to the Aristotelian original, which is οὗ πλεῖστος νοῦς καὶ λόγος ἐνταῦθα ἐλαχίστη τύχη, οὗ δὲ πλείστη τύχη ἐνταῦθα ἐλάχιστος νοῦς, represented by Dante's *Quanto piu l'uomo soggiace allo intelletto, tanto meno soggiace alla fortuna.* Dante plainly did not know where in Aristotle this was to be found; (*a*) because he would have given chapter and verse if he had, in place of *disse Aristotile*; (*b*) because he was incapable of so free a rendering as his *soggiace* makes of his citation, except where he was perfectly vague as to the exact words of Aristotle. Egidius in his commentary does not know where in Aristotle exactly the two chapters *De Bona Fortuna* are to be found. Dante knows as little and as much as Egidius, not more. Egidius is not only thoroughly vague as to where the particular quotation of *Convito*, IV comes from, but he so multiplies and rings the changes on the dictum in question throughout his commentary that Dante, if he read the commentary, must necessarily have been befogged as to Aristotle's exact wording. This accounts for his free rendering so unlike the scrupulous and scholarly accuracy of the other quotations in the *Convito.*

(2) My second point concerns the striking divergence in conception between (*a*) the Fortuna of *Inferno*, VII, 67–95 and *Paradiso*, XXVII, 139–148, and (*b*) Fortuna elsewhere in the poems and prose of Dante. This is accounted for by the fact that in the two places in question he adopts for the nonce what is fundamentally the optimistic conception of Bona Fortuna; elsewhere Fortuna is positively evil and often devilish. This contention is borne out by striking parallels in thought and detailed expression between the Egidian Commentary and *Inferno*, VII, 73–78. The same is true of (1) *vostro saper non ha contrasto a lei*; (2) *necessità la fa esser veloce.* Cf. Egidius: "Habent enim benefortunati velociorem et meliorem divinativam quia melius divinant de fine quam sapientes et prudentes benefortunati. Non oportet suscipere eam divinativam que est a ratione, sed que est a divino instinctu qui superat omnem sensitivam et

omnem intellectivam." Similarly close parallels to the thought and diction of the last five lines of *Paradiso*, XXVII are found in the Egidian Commentary. There are also five passages in the Egidian Commentary which throw a flood of light upon Dante's conception of the roaring of the spheres in *Ruggiran sì questi cerchi superni.*

(3) Finally Egidius brings at last a solution to the vexed question concerning *Purgatorio*, XXV, 34–48. Philalethes thinks that Dante turned philosopher for the nonce and differed from St. Thomas about the origin of the sensitive soul in the getting of a man. It is quite evident, however, that Dante got his doctrine out of Egidius, unless the Egidian doctrine given on this point in the present commentary can be traced to another source.

These are the salient points in my attempt to prove the familiarity of Dante with this commentary of Egidio Eremita. But they are so vague when presented thus in outline that I am venturing to submit the whole paper as read by me on June 11th of last year at the Vice Chancellor's lodgings to the long-suffering generosity of Professor Norton's perusal, and I need not say how honored I should be if any other member of the Society could find leisure to read it. Moreover, since the fact of Dante's prevailing conception of Fortuna being contradictory to that inspired by Egidius is material, I am also submitting my paper read a year ago at Queen's College. I fear it is too long for anyone to read quite through.

. . . . . .

With much respect,

Very faithfully yours,

Louis Dyer

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE MANUSCRIPTS OF BOCCACCIO'S *LIFE OF DANTE* AND THE *COMPENDIUM* TOGETHER WITH THE *CANZONIERE* IN THE PLIMPTON COLLECTION OF THE WELLESLEY COLLEGE LIBRARY

By Margaret H. Jackson

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

A. The Life

Qui comenza La uita costumi delo excelẽ|te Poeta uulgari Dante alegierj de firẽze | honore egloria delo idioma fiorentino. Scrito | e composto ꝑ lo famosissimo homo miss Zuan | bochacio de certaldo scrito della origine uita | Studij e costumj del clarissimo homo Dante | Aleghieri Poeta fiorentino Edelopere com|poste per luj comenza felicemente. E in que|sto primo capitolo tocha la sententia di Solo|ne La quale e mal seguita ꝑ li fiorentinj | Capitolo primo ||

No colophon.

Manuscript on paper, 3d quarter of the XVc, 43 folios, 31 lines to the full page, 14.50 + 8 ctms. Folios 1–38 contain *Dante's Life* by Boccaccio, the following four, 39–41, contain the *Life of Petrarch*, in Latin, by Paolo Vergerio, the elder; followed by seven blank folios with the top, bottom, and side margins ruled. The paper shows no water-mark. The writing is distinct, the ink black. The title and chapter headings are in red with spaces left for the initials, which were to have been more or less ornamental. Bound in half calf. The armorial book-plate — "Ex libris Gualtieri Sneyd."[1]

In preparing his exhaustive study of Boccaccio's *Life of Dante*,[2] Dr. Macrì-Leone examined twenty-two manuscripts, twenty in Florence and two in Venice — eighteen on paper and four on vellum. With regard to other manuscripts than these he says: — "dell' esistenza di altri manoscritti non sono ne potrei essere garante, ne mi maraviglierei o mi offliggerei se un bel giorno ne venisse fuori qualche altro che ora non conosco o *si tiene celato in qualche angolo del mondo*."[3]

He divides the manuscripts into three main groups: (*a*) those which contain Giovanni del Virgilio's epitaph; (*b*) those which do not; and (*c*) those

[1] The late Reverend Walter Sneyd of Keel Hall, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Staff.

[2] *La Vita di Dante scritta da Giovanni Boccaccio*, testo critico con introduzione note e appendice di Francesco Macrì-Leone, Firenze, Sansoni, 1888.

[3] M-L. op. cit. p. cliv. The italics are not in the text.

which give the first line of Del Virgilio, followed by two six-line epitaphs, the one beginning "Inclita Fama"; the other, "Jura Monarchae."[1]

Since it contains the Del Virgilio epitaph with the correct reading *Atropos* instead of *Antropos*, the Plimpton manuscript would seem to belong to group *a*, but it contains chapter headings found in no manuscript consulted by Macrì-Leone but found in the *Vita* prefaced to the 1477 edition of the *Divina Commedia*,[2] which he considers to be derived from group *c*, the least correct.[3]

Careful examination of the writing points to Fra Filippo della Strada as copyist. This would account for occasional lapses into local spelling, as, *Zuan bochacio*, *comenza*, *antigua*, *segondo alguni*. Fra Filippo was a Dominican friar born in Pavia but living and working in the Benedictine monastery of San Cipriano at Murano between 1450 and 1498. He was a prolific copyist and shared with Vespasiano de' Bisticci his dislike of printed books.

The remarkable feature of the Plimpton manuscript is its division into twenty-eight chapters, each preceded by an argument. None of the manuscripts described by Macrì-Leone are so divided; he therefore adopts the divisions as found in Milanesi's edition.[4] There are seventeen sections, each preceded by a title; as 1 PROEMIO. 2 NASCIMENTO E STUDI DI DANTE. 3 AMORE PER BEATRICE E MATRIMONIO DI DANTE, and so forth. The 1544 edition,[5] printed separately, is divided into twenty-eight sections, the divisions being indicated by having the first word printed in small capitals and not preceded by a title or argument. In the Vendelin edition of the *Divina Commedia* (Venice, 1477) the text is preceded by Boccaccio's *Vita*, the first time it appears in print. It is divided into twenty-eight chapters, each with its number and argument. The wording of these arguments and those of the Plimpton manuscript is almost identical; the spelling is less capricious. For comparison the headings of the first five chapters will serve.

[1] M-L. op. cit. p. clxi.

[2] This editio princeps is the only one which divides the work into twenty-eight numbered chapters, each with its subject written at the head. — Karl Witte, *Essays on Dante*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1898, p. 265.

[3] M-L. op. cit. pp. clvi–clvii.

[4] Sebbene i codici non mi autorizzano, pure credo opportuno, per comodo dei littori, di conservare l'uso della divisione in capitoli co' relativi argomenti, introdotto sin dalla prima edizione. Per questa parte mi attengo fedelmente a l'edizione Milanesi. — M-L. op. cit. p. 1.

[5] *Vita di Dante*, Roma, Fco. Priscianese, fiorentino, 1544.

PLIMPTON MANUSCRIPT	VENDELIN EDITION, 1477
Qui comenza La uita costumi delo excelẽte Poeta uulgari Dante alegierj de firẽze honore e gloria delo idioma fiorentino Scrito e composto ꝑ lo famosisimo homo miss Zuan bochacio de certaldo scrito dela origine uita Studij e costumj del clarissimo homo Dante Aleghierj Poeta Fiorentino E de lopere composte per luj comenza felicemente E in questo primo capitolo tocha la sententia de Solone La quale emal sequita ꝑ li fiorentini. Capitolo primo.	Qui comincia la vita e costumi dello excellẽte Poeta vulgari Dante alighieri di Firenze honore e gloria delidioma Fiorentino. Scripto e composto per lo famosissimo homo missier giouani Bocchacio da certaldo. Scripto de la origene vita. Studii e costumi del clarissimo huomo Dante alleghieri Poeta Fiorentino. E dellopere composte per lui in comincia felicimente. E in questo primo capitulo tocha la sententia de Solone la qualee mal seguita ꝑ gli Fiorentini.[1]
Capitolo segondo nel qual dice la destrutione fata ꝑ Atila de firenze E la redificatiõ fata ꝑ carlo magno ede cuj desese dante, el sogno ch fece la madre de dante.	Capitolo secondo nel quale dice la distrutione fatta per atila de firenze e la redifficatõne facta per Carlo magno. E de cui disciesse Dãte el sompno chessi feccie la madre di Dante.
Nel terzo capitolo dice etrata la natiuita de Dante e doue e in che studio luj studio e doue ebe la perfection del studiar.	Nel terzo chapitolo dicie & tratta la nativita di Dante. E dove e in qua studio lui studio. E dove ebbe la perfectiõe del studiaꝛ̃.
Nel quarto Capl' o dimosta ĩ qual eta dante se namorase de Beatrice e cui fo fiola e de lonesta fo tra loro.	Nel quarto capitolo dimostra in quale eta Dante senamorasse di Beatrice e di cui essa fue fegliuola. Equãto honesta fue tra loro.
Nel Quinto Capitolo pone la Morte de beatrice el dolore che nebe dante, e infine come se marito.	Nel qnto capitolo pone la morte d̃ beaẽice el dolore ch̃ nebbe Dãte & ĩ fine cõe se marito.

[1] Il titolo può essere uno specimen degli errori e dell' ortografia del testo, difetti però come ben osserva il Witte (op. cit. p. 265) comuni alla maggior parte del quattro cento. — M-L. p. cxxiv.

Given the above noted similarities and the fact that Vendelin's edition was printed in Venice at the time when Fra Filippo was at his best as a scribe, the opinion seems justified that Vendelin made use of the above described manuscript in publishing the *Vita di Dante* by Boccaccio with which he prefaces his edition of the *Divina Commedia*.

B, a. The Compendium

(Compendium f. 12) Comincia della origine uita costu|mi & studij del famosissimo poeta | Dante aleghieri de firenze. & dellopere composte dallui: ||

(Colophon. f. 69v.) Qui finisce il brieue tractato della | origine uita costumi & opere del | chiaro poeta Dante allighieri di fi|renze. Fatto ĩ laude honore & cõm|enditiõe del detto poeta dal peri|tissimo & famoso poeta Messer | Johãnj Boccaccio da certaldo di fire. ||

B, b. The Canzoniere

(Canzoniere, f. 69r.) Canzon prima dello Splendore | ytalico Dante Aleghierj Poeta | Fiorentino. Nella quale tracta | la rigidita della sua donna cõ | Rigide rime dimostra ||

(Colophon, f. 129r.) Qui finiscono tutte le canzoni che | si truonano del famoso Poeta fiorẽtino | Dante Alighieri le quali Io Iohãnj | Bonafe trãscripsi a preghi del valo|roso Giovane: ||

On the *verso* of folio 130 a later hand has written: "In mondo spes nula boni" and "Spes nula salutis."

Manuscript on vellum, written by Giovanni Bonafè, second half of the fifteenth century; 130 unnumbered folios. Sixty-eight contain the *Compendium* of Boccaccio's *Vita*; ff. 69–130 Dante's *Canzoniere*. 7 + 5 cms. 16 lines to the full page. Brown calf, armorial book-plate of the Marchese Gerolamo d'Adda of Milan; shelf A. IV, No. 19.[1] Lead government seal attached.

The initial letter of the *Compendium* and that of the *Canzoniere* are similar in treatment; the letter itself, taking up one quarter of the page, is in gold with decorations in various colors—that of the former is somewhat rubbed, that of the latter is in perfect condition. The initials of

[1] Belonging to the Marchese Gerolamo d'Adda, parchment, written with extreme beauty (Witte op. cit. p. 264).

the sections of the *Compendium* are in red and blue, blue letters with red tendrils alternating with red letters and blue tendrils; those of the *Canzoniere* are of exquisite workmanship, gold and white on an ultramarine ground.

Manuscripts of the *Compendium* are rare. Macrì-Leone describes fifteen, twelve in Florence, one in Genoa, two in Milan; of these only two are described as on vellum. The manuscripts in Milan and Genoa he has not examined personally. The Milan manuscripts are those of the Marchese Trivulzio and of the Marchese d'Adda. It is the latter manuscript which has passed into the possession of Wellesley College. Macrì-Leone[1] owes the collation to Professor Francesco Novati, who, however, misread the name of the scribe — Boccafè for Bonafè. Owing to the fact that it is a registered and catalogued manuscript — that is, one of historical or artistic importance — it bears the government seal permitting it to leave the country.

Although unable, as yet, to compare the Wellesley manuscript with those in the Italian libraries, the writer is satisfied that it does not vary in any essential from the accepted text of the *Compendio*. The lacunæ and additions seem to be the same.

As manuscripts of Dante's *Canzoniere* are somewhat rare and vary so much both as to what they include and what they exclude, the writer has thought it might be of interest to add to the foregoing bibliographical notes on Boccaccio's *Vita de Dante* and the *Compendio*, similar notes on the *Canzoniere* of Dante, as found in the last sixty folios of the D'Adda-Wellesley manuscript.

Professor Santi[2] in his study of the *Canzoniere* divides the ninety-two manuscripts examined by him in Florence and Rome into two well-defined groups.

One consists of fifty-one manuscripts. These may show interesting variants and have an important historical value, but they indicate clearly that they form no part of a prearranged collection; the canzoni vary in number and present no scheme of arrangement.

In the other, consisting of forty-one manuscripts, the scheme is strictly defined. Fifteen canzoni are arranged in an unvarying order.

[1] M-L. op. cit. pp. cxlvi and cxlvii.

[2] Santi, Antonio, *Il Canzoniere di Dante Alighieri*, Vol. II, Roma, Lœscher, 1907.

These fifteen are sometimes preceded or followed by one or more sonnets or ballate — in one case they are preceded by two canzoni of the *Vita Nuova*, in another followed by the three of the *Vita Nuova*, but otherwise there is no change. It is to this smaller but homogeneous group that the Wellesley manuscript belongs; its list of first lines is as follows:

1 Così nel mio parlar voglio esser aspro,[1]
2 Voi che intendendo il terzo ciel movete,
3 Amor, che nella mente mi ragiona
4 Le dolci rime d'amor, ch'io solìa
5 Amor, che muovi tua virtù dal cielo,
6 Io sento sì d'Amor la gran possanza,
7 Al poco giorno, ed al gran cerchio d'ombra
8 Amor, tu vedi, ben che questa donna
9 Io son venuto al punto della rota,
10 E' m' increscе di me sì malamente,
11 Poscia ch' Amor del tutto m' ha lasciato'
12 La dispietata mente, che pur mira
13 Tre donne intorno al cor mi son venute,
14 Doglia mi reca nello core ardire,
15 Amor, dacchè convien pur ch' io mi doglia,
16 Ai fals ris! per qua traitz avetz
17 Donne, ch'avete intelletto d'amore,
18 Donna pietosa e di novella etate,
19 Gli occhi dolenti per pietà nel core[2]

Of the first fifteen canzoni three (Nos. 2, 3 & 4) are found in the *Convivio*; five are referred to in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (Nos. 5, 7, 8, 11, 14); six have been ascribed to Dante on the authority of tradition, supported by the foremost Dante scholars and critics (Nos. 1, 6, 9, 10, 12, 13) and one is appended to the *Epistle to Morello Malaspina* (No. 15). Then follows one of doubtful authenticity (No. 16) and three from the *Vita Nuova* (Nos. 17, 18, 19).

The Canzoni in the Wellesley manuscript are therefore nineteen in number, the first fifteen follow the normal order, then the doubtful one

[1] In this list the spelling of Moore's edition has been followed.

[2] The Canzone "Morte perch'io" and "O patria degna" are not found in either the Wellesley manuscript or in those of the same group.

found in only one other manuscript of those consulted by Santi[1] and then the three of the *Vita Nuova.*

Professor Santi subdivides his forty-one manuscripts into those, fifteen in number, that have an argument either in Italian or Latin[2] preceding each canzone, and those which have none.

A further subdivision reduces the fifteen to six, these having a formal beginning and end, an *incipit* and *explicit*, showing that the arrangement of the canzoni is that of a predetermined collection and is entirely distinct from any compositions that may precede or follow it in the manuscript. Of these six collections, three manuscripts belong to the Riccardi Library in Florence (Nos. 1007, 1083, 1085), two to the National Library in Florence (Palatino 186 and Magliabecchiano VII, 1023), one to the Vatican, Rome (Urbino, 686). Four of these consist simply in the fifteen canzoni; in two, the fifteen canzoni are followed by the Ballata "I mi son pargoletta."

The Wellesley manuscript may be added as an important seventh to this group, for besides the fifteen canzoni *de rigueur*, the arguments, the *incipit* and *explicit*, it adds the doubtful canzone "Ai fous ris" and the three of the *Vita Nuova.* To be sure, in two manuscripts we find the *Vita Nuova* canzoni, in the *Vatican Barberini* 3662 (where the arrangement is "Donne che avete," "Donna pietosa," the fifteen canzoni, and "Ai fous ris") and in the *Vatican Ottobuoni* (which contains the fifteen canzoni and the three from the *Vita Nuova*), but since the Barberini manuscript has neither *incipit* nor *explicit* and the Ottobuoni lacks the arguments, they do not form part of the group of six. It therefore includes all the desirable features of a *Canzoniere* and adds besides that of being a manuscript on vellum[3] "of extreme beauty."[4]

In view of the rarity of manuscripts of the *Canzoniere* treated as complete collections, a comparison of the arguments of the Wellesley-d'Adda manuscript and that of the Vatican-Urbino 686 may be of interest.

[1] Santi, op. cit. 499.

[2] As the Italian and Latin arguments are practically identical he does not subdivide further (op. cit. p. 34).

[3] Of the group of forty-one manuscripts Santi registers twelve as being on vellum and of the perfect six only two (Riccardi 1007 & Urbino 686) as on vellum.

[4] Witte, op. cit. p. 264.

VATICAN-URBINO 686

Qui chominciano le cançoni distese del chiaro poeta Dante Alighieri fiorentino. Nelle quali di varie cose va tractando: Nella prima la rigidità della sua donna con rigide rime dimostra.

Così nel mio parlar —

Cançona seconda di Dante nella quale egli del suo amore parla alle intelligentie del terço cielo.

Voi, che intendendo —

Cançona tertia di Dante nella quale egli parla della virtù e della bellezza della sua donna.

Amor, che nella mente —

Cançona quarta di Dante nella quale nobilmente parla della Gentileçça.

Le dolci rime d'amor —

Cançona quinta di Dante nella quale egli parla ad amor della donna sua cioè

Amor, che muovi —

Cançona sexta di Dante nella quale dimostra quanto sia innamorato.

Io sento sì d'Amor —

Cançona septima di Dante nella quale mostra se per lo tempo del verno non lasciare d'amare.

Al poco giorno —

WELLESLEY-D'ADDA

Canzon prima dello Splendore ytalico Dante Alighieri Poeta Fiorentino. Nella quale tracta Larigidita della sua donna cõ Rigide rime dimostra:

Cosi nel mio parlar —

Canzon 2da de detto dante nella quale egli parla del suo Amore allenteligentie delterzo cielo.

Voi chentẽaẽdo —

Cazon terza di Dante nella quale parla della virtu & della belleza della sua donna:

Amor che nella mente —

Cazon quarta di Dante nella quale nobilemente parla della gentileza:

Le dolzi rime damor —

Canzon qnta di Dante nella quale egli parla ad amore della doña sua.

Amore che muoui —

Canzon VIa di Dante nella quale dimostra quãto sia innamorato.

Io sento si damor —

Canzon VIIa di Dante nella quale mostra se plouerno nõ lasciat damare.

Al poco giorno —

Cançona octava di Dante nella quale priega Amore che ammollischa la dureçça della sua donna.

Amor, tu vedi ben —

Cançona nona di Dante nella quale mostra il suo amor non mutarsi per nessuna variazione di tempo.

Io son venuto al punto —

Cançona decima di Dante nella quale egli con le donne si duole della donna sua.

E' m' increse di me —

Cançona undecima di Dante nella quale egli noblissimamente parla della vera leggiadria.

Poscia ch' Amor del tutto —

Cançona duodecima di Dante nella humilemente priega la sua donna che di lui abbia pietà.

La dispietata mente —

Cançona tredecima di Dante nella quale artificiosamente parla delle virtù.

Tre donne intorno al cor —

Cançona quatordecima di Dante nella quale parla contra i viçiosi et maxime contra gli avari.

Doglia mi reca nello core —

Cançona quintadecima di Dante nella quale si duole della rigidità d'una crudele donna.

Amor dacche convien —

Canzon VIII[a] di Dante nella quale pega amore che amollisca la dureza della sua donna:

Amor, tu vedi ben —

Canzon IX[a] di Dante nella quale mostra il suo amore nõ mutarsi Per niuna uariatione omutatione di tempo:

Io son uenuto al punto —

Canzon X[a] di dante della quale egli cõ le doñe si duole della doña sua:

E mincrescie de me —

Canzon XI di Dante nella quale egli noblissimamente parla della uera leggiadria:

Poscia ch' amor del tutto —

Canzon XII[a] di dante nella quale egli humilemente priega la sua doña che di lui abbia pieta.

La dispietatamente —

Canzon XIII di dante nella quale artificiosamẽte parla delle vertu.

Tre donne intorno al cor —

Canzon XIIII[a] di dante nella quale parla cõtra uitiosi. & maximamẽte contra gli auari:

Doglia mi reca nello cor ardire

Canzon XV[a] di dante nella quale si duole della rigidita duna crudele donna di casentino.[1]

Amor da che coõuen —

[1] Of the ninety-one manuscripts only two give the place name of Casentino.

Qui finischono le quindici cançone del chiaro poeta Dante alligheri fiorentino. Amen. Deo gratias.[1]

Canzon XVI[a] di dãte nella quale tracta della crudelta della doña sua ĩtrelĩgue.

Ai faus ris pouquoi tray aues

Canzon XVII di Dante nella quale tracta alaude della doña sua:

Donne che avete intellecto damore

Canzon XVIII di dante nella quale tratta duna visione della sua doña come ꝑ essa ti manifesta & come dolcemẽte la uide portare dagliangeli in cielo:

Donna pietosa di novella etate

Canzon XVIIII di dante nella quale si lamẽta della morte della sua donna.

Gli occhi dolenti per pietà del core

Qui finiscono tutte le canzoni che si truouano del famoso Poeta fiorẽtino Dante Alighieri le quali Io Johañj Bonafe trascripsi a prieghi delualoroso Giouane.

[1] Santi, op. cit. pp. 32–34.

THIRTY-THIRD

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

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(CAMBRIDGE, MASS.)

1914

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(From May 20, 1913, to May 19, 1914)

Balance in the hands of the Treasurer, May 20, 1913	$948.79	
Members' fees till May 19, 1914	355.00	
Copyrights and sales	56.63	
Interest	18.16	
		$1378.58
Paid Ginn and Company	$133.74	
Paid the Treasurer of Harvard College (for the Library)	150.00	
Paid the Treasurer of Harvard College (for the Dante prize)	100.00	
Refunded from sales of the Fay Concordance	36.00	
Printing, postage, etc.	12.80	
Balance in the hands of the Treasurer, May 19, 1914	946.04	
		$1378.58

BY-LAWS

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

The Society offers an annual prize of one hundred dollars 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 drawn from the life or works of Dante. The competition is open to students and graduates of similar standing of any college or university in the United States.

For the year 1914–1915 the following subjects were proposed:

1. *A study of the vocabulary of Dante's Lyrics.*
2. *The classification of Dante's Miscellaneous Lyrics.*
3. *The influence of Boethius on the Vita Nuova and the Convito.*
4. *A discussion of the authorship of Il Fiore.*
5. *A study of Dante's influence upon English literature (or upon any single author or period).*
6. *The relation of Dante's theological doctrines to the present teachings of the Church of Rome.*
7. *The relation of modern scientific discovery to Dante's conception of the divine order of the universe.*
8. *The main reasons for the increase of interest in the Divina Commedia during the past fifty years.*
9. *Dante and Cecco d'Ascoli.*
10. *A study of the decline of Dante's influence in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.*
11. *Modern traits in Dante.*
12. *Dante in the anecdotic literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.*
13. *The influence of Guido Cavalcanti on Dante.*
14. *A criticism of Torraca's edition of 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, or to propose new subjects for the approval of the Council of the Society.

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 entitled *Dante's Obligations to the Schoolmen, especially to Thomas Aquinas.*

GEORGE RICE CARPENTER 1888

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

KENNETH MCKENZIE 1894

For an essay entitled *The Rise of the Dolce Stil Nuovo.*

JEREMIAH DENIS MATTHIAS FORD 1895

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

ANNETTE FISKE 1897

For an essay entitled *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

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 dicitori usati di sprimere."*

FRITZ HAGENS 1903

For an essay entitled *A Critical Comment of the De Vulgari Eloquio.*

CHANDLER RATHFON POST 1906

For an essay entitled *The Beginnings of the Influence of Dante in Castilian and Catalan Literature.*

ALEXANDER GUY HOLBORN SPIERS 1907

For an essay entitled *Characteristics of the Vita Nuova.*

RALPH HAYWARD KENISTON 1909

For an essay entitled *The Dante Tradition in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries.*

ROGER THEODORE LAFFERTY 1912

For an essay entitled *The Philosophy of Dante.*

GEORGE HUSSEY GIFFORD 1913

For an essay entitled *Expressions of Gratitude in Dante.*

RICHARD AGER NEWHALL 1914

For an essay entitled *Italian Ghibellinism as reflected in Dante.*

ANNUAL REPORT

The thirty-third annual meeting of the Dante Society was held on May 19, 1914, at the house of the President, 11 Francis Avenue, Cambridge. The reports of the Secretary and Treasurer were read and accepted, and the officers of the previous year were reëlected. Mr. William Roscoe Thayer, Mr. Jeremiah Denis Matthias Ford, and Miss Katharine Vaughan Spencer were chosen members of the Council. The Secretary reported that three essays had been submitted for the Dante prize, and that a half-prize had been awarded to Richard Ager Newhall, of the senior class in Harvard College, for a study of "Italian Ghibellinism as reflected in Dante."

After the regular business was transacted Professor Grandgent spoke briefly concerning current literature relating to Dante. The Secretary gave an account of a letter and an essay by a deceased member of the Society, Mr. Louis Dyer, on Dante's conception of Fortuna. The letter has since been published with the thirty-second Annual Report.

Another study of Fortuna, by Dr. Howard Rollin Patch, is submitted to the members of the Society with the present report. Mr. Patch's paper does not continue the particular inquiry suggested by Mr. Dyer, but is based upon an extensive investigation of the whole history

of the conception of Fortuna in mediæval literature. The author's conclusions with respect to Dante are of such interest as to make desirable their publication in this separate essay, and it is to be hoped that his complete monograph, with its fuller statement and confirmation of his opinions, may soon be printed.

The paper on "Dante and Servius," which is also published herewith, was read by Professor Rand at the annual meeting in 1915, and the Council are glad to be able to make it accessible now to all members of the Society.

FRED NORRIS ROBINSON
Secretary

CAMBRIDGE, April 11, 1916

DANTE AND SERVIUS

By Edward Kennard Rand

How did Dante study his *buon maestro* Virgil? Directly, of course, and with a penetrating vision denied to many a humanist of the Renaissance and many a philologian of our own day. But Dante doubtless did not despise the assistance offered by commentators of the ancient poet. The commentator was a distinctly exalted person in the Middle Ages. The Latin authors entered the Carolingian period accompanied by their faithful interpreters — Horace with Porphyrius, Statius with "Lactantius Placidus," Virgil with Servius; if an author had no ancient commentary, as was true of Ovid and at first of Terence, some gallant scholar, not infrequently an Irishman, came to the rescue, and equipped his work with glosses. A writer without this retinue of respectful comment was somehow lacking in dignity. Hence, perhaps, arose in the early Middle Ages the practice of an author's commenting on his own work in case nobody appeared to perform the task for him. Hence, also, a fresh impulse was given to allegory; for if a work was to receive the honor of a commentary, it should contain matter that needed explanation. The tradition thus started prevailed through the mediæval period, and is illustrated by Dante himself in his observations on his own poems in the *Vita Nuova* and the *Convivio*. In another way he may have paid tribute to the literary customs of his age. His elaborate system of allegory, described in the *Convivio*[1] and the letter to Can Grande della Scala,[2] may have been inspired not only by the current theory on the matter, as expounded by St. Thomas Aquinas,[3] but by a special study of some allegorical exposition of Virgil's *Æneid*. Dante very probably knew Fulgentius, or possibly some mediæval affair of like temper, such as the commentary written on Virgil by Bernard Silvester of Tours.[4] Thus infused with esoteric meanings, the *Æneid* became a human

[1] *Conviv.* II, 1. [2] *Epist.* X, 7.

[3] *Summa Theol.*, Pars I, Quaest. I, Art. ix–x.

[4] Only excerpts have been published. See Cousin, *Ouvrages inédits d'Abélard* 1836, pp. 639 ff.

document of somewhat alarming proportions; one could say of it most emphatically, as of Dante's poem, "*subiectum est homo.*" This *Æneis moralizata*, no less than the true *Æneid* that Dante well understood, may have served as a pattern for the *Commedia*.

The present paper is concerned not with the abstruse divinations of the allegorists, but with the humbler interpretation of Servius. It is almost a foregone conclusion that Dante should have at least consulted Servius occasionally, and students of Dante to-day have found helpful clues to the poet's meaning in the ancient commentator's remarks. Having chanced on several such passages which, so far as I know, have not been adequately noticed, I have set them forth in the hope that some more competent hand may carry the investigation further.

I

The casual reader of Virgil's epic may not observe that the revelation made to Æneas in the world below is, like that in Dante's vision, divided between two mediators. Virgil at least adumbrates the idea, so plainly set forth in the *Commedia*, of a preliminary and partial revelation succeeded by fuller and loftier truth. Æneas and the Sibyl cross the Styx, pass through the Limbo and the Mournful Fields, which are reserved for those whose lives on earth were for various reasons incomplete, stop by the walls of Tartarus, where the Sibyl describes the punishments of the mighty sinners confined within, and then make their way to Anchises in the Elysian Fields. Thus far the Sibyl has given all the explanations. From that moment on she has nothing to say, but remains by the hero's side, a *πρόσωπον κωφόν*, while Anchises expounds the mystic philosophy which the poet, for dramatic as well as temperamental reasons, chooses as a setting for his panorama of Roman history and his exalted panegyric of the Roman state. Perhaps Dante caught from Virgil's text alone a suggestion for the twofold revelation of the *Commedia*. Perhaps he devised his scheme on the promptings of his own imagination. But also, perhaps, his imagination may have been spurred by the following note in Servius on the Sibyl's words to the bard Musæus, who meets her and the hero at the entrance to Elysium:

Tuque optime vates (*Æn.* VI, 669): quia (i.e. Musaeus) theologus fuit. Et sciendum hoc loco Sibyllam iam a numine derelictam; unde et interrogat, quod alias non faceret.

In matters of theology, the Sibyl has to ask questions; before long she will be dumb in the presence of a greater prophet who, like Beatrice in the *Commedia*, has power to explain the innermost mysteries of creation and human history.

II

Why is Dante's Inferno partitioned into nine circles? Perhaps to make a pendant to a Paradise of nine circles, which owes its design to the ancient astronomy handed down to the Middle Ages first and foremost, it would appear, in Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* and Macrobius's commentary thereon. Dante loved the number nine, and starting with a ninefold Paradise might well without prompting have contrived an Inferno to match. Certainly Virgil's text gives no hint of such a picture. There is a *facilis descensus* from earth to Hades, but no succession of descents when Hades is once reached. There are undulating valleys in Elysium, and Tartarus, like a huge well, has its own depths; but Virgil's Hell is constructed, vaguely and mysteriously, on a generally uniform level. One searches in vain for anything like nine descending circles. The Styx, to be sure, winds nine times about the dolorous country; that is to imprison its inmates the more securely:

> fas obstat, tristisque palus inamabilis undae
> alligat et novies Styx interfusa coercet (vv. 438 f.).

But Servius cannot let the definite numeral *novies* go by without elucidation. According to him, the poet declares "*novem esse circulos Stygis quae inferos cingit*," and in his note on another passage, the commentator describes them.

In limine primo (v. 427): novem circulis inferi cincti esse dicuntur, quos nunc exsequitur. Nam primum dicit animas infantum tenere, secundum eorum qui sibi per simplicitatem adesse nequiverunt, tertium eorum qui evitantes aerumnas se necarunt, quartum eorum qui amarunt, quintum virorum fortium dicit, sextum nocentes tenent qui puniuntur a iudicibus, in septimo animae purgantur, in octavo sunt animae ita purgatae ut redeunt in corpora, in nono ut iam non redeant, scilicet campus Elysius.

Now of course such a topography, which incidentally reveals in Servius an abysmal ignorance of Virgil's meaning, has no relation to the divisions of the Inferno, with a Limbo and subsequent circles of Lust,

Gluttony, Avarice and Prodigality, Anger, Heresy, Violence, Fraud and Deceit, and Treachery; Servius's plan has to include not only Hell, but Purgatory and Paradise. But the idea of nine separate compartments or circles was accessible to Dante in Servius. Servius has other passages, which I cannot discuss here, on the divisions of Hades. He makes the curious attempt (on vv. 127 and 439) to impress Ptolemaic astronomy into the service of Epicurean theology, which has dispensed with the *Tartareae sedes* altogether and located Hell on this earth; but as this idea is assigned to the subtler philosophers (*qui altius de mundi ratione quaesiverunt*), Servius perhaps thought his simpler explanation truer to the poet's intention.

One question remains: Are the circles, as in Dante, arranged on a downward grade? We should imagine that even Servius would not put Elysium at the bottom of the well; he doubtless did not intend to do so. There is reason to believe, however, that at least part of Virgil's underworld was thought by Servius to have a downward incline, as appears in his comments on the rivers of Hell.

III

The Virgilian Hades is nine times belted by the river Styx (v. 439). But this bounding stream seems also to be called Acheron,[1] or Cocytus.[2] The situation is more distinct, though not much more, when Æneas and the Sibyl come through the portal of Orcus to the bank of the river (vv. 295 ff.):

> Hinc via Tartarei quae fert Acherontis ad undas.
> Turbidus hic caeno vastaque voragine gurges
> aestuat atque omnem Cocyto eructat harenam.

The bounding river here, then, is Acheron, a dirty brawling stream, which belches all its sand into the Cocytus. As they stand on the banks, the Sibyl informs Æneas that he beholds the pools of Cocytus and the Stygian marsh —

> Cocyti stagna alta vides Stygiamque paludem (v. 323).

[1] V. 106 f.: quando hic inferni ianua regis | dicitur et tenebrosa palus Acheronte refuso, etc.

[2] Vv. 131 f.: tenent media omnia silvae, | Cocytusque sinu labens circumvenit atro.

Then Charon appears and ferries them over — it were rash to say what river. Virgil leaves the picture in the blur of impressionism of which he is fond. The *nützliche Wandkarte* of the lower regions prepared for the schoolroom by a German savant gives us no help here. Virgil has a penchant for coloring rather than topography. He locates Phlegethon, however, more definitely; it is a river of fire surrounding the walls of Tartarus.

Servius, as ever, constructs a formal scheme for the rivers, finding one clue in the etymology, or his etymology, of their names. Acheron (v. 107), coming from ἄνευ χαρᾶς, means *sine gaudio*; Styx (v. 134), ἀπὸ τοῦ στυγεροῦ, is *maeror* or *tristitia*; Cocytus (v. 132), ἀπὸ τοῦ κωκύειν, is *luctus*; and Phlegethon (v. 265), from φλόξ, is *ignis* — the last two explanations fairly hit the mark. On v. 295 (*Hinc via Tartarei*, etc.) Servius remarks that Æneas and his guide come "*post errorem silvarum*" (Dante's *selva oscura*), to the streams of Hades. Taking *Tartarei* as an exact topographical term, the commentator infers that Acheron rises in the depths of Hell, flows upwards, and eventually belches its sand into the Cocytus; the Styx, for no very good reason that we can see, serves as a connecting link between the two.

Acheronta vult quasi de imo nasci Tartaro, huius aestuaria Stygem creare, de Styge autem nasci Cocyton.

This order of the streams, however, Acheron, Styx, Cocytus, is due merely to the poet's fancy. Calling etymology into play, Servius finds that the real or "physiological" order — psychological we should say — is different:

Et haec est mythologia: nam physiologia hoc habet, quia qui caret gaudio sine dubio tristis est. Tristitia autem vicina luctui est, qui procreatur ex morte: unde haec esse apud inferos dicit.

The ultimate begetter at the bottom of the pit is thus Mors, whence spring in succession, Cocytus, Styx, and Acheron. This order is repeated in the note on v. 385, where Servius adds that there are various tributaries:

De his autem nascuntur alia unde est (v. 439) *et novies Styx interfusa coercet.*

Dante may well have read Servius's account of the Infernal rivers, and preferred, for matters of fact, the testimony of the commentator to that

of the poet. Mythology was not Dante's concern; his order is the real and "physiological." Acheron is his outermost and uppermost stream. Styx is reached at the fifth circle, that of the Wrathful and Sullen. With the sixth circle, we come to the City of Dis, about which we might expect Phlegethon to flow, as in Virgil; it appears instead after the sudden drop to the seventh circle. Cocytus is at the bottom of the lowest and coldest circle of all. May we venture a further step and suppose that Dante saw in Servius's phrase *luctui . . . qui procreatur ex morte* a hint of the personified Mors who accompanies Satan in the mediæval mysteries on the Harrowing of Hell? Dante's grim imagination and his sense of climax are cause enough for his setting Satan at the bottom of Hell; but as the Devil stands in the midst of the frozen pools of Cocytus, we may suspect some connection between Dante's picture and the remark of Servius that the Cocytus is derived from Mors. We must admit, of course, that though Dante started with Servius, as I think reasonable to assume, he readapted his material in the twenty-fourth Canto of the *Inferno*. Here the rivers do not spring from the depths of Hell; they accumulate from the tears of sin and suffering shed by the huge statue that symbolizes mankind. Dante has moulded bits from Servius and Nebuchadnezzar's dream in Daniel (ii, 31–33) into splendid imagery of his own.[1]

IV

We turn from topographical to ethical considerations. The sin of sloth (*accidia*) seems a characteristically mediæval, or at least Christian, affair — not the state of mind, which has probably existed from the beginning of the world, but the exaltation of the vice into one of the principal categories. Aristotle's discussion of πραότης broaches the matter,[2] but Cassian seems to have been the first to draw up a formal list of the sins, among which the sin of sloth is numbered; his book *De Institutione Coenobiorum et de Octo Principalium Vitiorum Remediis* was written down to 426 A.D., and describes monastic theory and practice as Cassian had learned them in the East. His scheme of the vices does not differ

[1] Possibly some form of Plato's account of Tartarus and its rivers had also reached Dante. See *Phædo*, 112 A: ὃ καὶ ἄλλοθι καὶ ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τῶν ποιητῶν Τάρταρον κεκλήκασιν. εἰς γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ χάσμα συρρέουσί τε πάντες οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ ἐκ τούτου πάλιν ἐκρέουσιν.

[2] *Eth. Nic.* IV, 11. See on the whole subject Dr. Moore's admirable essay in his *Studies in Dante*, Second Series, pp. 175 ff.

essentially from that of Dante in the *Purgatorio*; both have a place for *accidia* (ἀκηδία). Perhaps Servius can point us to another origin for the Christian classification which, however novel in its outcome, may have been based on older conceptions than those of monasticism. In his note on Lethe (v. 714), Servius has the following:

> Docent autem philosophi, anima descendens quid per singulos circulos perdat: unde etiam mathematici fingunt, quod singulorum numinum potestatibus corpus et anima nostra conexa sunt ea ratione, quia cum descendunt animae trahunt secum torporem Saturni, Martis iracundiam, libidinem Veneris, Mercurii lucri cupiditatem, Iovis regni desiderium: quae res faciunt perturbationem animabus, ne possint uti vigore suo et viribus propriis.

According, then, to the philosophers, who here seem like Neoplatonists, the soul, after leaving the ideal world, descends through the different spheres, losing some virtues in every circle; incidentally it would interest us to know what these virtues are. Similarly, the astrologers have a fable (*fingunt* is not a complimentary word) that the soul acquires a vice from every planet; thus the poor soul, dropping a virtue and picking up a vice at every station, is adequately attempered to human conditions by the time it reaches the earth. Now among the five examples given by Servius, not only is *accidia* represented (*torpor*), but *ira*, *libido*, and *lucri cupiditas* have their equivalents in the lists of Cassian and Dante. Does not the formal classification of the sins derive in part, at least, from astronomical fancies? The bit of Neoplatonic speculation in Servius's note is also tantalizing. Eduard Norden, in his magnificent edition of the *Sixth Æneid*,[1] suggests that certain of the philosophical remarks in Servius, Macrobius, and St. Augustine are taken from a set of Neoplatonic *quaestiones* on the sixth *Æneid*; the author, Norden thinks, may have been Marius Victorinus, the eminent Neoplatonic philosopher who became a Christian and who both before and after his conversion enjoyed the friendship of St. Augustine and St. Jerome. A pupil of Norden's, F. Bitzch, has written a dissertation on the subject,[2] and it is ripe for still further investigation. As a preliminary, I would here express the belief, which will be more fully set forth elsewhere,[3] that the

[1] Leipzig, 1903, p. 29.

[2] *De Platonicorum quaestionibus quibusdam Vergilianis*. Berlin, 1911.

[3] The subject will also be treated in a dissertation by Mr. H. T. Smith, candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Harvard University.

genuine commentary of Servius is hardly more than an extract from the longer version first published by Pierre Daniel in 1600, and that this longer version is substantially the supposedly lost commentary of Donatus. If this theory is correct, the Neoplatonistic and astronomical matter in the Servian commentary is pushed back in date, with the commentary as a whole, about half a century before the time of Servius. In this case it seems a little doubtful if Marius Victorinus, who was certainly not active as a teacher before Donatus, would have supplied the latter with material for his commentary; it is possible, of course, but Donatus's purpose, expounded in the introductory letter that accompanies his work, is to gather the opinions of the ancients. The bearing of all this on Dante is not immediate, except as it shows the pagan coloring of some of the traditional philosophy, and suggests a further examination of Dante's astronomy in the light of Servius.

V

My last example is a vexed point in literary history. In the twentieth Canto of the *Inferno*, Virgil is made to discourse on the founding of his native Mantua. The town, he declares, commemorates Manto, daughter of the seer Tiresias, who, leaving her Theban home for Italy, came down Lake Benaco and the river Mincio to a flat plain, marshy and pestilential. In this abandoned spot,

> *per fuggire ogni consorzio umano* (v. 85),

she settled. On her death men built the city over her dead bones. This, Virgil protests, is the true story of the founding of Mantua (vv. 97 ff.):

> "Però t'assenno, che se tu mai odi
> Originar la mia terra altrimenti,
> La verità nulla menzogna frodi."

Curiously, the version which by implication Dante's Virgil denies, is that of the real Virgil, who names the founder as Ocnus (*Æn.* X, 198 ff.):

> Ille etiam patriis agmen ciet Ocnus ab oris,
> fatidicae Mantus et Tusci filius amnis,
> qui muros matrisque dedit tibi, Mantua, nomen.

The Manto here mentioned is generally assumed to be an entirely different person from the Theban prophetess; she is called a river-nymph,

and thought to figure in some native Italian tradition that Virgil knew.[1] It is also suggested that Dante knew of the Greek Manto from Statius or from the brief statement in St. Isidore (*Origines*, XV, i, 59):

Manto Tiresiae filia post interitum Thebanorum dicitur delata in Italiam Mantuam condidisse: est autem in Venetia, quae Gallia Cisalpina dicitur: et dicta Mantua, quod manes tuetur.

But, why, the reader wonders, should Dante be so concerned with refuting his revered Virgil? Did he consider Statius or St. Isidore better authorities? It is Servius again, I believe, who helps us solve the question. On *Æn.* X, 198, he remarks:

Ocnus. Iste est Ocnus, quem in *Bucolicis* Bianorem dicit (*Ecl.* IX, 60). Hic Mantuam dicitur condidisse, quam a matris nomine appellavit: nam fuit filius Tiberis et Mantus, Tiresiae Thebani vatis, quae post patris interitum ad Italiam venit.

St. Isidore was not the first, then, to identify Virgil's Manto with the Theban. Virgil's commentator Servius has this tradition too. Servius, if I am right, is really Donatus; both Donatus and Isidore drew copiously from Suetonius. There is no evidence for tracking the present comment back to Suetonius, but whether he had it or not, it may well interpret Virgil's meaning correctly. What proof is there that his Manto was a river-nymph? The daughter of Tiresias might have become the mother of Ocnus by Father Tiber; river-gods, as the stories of Rea Silvia and Anna Perenna show, did not confine their attentions to nymphs. It is this part of the legend in which Dante does contradict his master. He may have felt so authorized on observing the uncertainty of Virgil himself; for in the ninth *Eclogue* the founder of Mantua is called Bianor. We may now add the rest of the note in Servius.

Alii Manto filiam Herculis vatem fuisse dicunt. Hunc Ocnum alii Aulestis filium, alii fratrem, qui Perusiam condidit, referunt: et, ne cum fratre contenderet, in agro Gallico Felsinam, quae nunc Bononia dicitur, condidisse: permisisse etiam exercitui suo, ut castella muniret, in quorum numero Mantua fuit. Alii a Tarchone Tyrrheni fratre conditam dicunt: Mantuam autem ideo nominatam, quod Etrusca lingua Mantum, Ditem patrem appellant, cui etiam cum ceteris urbibus et hanc consecravit.

[1] See, for example, Conington on *Æn.* X, 198, and Grandgent, *Inferno* (ed. 1909), p. 161.

Here are contrarieties enough to puzzle any reader and to justify him in making his own selection. Servius, as he tells us several times,[1] relates the *historia* at which Virgil often glances, but which, according to the law of poetry, he need not report exactly. Dante, with the help of Servius, can go back to *historia* and, finding it a tangle, draw his own inferences and even instruct his master. His main prompting to do so is doubtless artistic; he would adjust the old material to the needs of his own creation. Manto is the chief figure in the fourth part of the eighth circle, where the soothsayers are confined. Amphiaraus, Tiresias, Aruns, Manto, and Eurypylus are taken from the ancient authors, Michael Scott and Asdente are modern. Dante chose to develop Manto, out of regard for Virgil's Mantua, and fashion for her an impressively repulsive character. For this, Statius gave a model in his account[2] of the gloomy rites in honor of the Powers of Darkness performed in a dismal wood by Tiresias with the assistance of Manto, who sips a libation from a bowl of blood. It has been remarked[3] that the present Canto was written after *Purgatorio* XXII, since the poet there implies (v. 113) that Manto was in the Limbo, not in one of the lower circles of Hell. Manto has had a development in the poet's imagination. His chief purpose was not to contradict Virgil in the light of later authorities; he would doubtless infer from Servius that Virgil's Manto was Tiresias's daughter. But not to clutter his picture with irrelevant details, he omitted the uncertain story of Ocnus, and in a few lines, with the help of Statius, gave to the *vergine cruda* a distinct and most unpleasant personality, appropriate for a sinner confined in the lower Hell. He then makes Virgil swear that this is the truth and the only truth.[4]

In these various instances, I believe, it is Servius that gives a not unimportant clue to the workings of Dante's imagination. Servius himself is in many ways a plodder and a bungler, but he has preserved after all

[1] For example, on *Æn.* I, 382: hoc loco per transitum tangit historiam, quam per legem artis poeticae aperte non potest ponere. There follows a quotation from Varro to show what the facts are.

[2] *Thebaid*, IV, 406 ff., esp. 463 ff. Another passage descriptive of Manto is X, 678 ff.

[3] See Grandgent, *loc. cit.*

[4] Dr. Edward Moore, *Studies in Dante*, I, 173, refers to Servius's account of Manto, without drawing the conclusions that I have presented here. His special section on Servius contains several matters that I have not discussed.

an intensely valuable assortment of information and misinformation. He offers a good point of departure for the imaginative. If it be conceded that Dante read him and to some extent borrowed from him in the passages discussed, a more systematic search in the old commentator might further serve to illuminate, in a humble way, the art of the *Divine Comedy*.

THE GODDESS FORTUNA IN THE *DIVINE COMEDY*

By Howard Rollin Patch

The famous portrait of the Goddess Fortuna which the Inferno[1] presents in the *Divine Comedy*, has already received considerable attention from scholars and critics. It is one of the many brief and eternally adequate pictures in the great allegory. As a solution of the problem of chance, its power and originality have been sufficiently noticed. Its relation to previous discussions of the goddess, the indebtedness of Dante to his predecessors in this particular account, has been carefully and sympathetically investigated.[2] And yet, curiously enough, not one of the studies of this remarkable figure has attempted to consider the relation of the conception to Dante himself, to Dante not as an artist but as a genius, not as a poet but as a human being. From all that has been said before, we might come away only admiring again the great cleverness of the author in dealing so satisfactorily with a ticklish philosophic problem and in settling at the same time a matter of allegorical technique.

The object of the present paper is not to invite further interest in the poet's skill, but to relate the figure as we find it to Dante's own point of view. That the goddess as she appears in this passage is unique, has already been suggested. That here we consequently have evidence of a particular and significant idea in Dante's religious beliefs, has not received full appreciation. First, I shall review the points in which this conception seems to be peculiar and to do this I shall have to examine the idea historically. In the second place, I shall study Dante's motives for introducing his special variations, and attempt to explain them psychologically.

[1] VII, ll. 67 ff.

[2] See for references one of the latest investigations: "Origine e Natura della 'Fortuna' Dantesca," Busetto, *Giorn. Dant.* XII (1904), pp. 129 ff.; and also Mr. Dyer's letter, published in the last report of this society (1915).

In short, by discovering what he does with a theme in its essentials not very new, I shall try to throw some light on the poet's religious convictions.

The goddess Fortuna, as she appears in varying guise in literature, obviously gives the clue to an author's faith. Whether we find her to be the goddess of chance as in Euripides, or a hidden force as in Joseph Conrad, or whether we find a sister goddess of hers, a sort of "Winged Destiny," as in Sophocles, clearly depends on the author's conception of the universe as ruled by a capricious or by a rational deity. Fortuna has been the central figure in the work of philosophers, dramatists, and poets, whose views concerning her methods and habits have formed a splendid tradition of legend, folklore, and art. But in surveying this mass of material, the artistic garb which the goddess has collected from all the ages, it is commonly forgotten that the matter has less to do with literature and art than with religion. Fortuna represents one idea of the great power that rolls through all things, or at least that rolls all things.

As the figure revealing an author's beliefs in religious matters, her record has been studied thoroughly enough so far as pagan times are concerned. But it is obvious that this goddess of chance may flourish in a Christian age as well. And never, I think, has her career received an investigation which included the period after the decline of Roman religion.[1] By going over the important points in this later, mediæval development of Fortuna, we may examine more fairly the treatment as we find it in Dante and so compare the poet's attitude with the customary method of regarding the goddess in his day.

By so doing, it is now clear, I hope, that we shall not merely reveal Dante's literary method, but we shall also better understand his views of life in general and of the world at large. It is a common dictum in criticism that Dante is the narrow, though far-seeing, genius of the Middle Ages; that he is deep, not broad; that being orthodox, he is out of touch with human life. With the material which this paper will offer, we ought to be able to examine Dante's method in dealing with what are some of the most perplexing problems of human life, in comparison with the methods of other men who faced the same or equivalent problems.

[1] Arturo Graf gives valuable hints for such a study in his *Miti, Leggende, e Superstizioni*, 1892, I, p. 273. I am much indebted to this article in my classifications.

I

The arbitrary goddess of destiny, so far as the ordinary figure with the title "Fortuna" is concerned, had her beginnings in ancient Rome. And by the time of the Empire, Fortuna was popularly accepted as the ruling goddess of human life, who acknowledged no settled order in her business — of whom it was legitimate to say:

> Passibus ambiguis Fortuna volubilis errat
> Et manet in nullo certa tenaxque loco:
> Sed modo laeta manet; vultus modo sumit acerbos;
> Et tantum constans in levitate sua est.[1]

In general, she was vividly conceived and firmly believed in, whatever were the slight modifications of the belief in the case of her varied followers. We need not here point out particular devotees or analyze the ideas of any of the great Latin writers. We should be entering into a precarious game, in which guesswork must play a part, for a man's faith as he describes it and his real, working beliefs are not always similar. It is enough for us to observe that Fortuna had gathered together a great band of loyal worshippers, who built eighteen or more temples and shrines in her honor, and that she gradually absorbed the functions and duties of many other gods in her strange, vegetable-like cult of Fortuna-Panthea.

The important question for us to consider is what the conditions were which favored her development at this particular time. The Empire was a period of great skepticism and uncertainty. Most of the old gods had faded before the beautiful white light of the intellectual and materialistic rebirth. Greek deities were introduced into Rome with little success, or at least with little genuine effect on the popular conviction. Augustus attempted a sort of Gothic revival of the old deities and the old rites, and Fortuna was not of these. But he must have discovered sooner or later that religion is not an ordinary article of diet to be cooked up and served. A man sticks persistently to his own beliefs in spite of himself; and Augustus had his personal cult of the fickle goddess with the idea that Fortuna was especially powerful in his own career. She was not apparently one of the "di indigetes" or a member of the Greek pantheon, but she was the one deity whom Augustus found really necessary.

[1] Ovid, *Trist.* V, Eleg. VIII, 15–18.

What caused this strange goddess to become so prominent in Roman thought during the Golden Age? The problem is really, what caused the element of chance to become so important for the average Roman of the period? For whatever Fortuna signified previously, whether — as some have supposed — she was a sun goddess, a moon goddess, a deity of horticulture or plenty, all or none of these, yet at this time, as I have said, she had come to be the most satisfactory figure to embody the idea of chance. If we can explain the popularity of this notion, we shall discover the true secret of the birth of the goddess as we know her. And the explanation is simple. The Empire was a time when Rome was in a state of greatest confusion, when with the power of a vigorous youth it was sending its conquests over the world and making its great discoveries, when the acquaintance with foreign gods increased an interest in the externals of religion, and when the populace, excited by the possibilities of novelty, was tempted to taste the flavor of the new. It was typically a renaissance of wonder. The greatest emphasis was on the unknown and the unattained, and the savor of life was found to be chiefly in risk. In other words, man felt himself so strong that he went out into the dark, where his imagination conjured up ghosts and he was impressed by his own subjection to strange and unsympathetic forces. That is why he put such faith in chaos, the deity of chance, and that is why the familiar goddess Fortuna lost whatever steadiness of purpose she formerly might have had, whatever fixed purpose her old functions had given her, and, being employed to embody the new ideas, she took her position on the top of the turning sphere. In reality she was delighted with fickleness, because during this time the Roman at heart was delighted with change.

Once having accepted the idea of this goddess, the Roman necessarily tried to oppose his own powers to her arbitrariness. His reaction on the faith is, next to his belief in her, the most interesting phase of the problem. How did the Roman citizen of the Empire offset this whimsical fate? He had two resources: one was to bear his adversities with stoic calm and to hope for a better turn of affairs; the other was to limit the rule of the goddess by a belief in another divinity. The first of these is familiar in the words of Virgil:

Quidquid erit; superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est.[1]

[1] *Æn.* V, 710.

The second of these may be seen in the method of opposing the intellect to Fortuna, of setting one's reason against her unreason, as we read in Juvenal:

> Monstro quod ipse tibi possis dare, semita certe
> tranquillae per virtutem patet unica vitae.
> Nullum nomen habes si sit prudentia, nos te,
> nos facimus, Fortuna, deam caeloque locamus.[1]

The Roman evidently thought that there were other qualities in the universe, — an implication, even, of another divinity, — on which he could rely or with which his strength could be of some avail, when he dared to oppose Fortuna. This is the manner of the philosophers, who again and again rebuke the popular faith. And this method includes the idea that Fortuna, who dispenses only worldly possessions, has no control over virtue. As Seneca says:

> Nihil eripit fortuna, nisi quod dedit: virtutem autem non dat.[2]

In these ways the Roman tried to offset the power which the goddess had acquired; and the methods, carried a step further, tend to the utter denial of her existence. The deity herself, however, stands out only the more clearly for us as an important reality in the thought of the time.

That she was a reality is most significant for us, because she reveals even more than her own character. She gives us the point of view of the average mind in Imperial Rome. To discover the stamp of this intellect, we have only to remember that the celestial image, which we have been studying on the screen, was cast by mortal rays from the film in the human magic lantern. The film itself will have the same traceries and the same tints. It is a mind that puts its faith in chance; a non-rational, imaginative mind, delighted and impressed by motion and change. The head that contains it, is the head of a vigorous, lively human being, with great courage to do and with fortitude to endure; and yet of a being interested after all in chiefly material and worldly gain. The man is typical of a great class of externally successful and magnetic people, a class not uncommon to-day. But the more intellectual element in the population scorns his creed and pardons him merely because he is so "human." It ought to be easy for us to understand why

[1] *Satira* X, 363. See also the sneers at Fortuna in Pliny, *N. H.*, 2, 22; and Plutarch, *de Fort.* (1) *Fragment* 2, *Chaeremon*.

[2] *De Constantia Sap.* V, 2.

Fortuna found so large a following in the troublous times of the Empire; and to see why she alone of all the Roman deities might be able to survive the transition from a polytheistic to a monotheistic period. It means simply that human nature does not change, that the class which dominated the Golden Age is alive at all times, and that Rome had no monopoly on romanticism.

II

The period in which Christianity triumphed and gained its hold on Europe was none the less difficult for the pagan goddess. At least that period was the great test of her reality for mankind in general. But she was retained in the popular fancy, and numerous literary passages describing her or referring to her have come down to us, testifying that she had some vitality in literature if not elsewhere. The most significant of these allusions for our purposes are those in which the Christian Church feels it necessary to discuss Fortuna as the center of a possible heresy. Thus we see at the outset that Fortuna had still enough life to raise an actual problem in the new sect.

With this problem the early Church had three ways of dealing: it dispensed with the goddess entirely; it retained her as partly in subjection to the Christian God; and it retained her as entirely in subjection to the Christian God, as a minister of His grace.

The first of these methods was the only one that offered itself to such theologians as Lactantius, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, and Thomas Aquinas. In Aristotle's discussion of fate and free-will, Fortuna had seemed necessary as the desired figure for the haphazard element in life, a figure which might preserve human free-will. Man, it seemed, could not have choice in his action if everything was preordained by a god. But if chance played a part — a *causa per accidens* as the scholastic philosopher put the idea — mankind had still the freedom of election among the varying possibilities. But St. Thomas, commenting on Aristotle, refused this alluring suggestion:

> Sed quamvis haec opinio habeat veram radicem, non tamen bene usi sunt nomine fortunae. Illud enim divinum ordinans non potest dici vel nominari fortuna; quia secundum quod aliquid participat rationem vel ordinem, recedit a ratione fortunae.[1]

[1] Vol. II, ed. Leonis XIII, *Physicorum Aristot.*, p. 77, § 9.

Fortuna, he points out, although she may be conceived as an "inferior cause," is thus subservient to a superior and rational cause, and so the inferior cause is not really "accidental." St. Thomas considers the figure of the goddess altogether confusing and misleading in the scheme of a rational heaven.

Boethius, who lived seven centuries and more before the great ecclesiast, had, however, suggested another solution for the problem, and this is what I have called the second method. In the course of his *Consolatio* he found it helpful to lead his reader's thought up to the complexities of truth by drawing three distinct and, indeed, inconsistent pictures of Fortuna and her work. The first of these is in close agreement with the pagan idea of the supreme and independent deity of chance. The second is the portrait of a beneficent, almost angelic Fortuna: not her who grants favor, but her who disappoints and grieves us. And he contrasts favorable and adverse Fortuna strikingly:

Etenim plus hominibus reor adversam quam prodesse fortunam. illa enim semper specie felicitatis, cum videtur blanda, mentitur: haec semper vera est, cum se instabilem mutatione demonstrat. illa fallit, haec instruit, illa mendacium specie bonorum mentes fruentium ligat, haec cognitione fragilis felicitatis absoluit. itaque illam videas ventosam fluentem suique semper ignaram, hanc sobriam succinctamque et ipsius adversitatis exercitatione prudentem. postremo felix a vero bono devios blanditiis trahit, adversa plerumque ad vera bona reduces unco retrahit.[1]

This figure of Fortuna Adversa is rather different from the wholly malignant creation of the first figure in Boethius! She must know the restraint of some higher god, from whom she draws her conception of the *vera bona*. This is where Boethius leaves us so far as the personification, Fortuna, is concerned. But later her work, or the abstract "fortuna," the deeds and not the goddess, are, we discover, entirely under the control of the rational God. Fate is symbolized as the rim of a turning wheel, of which God is the center; and this changeable fate in Boethius seems to be a real equivalent of the abstract "fortuna." This we may take as the third picture of Fortuna in the *Consolatio*.

Beyond this idea that Fortune's work proceeds according to God's will, Boethius does not go. We lose sight of the goddess herself entirely. And even if we feel ourselves justified in saying that implicitly Fortuna

[1] *Cons. Philos.*, ed. Peiper, II, pr. VIII, ll. 7 ff.

is here subject to God, we are forced to make the inference for ourselves. Even Albertus Magnus alters nothing in the condition of the problem, when he takes it over directly from Boethius and accepts the chief figures as he finds them in the *Consolatio*. So far, then, there were only two conceptions of the goddess according to the view of the Church: the pagan goddess, to whom many writers still adhered; and the goddess in partial subjection to the Christian God. There were only two hints of the third, or the more purely Christian conception, which united the other two figures satisfactorily from both points of view.

The contribution of Dante to the world's progress has been called the "Mediæval Synthesis," because he has joined the pagan and the Christian in his use of the sentiments of courtly love. We may now observe that in his study of Fortuna, Dante again reconciles pagan and Christian thought. The familiar passage in the *Inferno*,[1] in which Virgil describes the position of the goddess in the universal plan, retains the old idea of the irrationality of Fortuna, personifies her clearly, and makes her entirely subservient to the will of the Christian God. Like the other angels, she is "ministra e duce"; and her work is general, controlling all "li ben vani" — riches, power, glory, and the like. She has a great scheme, which she continually follows, but which is concealed from mortal eyes.

> Questa provvede, giudica e persegue
> Suo regno, come il loro gli altri dei.

The sublimity of the figure is increased by a sense of her martyrdom:

> Quest' è colei ch' è tanto posta in croce
> Pur da color che le dovrian dar lode,
> Dandole biasmo a torto, e mala voce.

By the time of Dante the accusations against her gathered together would have formed an ocean of literature:

> Ma ella s' è beata e ciò non ode.

If we examine some of the other passages in Dante concerning Fortuna, we can extend her powers. She is the guide of our straying footsteps;[2] the bestower of fame;[3] the goddess of combat;[4] and she is evidently

[1] VII, ll. 67 ff. [2] *Inf.* XV, 46; XXX, 146; XXXII, 76; XIII, 98.
[3] *Inf.* XV, 70; *Par.* XVI, 84.
[4] *Inf.* XXX, 13; *De Mon.*, ed. Moore, *Tutt. le Op.*, II, cap. xi, 45.

related to Death.[1] Once, in a philosophic humor, Dante does glance back briefly to the orthodox and less poetic method of the annihilation of the goddess;[2] but this surely would not represent the complete statement of his views. With such varied functions as those which he ascribes to Fortuna elsewhere, she must have some significance for him.

His views may be uncovered, if we strip the poetic passage of what may be to us and — let us say for argument — was to him, allegory. Dante believed that in the universal scheme there was a great element of chance, which was entirely subordinate to a higher rational order, and which, because of the miracle of its paradox — like the paradox of fate and free-will, of Divine omnipotence and human power, of Christ's humanity and divinity — could only be represented by symbolism. The inferior but actual order in this whimsical power, for there was order, was hidden from mankind because of the actual inability of man to comprehend it. The best way to imagine this curious force emanating from the Godhead was the way in which one imagined the other forces — as a minister of grace; as an angel.

For this view of the situation Dante had, as I have wanted to make clear, many suggestions in the work of his predecessors, especially Boethius and Albertus Magnus. But we must recognize, I think, that the Christian conception is present in these scholastics only by inference, and that it was left for the poet to add the final touch to the picture.

III

So far in this study, I have considered the main outline of the philosophic discussions of Fortuna and their relation to the treatment in Dante. I have been unable to give any idea of the literary aspect; to present any notion of the numerous discussions of Fortuna in mediæval authors, no matter from what point of view, pagan or Christian. The amazing number, range, and variety of these allusions is a point of the greatest significance in any historical study of the goddess. She is well known to such a heterogeneous group of writers as Martianus Capella, Gerbert of Aurillac, Orderic Vitalis, Walter Map, Hildebert of Lavardin, Alanus de Insulis, Abelard and Heloïse, the writers of the *Carmina Burana*, Nigellus Wireker, and many others, with the numerous early writers in the Italian and French vernacular.

[1] *Canzone* X, 90, ed. Moore. [2] *De Mon.* II, cap. x, 70.

In the works of these and later authors, it is astonishing how much space is devoted to the description of the goddess, giving us her personal appearance, her character and her manners, and her particular deeds. The sort of work which seemed to be hers in ancient Rome, the special duties and tasks at which she was found to be busy, continue almost faithfully, as if Fortuna had officially recognized functions in which she must invariably operate. The literary passages, recounting her methods and exploits, fall into an almost regulated set of formulae, in a technical vocabulary, which is handed down from author to author. The detail furnished in all these treatments is enormously richer than that in the Classic Latin writers. The symbolic attributes, the wheel and the dwelling-place, become vital in their relation to Fortune's powers. In brief, she becomes very real, very much alive, and very important to all these mediæval authors.

In fact, it seems as if, because she had no publicly established worship, the poets, story-tellers, and historians wished to emphasize her part the more and to give it due appreciation in the world. What else can it mean when she appears literally hundreds of times in the pages of Boccaccio and Petrarch, and when she is treated as a perfectly natural figure, as a figure absolutely necessary to any account of human affairs. Besides the various casual references, Boccaccio gives many pages to several distinct and individual portraits of the goddess. He makes use of the mass of traditional material as if it were new and startling. Take only a fragment of one of his discussions, that in the *Amorosa Visione*:

> Fortuna, "Colei che muta ogni mondano stato," is depicted, sometimes glad and sometimes sad. She turns her great wheel unceasingly to the left. Deaf as she is, she hears no prayer, observes no law or compact. "Let everyone who desires, be bold to mount my wheel," says she; "but when he falls, let him not become angry. I never deny any man the first step." I saw men climb with their wits; and at the top, they said, "I reign." Others fell to the bottom and seemed to say, "I am without reign."[1]

And so the discussion goes on, with a long dialogue concerning Fortune's tricks and a warning against them. Every idea that preceding writers had entertained about the goddess is brought to the front, here or elsewhere in Boccaccio, and endowed with fresh interest. And the same

[1] XXXI, 125 ff.

method is familiar in the *Roman de la Rose*, especially in the part written by Jean de Meun, in the work of John Gower and Lydgate, and in many others.

From such a conglomeration of stereotyped detail the passage in Dante is remarkably free. It seems as if the poet knew too much of it already, and felt that on that score all had been said that was necessary, but the very abundance of it gave rise to a problem which, he thought, must be dealt with. In this he is resembled by the great English poet, Chaucer, who after his first acquaintance with the goddess gave very little time to any discussion of her appearance. To these poets, then, Fortuna was a figure quite familiar and very much alive, but she was rather to be sketched briefly with the usual economy of genius. Her cult was completely established, and only the question of her dignity had to be reckoned with.

IV

The conception of Fortuna as an angel of grace, or the "Christian conception," is, so far as we have studied it, entirely the product of the *Divine Comedy*. Unlike the treatments in many other works, it is short, almost scanty in detail, but it is clear and sufficient. It would commend itself to the use of any later poet who wanted to borrow the central idea — as so many poets borrowed the literary machinery of their predecessors. And as a solution of the Christian problem, it was inspired and adaptable. But, strangely enough, the chief writers who followed Dante did not use it.

In Italian literature, this conception appears only in a few poems, mostly anonymous and mostly trivial. They all show direct imitation of Dante, and little original reaction on their own parts. The great Italian writers solve the problem again for themselves. Boccaccio on the one hand rejects the goddess as a "poetic fiction"; on the other, he finds her so useful to cover some idea or other that he uses the figure at every opportunity. We may suspect that he wishes outwardly to remain orthodox, but that really he is a good deal of a pagan. Petrarch several times denies any faith in the goddess so emphatically that perhaps he really deserves to be classed with those writers possessing the simpler and more unadulterated intellects, the writers who annihilated Fortuna. The pagan goddess, however, continues gayly on her way in the work of many

Italians, such as the novelists Sercambi, Da Prato, Sacchetti, Masuccio, Sannazaro, and Giovanni Fiorentino; and the poets Burchiello, Æneas Sylvius, Boiardo, Politian, Benivieni, Pulci, Ariosto, and Bembo. And she is welcomed at the doors of the Renaissance by Machiavelli and Guicciardini. The attitude of compromise, adopted first by Boethius and then maintained by Albertus Magnus, sometimes appears, notably in the work of writers like Fazio degli Uberti, Alberti, and Trissino.

The Christian conception was apparently to be Dante's alone. This state of things again suggests that religion is a purely individual matter; that it springs from personal temperament and not from the published ethics of the world at large. Yet if this is the case, why did not the Christian figure appear elsewhere, independently of Dante, among men of a similar frame of mind if not of an equal greatness?

It is interesting to discover that this is precisely what did happen and that the parallel treatment does not seem in any way indebted to Dante for its origin. We find it in France in the work of three men who lived in Dante's own period and who were therefore less likely to know of the *Divine Comedy*. Their accounts of the angelic power seem to be quite different from that in Dante, so different as to be in no way related. These men are Philippe de Beaumanoir (*flor. circ.* 1250–1296), Watriquet de Couvin (*flor.* 1319–1329), and the author of the dialogue between Fortune and Pierre de la Broche[1] (who was hanged in 1276). My full argument for believing that these authors derive no help from the Italian poet, I cannot present here. To do that, I should have to sketch the growth of the French conception and its approach to the Christian idea, which becomes gradually closer in the work of Simun de Freine, in *L'Escoufle*, in Chrétien de Troyes, and in the *Roman de Renart*.

In England too, the Christian conception appears in the poetry of Chaucer. After he had read Boethius and apparently after he had made his translation, he wrote the *Balade of Fortune* and later the *Troilus*, where he has an entirely original treatment of the Christian figure. Fortuna is a shepherdess of us "lewed bestes,' and in her work she is really but the executrix of Divine "wierdes." Once, to be sure, Chaucer shows that he knew the passage in Dante, but his earliest use has no trace of the Italian figure.

[1] Monmerqué et Michel, *Theatr. Fr.*, pp. 208 ff.

It is, however, reminiscent of Boethius. All these men who make use of the Christian conception seem to have known Boethius and to have felt his influence. But as I have shown, the portrait in the *Consolatio* is not complete. Boccaccio, Petrarch, and countless others, among whom are many direct imitators of the early philosopher, had Boethius at hand, and if they had been qualified they might have finished the picture as they found it there, might have drawn the necessary inference. But only the few writers, Dante in Italy, the three French poets, Chaucer in England, and one or two others, were temperamentally suited to depict the more poetic conception. They alone unite the pagan idea of the haphazard element in life with the Christian idea of the rational scheme of the universe, in a way which fuses the two ideas, without compromise or sacrifice, into one living figure.

V

So far we have observed that three possible conceptions of Fortuna were familiar in the Middle Ages to those who accepted the goddess at all: the pagan, the Christian compromise, and the purely Christian conception. It has seemed likely that the type of figure employed by any particular author depends upon the author's own temperament and not upon the literary fashion of his time. In Rome, the average man had no cause to reject the fickle goddess on account of religious scruples. Yet he might be philosophically moved to believe that the universe was in hands too steady and too sure for the guidance of any such will-o'-the-wisp as the gleaming Fortuna. He would therefore discard Fortuna on rational grounds. The poet might keep her, but the philosopher would disallow her existence. In the Middle Ages, a complication was introduced with the spreading of the new religion; but even the dogmatism of that faith could not save a man from unorthodoxy. The belief in Fortuna could remain, subconsciously hidden but as genuine as ever. Religion in its persistent manner would flourish in the soil of natural disposition, and mankind would be ultimately damned or saved by his own habitual frame of mind.

To-day we may not know what damning or saving means, now that we have at last relegated the personal devil to the virtuoso's collection. But we do know in a way, or at least we can define what we have in mind as the man who deserves to be saved, or the "immortal." However

else we think of him, he is at least the man of the most perfect vision. All critical dialect points in that direction. The pedant (or the over-conscientious) and the popular reviewer (or the under-conscientious) both join in the search for the genius who sees life most clearly.

The belief in Fortuna is rather intimately connected with one's view of the universe. This seems axiomatic, and this is all that the present paper has taken for its hypothesis. The man who annihilates the goddess thinks that the element of chance in the world is negligible; that the divine plan exists to-day as vitally as it ever did; and that the sympathetic god who once put it in operation is strict in applying his scheme. The man who accepts Fortuna rejects all this speculation. Both are destructive philosophers, but the second perhaps more than the first.

If we turn to the familiar critical vocabulary, we find the rationalist labelled classical or pseudo-classical, because of his strong sense of logic and order; and the non-rationalist, or the more emotional and imaginative sort, becomes a "romanticist." There is, of course, a third type: the man who prides himself on his sense of fact and who thinks he is closer to the actualities of life. He is called a "realist" or a "materialist" according to the point of view. This third temperament believes in mere chance, and is incapable of vitalizing the idea even as a "force." So the romanticist accepts the pagan view, as the Renaissance welcomed Fortuna, and delights in the turning wheel, the philosophy of flux and change, in "immer strebend," and in the glorious march of man into the "ewigkeit." The classicist — in the critical sense — has a goal in sight, and does not feel so sure about the efficiency of cosmic machinery which is turned full speed on a road of infinite uncertainty. Divine dizziness has no attraction for his moral sense. He is not much interested in a race progress which leads nowhere, guided only by the gleam of a transcendental illusion. He denies what he sees about him every day, the great rôle played by accident; or he searches for what he is warned he cannot find while he is human, the divine motivation of human experience.

But there is one type of man not included in these categories, and that is the idealist. The rational thinker and the romanticist too are often touched with idealism, and receive their meed of scorn for it, but they play the game halfway. The true idealist, who will have none of compromise and yet who comprehends everything, is the man who has

a sense of fact honest enough to accept the element of chance in human life, who has an imagination vivid enough to feel the consciousness in the universal forces, and who has rationalism enough to believe at the same time that a great scheme binds and strengthens the apparent discord in unity. To maintain all this, the idealist must bewilder his less visionary brother by saying that all are parts of one great whole, and yet that everything is disconnected and in its way complete. He would not confuse the violin with the player who gives it a voice, or with the wood-carver who gave it his soul. The music might be ultimately the music of the spheres, and yet he would not say that the violin or the player were spherical.

The perfect idealist is, then, as true to reality as the realist, as lofty as the romanticist, and as reasonable as the Classicist. He is all of them at once. He is the true seer, or hero, or poet. His quality accounts for our difficulty in pigeonholing our greatest geniuses like Homer, Dante, and Shakspere. These men partake of his nature, although individually the balance may not be quite perfect. They may incline more to one of the three types than to another.

One may now reasonably ask: Is the treatment of Fortuna in these authors the real touchstone of their genius? Any reader would immediately see the absurdity of such an idea. Homer does not reveal the Christian conception, nor does Shakspere for that matter. And again, who are Philippe de Beaumanoir, Watriquet de Couvin, and the other minor writers where the figure appears? It is true that the Christian conception is no measure of *size*, but I have not claimed that it was. It is only a test of *balance*. Homer and Shakspere do not happen to be engaged in subjective expression. The only other instance where we find their general sanity, their health, their acceptance of order and accident, and their view of the skies as well as of the earth, combined with the expression of frank personal opinion, is in the work of Dante, and there we have the Christian figure. Homer is a shadowy person for us at best; but whoever wrote the *Odyssey* certainly did not disbelieve in chance. Shakspere, on the other hand, may be inclined to romanticism, but his views are certainly *not* expressed in such passages as critics often select — "To-morrow and to-morrow and to-morrow," — where he has given himself up to his characters. Of the three, Dante alone has any real motive for giving his own views on the problem, and he does give

us the vision of the goddess rejoicing among "l' alte prime creature." In this he is joined by the other lesser writers whom we have mentioned.

The meaning of all this is that these poets of the Christian conception have seen less darkly than the writers of what many might call "the more practical" or "the more intellectual" or "the more untrammeled" sort. Apparently, like the less noteworthy authors of France, one may lack genius and yet having eyes may use them to see. The Middle Ages, having all the varied points of view among their authors, were not so dark as many suppose. Superstition is as much alive to-day as ever, for it arises from under-belief or the denial of everything except chance, as well as from over-belief or trying to measure the Divine purpose too constantly in the world's work. Much that the scientific soothsayer of to-day calls superstition may be simply that extra knowledge which those obtain who have more sources of information than just the one, reason or imagination or physical sense.

In other words, the French poets of the Christian figure were probably the safer guides for their contemporaries, in that they too penetrated the earth and came forth again to look upon the stars; Chaucer, whether or not he saw life steadily, saw it whole; and the critical term "breadth," if it is used in the light of our discussion to describe the qualities of Dante, gains in dignity.

THIRTY-FOURTH

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

DANTE SOCIETY

(CAMBRIDGE, MASS.)

1915

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BOSTON

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(FOR THE DANTE SOCIETY)

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STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS

(From May 19, 1914, to May 18, 1915)

Balance in the hands of the Treasurer, May 19, 1914	$946.04	
Members' fees till May 18, 1915	495.00	
Sales of Fay Concordance	12.00	
Sale of Sheldon Concordance	7.20	
Interest	21.38	
		$1481.62
Payments to Ginn and Company	$359.65	
Payments to the Treasurer of Harvard College	200.00	
Refunded from sales of Fay Concordance	12.00	
Printing, postage, etc.	19.65	
Balance on hand May 18, 1915	890.32	
		$1481.62

BY-LAWS

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

The Society offers an annual prize of one hundred dollars 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 drawn from the life or works of Dante. The competition is open to students and graduates of similar standing of any college or university in the United States.

For the year 1915–1916 the following subjects were proposed:

1. *A study of the vocabulary of Dante's Lyrics.*
2. *The classification of Dante's Miscellaneous Lyrics.*
3. *The influence of Boethius on the Vita Nuova and the Convito.*
4. *A discussion of the authorship of Il Fiore.*
5. *A study of Dante's influence upon English literature (or upon any single author or period).*
6. *The relation of Dante's theological doctrines to the present teachings of the Church of Rome.*
7. *The relation of modern scientific discovery to Dante's conception of the divine order of the universe.*
8. *The main reasons for the increase of interest in the Divina Commedia during the past fifty years.*
9. *Dante and Cecco d'Ascoli.*
10. *A study of the decline of Dante's influence in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.*
11. *Modern traits in Dante.*
12. *Dante in the anecdotic literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.*
13. *The influence of Guido Cavalcanti on Dante.*
14. *A criticism of Torraca's edition of 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, or to propose new subjects for the approval of the Council of the Society.

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 entitled *Dante's Obligations to the Schoolmen, especially to Thomas Aquinas.*

GEORGE RICE CARPENTER 1888

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

KENNETH MCKENZIE 1894

For an essay entitled *The Rise of the Dolce Stil Nuovo.*

JEREMIAH DENIS MATTHIAS FORD 1895

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

ANNETTE FISKE 1897

For an essay entitled *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

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 dicitori usati di sprimere."*

FRITZ HAGENS 1903

For an essay entitled *A Critical Comment of the De Vulgari Eloquio.*

CHANDLER RATHFON POST 1906

For an essay entitled *The Beginnings of the Influence of Dante in Castilian and Catalan Literature.*

ALEXANDER GUY HOLBORN SPIERS 1907

For an essay entitled *Characteristics of the Vita Nuova.*

RALPH HAYWARD KENISTON 1909

For an essay entitled *The Dante Tradition in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries.*

ROGER THEODORE LAFFERTY 1912

For an essay entitled *The Philosophy of Dante.*

GEORGE HUSSEY GIFFORD 1913

For an essay entitled *Expressions of Gratitude in Dante.*

RICHARD AGER NEWHALL 1914

For an essay entitled *Italian Ghibellinism as reflected in Dante.*

AMOS PHILIP MCMAHON 1915

For an essay entitled *On Dante's De Monarchia. A Study of Imperialism in Mediæval and in Modern Times.*

ANNUAL REPORT

The thirty-fourth annual meeting of the Society was held on May 18, 1915, at the house of Miss Katharine Vaughan Spencer, Craigie Street, Cambridge. In the absence of President Sheldon, the Vice President, Professor Charles Hall Grandgent, occupied the chair. The usual reports were received and the regular routine business transacted.

A communication was received from Professor Sheldon saying that he should be unable to serve the Society longer as President, and Professor Grandgent was elected in his place. Mr. William Roscoe Thayer was chosen Vice President, and the place thus made vacant on the Council was filled by the election of Professor Chandler Rathfon Post. The remaining officers were reëlected.

Announcement was made of the award of the Dante Prize to Mr. Amos Philip McMahon, for a study of the *De Monarchia* in its relation to certain ideals of imperialism in modern times.

At the conclusion of the business meeting Professor Grandgent spoke briefly of current publications relating to Dante and read selections from Mr. Henry Johnson's translation of the *Divine Comedy*. Professor Rand read a paper on "Dante and Servius," which has since been printed to accompany the Thirty-Third Report.

The Council takes pleasure in publishing with the present report a paper by Dr. Charles Edward Whitmore on "The Lyrics of Fazio degli Uberti in their Relation to Dante" and "Three Dante Notes" by Professor Ernest Hatch Wilkins.

FRED NORRIS ROBINSON
Secretary

CAMBRIDGE, March 10, 1917

THE LYRICS OF FAZIO DEGLI UBERTI IN THEIR RELATION TO DANTE

By Charles Edward Whitmore

Fazio degli Uberti, both by virtue of his historical position and in his own right as a lyric poet, is an important figure in Italian literature of the Trecento. For a proper understanding of his worth on both counts, an exact knowledge of his relation to Dante is of prime importance. That he was intimately acquainted with Dante's work, and in close sympathy with his general attitude, is a statement requiring no elaborate proof; but it is worth while to ascertain just what he chose to take over from Dante, and just what use he made of it. He marks a new stage in the development of Italian lyric, deriving certain motives and phrases from Dante, but utilizing them for ends of his own. Moreover, he had before him not only Dante's lyrics, but the great fabric of the *Commedia*; and the tracing of the influence of the latter, as it passes into the field of lyric, will be not the least interesting part of our discussion. Fazio's *Dittamondo* has long served as the chief document of his knowledge of the *Commedia*, and has already been studied in that connection;[1] but the reflex of the *Commedia* on his lyrics, and their relation to the *Canzoniere* of his supreme predecessor, have thus far awaited the detailed examination which I here propose to give them.

The present study is based on a concordance to the lyrics of Fazio, completed by me, early in 1915, from Renier's critical edition. I have in practically all cases accepted his text, as well as his canon and arrangement of Fazio's authentic poems. Dr. Ezio Levi's ingenious attempt[2] to deprive Fazio of the "canzone di Roma" (no. xii) has not convinced me. This is not the place for a refutation of his arguments, which, in any

[1] See Achille Pellizzari, *Il Dittamondo e la Divina Commedia*, Pisa, 1905.

[2] See *L'Autore della "Canzone di Roma,"* in *Poesia di Popolo e Poesia di Corte nel Trecento*, Livorno, 1915.

case, those who desire can easily review for themselves; but I may remark that the internal evidence of the poem, which Dr. Levi is inclined to ignore, seems to me decisive in favor of Fazio's authorship. Citations from Dante are drawn from the Oxford text, with the exclusion of certain obviously unauthentic pieces. They are: the seventeenth canzone, *Morte, poich' io non truovo a cui mi doglia*, really by Jacopo Cecchi; the eighteenth, *O patria degna di trionfal fama*, surely not by Dante, whoever may have been the true author; and the palpably apocryphal *Salmi* and *Credo*. Questions of authenticity in the scattered sonnets and ballate do not much concern us, since few parallels to them are to be found in Fazio, who, indeed, is not conspicuously a sonneteer, and, so far as we know, wrote no ballate.

Fazio's poems may be roughly divided into three groups. First, and on the whole most excellent, are the love poems, canzoni ii to viii inclusive; second, and not much inferior, the political poems, canzoni xi, xii, and xiv, and the frottola, to which may be added the historical canzoni, xv and xvi; and third, a miscellaneous group, of a didactic or moralizing cast, canzoni i, ix, x, and xiii, with the sonnets on the seven deadly sins. Certain minor poems will receive only incidental mention. It will be helpful, I think, to take up these groups in order, treating first their relations to Dante's lyrics, and then their connection with the *Commedia*. A discussion of parallel passages is at best hard to keep in coherent shape, and a certain amount of crossing between groups seems unavoidable; but I shall endeavor to make the bearings of the different parts of the paper as intelligible as I can.

I.

The general relation of Fazio's love poems to those of Dante is easily pointed out. Fazio has nothing to do with the scholastic aspects of the *dolce stil nuovo*, or with what we may call its technical vocabulary. He wholly neglects, for instance, the apparatus of personified *spiriti*, and the importance attached to such words as *umiltà* and *salute*. Indeed, it is significant that the sole passage in Fazio which verges on the "scientific" sense of *spirito* immediately applies it to the birds in spring:

> Che vivi spiritelli
> Paion d' amor, creati alla verdura (*Canz.* v, 22).

Fazio, in short, is no philosopher, but a keen observer of the visible world. As a natural consequence, he is most strongly influenced by the poems in which Dante shows himself least philosophical, and closest to actual experience. We should therefore expect two of Dante's canzoni, the "winter song," *Io son venuto al punto della rota* (xv), and the "song of the harsh speech," *Cosi nel mio parlar voglio esser aspro* (xii), to be among Fazio's favorites; and that is precisely the case. The first of these, in fact, is followed by Fazio with a closeness paralleled in no other instance; so that our survey may fitly take this closely matched pair as its point of departure.

The canzone of Fazio's in question is his fifth, *Io guardo fra l' erbette per li prati*, which reproduces the central idea of the "winter song" — the contrast of the lover's state with the phenomena of a season, in this case spring instead of winter. The metrical form of Fazio's canzone is the same, except for the insertion of a seven-syllable line after the second and fifth lines of the original stanza; the division of each stanza between external description and emotion of the writer is also maintained, the latter occupying, in both poems, the last four lines of every stanza. As regards substance, however, Fazio is by no means a mere copyist; he selects and rejects according to the needs of a design of his own. Broadly speaking, the relation of individual stanzas is as follows. The first of Fazio's corresponds to the fourth of Dante's; the second, to the first part of Dante's third; the third, to the second part of Dante's third; the fourth, to the first part of Dante's fifth; the fifth has no parallel in Dante. Fazio, that is, rejects the astronomical and meteorological details with which Dante begins; he transposes the imagery of winter to that of spring, sometimes with a counterpart of Dante's phrasing, sometimes in his own terms; and he adds the final picture of youths and maidens dancing amid the forest. The mode of vision of the two poets is likewise radically distinct. Dante sees the great natural forces and their result — the storm wind, the frozen soil, the "great assault of winter." Fazio's attention is directed almost wholly to the concrete details of springtime — the budding flowers, the nesting birds, the flowing streams, the whole color and movement of the new season. Dante sees each step sharply, sets it down, and then turns to the next in order; Fazio's glance passes rapidly over his whole scene, never rising far above its visible components, but keeping his items well in hand, so that each stanza is

definitely composed, with no hint of the *pastiche*. It is perhaps not a vain conjecture that Dante's own words in his *commiato*:

or che sarà di me nell' altro
Dolce tempo novello,

may have given Fazio his first impulse to composition; but he is quite able to proceed on his own account. If his poem lacks the tremendous concentration and weightiness of Dante's, it has a fresh picturesqueness that is all its own; if its general outward aspect frankly recalls that of its model, its final effect is none the less definite and original.

The following passages will serve to show the transposed phrases referred to above. Lines 2–4 of Fazio,

E veggio isvariar di più colori
Gigli, viole e fiori,
Per la virtù del sol, che fuor gli tira,

correspond to lines 40–42 of Dante:

Passato hanno lor termine le fronde
Che trasse fuor la virtù d' Ariete
Per adornare il mondo, e morta è l' erba;

lines 16–21 of Fazio,

Veggio li uccelli a due a due volare
E l' un l' altro seguir tra gli arboscelli,
Con far nidi novelli,
Trattando con vaghezza lor natura,
E sento ogni boschetto risonare
Dai dolci canti lor,

to lines 27–32 of Dante:

Fuggito è ogni augel, che 'l caldo segue,
Dal paese d' Europa, che non perde
Le sette stelle gelide unquemai;
E gli altri han posto alle lor voci triegue
Per non sonarle infino al tempo verde,
Se ciò non fosse per cagion di guai;

lines 39–41 of Fazio,

E così par costretto
Ogni animal che 'n su la terra è scorto
In questo primo tempo a seguir gioia,

to lines 33–35 of Dante:

> E tutti gli animali, che son gai
> Di lor natura, son d' amor disciolti,
> Perocchè il freddo lor spirito ammorta;

and lines 46–47 of Fazio,

> Surgono chiare e fresche le fontane,
> L' acqua spargendo giù per la campagna,

to lines 53–54 of Dante:

> Versan le vene le fumifere acque
> Per li vapor che la terra ha nel ventre.

It will be noted that Fazio passes over the scientific touches, with an eye solely to the natural object, which he has evidently observed at first hand, and which he presents as he has seen it.

The canzone of the "harsh speech," though not the model for any single canzone or extended passage, has left its mark in several places. Dante tells us how he longs to make spoil of his lady's tresses (63–65):

> Che ne' biondi capelli,
> Ch' Amor per consumarmi increspa e dora,
> Metterei mano e sazieremi allora;

so Fazio, in milder terms, expresses a similar wish (*Canz.* iii, 14):

> Sicch' io potessi quella treccia bionda
> Disfarla a onda a onda,
> E far de' suoi begli occhi a' miei due specchi,
> Che lucon sì che non trovan parecchi,

the last two lines recalling a passage of Dante somewhat farther on (74–76):

> E i suoi begli occhi, ond' escon le faville
> Che m' infiammano il cor ch' io porto anciso,
> Guarderei presso e fiso.

"S' io avessi le bionde treccie prese," says Dante,

> Con esse passerei vespro e le squille;

and for Fazio in the contemplation of his lady (*Canz.* iv, 72),

> Niente m' è a passar vespro e le squille —

practically a direct quotation. In *Canz.* vi, 5,

amore in vista tanto adorna
Dell' intelletto mio prese la cima,

says Fazio;

Così della mia mente tien la cima

is the parallel phrase in Dante (17). Fazio's metaphorical use of *pietra* in line 32 of the same canzone may also be regarded as a reminiscence of the *rime pietrose.* We may also note a parallel in Fazio's ninth sonnet.

Per me credea che 'l suo forte arco Amore
Avesse steso, e chiusa la faretra,

he begins; but the hope is vain, for

Colla saetta d' or, che non si arretra,
M' aperse il petto, e fessi mio signore.

Here we are reminded of lines 6–8 in Dante:

perch' ella s' arretra,
Non esce di faretra
Saetta.

A number of scattered reminiscences are drawn from Dante's eleventh canzone, *Amor, dacchè convien pur ch' io mi doglia*, likewise one of those belonging to his later work. The following passage from Fazio's fourth canzone (99 ff.),

E ciò sarebbe all' alma mia gran pianto
Se scolorasse alquanto;
Come colei che dopo morte spera
Ch' i' l' andrò a veder dov' ella è vera,

recalls two passages in Dante's: the first, lines 14–15:

Che se intendesse ciò ch' io dentro ascolto,
Pieta faria men bello il suo bel volto;

the second, the last two lines of 31–35:

La nemica figura che rimane
Vittoriosa e fera,
E signoreggia la virtù che vuole,
Vaga di sè medesma andar mi fane
Colà dov' ella è vera.

The first three of these, in turn, have perhaps a feeble echo in Fazio viii, 33:

E più la sua vittoria
Di sopra alla mia vita sento crescere.

Another fairly close parallel is Dante, lines 46–47:

Qual io divegna sì feruto, Amore,
Sal tu contar, non io,

and Fazio ii, 42–44:

Quel ch' io di lei credeva,
E con quanti sospiri e pensier fui,
Dicalo Amor, ch' io nol so dire altrui.

Finally, the metaphor in Dante, line 37:

Ben conosch' io che va la neve al sole,

reappears in Fazio v, 28:

Ch' io mi distruggo come al sol la neve,

though it is indeed not so recondite as to need the stimulus of Dante's line to suggest it.

The passages thus far discussed show that Fazio was chiefly drawn to three canzoni of Dante which represent him in his more realistic mood. As we have already noted, that mood was more akin to Fazio's own than is the exalted and mystical strain of Dante's earlier work; and we accordingly find that Fazio makes few direct drafts on the *Vita Nuova*, the general tone of which is not in accord with his own mode of thought. As close a relation as we can find seems to lie between these lines of Fazio vii, 77 ff.:

Gli occhi e la bocca e ogni biltà tua
Non fece Iddio perchè venisser meno,
Ma per mostrare a pieno
A noi l' esempio della gloria sua,

and lines 49–50 of the first canzone of the *Vita Nuova*:

Ella è quanto di ben può far natura;
Per esempio di lei beltà si prova.

It will be noted that Fazio's phrasing is less lofty, and more concrete. An occasional phrase from the *Vita Nuova* seems in other cases to have remained in Fazio's memory. Thus the *donne e donzelle* to whom Dante

declares the praise of Beatrice find a place in Fazio, but as figures in a setting, not as *confidantes*. Again, the *color di perla quasi informa* attributed by Dante to his lady (*Vita Nuova*, canz. i, 47), reappears in Fazio's description of his,

Con un color angelica di perla (*Canz.* iii, 62).

Feebler echoes — the unsympathetic might call them parodies — are perhaps heard in two other cases.

Farei parlando innamorar la gente,

says Dante at the beginning of the same canzone; so Fazio, at the beginning of his fourth:

Che non che i nostri cuor, ma que' de' draghi
Farei udendo appaghi,
E per le selve innamorar gli uccelli.

The *pioggia di manna* of the second canzone of the *Vita Nuova* may have been in Fazio's mind in these lines (vii, 57):

E par neve che fiocchi
Dal tuo bel viso l' amorosa manna
Colla qual cibi li spiriti miei.

Such is the rather scanty evidence (except for one case to be noted later) of Fazio's contact with the *Vita Nuova*; and, as a natural corollary, we find in him no sure reminiscences of *E' m' incresce di me sì duramente* (xiii) and *La dispietata mente che pur mira* (xvi), which are commonly held to belong to the *Vita Nuova* period.

A considerable passage in Fazio's third canzone (74 ff.) shows direct relations with the second canzone of the *Convivio*, the topic in both being the praise of the poet's lady. Fazio's lines run:

guardi la mente tua
Ben fisamente allor ch' ella s' indua
Con donna che leggiadra e bella sia.
E come muore e par che fugga via
Dinnanzi al sole ogni altra chiarezza,
Così costei ogni adornezza isface.
Vedi se ella piace,
Ch' amore è tanto quant' è sua bellezza,
Ed è somma bontà che in lei si trova.

So Dante, lines 39–40:

E qual donna gentil questa non crede,
Vada con lei e miri gli atti sui;

and again, lines 49–50:

Gentil è in donna ciò che in lei si trova,
E bello è tanto, quanto lei somiglia.

Moreover, lines 55 and 56 in Dante:

Cose appariscon nello suo aspetto
Che mostran de' piacer del Paradiso,

may have been in Fazio's mind when he wrote lines 46–48:

Che sol per le belle opre
Che fanno in cielo il sole e l'altre stelle,
Dentro di lor si crede il Paradiso,

though the turn of thought is not the same.

In addition to the fairly extensive similarities which we have thus far considered, it is worth while to note certain lines of Dante which seem to have remained in Fazio's memory, and to have determined the cadence or choice of words in a verse of his own. The noting of such cases is bound to be somewhat subjective; but the following will show the sort of relation involved. Dante xiv, 11:

E questo è quello ond' io prendo cordoglio,

seems to recur in bisected shape, thus:

Poi non vorrei che *prendesse cordoglio* (iv, 94)

and

E questo è quello ond' io più forte dubito (viii, 14),

a similarity which I cannot think accidental. So *Convivio* iii, 131,

E solo in lealtà far si diletta,

recalls the cadence of Fazio iii, 85:

E solo in suo ben far prende speranza.

To multiply similar citations would be to risk falling into arbitrary juxtapositions; but the point is worth making as a further indication of the extent to which Fazio had digested the phraseology of Dante's lyrics, and made it an intimate part of his own means of expression.

The relations between the love poems of our two poets may thus be summarized as follows: Fazio draws chiefly from Dante's later and less

scholastic work, with a consequent disregard of the *Vita Nuova* and its related poems. In but one case does he use any single canzone of Dante's as the basis for one of his own, and in that his work is a continuation rather than a copy. In taking over a suggestion from Dante he seldom reproduces it literally, but tends either to combine two passages in one of his own, or to reflect a single passage in two distinct places; he likewise often modifies the application of what he transfers. He also tends to diminish the intensity of what he takes over; to adapt the terminology of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, he is elegiac where Dante is tragic; but he never, I think, lapses into sentimentality.

That Fazio's political poems should be widely affected by Dante's lyrics is scarcely to be expected, the character of the latter not being susceptible of a transfer to poems dealing with the political conditions of Fazio's own day. Yet so close a student as Fazio could not fail to carry over an occasional phrase; and his twelfth canzone, which is in a sense transitional between his poems of love and those of a political cast, has several reminiscences of Dante's love poems. The whole tone of the opening, for some thirty lines, is decidedly Dantesque, and several direct parallels occur. The very first line,

Quella virtù che 'l terzo ciel infonde,

recalls

Ch' infonde sempre in lei la sua virtute

of *Convivio* ii, 28, and the *gran pianeta* of *Canz.* xix, 96, which

con li bei raggi infonde
Vita e virtù.

Fazio has been the servant of her

Che ne' suoi occhi porta la mia pace;

so Dante, in *Canz.* ix, 60,

Nè che negli occhi porta la mia pace.

Later, at the beginning of stanza 7, occurs another reminiscence of this same ninth canzone, consecutive on the one just given.

Onor ti sarà grande, se m' aiuti,
E a me ricco dono,

are Dante's words; Fazio's,

Onor ti sarà grande, e a me stato,
Se per tuo operar son consolata.

Just why these three consecutive lines stayed in Fazio's memory may be hard to explain; but the fact seems undeniable.[1]

Of all Dante's moralizing canzoni, the twentieth, *Tre donne intorno al cor mi son venute*, has left the strongest impress on Fazio's work. Its double character — partly a vision, partly an expression of Dante's personal attitude — has resulted in a double influence. In the vigorous *commiato* of Fazio xiv:

> E se pure t' avviene
> Che veggi quel che la tua rima tocca,
> Apri la bocca, e dillo tutto intero,

we are remínded of Dante's

> Pianganlo gli occhi e dolgasi la bocca
> Degli uomini a cui tocca.

But Fazio's love poems, too, show some reflex of the passage (lines 81 ff.) which alludes to Dante's absence from his lady:

> E se non che degli occhi miei 'l bel segno
> Per lontananza m' è tolto dal viso,
> Che m' have in fuoco miso,
> Lieve mi conterei ciò che m' è grave;
> Ma questo fuoco m' have
> Già consumato sì l' ossa e la polpa.

The idea of absence is to be found in Fazio, *Cans.* v, 72 and xii, 5; with the fourth line of the Dante passage compare Fazio iv, 4:

> Per dolci bramerei i colpi amari,

with the sixth, Fazio vii, 13:

> Se non ch' i' consumava ogni ossa e nerbo.

Another part of Fazio iv seems to reflect Dante's line 53,

> Mirando sè nella chiara fontana,

Fazio's words being

> Per *mirar* lei sotto li vaghi cigli,
> Come Atteon per ritrovar Diana
> *Nella chiara fontana* (47–49).

The same canzone furnishes, in a general way, the model for Fazio's fifteenth, *O sommo bene, o glorioso Iddio*, which is likewise a vision,

[1] Fazio has the phrase *onore e dono* in *Cans.* xi, 13.

though of a less effective sort. Just as Love, in Dante's canzone, on seeing the first lady pitied her, and

Di lei e del dolor fece dimanda,

so Fazio questions the mournful figure who appears to him:

Non men che la pietà era il disiro
Di spiar del suo stato e sì del pianto;
Ond' io mi trassi alquanto
Più verso lei e di ciò la richiesi.

Otherwise the conduct of the two poems is not very similar; but one fairly striking likeness of phrase occurs,

Vedove e pupilli ed innocenti
Del mio sangue miglior van per lo pane
Per altrui terre strane (86–88),

which obviously recalls Dante's

Larghezza e Temperanza e l' altre nate
Del nostro sangue mendicando vanno (63–64),

with a shift of application characteristic, as we have seen, of Fazio's manner.

The remaining parallels to be found in the political group are scattering, and of minor significance. Line 100 of Dante x:

Se ben si guarda là dov' io addito,

appears, condensed, in line 29 of the frottola,

Se guardi ov' io addito.

In *Canz.* xix, 77,

Ancorchè ciel con cielo in punto sia,

says Dante; so Fazio begins his address to Ludwig of Bavaria (xi, 1),

Tanto son volti i ciel di parte in parte,

and later declares that Ludwig shall see himself

giunto
Imperador co' cieli a sì buon punto.

These are obviously slight; and the sixteenth canzone shows no affiliations with Dante's lyrics whatever. We may safely say that these political

poems show only such resemblances as were inevitable in view of Fazio's intimate knowledge of his predecessor.

For analogous reasons, and to an even greater degree, Fazio's moralizing poems show few points of contact with Dante's *canzoniere*. Dante, in his poems of that type, is the subtle scholastic reasoner, who, "with harsh and subtle rime," presses home the analysis of his topic. Fazio had neither the inclination nor the ability to be a "syllogizer of invidious verities"; his learning is chiefly in the way of historical or mythical citation and example, a procedure wholly foreign to the lyrical manner of the *dolce stil nuovo*. The full significance of this difference will appear later; for the present, we may simply list the scattering parallels which the third group of Fazio's poems affords.

Three of them, and these the closest, are drawn from Dante's tenth canzone, lines 121–122 of which,

> Volge il donare in vender tanto caro
> Quanto sa sol chi tal compera paga,

are condensed by Fazio in *Canz.* x, 32,

> Quanto più costa, più car tener fassi,

applied to carnal love. Dante's picture of the miser (110)

> Che sempre fugge l' esca,

has perhaps lent a phrase to the close of the sonnet on Lussuria (*Son.* vi, 13):

> O quanto è da lodar l' uomo e la femina
> Che fugge l' esca che per me si semina.

Finally, the opening of Fazio's thirteenth canzone,

> L' utile intendo più che la rettorica,

recalls Dante's line 53,

> Ma perocchè 'l mio dire util vi sia,

though the tone of Fazio's list of the qualifications of a good ruler is as remote from Dante's way of thought as can be imagined.

But one further case in this group need be mentioned — the reference to the *Vita Nuova* alluded to above. Fazio's first canzone, by far

the best of those in our third group, recounts his sufferings in his exiled and hapless life. It deals with a more sordid side of exile than any which Dante had to bear, and consequently differs in tone from anything of his; but its invocation of death is strikingly similar to that uttered by Dante in the fourth canzone of the *Vita Nuova*:

Anima mia, che non ten vai?

says Dante:

Che li tormenti che tu porterai
Nel secol che t' è già tanto noioso
Mi fan pensoso di paura forte;
Ond' io chiamo la morte
Come soave e dolce mio riposo.

So Fazio, full of discouragement and fear, turns imploringly to the same refuge:

I' chiamo, prego, lusingo la morte,
Come divota, dolce, cara amica,
Che non mi sia nimica,
Ma venga a me come a sua propria cosa;

and her refusal leads him to the thought of self-destruction. The bitterness of his lot has brought him to a depth of despair to which Dante was never reduced, but gives his poem a sincerity which sets it apart from those of its age.

In these second and third groups, then, we find fewer points of contact with Dante's lyrics, a condition explained by radical differences in mode of thought. It is clear that Fazio did not draw on Dante's moralizing poems as if they made, to his mind, a distinct group; for references to them occur in his love poems, just as Dante's love poems lend some touches to Fazio's non-amorous verse. We may note that, had he been a mere imitator, he would scarcely have failed to copy the unusual metrical forms of Dante's moralizing canzoni, whereas in fact he does nothing of the kind. In the main he adheres to the general canons of stanza structure laid down by the poets of the *dolce stil nuovo*, the most conspicuous of his deviations being a fondness for a *pes* of four lines instead of one of three (ABbC instead of ABC, for instance), this four-line type occurring, with or without cross-rime, in fourteen out of the sixteen canzoni.

I have tried, in this discussion, to emphasize the certain cases of relationship between the lyrics of our two poets, and to set forth their exact nature; I have therefore passed over many minor coincidences of phrase, which may often be accidental, and which, if significant at all, must be treated on a broader basis than the work of two poets only. The passages here given show, I think, that Fazio deliberately chose such features as were in accord with his own poetic disposition, and that he wove them into a fabric of his own devising, by no means using them as substitutes for activity on his own part. If he is unmistakably influenced by Dante's lyrics, it is as a true follower, not as an imitator; and if that is the case here, it is equally so with his relation to the *Commedia*, to the examination of which we now turn.

II

We have already remarked that Fazio's knowledge of the *Commedia* must have been extensive and profound; but when we seek the reflex of that knowledge in his lyrics, we find it to be of a definite and rather limited sort. Fazio does not draw on the *Commedia* for beautiful passages and figures; practically none of Dante's similes are transferred, and the lines that are echoed seem to have been chosen for their content, rather than for their intrinsic beauty. It therefore follows that the most obvious borrowings are those containing some mythological or historical allusion. By far the greater number of the proper names in Fazio's lyrics occur also in the *Commedia*; but in most cases Fazio uses his own words in what he says of them. In the cases where he does not, he tends to follow Dante closely, as if he regarded him as an authority to be cited with exactness. It is thus fair to say that in such matters he uses Dante as a source of information; and further, that to the influence of the *Commedia* is in part due that infiltration of learned allusions which so sharply distinguishes the typical Trecento lyric from that of the *dolce stil nuovo*.

As a result of this state of affairs, the relation of Fazio's lyrics to the *Commedia* is practically the reverse of that subsisting between them and Dante's *canzoniere*. That is, the love poems show it least, the political and moralizing poems most — a perfectly natural result, as we have already suggested. In what we may regard as the earlier of the love

poems, echoes of the *Commedia* are faint and infrequent. It is true that the opening of the second canzone:

> Nel tempo che s' infiora e cuopre d' erba
> La terra, sicchè mostra tutta verde,
> Vidi una donna andar per una landa,
> . . . . . .
> Per farsi una ghirlanda
> Ponevasi a sedere in su la sponda
> Dove batteva l' onda
> D' un fiumicello, e co' biondi capelli
> Legava fior qua' le parean più belli —

reminds us of Dante's dream of Leah in *Purg.* xxvii, 97:

> Giovane e bella in sogno mi parea
> Donna vedere andar per una landa
> Cogliendo fiori, e cantando dicea:
> Sappia, qualunque il mio nome domanda,
> Ch' io mi son Lia, e vo movendo intorno
> Le belle mani a farmi una ghirlanda.

At most, however, Dante's words are a mere point of departure, for the remainder of the canzone is in Fazio's most personal manner; and when we note that he makes no use of the description of the Earthly Paradise, which he might so easily have adopted, it would appear that the resemblance between the two passages is somewhat casual, though it is fair to assume that the lines were running in Fazio's head when he began his own poem. Another similarity seems to me entirely fortuitous; for in view of the context of *Inf.* xxiv, 48:

> sedendo in piuma
> In fama non si vien, nè sotto coltre —

it seems to me unlikely that *Canz.* vii, 32:

> Ch' i' ti vedessi mai sotto la coltre —

is a conscious reminiscence.

In two canzoni, however, the fourth and the sixth, learned allusions begin to creep in, and a consequent relation to the *Commedia* is established. Lines 9–13 of the former,

E' non sonâr con più diletto quegli
D' Anfione co' quai movia le pietre,
Nè di Mercurio a chiuder gli occhi ad Argo . . .
Nè contro Marsia d' Apollo le cetre,

remind us of *Inf.* xxxii, 10,

Ma quelle donne aiutino il mio verso
Ch' aiutaro Amfion a chiuder Tebe,

and of the invocation to Apollo, *Par.* i, 20,

Sì come quando Marsia traesti
Della vagina delle membre sue.

Moreover, for the reference to Argus, with a suggestion of the opening lines of the canzone,

S' i' savessi formar quanto son begli
Gli occhi di questa donna onesti e vaghi,

we may compare *Purg.* xxxii, 64,

S' io potessi ritrar come assonaro
Gli occhi spietati, udendo di Siringa.

Here again, when Fazio has once poured out his erudition, he returns to his own natural vein, and ceases to echo.

Equally striking, for its exactness of citation, is a passage in *Canz.* vi, (20 ff.):

E così sono un altro Meleagro,
E questa tien lo stizzo che fataro
Le Tre, quando il trovaro,
Ch' al suo piacer convien ch' io mi consumi,

which draws on *Purg.* xxv, 22:

" Se t' ammentassi come Meleagro
Si consumò al consumar d' un stizzo,
Non fora," disse, "questo a te sì agro."

Fazio, too, rimes *Meleagro* with *agro*; and this throws some light on his probable motive for introducing the allusion. The opening of the poem is based on the change of love's sweetness to bitterness, so that *agro* is a perfectly natural word in the development of the thought. Its introduction, however, puts Fazio in mind of Dante's words, some of which

he proceeds to utilize. I hold, therefore, that this particular allusion is not a chance bit of filling, but came to Fazio's mind as a direct consequence of his knowledge of the *Commedia*. How far the observation may be true of other like cases is perhaps debatable; personally, I think it applies to several of them, being another illustration of the fact that Fazio is not a copyist, but a follower.

Yet another example of this is the extent to which Fazio refrains from bodily transferring Dantesque similes, in proof of which three cases may be cited. The first is *Canz.* iv, 18 ff.:

Come per primavera innanzi il giorno
Ride Diana nell' aria serena
D' una luce sì piena
Che par che ne risplenda tutto il cielo,

which has a far-off likeness to *Par.* xxiii, 25:

Quale ne' plenilunii sereni
Trivia ride tra le ninfe eterne
Che dipingono il ciel per tutti i seni;

but the image is a perfectly natural one, appropriate to poetry in all ages. The other two occur in the fifth canzone; one an allusion to the lance of Peleus (59):

finchè 'l dolce sguardo
Non la risanerà d' un altro dardo,

a stock image in Provençal and early Italian lyric, standing in no need of suggestion by *Inf.* xxxi, 4:

Così odo io che soleva la lancia
D' Achille e del suo padre esser cagione
Prima di trista e poi di buona mancia.

The other is in lines 66 ff.:

Giuocando all' ombra delle gran foreste,
Tanto leggiadre e preste
Qual solean ninfe stare appresso i laghi,

which bears a somewhat closer relation to *Purg.* xxix, 4:

E come ninfe che si givan sole
Per le selvatiche ombre, disiando
Qual di veder, qual di fuggir, lo sole.

I have deliberately cited these cases — the most closely related that I could find — to show that where it is a question of poetic statement, as distinguished from learned allusion, Fazio is amply able to take his own course. It seems hardly necessary to list the passages in which Fazio and Dante allude to the same character, but in different terms; it is enough to say that in most of them Fazio very probably drew from the *Commedia*, as a convenient book of reference, but that he drew, after all, with a fair degree of moderation, when we consider the encyclopedic scope of his source.

A somewhat similar moderation is to be found in the political poems, in most of which Fazio is still in control of his powers. In the twelfth canzone, the allusions to Roman history are not couched in terms borrowed from Dante, the closest parallel which I have noted being line 69,

> Finchè Tarquin fu da Bruto cacciato,

which recalls *Inf.* iv, 127:

> Vidi quel Bruto che cacciò Tarquino.

When Rome, seeking aid from her senate, finds on the threshold

> Superbia, invidia, ed avarizia ria (124),

the quotation of *Inf.* vi, 74:

> Superbia, invidia, ed avarizia sono
> Le tre faville,

is manifest. So lines 51–52,

> Sotto lo sterpo mio, ch' ora si face
> Di greve piombo, e di fuor ci par d' oro,

remind us of the copes of the hypocrites (*Inf.* xxiii, 64), dazzlingly gilded without, but all lead within.

The fourteenth canzone, the bitter invective against Charles of Luxemburg, shows signs of closer dependence, two of the initial curses finding marked parallels. The opening line,

> Di quel possi tu ber che bevve Crasso,

suggests *Purg.* xx, 116,

> Ultimamente ci si grida: Crasso,
> Dicci, che il sai, di che sapore è l' oro?

The fifth,

Come a Mordret, il sol ti passi il casso,

is even closer to *Inf.* xxxii, 61, which is, indeed, almost needed as a gloss:

Non quelli a cui fu rotto il petto e l' ombra
Con esso un colpo per la man d' Artù.

The same may be said of two historical allusions: lines 49–50,

chi sconfisse
Brenno, Annibal e Pirro mise in caccia,

to be compared with *Par.* vi, 43, which tells of the Roman eagle,

portato dagli egregi
Romani incontro a Brenno, incontro a Pirro;

and line 85,

Fe' che le porte furo a Gian serrate,

corresponding to *Par.* vi, 80,

Con costui pose il mondo in tanta pace
Che fu serrato a Jano il suo delubro,

which also reminds us of *Canz.* xii, 49:

I qual col senno loro
Domaro il mondo e riformarlo in pace.

In view of the profusion of names in Justinian's speech in this canto of the *Paradiso*, we may indeed feel that Fazio has been moderate in his selection.

In the present part of our study it will prove more convenient to group canzoni xv and xvi with the moralizing poems; for in them, as the strain of original inspiration becomes weaker, the borrowings from the *Commedia* become more explicit and less modified. Thus, in the fifteenth, we have a simile of Dante's for once frankly and openly adopted — that of the frogs scattered by the serpent (*Inf.* ix, 76):

Come le rane innanzi alla nimica
Biscia per l' acqua si dileguan tutte,

which becomes in Fazio (90–91)

E questi, assai più crudi che serpenti,
Li scaccian, come biscie fan le rane.

It would seem that this particular figure struck a sympathetic chord in his fondness for a certain grotesqueness in the animal world, shown, for instance, in the picture of the enamored basilisks in the fifth canzone. At any rate, he uses it again in the description of Accidia (*Son.* vii, 7),

Gracido e muso come una ranocchia,

related to two passages in the *Inferno*:

E come all' orlo dell' acqua d' un fosso
Stanno i ranocchi pur col muso fuori (xxii, 25),

and

E come a gracidar si sta la rana
Col muso fuor dell' acqua (xxxii, 31).

Another passage of the same canzone shows a similar relationship.

Dico che nel mio prato
Di nuove piante son nati germogli
Ch' hanno aduggiato i gigli e la buon erba (60–62),

says the spirit of Florence, recalling the words of Hugh Capet (*Purg.* xx, 43),

Io fui radice della mala pianta
Che la terra cristiana tutta aduggia.

The first of these lines is made the basis of one of those "doublets" characteristic of Fazio.

Io fui radice della nobil pianta,

says Fiesole (*Canz.* xvi, 14); but the opening line of the sonnet on Pride runs:

Io son la mala pianta di superba.

Again, *Canz.* xv, 127:

E me latrando andar sì come belva,

suggests Dante's Hecuba (*Inf.* xxx, 20), who

Forsennata latrò sì come cane.

For a similar close likeness in the sixteenth canzone, we may cite lines 9–10:

Ma, per non trarre in tutto fuor la spola
Della mia tela,

comparing them with *Par.* iii, 95,

qual fu la tela
Onde non trasse infino a co' la spola.

As for the purely moralizing canzoni, their relations to the *Commedia* are rather of general tone than of particular parallels. The savage invective against carnal love (x) derives part of its vigorous vocabulary from that source; the list of hapless lovers in lines 57 ff. recalls that of *Inf.* v, 48; though the names are not throughout identical, there are *più di mille* in each case. There is also one explicit parallel, lines 16 ff.,

Così la lingua della strozza
Tratta di netta e mozza
Gli fosse stata,

suggested by *Inf.* xxviii, 101,

Con la lingua tagliata nella strozza.

The first canzone, which we have already seen to be independent of Dante's lyrics, is equally so of the *Commedia*, except perhaps for the imprecations of lines 40 ff.,

Però bestemmio prima la natura,
E poi fortuna, con chi n' ha podere
Di farmi sì dolere,

somewhat suggestive of *Inf.* iii, 103:

Bestemmiavan Iddio e lor parenti,
L' umana specie, il luogo, il tempo e il seme
Di lor semenza e di lor nascimenti.

When the so-called *disperata* became an established type, this order of topics was actually followed, no doubt rather consciously, as we see in Antonio da Ferrara's celebrated example; but Fazio's emotion was too strong and too sincere to be thus stereotyped.

One more likeness may be added to those which have already been incidentally cited from the sonnets on the deadly sins — the attitude of Sloth in *Son.* vii:

Per gran tristizia abbraccio le ginocchia,
E 'l mento su per esse si trastulla,

which inevitably recalls that of Belacqua in *Purg.* iv, 107:

Sedeva ed abbracciava le ginocchia,
Tenendo il viso giù tra esse basso.

With this the list of really significant points of contact seems to close — of those, that is, which are neither so general as to be uncertain nor

so slight as to be without significance. I can find no indication that any special portion of the *Commedia* absorbed Fazio's attention; at all events, the passages thus far considered are well distributed. Thirteen of them are drawn from the *Inferno*, seven from the *Purgatorio*, five from the *Paradiso*—a numerical relation which has, I think, nothing to surprise us.

In the order of Fazio's work, however, the influence of the *Commedia* tends to grow as Fazio's own powers diminish; as he ceases to be a lyric poet in his own right, and becomes more and more absorbed in an antiquarian and moralizing turn of thought. His sixteenth canzone, which has no point of contact with Dante's lyrics, but several, as we have just seen, with the *Commedia*, clearly shows the accomplishment of the change in attitude. We must not forget, however, that here, as before, Fazio is no mere copyist; if he makes a fairly close quotation, it is, I think, because he is actually quoting, because Dante has become an authority to be cited. When we think of the abundant similes which Fazio might have copied and did not, of the endless historical allusions which he refrained from utilizing, it is clear that he was far from abdicating his essential originality as a lyric poet, even in face of the *Commedia*.

III

In addition to the resemblances in substance and phrasing which we have thus far discussed, a few words may be devoted in conclusion to some general aspects of Fazio's vocabulary and style, which will help to complete our sense of the position he occupies, and to indicate a few more lines of Dante's influence on him. In handling these data I shall not attempt a rigidly exact enumeration, but shall be satisfied with statements sufficiently near exactness to give a fair idea of the matter in hand.

The vocabulary of Fazio's lyrics, omitting the inevitable prepositions and connectives, but without any close allowance for doublets (such as, for instance, *disfare* and *sfare*), amounts to some 1600 words, a very respectable total in proportion to the extent of his lyric work, and distinguished by a large percentage of words used but once, and a marked freedom from favorite epithets and stereotyped phrases. Of this total, all but some 240 are to be found in the *Commedia*, the "standardizing" influence of which is thus illustrated; but the use which Fazio makes of them is mainly personal.

Of this remainder, many of course occur also in Dante's other works. Twenty-five are used by him in lyric; of these, *cera* in the sense of "countenance." occurs only in the doubtful sonnet xxix, *valoroso* in the probably unauthentic sonnet l. I list the remaining twenty-three for such interest as they may have; those preceded by an asterisk occur also in Dante's prose, the others only in his lyrics.

*adornezza	donzella	pino	*spiritello
cordoglio	faretra	*prudente	stocco
costumare	fatare	riscaldare	struggere
crespo	ghirlandetta	scampare	*tremore
cruccioso	nutricare	servente	*virtuoso
*dardo	*piagare	sfare	

They are well distributed among Dante's lyrics, but do not seem to point to any special principle of choice.

Of greater interest is the list of forty words which Dante uses only in prose; for it illustrates the working of one of the forces which tended to widen the range of poetic vocabulary in the Trecento. It is as follows:

amabile	edificare	participare	recitare
apostolo	equità	pecunia	rettorica
arroganza	formoso	pertinace	scientifico
bassezza	generazione	piacevole	scure
calamita	genitore	potente	sfolgorato
calunnia	grammatico	pratico	senato
congiunto	incolpare	proverbio	sollecitudine
console	medicare	pupillo	sponere
costanza	moltitudine	purità	stirpe
domanda	oltramare	pusillanimo	virile

Of these, *apostolo*, *congiunto*, *generazione*, *moltitudine*, and *recitare* occur in both *Vita Nuova* and *Convivio*, a total of five; *costanza*, *genitore*, *oltramare*, *piacevole*, and *sfolgorato* occur only in the *Vita Nuova*, another total of five; the remaining thirty occur only in the *Convivio*, a fact which would suggest that at least some of them seemed to Dante more appropriate to prose than to poetry.

If we now examine them to see why Fazio should have adopted them, we note at once that many of them would provide triple or *sdrucciole* rimes, for which he has a marked fondness. It is to be noted that all

the words with two definite syllables after the accent (including the forms *calunnia*, *medica*, *participio*, and *sponere*) except *apostolo*, occur as such rimes; chiefly in *Canz.* viii, ix, and xiii, written in them throughout, but also incidentally in *Canz.* x (*moltitudine*, *sollecitudine*). Rime of this type, as is well known, is practically nonexistent in the earlier Italian lyric; and it is conceivable that the few cases in the *Commedia*[1] gave Fazio his cue, which he then develops to an extreme degree.

It is also noteworthy that almost none of the words in this list occur in the love poems, the only exceptions being *formoso* (*Canz.* iii, 61), *calamita* (*Canz.* iv, 33), and *incolpare* (*ibid.* 91), none of them of a prosaic cast. We may therefore conclude that this element of Fazio's vocabulary was introduced for the following reasons: (1) to provide *sdrucciole* rimes, often with rather grotesque effect;[2] (2) as historical terms, notably in *Canz.* xii (*console*, *scure*, *senato*); and (3) more or less as a matter of chance. The only case in which it seems likely that Fazio has been influenced by an actual prose expression in Dante is the phrase *vedove e pupilli*, which he uses twice, and which strongly recalls *Conv.* iv, 27, 118: "Ahi malastrui e malnati, che disertate vedove e pupilli." We may thus conclude that Fazio's later poems do show a gradual infusion of words which would earlier have been regarded as at all events more suited to prose, and that this infusion is due in part to the desire for more vigorous and unconventional expression, partly to a decline in taste, leading to the grotesque or the uninspired.

Lastly, two types of phrasing ascribable to the influence of the *Commedia* may be noted. One is the repetition of words at the beginning of successive lines, the two most striking cases of which are *Canz.* xii, 82 ff.:

> Cesar che mia corona in testa tiene,
> Cesar di buona spene,
> Cesar del mondo franco domatore,

and *Canz.* xv, 107 ff.:

> Con disprezzar la guerra e la discordia,
> Con disprezzare i maledetti vizii,
> Con disprezzare uffizii.

[1] *Inf.* xv, 1; xxiii, 32; xxiv, 62; xxviii, 80. *Par.* xxvi, 125.

[2] To the same cause are due such forms as *toscora*, *samporn*, etc.

Models for this sort of repetition are easily found in Dante.[1] The other is the use of phrases like *a solo a solo*, *a fronte a fronte*, of which Fazio has several: for the examples in the *Commedia*, see the Blanc-Carbone *Vocabolario Dantesco* (fifth ed., 1896), pp. 2–5. Since the devices were accessible to Fazio in Dante, it is reasonable to think that he took them from him.

We may now draw together the threads of our discussion, and set forth Fazio's relation to Dante as our scrutiny has revealed it. It is, as I have repeatedly insisted, the relation of a follower to a greater but kindred spirit, not that of a copyist to a model. We must consider our various parallels in the proportion they bear to Fazio's entire work; and we shall then realize how comparatively small a part of it they are. There are countless details in Dante which a mere imitator would have seized on, but which Fazio ignores — turns of phrase, historical allusions, figures of speech. To read him attentively is to be astonished at the extent to which he was able to resist the spell of his mighty predecessor, and to develop a type of lyric which is essentially his own, in conception and in phrasing; less intense, but full of picturesque imagery, and of a feeling that is delicate without ceasing to be natural and human.

To call Fazio and Dante kindred spirits is not, I think, an absurdity. Their cycles of development show a striking similarity; each begins with poems of love, passes on into fields of political and moral speculation, and ends with a long poem of a learned character. The difference, of course, lies here: Fazio has neither the intensity nor the intellectual grasp of Dante, and his orbit has a smaller radius; hence his later work gradually declines from his best level, and expires in erudition unexalted by poetry. We must attribute some part of this decline to his evil fortune; some, also, to his own less weighty mind, though few of his contemporaries could support the comparison with Dante with any better showing. Inevitably, Fazio's later work shows less distinction, less taste; and as theology of the scholastic type was ceasing to occupy men's minds — even had he been of a theological disposition — it was equally inevitable that his *Dittamondo* should assume an antiquarian cast, seldom illumined by such poetical power as he still retained. That the

[1] Cf. Oliver M. Johnston, "Repetition of Words and Phrases at the Beginning of Consecutive Tercets in Dante's *Divine Comedy*," in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass.*, Vol. XXIX (1914), pp. 537–549.

Dittamondo was written with any aim of rivalling the *Commedia*, as Pellizzari seems to imply, is to me highly improbable. It was the natural outgrowth of Fazio's temperament and the conditions of the age; unfortunately, Fazio had scarcely the ability requisite for a long poem, and was hampered by his unwieldy material. I suspect that he regarded the work rather as an occupation for his declining years than as a monument of his poetic skill.

This view of Fazio's character seems to me to be borne out by what we have noted as to his mode of adopting hints from Dante. In his earlier work he takes only what is consistent with his own poetic attitude, already fully established; later, as his inspiration begins to flag, he leans on the *Commedia* as a source of information; but in neither stage does he draw on Dante to replace his own intellectual activity. Even in the less-inspired work of his decline, he is still able to strike out an occasional arresting phrase; and when we review his relation to Dante as a whole, it must be with no small respect for one who, in proximity to one of the greatest poets of all time, contrived to maintain his own attitude and his own manner of expression.

THREE DANTE NOTES

By Ernest Hatch Wilkins

I. *INFERNO* I, 4 AND VIII, 122

In Guido delle Colonne's canzone beginning " Amor, ke lungamente m' à' menato " occur the lines:

> ahi quanto è dura cosa al cor dolente
> star quetamente e non far dimostranza![1]

Dante knew and liked this poem: he refers to it twice, with approbation, in the *De vulgari eloquentia*.[2] It is then highly probable that Guido's phrase " ahi quanto è dura cosa " was consciously or unconsciously in Dante's mind when he wrote the fourth line of the *Inferno*:

> Ahi quanto a dir qual era è cosa dura.[3]

Scholars have long differed as to whether the first word of this line should be *ahi* or *e*.[4] The probability that Dante's line is reminiscent of Guido's " ahi quanto è dura cosa " strengthens the opinion that Dante wrote " Ahi quanto " and not " E quanto."

[1] Lines 42–43. I quote from the edition by Monaci, in his *Crestomazia italiana dei primi secoli*, pp. 218–221. For this part of the poem (ll. 20–65) Monaci follows the Giuntina text, which was probably based upon the Palatine MS 418, which now lacks the leaf containing this stanza. Monaci gives also the variants of the Vatican MS 3793, the only MS which preserves this part of the poem. This MS in this case lacks its usual authority, for the poem, no. 305 in the order of the MS, was added by a hand later than that of the original scribe. The reading for line 42 is: " oiquante dura pena al core dolente."

[2] I, xii and II, v. [3] I quote from Professor Grandgent's edition.

[4] The latest and most extensive discussion is that of Del Lungo and D'Ovidio, published as an appendix to Del Lungo's *Lectura Dantis* for the first canto of the *Inferno*, Florence, Sansoni (1913). The case can hardly be settled until the interrelations of the MSS are established. Del Lungo does not refer to all of the earlier discussions; some of those he does not mention contain good arguments in favor of the *ahi*.

The second stanza of the same canzone closes with the line:

saggio guerrieri vince guerra e prova.[1]

This line, emphatic in its position, was very likely in Dante's mind, consciously or unconsciously, when he assigned to his *famoso saggio* the words (*Inf.* viii, 122):

Non sbigottir, ch' io vincerò la prova.

II. *PURGATORIO* XXVI, 71 ff.

Guido Guinizelli paid filial compliment to Guittone of Arezzo in a sonnet in "difficult" rhyme which opens with the octave:

Charo padre meo, de vostra laude
non bizogna c' alcun omo s' enbarchi;
ch' en vostra mente intrar visio non aude
che for de sé vostro saver non l' archi.
a ciascun reo sì la porta claude
che ssembra piò 'n via che Venesia Marchi;
entr' a Ghaudenti ben vostr' alma ghaude
c' al me' parer li ghaldii àn sovralarchi.[2]

Guittone replied *per le rime* in a sonnet beginning:

Figlio mio dilettozo, in faccia laude
non con discrezion sembrami marchi.[3]

In this sonnet the rhymes are homonymous: *marchi* is used, in four different senses, for the four even lines of the octave.[4]

Dante paid filial compliment to Guinizelli in the 26th canto of the *Purgatorio*. The spirit of Guinizelli, as yet unidentified, speaks from the flame, briefly asking the unknown traveler if he be still mortal. Dante tells of the grace that permits his journey in the flesh, and asks in return "Chi siete voi?" The spirits marvel; then Guinizelli answers:

Ma poi che furon di stupore scarche
(Lo qual negli alti cor tosto s'attuta),
'Beato te, che delle nostre marche,'
Ricominciò colei che pria m' inchiese,
'Per morir meglio esperienza imbarche . . .' (ll. 71–75).

[1] Line 26. The Vatican MS reads "saggio guerrero uincie guerra epruoua."
[2] Monaci, p. 297. [3] *Ibid.* [4] Cf. Monaci's glossary, *s. v.* marchi.

At the end of his speech Guinizelli names himself. Then comes the clause containing Dante's characterization of Guinizelli:

> Quand' i' odo nomar sè stesso il padre
> Mio, e degli altri miei miglior, che mai
> Rime d' amore usar dolci e leggiadre (ll. 97–99).

Dante so expresses his emotion that Guinizelli says to him:

> 'Dimmi che è cagion per che dimostri
> Nel dire e nel guardare avermi caro?' (ll. 110–111).

Later, Guinizelli utters a severe criticism of Guittone. There are men, he says, whose literary likings are fixed without regard to art or reason; such gave an undue preference to Giraut de Bornelh; and other such paid undue honor to Guittone:

> 'Così fer molti antichi di Guittone,
> Di grido in grido pur lui dando pregio,
> Fin che l' ha vinto il ver con più persone' (ll. 125–127).

The opening rhyme-words in Guinizelli's speech, *marche* and the rare *imbarche*, are virtually identical with the rhyme-words *enbarchi* and *Marchi* in Guinizelli's sonnet. This passage, like that sonnet, is an expression of filial compliment from a younger to an older poet; Guinizelli, complimenter in the sonnet, is complimented here. The agreement in rhyme-words under such circumstances makes it evident that Dante had the sonnet in mind when he wrote this passage; the borrowing of Guinizelli's own rhymes is indeed virtually a reference to the sonnet, and constitutes a compliment in itself. Probably Dante had in mind Guittone's sonnet as well.

This being the case, we may be confident that the opening words of Guinizelli's sonnet, "Charo padre meo," were in Dante's mind when he wrote:

> il padre
> Mio, e degli altri miei miglior,

and perhaps when he wrote:

> Nel dire e nel guardare avermi caro.

It becomes evident, moreover, that the hostile reference to Guittone here is introduced as a correction of the opinion of Guittone expressed

by Guinizelli in the sonnet. Scorn of Guittone from a Guinizelli gifted with other-world insight is more effective than it could possibly be from other lips![1] Perhaps Dante felt a certain satisfaction in confirming the deprecatory reproof contained in the first two lines of Guittone's sonnet to Guinizelli.

Dante's interesting treatment of Guinizelli in this case is similar to his procedure in the 20th canto of the *Inferno*, where an account of the founding of Mantua which Dante thought preferable to the account in the *Æneid* is, as Professor Grandgent says, "courteously put into the mouth of Virgil himself."[2]

III. SUPPOSED PORTRAITS OF DANTE IN MICHELANGELO'S "LAST JUDGMENT"

In Michelangelo's fresco of the Last Judgment a man is represented as kneeling and leaning forward just behind St. Peter. The face, dark and faint, appears just to the left of St. Peter's right thigh; part of the body is visible between St. Peter's legs; and the left leg of the kneeling figure appears to the right of St. Peter's left leg. The face is in profile, the eye looking slightly upward toward the Christ.

Three English biographers of Michelangelo mention this figure, and report or express the opinion that the head is a portrait of Dante. Harford says:

> In advance of the right-hand group is the Baptist, on the left St. Peter and St. Paul, and between their advancing limbs an animated head peeps out, which is said to be that of Dante.[3]

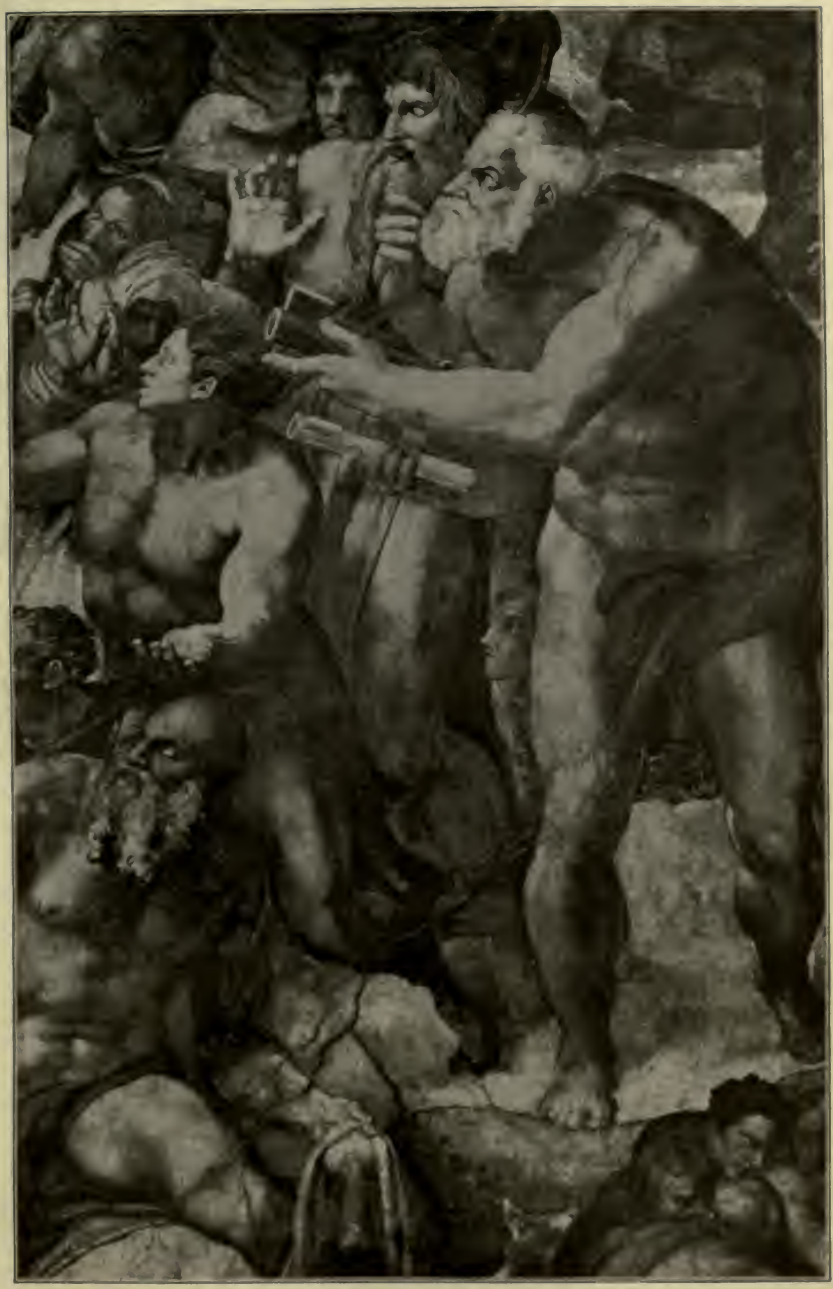
Black says:

> Before quitting this part of the picture, it may be proper to refer to the suggestion that the kneeling figure behind St. Peter has been intended to represent Dante. The soiled condition of the fresco is too great to enable a

[1] For Dante's other references to Guittone, see *De vulgari eloquentia* I, xiii and II, vi, and *Purg.* xxiv, 56.

[2] Argument to *Inf.* xx. See also Professor Rand's discussion of the Manto problem in his *Dante and Servius*, in the Thirty-Third Annual Report of this Society, pp. 8–11.

[3] J. S. Harford, *The Life of Michael Angelo Buonarroti*, London, 1858, Vol. II, p. 49.



A DETAIL OF MICHELANGELO'S "LAST JUDGMENT"

distinct examination of the features, of which all that can be said is that they have an intelligent, and, so to speak, portrait-like character, but there is no antecedent improbability in the suggestion. The poet had already been placed in a post of honour in Raphael's Parnassus; the enduring reverence in which he was held by Michael Angelo is well known, and the painter may have gladly indulged his hero-worship by placing the form of Italy's greatest poet in a far higher region than that already allotted to him. The humility of the attitude, and the earnest attempt to gain an imperfect glance at the Divine Brightness sufficiently vindicate the painter from any charge of over-boldness, and Michael Angelo might rejoice that he had within his power a means of testifying his devotion; for this monument at least he had no need to ask, and be refused permission by a worthless master.[1]

Holroyd says:

Dante is there thirsting for deepest mysteries, his face positively thrust between St. Peter and St. Paul.[2]

The engraver Chapon, in his essay on the fresco, asserts that this figure represents St. Mark:

Près de saint Pierre, mais au second rang, saint Paul, l'apôtre et le docteur des nations. Saint Luc, son évangéliste, le suit, tandis que saint Marc se prosterne humblement aux pieds du prince des apôtres.[3]

Thode lists the many identifications proposed by Chapon, and expresses a general disapproval of his method and results.[4] Thode himself regards the group in which the figure in question appears as a "Choir of the Apostles," and in his description refers to this figure as "eine jugendliche knieende Gestalt hinter Petrus." He does not, however, suggest a name for it.[5]

The head is not mentioned in any other study of Michelangelo accessible to me. It is not referred to by Professor Holbrook in his admirable volume on the portraits of Dante;[6] nor, so far as I can ascertain, by any other writer on Dante iconography.

[1] C. C. Black, *Michael Angelo Buonarroti*, London, 1875, pp. 92–93.
[2] C. Holroyd, *Michael Angelo Buonarroti*, London, 1903, p. 220.
[3] L.-L. Chapon, *le Jugement dernier de Michel-Ange*, Paris, 1892, p. 53.
[4] H. Thode, *Michelangelo*, Vol. II, Berlin, 1908, pp. 49–50.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 55–56.
[6] R. T. Holbrook, *Portraits of Dante from Giotto to Raffael*, London, 1911.

It seems to me possible, but hardly probable, that the head is a portrait of Dante.

Two Florentine frescoes offered precedent for the representation of Dante in such a scene as this: Giotto's "Paradise" in the Bargello — still visible in the lifetime of Michelangelo[1] — and Orcagna's "Last Judgment" in Santa Maria Novella. That Michelangelo was familiar with these two works there can be no reasonable doubt. Very probably he returned to them with special interest during his stay in Florence in the summer of 1534: he had already received the commission for the painting of his own "Last Judgment."[2] Within the Vatican itself, moreover, Raphael, in the "Disputa," had introduced Dante in holy company.

Michelangelo did indeed hold Dante in "enduring reverence." That reverence is attested not only in the two famous sonnets, but in Michelangelo's offer — to which the last words quoted from Black refer — to make a suitable monument for the poet, in case the Florentines should be allowed to bring back his exiled bones: "Io Michelagnolo schultore il medesimo a vostra Santità supplicho, offerendomi al divin poeta fare la sepultura sua chondecente."[3] Moreover, the "Last Judgment" itself was influenced by the *Divine Comedy* — certainly in the figures of Charon and Minos, probably in the prominence of Adam and St. Peter and in the gesture and expression of St. Peter, very possibly in other respects.[4]

There is then abundant reason to expect a representation of Dante in the "Last Judgment."

The head of the figure kneeling behind St. Peter corresponds in its general character to the traditional Dante as represented by painters and sculptors from Orcagna to Raphael: there is the same leanness, the same proportion of the features, the same prominent nose, firm lips, and

[1] See Holbrook, p. 148.

[2] See E. Steinmann, *Die sixtinische Kapelle*, Munich, 1905, Vol. II, pp. 525–527; Thode, Vol. II, p. 3.

[3] Steinmann, Vol. II, p. 561. The petition was signed in 1519.

[4] See W. Kallab, "Die Deutung von Michelangelos Jüngstem Gerichte," in *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte Franz Wickhoff gewidmet*, Vienna, 1903, p. 138; Steinmann, Vol. II, pp. 569 ff.; K. Borinski, *Die Rätsel Michelangelos*, Munich, 1908, pp. 291 ff.; Thode, Vol. II, pp. 40–46; A. Farinelli, "Il *Giudizio* di Michelangelo e l'inspirazione dantesca," in *Scritti varii . . . in onore di Rodolfo Renier*, Turin, 1912, p. 511. Kallab, Steinmann, and Borinski certainly exaggerate the extent of Dante's influence; Thode and Farinelli, I think, err in the other direction.

strong chin. The fact that the head is in profile, too, brings it into accordance with the pictorial practice: the Dante portraits by Orcagna, Filippino Lippi,[1] Signorelli, and Raphael are in profile.

On the other hand, the face has a more youthful character — in the accompanying plate, at least — than one would look for in a post-Raphaelite portrait of Dante, and the treatment of the hair seems peculiar. But the plate is none too clear in either of these respects; other reproductions give a much more Dantesque impression. A study at close range of the painted head itself should settle the matter.

Chapon's assertion that the figure represents St. Mark has no other possible basis than the quite insufficient fact of the figure's proximity, in a humble position, to St. Peter. Thode's theory that the figure represents an apostle requires as premise that all the figures of the group represent apostles. But Thode himself remarks the presence of four women in the group, and it is further to be noted that the position and action of the figure in question differentiate it sharply from the more prominent forms about it.

Two other figures in the fresco have been thought to represent Dante. Steinmann[2] held that Dante is represented in the figure emerging sleepily from the ground just at the left edge of the fresco. This theory, accepted by Spahn,[3] is rejected by Borinski[4] and Thode,[5] and fairly ridiculed by Farinelli.[6] Steinmann's statement that the figure wears the same Florentine costume and headgear that appear in recognized Dante portraits is quite wrong; the figure wears graveclothes, of the same sort as those worn by several of the neighboring figures.[7]

Borinski[8] held that the scene within Hell-mouth represents Virgil's colloquy with Malacoda, as described in *Inferno* XXI, and that the

[1] See F. J. Mather, Jr., "Dante Portraits," in *The Romanic Review*, Vol. III (1912), pp. 117–118. [2] Vol. II, pp. 583–584, 684.

[3] M. Spahn, *Michelangelo und die sixtinische Kapelle*, Berlin, 1907, p. 195.

[4] Pp. 296, 323. [5] Vol. II, pp. 42, 64. [6] P. 557.

[7] This is sufficiently clear in Steinmann's own plate of the "Last Judgment," No. LXIV–LXV in the second of the two portfolios published with his work; it is clearer still in Della Casa's engraving of the lower left corner of the fresco, reproduced by Steinmann as plate LXIX in the same portfolio.

[8] P. 323.

kneeling leg barely visible just at the lower left corner of the opening represents Dante in hiding! This theory, too, receives from Farinelli[1] the ridicule it deserves.

I take this opportunity to call attention to a drawing of Dante, in Christ Church Library, attributed by Berenson to the School of Antonio Pollaiuolo. The drawing has not been mentioned, I believe, in any study of the portraits of Dante. It is reproduced as plate XXII in the first volume of Berenson's *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters.*[2] It is described thus in his *catalogue raisonné*: "Full-length figure of Dante. Pen and bistre. H. 26 cm., w. 9 cm.";[3] and thus in the text:

> In Christ Church Library at Oxford there is a drawing for a Dante showing an open book. It is a charming but feeble copy of a lost Antonio, and the affinity with Castagno's Portraits of Worthies is distinctly felt.[4]

The drawing in the Print Room at Berlin representing the head of a man — probably Dante — with bay leaves in his cap, which is attributed by Krauss[5] to Signorelli, is attributed by Berenson[6] to Piero di Cosimo.

[1] Pp. 557–558. [2] London, 1903. [3] Vol. II, p. 136.

[4] Vol. I, p. 31. A footnote to the word "Antonio" reads: "The claw-like hands prove this conclusively, although of course the character of the drawing is, in other respects as well, unmistakable."

[5] Ingo Krauss, *Das Portrait Dantes*, Berlin, 1901, pp. 51–52.

[6] Vol. I, pp. 127–128; Vol. II, p. 130.

THIRTY-FIFTH

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

DANTE SOCIETY

(CAMBRIDGE, MASS.)

1916

ACCOMPANYING PAPER

ADDITIONS TO THE DANTE COLLECTION IN THE HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY (MAY 1, 1908–MAY 1, 1916)

By William Coolidge Lane

BOSTON
GINN AND COMPANY
(FOR THE DANTE SOCIETY)
1917

The Athenæum Press
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STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS

(From May 18, 1915, to May 16, 1916)

Balance in the hands of the Treasurer, May 18, 1915	$890.32	
Members' fees till May 16, 1916	435.00	
Copyrights, etc.	31.54	
Sale of Sheldon Concordance	7.00	
Interest	17.26	
		$1381.12
Paid Ginn and Company	$151.23	
Paid to the Treasurer of Harvard College:		
For Dante Collection	150.00	
For Dante Prize	150.00	
Refunded from sales of Fay Concordance	18.00	
Postage, etc.	7.31	
Balance on hand May 16, 1916	904.58	
		$1381.12

BY-LAWS

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

The Society offers an annual prize of one hundred dollars 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 drawn from the life or works of Dante. The competition is open to students and graduates of similar standing of any college or university in the United States.

For the year 1915–1916 the following subjects were proposed:

1. *A study of the vocabulary of Dante's Lyrics.*
2. *The classification of Dante's Miscellaneous Lyrics.*
3. *The influence of Boethius on the Vita Nuova and the Convito.*
4. *A discussion of the authorship of Il Fiore.*
5. *A study of Dante's influence upon English literature (or upon any single author or period).*
6. *The relation of Dante's theological doctrines to the present teachings of the Church of Rome.*
7. *The relation of modern scientific discovery to Dante's conception of the divine order of the universe.*
8. *The main reasons for the increase of interest in the Divina Commedia during the past fifty years.*
9. *Dante and Cecco d'Ascoli.*
10. *A study of the decline of Dante's influence in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.*
11. *Modern traits in Dante.*
12. *Dante in the anecdotic literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.*
13. *The influence of Guido Cavalcanti on Dante.*
14. *A criticism of Torraca's edition of 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, or to propose new subjects for the approval of the Council of the Society.

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 entitled *Dante's Obligations to the Schoolmen, especially to Thomas Aquinas.*

GEORGE RICE CARPENTER 1888

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

KENNETH MCKENZIE 1894

For an essay entitled *The Rise of the Dolce Stil Nuovo.*

JEREMIAH DENIS MATTHIAS FORD 1895

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

ANNETTE FISKE 1897

For an essay entitled *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

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 dicitori usati di sprimere."*

FRITZ HAGENS 1903

For an essay entitled *A Critical Comment of the De Vulgari Eloquio.*

CHANDLER RATHFON POST 1906

For an essay entitled *The Beginnings of the Influence of Dante in Castilian and Catalan Literature.*

ALEXANDER GUY HOLBORN SPIERS 1907

For an essay entitled *Characteristics of the Vita Nuova.*

RALPH HAYWARD KENISTON 1909

For an essay entitled *The Dante Tradition in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries.*

ROGER THEODORE LAFFERTY 1912

For an essay entitled *The Philosophy of Dante.*

GEORGE HUSSEY GIFFORD 1913

For an essay entitled *Expressions of Gratitude in Dante.*

RICHARD AGER NEWHALL 1914

For an essay entitled *Italian Ghibellinism as reflected in Dante.*

AMOS PHILIP MCMAHON 1915

For an essay entitled *On Dante's De Monarchia. A Study of Imperialism in Mediæval and in Modern Times.*

ANNUAL REPORT

The thirty-fifth annual meeting of the Dante Society was held, by invitation of Mrs. John L. Gardner, at Fenway Court, Boston, on May 16, 1916, at three o'clock in the afternoon. The President, Professor C. H. Grandgent, was in the chair. The usual reports of the Secretary and Treasurer were presented and accepted. The officers and members of the Council for the previous year were all reëlected. Mr. G. B. Weston, for the committee of judges on the Dante prize, reported that two essays had been submitted, but that neither of them had been deemed worthy of the award.

After the regular business was transacted Mrs. Héloise D. Rose spoke briefly about the formation of a new Dante League, with headquarters in New York City, and asked for the advice and support of members of the Society.

In continuance of a custom of several years' standing, which it is hoped may become regularly established, the meeting ended with the presentation of a paper. President Grandgent read an essay on "The Significance of the Number Nine in Dante's Poetry."

It is now several years since a bibliography has been published of the additions to the Dante collection maintained by the Society in the Harvard College Library.

The list prepared by the Librarian to accompany the present report covers the accessions from 1908 to 1916, and seems clearly to show that there is no diminishing interest in the study of the poet.

FRED NORRIS ROBINSON

Secretary

CAMBRIDGE, June 15, 1917

ADDITIONS TO THE DANTE COLLECTION IN HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY

MAY 1, 1908–MAY 1, 1916

COMPILED BY WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE
Librarian

The following list, like that first published, covering the accessions of 1904–1908, does not attempt to include contributions to periodical literature and to society publications except as these have been received in the form of reprints, and only very sparingly does it cite articles on Dantesque subjects contained in books outside the specific Dante Collection.

Books bought from the appropriations made from time to time by the Dante Society and placed at the disposal of the Harvard Library are marked with an asterisk [*]. A dagger [†] is used to indicate a considerable number of pamphlets, mostly presentation copies from their authors, which were given to the Library in 1909 by Mr. Harry Nelson Gay of Rome, who has for many years interested himself to increase the Library's collections in modern Italian history. A number of interesting and valuable books have been received from Professor Norton's Library, and the income of the Norton fund has occasionally been drawn upon to supplement the money given by the Dante Society. The Society and the Harvard Library are also indebted to a number of Dante scholars for the welcome gift of their writings.

WORKS OF DANTE

Tutte le opere di Dante; nuovamente rivedute nel testo e diligentemente emendate dal dottore *Edoardo Moore*, ed ora stampate per la gentile cortesia dei distinti direttori della stamperia della Università di Oxford. [London], nella stamperia Ashendeniana, 1909. f°. pp. xiv, 392.

"Le incisioni in legno, disegnate dal signor Charles Gere, furono eseguite dal signor Hooper; e le lettere maiuscole sono opera del signor Graily Hewitt." — *Page* viii.

Bought with the income of the Norton fund.

Divina Commedia

Commedia. Inf. i. 1–9; ii. 139–142; iii. 1–20. 4°.

Photograph of 2 leaves from MS. 109 of De Batines. Cf. De Batines, Bibliografia dantesca, ii, 62.

From the library of Professor C. E. Norton.

*La divina commedia. Edizione corretta, illustrata, ed accresciuta. 3 vol. Venezia, 1760. Port., plate, and diagr.

Forms vol. i–iii of his "Opere." With annotations by Pompeo Venturi and G. A. Volpi.

La divina commedia. 3 vol. Penig, 1804. 4°.

Professor Norton's copy. The broad margins are covered with his notes and with his translation of the Divina Commedia written out in full in pencil in his fine hand.

*La divina commedia. 3 vol. Milano, tipi di Luigi Mussi, 1809. f°.

One of eight copies on blue paper. This copy belonged to the Marchese Trivulzio.

La divina commedia. 2 vol. Londra, presso C. Corrall, a spese di G. Pickering, 1823, '22. 48°. Port. (Miniature classics.)

From the Bowie library; gift of Mrs. E. D. Brandegee.

Lo Inferno della Commedia; col comento di *Guiniforto delli Bargigi* tratto da due manoscritti inediti del secolo decimo quinto. Marsilia, *etc.*, 1838. pp. (12), 766.

From the library of Professor C. E. Norton.

Le prime quattro edizioni della Divina Commedia letteralmente ristampate, per cura di *G. G. Warren, Lord Vernon.* Londra, T. e G. Boone, 1858. f°. pp. xxvi, 748. Facsimiles.

Introduction by A. Panizzi.

Reprint of the editions: Foligno, 1472; Jesi, 1472; Mantua, 1472 and Naples, 1474. The four texts are printed in the four quarters of each page.

From the library of Professor C. E. Norton.

La divina commedia col comento di *Pietro Fraticelli.* Nuova ed., con giunte e correzioni. 1 vol. in 3. Firenze, 1860. Port. and plates.

From the library of Professor C. E. Norton.

La divina commedia. Ricorretta sopra quattro dei più autorevoli testi a penna da *Carlo Witte*. Berlino, 1862. 4°. pp. lxxxviii, 725 +. Plate.

Interleaved and illustrated with photographs and drawings inserted by Miss Maria Bowen. Letter of Miss Bowen and manuscript index of the illustrations are inserted in an envelope.

Gift of Miss Maria Bowen.

*La divina commedia; col comento di *Raffaele Andreoli*. Ed. stereotipa. Firenze, 1879. pp. xix, 351.

From the library of Professor C. E. Norton.

*La divina commedia; voltata in prosa col testo a fronte da *Mario Foresi*. 4ª ed. 3 vol. Firenze, [1905]. Portrs. and diagrs.

*La divina commedia; nuovamente commentata da *Francesco Torraca*. 2 vol. (paged contin.). Roma, *etc.*, 1905–1906. pp. viii, 966.

*Dante spiegato nella voce del suo lettore: [Inferno]. Consigli ad un alunno liceale. [By *Francesco Martuscelli*.] Napoli, 1906. pp. (6), 397.

*La divina commedia; commentata ed illustrata da *Giuseppe Lisio*. Milano, [1906]. pp. 740. Illustr.

*La divina commedia; con note tratte dai migliori commenti per cura di *Eugenio Camerini*. Ed. stereotipa. Milano, [1907]. pp. 430.

*La divina commedia, riveduta nel testo e commentata da *G. A. Scartazzini*. 5ª edizione curata da G. Vandelli, col Rimario perfezionato di L. Polacco. Milano, 1907. pp. xxxii, 1047, 124.

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"Edizione monumentale." No. 4 of 306 copies printed, of which six are on vellum.

From the colophon: Quod opus — auspice Victorio Emmanvele III — formis expressit Iuntinis in inclyta Florentiae civitate Laurentius Franceschini impensis & mandato Leonis S. Olschki, bybliopolae Florent. anno post Christum natum undecimo supra millesimum noviesque centesimum; post vero Italiae Regnum cunctis declaratum suffragiis, probatum, constitutum, anno quinquagesimo.

The illustrations are reproduced from the edition, Venice, B. Benali e Matthio da Parma, 1491 (full-page woodcut and large initial at beginning of each cantica, vignette at the beginning of each canto). Bound in stamped leather, with clasps and bosses, a portrait of Dante on front cover, the publisher's device in bronze on back cover.

The text is partly surrounded by the commentary. A preface by Gabriele d' Annunzio takes the place of a life of Dante which d' Annunzio had promised for this edition.

Bought from the income of the Norton fund.

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"Niet in den handel."

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English

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Gift of President C. W. Eliot.

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*Dante for the people; selected passages from the Divine Comedy in English verse by *Gauntlett Chaplin*. London, 1913. pp. 324.

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From the library of Professor C. E. Norton. With two manuscript letters from the translator to Professor Norton.

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From the library of Professor C. E. Norton.

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An English Dante; a translation in the original rhythm and rhymes, by *John Pyne*. New York, 1914. pp. (4), 39.

Italian and English on opposite pages. 750 copies only.

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From the library of Professor C. E. Norton.

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INFERNO

Prolusione *Lungo, I. del.
i. *Mazzoni, G.
[2]Casini, T.
*Lungo, I. del.
ii. †Gaetani di Castelmola, O.
Giovanna, I. della.
iii. [1]Zardo, A.
vi. Lungo, I. del.
vii. Bacci, O.
ix. [1]Venturi, G. A.
x. [1]Lungo, I. del.
xi. [1]Lenaker, A.
Rosadi, G.
xii. Mazzoni, G.
xiii. Medin, A.
xiv. [1]Scherillo, M.
xv. [1]Zingarelli, M.
xvi. Zardo, A.
xvii. [1]Mantovani, D.
xix. [1]Bertoldi, A.
xx. Donati, G. M.
xxi. *Turri, V.
xxii. Targioni-Tozzetti, G.
xxiii. [1]Giovanna, I. della.
xxiv. Passerini, G. L.
xxv. Capetti, V.
xxvi. [1]Chiappelli, A.
xxvii. [1]Torraca, F.
xxviii. Crescini, V.
xxix. Rocca, L.
xxx. [1]Bacci, O.
xxxi. [1]Ghignoni, A.
xxxii. Mantovani, D.
xxxiii. [1]Romani, F.
xxxiv. Papa, P.

PURGATORIO

Prolusione *Lungo, I. del.
i. Salvadori, G.
ii. [1]Albini, G.
Ferrero, A.
iii. [1]Ferrari, S.
iv. [1]Picciòla, G.
v. Rocca, L.
vi. [1]Novati, F.
vii. [1]Ancona, A. d'.
x. [1]Campanini, N.
xi. [1]Panzacchi, E.
xii. [2]Flamini, F.
xiii. Zenatti, A.
xiv. [1]Casini, T.
xv. [1]Bonaventura, A.
xvi. [1]Zenatti, A.
xviii. Tarozzi, G.
xix. [1]Romani, F.
xx. Gauthiez, P.
*Wolff, A.
xxi. Bontempelli, M.
[2]Corradino, C.
xxii. Galletti, A.
xxiii. Trabalza, C.
xxiv. Federzoni, G.
xxv. Cavanna, G.
xxvi. Torraca, F.
xxvii. Ferrero, A.
xxviii. [1]Graf, A.
xxix. Pietrobono, L.
*Rocca, L.
xxxi. [2]Mantovani, D.
xxxii. [2]Tocco, F.
xxxiii. Manni, G.

* Delivered in Rome or elsewhere. † Delivered in Boston, Massachusetts.

Paradiso

Prolusione *Lungo, I. del.
i. [2] Mazzoni, G.
iii. Capetti, V.
iv. [2] Albini, G.
v. Zardo, A.
vi. [2] Bacci, O.
Rosadi, G.
[2]*Sonnino, S.
vii. Giovanozzi, G.
viii. Rocca, L.
ix. Secrétant, G.
x. [2] Chiara, S. de.
Fassò, L.
xi. [2] Bertoldi, A.
xii. Bertoldi, A.
xiii. Chiara, S. de.
xiv. Steiner, C.
xvii. Lungo, I. del.
xviii. Capetti, V.
xix. Pietrobono, L.
xx. Albini, G.
[2] Lesca, G.
xxii. Bontempelli, M.
xxiii. Pellegrini, F.
xxv. [2] Rodolico, N.
xxvii. Romani, F.
xxx. Savj Lopez, P.
xxxi. Chiappelli, A.
xxxii. [2] Fornaciari, R.

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THIRTY-SIXTH

ANNUAL REPORT

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1917

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By Paget Toynbee

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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

The Society offers an annual prize of one hundred dollars 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 drawn from the life or works of Dante. The competition is open to students and graduates of similar standing of any college or university in the United States.

For the year 1916–1917 the following subjects were proposed:

1. *A study of the vocabulary of Dante's Lyrics.*
2. *The classification of Dante's Miscellaneous Lyrics.*
3. *The influence of Boethius on the Vita Nuova and the Convivio.*
4. *A discussion of the authorship of Il Fiore.*
5. *A study of Dante's influence upon English literature (or upon any single author or period).*
6. *The relation of Dante's theological doctrines to the present teachings of the Church of Rome.*
7. *The relation of modern scientific discovery to Dante's conception of the divine order of the universe.*
8. *The main reasons for the increase of interest in the Divina Commedia during the past fifty years.*
9. *Dante and Cecco d'Ascoli.*
10. *A study of the decline of Dante's influence in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.*
11. *Modern traits in Dante.*
12. *Dante in the anecdotic literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.*
13. *The influence of Guido Cavalcanti on Dante.*
14. *A criticism of Torraca's edition of 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, or to propose new subjects for the approval of the Council of the Society.

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 entitled *Dante's Obligations to the Schoolmen, especially to Thomas Aquinas.*

GEORGE RICE CARPENTER 1888

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

KENNETH MCKENZIE 1894

For an essay entitled *The Rise of the Dolce Stil Nuovo.*

JEREMIAH DENIS MATTHIAS FORD 1895

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

ANNETTE FISKE 1897

For an essay entitled *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

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 dicitori usati di sprimere."*

FRITZ HAGENS 1903

For an essay entitled *A Critical Comment of the De Vulgari Eloquio.*

CHANDLER RATHFON POST 1906

For an essay entitled *The Beginnings of the Influence of Dante in Castilian and Catalan Literature.*

ALEXANDER GUY HOLBORN SPIERS 1907

For an essay entitled *Characteristics of the Vita Nuova.*

RALPH HAYWARD KENISTON 1909

For an essay entitled *The Dante Tradition in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries.*

ROGER THEODORE LAFFERTY 1912

For an essay entitled *The Philosophy of Dante.*

GEORGE HUSSEY GIFFORD 1913

For an essay entitled *Expressions of Gratitude in Dante.*

RICHARD AGER NEWHALL 1914

For an essay entitled *Italian Ghibellinism as reflected in Dante.*

AMOS PHILIP MCMAHON 1915

For an essay entitled *On Dante's De Monarchia. A Study of Imperialism in Mediæval and in Modern Times.*

ANNUAL REPORT

The thirty-sixth annual meeting of the Dante Society was held at the house of the Secretary, Professor F. N. Robinson, Longfellow Park, Cambridge, on the evening of May 15, 1917. The usual reports of the Secretary and Treasurer were presented and accepted.

The Secretary reported that one essay had been offered in competition for the Dante Prize, but had not been found worthy of any award.

On recommendation of a committee appointed by the President, the following officers were elected: President, Professor C. H. Grandgent; Vice President, Professor F. N. Robinson; Secretary and Treasurer, Mr. G. B. Weston; Librarian, Mr. W. C. Lane; Council, Miss Katharine V. Spencer, Professor J. D. M. Ford, Professor C. R. Post.

The President, in conclusion, read a paper on the character of Matelda and the possible identification of her with " Primavera."

The council take pleasure in publishing with the present report an essay by an honorary member of the Society, Dr. Paget Toynbee, on the " History of the Letters of Dante from the Fourteenth Century to the Present Day."

Publication of the present report has been much delayed by war conditions. It is hoped to issue the thirty-seventh report in the course of the present year.

GEORGE BENSON WESTON
Secretary

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., March 7, 1919

HISTORY OF THE LETTERS OF DANTE FROM THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT DAY

PAGET TOYNBEE

That Dante was the author of numerous letters, some of which were in the nature of political manifestoes, while others were more or less concerned with his own personal interests, we know from various sources.

In the first place we have Dante's own testimony in the *Vita Nuova*, where he refers (§ 31) to a letter which he says he addressed to the principal personages of the city of Florence after the death of Beatrice, which took place on the evening of June 8, 1290.[1] He quotes the beginning of this letter ("Quomodo sedet sola civitas!"),[2] but excuses himself for not transcribing more than the opening words on the ground that the letter was in Latin, and it was not his intention to include in the *Vita Nuova* anything that was not written in the vulgar tongue.[3]

The earliest independent testimony is that furnished by two of Dante's contemporaries, namely the astrologer-poet Francesco degli Stabili, better known as Cecco d' Ascoli, who was burned as a free-thinker at Florence six years after Dante's death; and the chronicler Giovanni Villani, who was Dante's neighbor in Florence, and, as his nephew Filippo records,

[1] *Vita Nuova*, § 30, ll. 1–6; see my *Dante Studies and Researches*, pp. 61–64.

[2] This letter, of which no other trace has been preserved, is not to be confounded, as it has been by some, with another letter of Dante, that addressed to the Italian Cardinals (*Epist.* viii), which begins with the same quotation from *Lamentations* (i, 1).

[3] "Poichè la gentilissima donna fu partita da questo secolo, rimase tutta la cittade quasi vedova, dispogliata di ogni dignitade, ond' io, ancora lagrimando in questa desolata cittade, scrissi a' principi della terra alquanto della sua condizione, pigliando quello cominciamento di Geremia profeta: *Quomodo sedet sola civitas!* ... E se alcuno volesse me riprendere di ciò, che non scrivo qui le parole che seguitano a quelle allegate, scusomene, perocchè lo intendimento mio non fu da principio di scrivere altro che per volgare: onde, conciossiacosachè le parole, che seguitano a quelle che sono allegate, sieno tutte latine, sarebbe fuori del mio intendimento se io le scrivessi" (§ 31, ll. 1–21).

was a personal friend of the poet ("Patruus meus Johannes Villani hystoricus . . . Danti fuit amicus et sotius").[4] Cecco d'Ascoli in the third book of his encyclopædic poem *L' Acerba* treats of the origin of nobility, which he says had already been treated of by the Florentine poet in his polished verse:

Fu già trattato con le dolci rime
E definito il nobile valore
Dal Fiorentino con l'acute lime;

the reference, of course, being to the *canzone* "Le dolci rime d'amor, ch'io solia" prefixed to the fourth book of the *Convivio*. Cecco controverts Dante's theory, and maintains that nobility is due to the influence of one of the heavens, namely that of Mercury, upon the individual possessed of ancient blood; "but hereupon," he interjects, "Dante wrote to me to express a doubt, saying: 'Two sons are born at a birth, and the elder turns out more noble than the other, or vice versa, as I have known before now. I am returning to Ravenna and shall not depart thence again. Tell me, you of Ascoli, what have you to say to this?' And I wrote back to Dante . . .

Ma qui me scrisse dubitando Dante:
Son doi figlioli nati in uno parto,
E più gentil si mostra quel davante,
Et ciò converso, come già vedi.
Torno a Ravenna, e de li non mi parto.
Dime, Esculano, quel che tu credi.
Rescrissi a Dante: Intendi tu che leggi . . ."

and he then proceeds to develop his argument.

This correspondence with Cecco d'Ascoli must have taken place during the last three or four years of Dante's life, while he was the guest of Guido Novello da Polenta at Ravenna, that is, probably, not earlier than 1317.

Villani's testimony is contained in the ninth book of his *Cronica*, a chapter of which, under the year 1321, the year of Dante's death, is devoted to a brief biographical account of his distinguished fellow-citizen (ix, 136: "Chi fu il poeta Dante Alighieri di Firenze"). In this account,

[4] See § 22 of Filippo Villani's *Comento al primo canto dell' Inferno* (ed. G. Cugnoni, p. 79).

in which he gives an enumeration of Dante's most important writings, after mentioning the *Vita Nuova* and the *canzoni*, Villani says:

This Dante, when he was in exile, wrote among others, three noble letters, one of which he sent to the government of Florence, complaining of his undeserved exile; the second he sent to the Emperor Henry when he was besieging Brescia,[5] reproaching him for his delay, after the manner of the prophets of old; and the third he sent to the Italian Cardinals at the time of the vacancy of the Holy See after the death of Pope Clement, urging them to agree together in electing an Italian Pope. These letters were written in Latin, in a lofty style, fortified with admirable precepts and authorities, and were greatly commended by men of wisdom and discernment.[6]

Of the three letters specifically mentioned by Villani, two have been preserved; namely, that to the Emperor Henry (*Epist.* vii) and that to the Italian Cardinals (*Epist.* viii). The third, that to the Florentine government, which is perhaps identical with one of those mentioned by a subsequent authority, Leonardo Bruni,[7] has not come down to us.

Valuable evidence, direct and indirect, is supplied in the next generation by Boccaccio, who, in his *Vita di Dante*, written probably between 1357 and 1362,[8] says that the poet "wrote many prose epistles in Latin, of which a number are still in existence";[9] and who certainly had first-hand knowledge of at least six of the letters now extant. These are the letter to the Emperor Henry VII (*Epist.* vii) and that to a friend in Florence (*Epist.* ix), of which use is made in chapters five and twelve of the *Vita di Dante*;[10] the letter to Can Grande (*Epist.* x), which is largely utilized in the first and fifth *Lezioni* of the *Comento sopra la Commedia*; the letter to Moroello Malaspina (*Epist.* iii), portions of which are incorporated in the letter *Ignoto Militi* (that beginning "Mavortis miles

[5] Actually Cremona.

[6] "Quando fu in esilio . . . in tra l'altre fece tre nobili pistole; l'una mandò al reggimento di Firenze dogliendosi del suo esilio sanza colpa; l'altra mandò allo 'mperadore Arrigo quand' era all' assedio di Brescia, riprendendolo della sua stanza, quasi profetizzando; la terza a' cardinali italiani, quand' era la vacazione dopo la morte di papa Clemente, acciocchè s'accordassono a eleggere papa italiano; tutte in latino con alto dettato, e con eccellenti sentenzie e autoritadi, le quali furono molto commendate da' savi intenditori."

[7] See below, p. 8.

[8] See Oskar Hecker, *Boccaccio-Funde*, p. 154.

[9] "Fece ancora questo valoroso poeta molte epistole prosaiche in latino, delle quali ancora appariscono assai" (§ 16, ed. Macrì-Leone, p. 74).

[10] §§ 5, 12, ed. Macrì-Leone, pp. 29, 59.

extrenue ") ;[11] and the letters to the Pistojan exile, commonly identified with Cino da Pistoja (*Epist.* iv), and to the Italian Cardinals (*Epist.* viii), which, together with the letter to the Florentine friend already mentioned, have been preserved in a MS., the only known MS. containing them, written by Boccaccio's own hand.[12]

The letter to Can Grande, it may be observed, was known in one form or another to several of the fourteenth-century commentators on the *Commedia* besides Boccaccio, namely to Guido da Pisa (c. 1324), Jacopo della Lana (c. 1326), the author of the *Ottimo Comento* (c. 1334), Pietro di Dante (1340–1341), Francesco da Buti (1385–1395), and Filippo Villani (1391);[13] but of these, Filippo Villani, who in his inaugural lecture delivered in 1391, as occupant of the Dante chair at Florence, refers to the letter as "quoddam introductorium [nostri poetae] super cantu primo Paradisi ad dominum Canem de la Scala destinatum,"[14] is the only one who mentions that it was addressed to Can Grande.

Of special importance is the testimony of the next witness, Leonardo Bruni of Arezzo (otherwise known as Leonardo Aretino), the author of the most valuable, from the critical point of view, of the early lives of Dante. Bruni was not only the most distinguished humanist of his day, but as secretary to several Popes[15] and Chancellor of the Florentine Republic, and as historian of the Republic, he was experienced in the handling of State papers and in the appraisement of documentary evidence, important qualifications possessed in an equal degree by no other of the early biographers of Dante. He sets out to write as a

[11] The text of Boccaccio's letter is printed in full, with the parallel passages from Dante's letter, by G. Vandelli, in *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N. S., VII, 64–67.

[12] This is the Laurentian MS. (XXIX, 8), which has been shown by Henri Hauvette to be written, so far as the portions relating to Dante are concerned, in Boccaccio's autograph (see Hauvette's *Notes sur des Manuscrits Autographes de Boccace à la Bibliothèque Laurentienne*, pp. 22 ff.).

[13] See Moore, *Studies in Dante*, iii, pp. 345 ff.; and Boffito, *L'Epistola di Dante Alighieri a Cangrande della Scala*, pp. 1–2, and *Appendice*.

[14] See §§ 3 and 9 of his *Comento* (ed. Cugnoni, pp. 28, 33).

[15] As secretary to Pope John XXIII, Bruni was in attendance at the Council of Constance, where, as Dr. Moore points out (*Dante and his Early Biographers*, p. 65), he would have met Giovanni da Serravalle, the translator and commentator of the *Divina Commedia*, who is responsible for the interesting but unhappily not otherwise authenticated statement, that Dante came to England and was a student at Oxford — a matter to which Bruni makes no reference.

serious historian, with the express purpose of supplying the practical deficiencies of Boccaccio's biography, which he holds to be overburdened with details of lovers' sighs and tears, and such like trivialities, to the neglect of the weightier matters of life, as though, he says, man were born into this world for no other purpose than to figure in a tale of the *Decameron*.[16] Bruni's statements, therefore, as to matters of fact, of which he claims to have had personal cognizance, are entitled to the respect due to a writer of established reputation and authority. Among such statements in his *Vita di Dante*, which was written in 1436, by way of diversion, after the completion of his translation of the *Poetics* of Aristotle, and while he was still engaged upon the last books of his history of Florence, are several of the highest interest relating to the letters of Dante.

Bruni mentions that he had himself seen several letters written by Dante's own hand, and he describes the handwriting — the only description that has come down to us — as being "fine and slender and very accurate": "Di sua mano egregiamente disegnava. Fu ancora scrittore perfetto, ed era la lettera sua magra, e lunga, e molto corretta, secondo io ho veduto in alcune epistole di sua propria mano scritte" — a statement which recurs in another work of his, the *Dialogus ad Petrum Histrum*, where, speaking of Dante, he says: "legi nuper quasdam ejus litteras quas ille videbatur peraccurate scripsisse: erant enim propria manu atque ejus sigillo obsignatae." "Scrisse molte epistole in prosa," he says in his list of the poet's works in the *Vita*, and in the course of the work he specifically mentions or refers to at least half a dozen, giving in the case of one of them a long quotation in Dante's own words,[17] and in the case of another the opening sentence.

[16] "Mi parve che il nostro Boccaccio, dolcissimo e suavissimo uomo, così scrivesse la vita, e i costumi di tanto sublime poeta, come se a scrivere avesse il Filocolo, o il Filostrato, o la Fiammetta; perocchè tutta d'amore, e di sospiri, e di cocenti lagrime è piena; come se l'uomo nascesse in questo mondo solamente per ritrovarsi in quelle dieci giornate amorose, nelle quali da donne innamorate, e da giovani leggiadri raccontate furono le cento Novelle; e tanto s'infiamma in queste parti d'amore, che le gravi e sustanzievoli parti della vita di Dante lascia in dietro, e trapassa con silenzio, ricordando le cose leggieri, e tacendo le gravi. Io dunque mi posi in cuore per mio spasso scriver di nuovo la vita di Dante, con maggior notizia delle cose stimabili: nè questo faccio per derogare al Boccaccio; ma perchè lo scriver mio sia quasi un supplimento allo scriver di lui."

[17] Bruni gives the quotation in Italian, with the remark "queste sono le parole sue"; but the original, like the rest of Dante's letters with which we are acquainted, was doubtless written in Latin.

The first letter mentioned by Bruni is in connection with the battle of Campaldino, the decisive victory of the Florentine Guelfs over the Ghibellines of Arezzo on June 11, 1289, at which Dante, he says, was present as a combatant, as he himself relates in a letter in which he gives an account of the battle, accompanied by a plan of the operations.[18] The next has reference to Dante's election to the Priorate, "from which," he states, "sprang Dante's exile from Florence and all the adverse fortunes of his life, as he himself writes in one of his letters, the words of which are as follows:

> All my woes and all my misfortunes had their origin and commencement with my unlucky election to the Priorate; of which Priorate, although I was not worthy in respect of worldly wisdom, yet in respect of loyalty and of years I was not unworthy of it; inasmuch as ten years had passed since the battle of Campaldino, where the Ghibelline party was almost entirely broken and brought to an end; on which occasion I was present, no novice in arms, and was in great fear, and afterwards greatly elated, by reason of the varying fortunes of that battle.

These are his words."[19]

In another letter recorded by Bruni Dante defends himself from a charge of favoritism during his Priorate in recalling the exiled Bianchi from Sarzana, while the Neri remained in banishment at Castello della Pieve. To this charge, says Bruni, Dante replied that when the exiles

[18] "Questa battaglia racconta Dante in una sua epistola, e dice esservi stato a combattere, e disegna la forma della battaglia."

[19] "Da questo priorato nacque la cacciata sua, e tutte le cose avverse, che egli ebbe nella vita, secondo lui medesimo scrive in una sua epistola, della quale le parole son queste: 'Tutti li mali, e tutti l'inconvenienti miei dalli infausti comizi del mio priorato ebbero cagione e principio; del quale priorato benchè per prudenza io non fussi degno, nientedimeno per fede, e per età, non ne era indegno, perocchè dieci anni erano già passati dopo la battaglia di Campaldino, nella quale la parte Ghibellina fu quasi al tutto morta e disfatta, dove mi trovai non fanciullo nell' armi, e dove ebbi temenza molta, e nella fine grandissima allegrezza, per li vari casi di quella battaglia.' Queste sono le parole sue."

Bruni mentions this letter also in his account of the battle of Campaldino in his *Historiae Florentinae*: "Dantes Alagherii poeta in epistola quadam scribit se in hoc praelio juvenem fuisse in armis, et ab initio quidem pugnae, hostem longe superiorem fuisse, adeo ut a Florentinis multum admodum timeretur. Ad extremum autem victoriam partam esse, tantamque inimicorum stragem in eo praelio factam, ut pene eorum nomen ad internecionem deleretur" (Lib. IV, p. 63, ed. Argentorati, MDCX).

were recalled from Sarzana he was no longer in office, and consequently could not be held responsible; and that moreover this recall was due to the illness and death of Guido Cavalcanti, who was attacked by malaria at Sarzana, and succumbed not long after.[20] Bruni then tells us that after his own exile Dante, in order to obtain his recall, wrote many letters to individual members of the Florentine government, as well as to the people of Florence ("scrisse più volte non solamente a' particulari cittadini del reggimento, ma ancora al popolo"), among the rest one of some length, beginning "Populе mee, quid feci tibi?"—a sentence, which in a till recently unrecorded version of Bruni's *Vita*, to which I have called attention in a previous *Report*,[21] is amplified by the completion of the quotation from *Micah* vi. 3, into "Populе mee quid feci tibi? aut in quo molestatus [for *molestus*] fui responde mihi." When, however, continues Bruni, the Emperor Henry VII crossed the Alps, Dante changed his tone, and began to write in abusive terms to the Florentines, calling them "scellerati e cattivi," and threatening them with the vengeance of the Emperor, against whose might all resistance would be vain. But when the Emperor, whose advance against Florence had been urged by Dante (an obvious allusion to Dante's letter to the Emperor), actually made his appearance under its walls, Dante in a

[20] "Essendo adunque la città in armi e in travagli, i priori per consiglio di Dante provvidero di fortificarsi della moltitudine del popolo; e quando furono fortificati, ne mandarono a confini gli uomini principali delle due sette, i quali furono questi, messer Corso Donati, messer Geri Spini, messer Giacchinotto de' Pazzi, messer Rosso della Tosa, e altri con loro. Tutti questi erano per la parte nera, e furono mandati a' confini al Castello della Pieve in quel di Perugia. Dalla parte de' Bianchi furon mandati a' confini a Serezzana messer Gentile, e messer Torrigiano de' Cerchi, Guido Cavalcanti, Baschiera della Tosa, Baldinaccio Adimari, Naldo di messer Lottino Gherardini, e altri. Questo diede gravezza assai a Dante, e contuttochè lui si scusi, come uomo senza parte, nientedimanco fu riputato, che pendesse in parte bianca . . .; e accrebbe l'invidia, perchè quella parte di cittadini, che fu confinata a Serezzana, subito ritornò a Firenze, e l'altra, ch' era confinata a Castello della Pieve si rimase di fuori. A questo risponde Dante, che, quando quella da Serezzana furono rivocati, esso era fuori dell' uficio del priorato, e che a lui non si debba imputare: più dice, che la ritornata loro fu per l'infermità, e morte di Guido Cavalcanti, il quale ammalò a Serezzana per l'aere cattiva, e poco appresso morì." Dante's term of office expired on August 15, 1300; Guido Cavalcanti was buried at Florence on August 29; so that his death must have taken place within a few days of his return from exile.

[21] See "An Unrecorded Seventeenth Century Version of the *Vita di Dante* of Leonardo Bruni," in *Twenty-Ninth Annual Report* (1912).

further letter expressed his intention on patriotic grounds of not personally assisting at the siege of his native city.[22] Finally Bruni refers to a letter (which may or may not be identical with the letter "Populemee," already mentioned) in which Dante gives an inventory of his personal possessions in lands and household goods.[23]

Of the letters specified or referred to by Bruni in his *Vita* two only are now extant, namely the abusive letter to the Florentines (*Epist.* vi), and that to the Emperor Henry (*Epist.* vii). The letter "Populemee" may perhaps be identified with the first of those mentioned by Villani[24] — that written by Dante to complain of his undeserved exile from Florence. For the remainder Bruni is our sole authority.

Giannozzo Manetti, who wrote a life of Dante not many years after Bruni, of whose *Vita* he largely availed himself, has no new information to give about the letters in general. In speaking of Dante's writings he merely remarks: "In Latino sermone multas epistolas scripsit." He does specify one particular letter, however, elsewhere; and incidentally in connection with it he uses a significant phrase which makes it appear that he must himself have been acquainted with the letters in question, namely, that written by Dante to the Florentines at the time of the

[22] Dante makes no such personal reference in the letters to Henry VII and to the Florentines which have come down to us; Bruni must therefore be referring to another letter, addressed either to the Emperor or to the Florentines.

[23] "Cercando con buone opere, e con buoni portamenti riacquistare la grazia di poter tornare in Firenze per ispontanea rivocazione di chi reggeva la terra . . . scrisse più volte non solamente a' particulari cittadini del reggimento, ma ancora al popolo; e intra l'altre un' epistola assai lunga, che incomincia, *Populemee quid feci tibi?* Essendo in questa speranza di ritornare per via di perdono, sopravvenne l'elezione d' Arrigo di Luzinborgo Imperadore; per la cui elezione prima, e poi la passata sua, essendo tutta Italia sollevata in speranza di grandissime novità, Dante non potè tenere il proposito suo dell' aspettare grazia, ma levatosi coll' animo altiero cominciò a dir male di quelli che reggevano la terra, appellandoli scellerati e cattivi, e minacciando loro la debita vendetta per la potenza dell' Imperadore, contro la quale, diceva esser manifesto che essi non avrebbon potuto avere scampo alcuno. Pure il tenne tanto la riverenza della patria, venendo l'Imperadore contro a Firenze, e ponendosi a campo presso alla porta, non vi volle essere, secondo lui scrive, contuttochè confortatore fusse stato di sua venuta. . . .

"Case in Firenze ebbe assai decenti . . . possessioni in Camerata, e nella Piacentina, e in Piano di Ripoli: suppellettile abundante, e preziosa, secondo lui scrive."

[24] See above, p. 3. It will be noted that Bruni makes no reference to the letter to the Italian Cardinals (*Epist.* viii) mentioned by Villani.

advent of Henry VII into Italy (*Epist.* vi). Bruni, as we have seen, states that in this letter Dante wrote abusively to the Florentines, calling them knaves and scoundrels. Manetti, who when he follows Bruni usually follows him so closely as almost to echo his words, in this instance adds a detail which he could not have derived from Bruni's *Vita*. When the Emperor, he says, sat down before Florence to besiege it, the Florentine exiles flocked to his camp from all sides, and Dante full of hope and no longer able to contain himself, indicted an insulting letter " to the Florentines within the city, as he himself calls them " — " Proinde Dantes quoque se ulterius continere non potuit, quin spe plenus epistolam quandam *ad Florentinos, ut ipse vocat, intrinsecos* contumeliosam sane scriberet, in qua eos acerbissime insectatur." This letter, as has already been mentioned, happens to be one of those which have come down to us. Manetti's reference to the title of it, which runs: " Dantes Alagherii Florentinus et exul immeritus scelestissimis *Florentinis intrinsecis*," is unmistakable, and conveys the impression that he had a personal knowledge of at least this one of Dante's letters*, though, unlike Bruni, he does not inform us of the fact. That this was actually the case has recently been demonstrated by Zenatti in his *Dante e Firenze*,[25]

* *Supplementary Note.* Since this paper was written I have by chance discovered the source of Manetti's information with regard to this letter of Dante, of which I had previously supposed, with Zenatti (*Dante e Firenze*, pp. 418–419), that he must have had first-hand knowledge, owing to his unmistakable reference to the title. Manetti's authority was not the letter itself, but the following passage in Bruni's *Historiae Florentinae*, as is obvious from the similarity of the language: " Herricus . . . superatis Alpibus, in citeriorem Galliam descendisse nunciabatur, et quidquid ubique fuerat exulum Florentinorum, ad illum concurrisse, adeo spe firmâ victoriae, ut jam inde bona inimicorum inter se partirentur. Extat Dantis poetae epistola amarissimis referta contumeliis, quam ipse hac inani fiducia exultans, contra Florentinos, ut ipse vocat, intrinsecos scripsit. Et quos ante id tempus honorificentissimis compellare solebat verbis, tunc hujus spe supra modum elatus, acerbissime insectari non dubitat " (Lib. IV, p. 88, ed. Argentorati, MDCX). Manetti's acquisition of the MS. containing the letter must have been subsequent to the compilation of his *Vita Dantis*, otherwise he would surely have utilized it for the purposes of his work.

[25] *Dante e Firenze: Prose Antiche con note illustrative ed appendici*, di Oddone Zenatti, pp. 370–375 note, 414–419.

where he shows that Manetti was at one time in possession of a MS. which contained no less than nine letters written by, or attributed to, Dante, this MS. being the now famous Vatican MS. (*Cod. Vat.-Palat. Lat.* 1729), of which we shall have more to say later.[26]

The next piece of evidence is supplied, not by a biographer of Dante, but by a fifteenth-century historian, namely Flavio Biondo of Forlì, who in his *Historiarum ab inclinato Romano Imperio Decades*, which was completed in or about the year 1440, states that he had seen at Forlì letters written by Pellegrino Calvi, secretary of Scarpetta degli Ordelaffi, the Ghibelline leader in Forlì, which had been dictated by Dante, and in which Dante's name frequently occurs — "Peregrini Calvi foroliviensis, Scarpettae epistolarum magistri, extantes literae, crebram Dantis mentionem habentes, a quo dictabantur";[27] and in another passage he makes special mention of a letter written by Dante in his own name and in that of the exiled Bianchi to Can Grande della Scala at the time of the advent of the Emperor Henry VII into Italy, in which Dante gave an account of the insolent reply returned by the Florentines to the ambassadors of the Emperor, — a letter of which, as Biondo tells us, a copy was taken by Pellegrino Calvi — "Dantes Aldegerius, Forolivii tunc agens, in epistola ad Canem Grandem Scaligerum veronensem, partis Albae extorrum et suo nomine data, quam Peregrinus Calvus scriptam reliquit, talia dicit de responsione a Florentinis urbem tenentibus tunc facta."[28]

Of these letters, which must be assigned to the period of Dante's presumed residence at Forlì in 1303 and 1310, no trace has been preserved. Carlo Troya, who drew attention to these statements of Flavio Biondo with regard to Dante in his *Veltro Allegorico di Dante* (Florence, 1826)[29] and *Veltro Allegorico de' Ghibellini* (Naples, 1856),[30] records in the latter work that, as the result of exhaustive enquiries as to the fate of the documents mentioned by Biondo, he learned that the Ordelaffi papers had been entrusted to the charge of a nun of the Ordelaffi family for safe custody during a period of civil commotion, and that she, in an

[26] See below, p. 25.
[27] See *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, No. 8 (1892), p. 22.
[28] See *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, No. 8 (1892), p. 26.
[29] Pp. 60, 125.
[30] Pp. 205–206.

evil hour, apparently through fear of being compromised if they were found in her possession, had consigned the whole to the flames.[81]

With the next biographer of Dante, Giovanni Mario Filelfo, the last of the early biographers who has any addition to make to the information supplied by his predecessors, the number of Dante's letters increases in a most remarkable manner. Filelfo, who was the son of the famous humanist Francesco Filelfo, himself a student and expounder of Dante, wrote his life of Dante, which is in Latin, in or about the year 1467, as appears from a letter accompanying a copy of the work written from Verona in December of that year by Pietro Alighieri, Dante's great-grandson, to Pietro de' Medici and Tommaso Soderini in Florence, in which it is referred to as having been recently completed — "munusculum hoc nuper mihi de vita proavi mei Dantis ab eloquentissimo oratore, et laurea insignito Mario Philelfo editum, Magnificentiis Vestris mittere decrevi."

In this work, which it may be observed in passing has a peculiar interest for students of Dante, in that here for the first time we meet with the theory that Dante's Beatrice was a mythical not a real personage, — about as real as Pandora, is the author's way of putting it, — Filelfo makes very free use of the *Vita* of Leonardo Bruni. He does not, however, confine himself to merely repeating what Bruni says, but embellishes his statements with characteristic additions of his own. Thus, in his account of Dante's letter about the battle of Campaldino he makes Dante claim not only to have been present, but to have taken a leading part in the engagement: "Hanc quidem et pugnam et victoriam recitat ipse Dantes sua quadam epistola, declaratque se iisce interfuisse *ac praefuisse* rebus, exprimitque omnem ejus proelii ordinem." Again, where Bruni simply mentions that Dante, in order to obtain his recall from exile, wrote to individual members of the government as well as to the people of Florence, Filelfo states that he wrote letters to several particular citizens whom he believed to be more upright than the rest, and also sundry very lengthy letters to the Florentine people: "Patriae gratiam assidue cupiens, plures epistolas nedum ad nonnullos misit cives, *quos intelligeret virtuti dedicatiores*, sed ad populum longiusculas admodum dedit litteras." Bruni's succinct description of Dante's handwriting, which

[81] *Veltro Allegorico de' Ghibellini*, p. 207.

has been quoted above, is amplified by Filelfo into a detailed statement as to Dante's delight in the exercise of the pen, and, so far as his ignorance of Greek would allow, the perfect accuracy of his spelling:

Delectabatur Dantes scribendi forma, et vetustate litterarum, scribebatque litteras modernas, tamen politissimas, sed longiores subtilioresque, ut se illa manu scriptas fatetur habuisse Leonardus Aretinus, qui fuit earum diligens inquisitor, sed orthographiam tenebat ad unguem, quantum poterat, sine litterarum graecarum cognitione, conficere.

The "many letters" with which Bruni credits Dante, in Filelfo's account become "letters innumerable," among which he proceeds to specify three in particular, now heard of for the first time, which he asserts were addressed by Dante respectively to the King of Hungary, to Pope Boniface VIII, and to his own son at Bologna, of each of which letters he professes to quote the opening sentences; and besides these, he adds, Dante wrote other letters also, too numerous to specify, which are in the hands of many persons at the present time:

Edidit et epistolas innumerabiles; aliam cujus est hoc principium ad invictissimum Hunnorum Regem: "Magna de te fama in omnes dissipata, rex dignissime, coegit me indignum exponere manum calamo, et ad tuam humanitatem accedere." Aliam, cujus est initium rursus ad Bonifacium Pontificem Maximum: "Beatitudinis tuae sanctitas nihil potest cogitare pollutum, quae vices in terris gerens Christi, totius est misericordiae sedes, verae pietatis exemplum, summae religionis apex." Aliam, qua filium alloquitur, qui Bononiae aberat, cujus hoc est principium: "Scientia, mi fili, coronat homines, et eos contentos reddit, quam cupiunt sapientes, negligunt insipientes, honorant boni, vituperant mali." Edidit alias, quas habent multi, mihi quidem est enumerare difficile.

If this very precise and circumstantial account of letters of Dante, of which no previous writer had made mention, could have been accepted as authentic, as it was by Filelfo's editor, Domenico Moreni, and by Pelli, Balbo, and others, it would have made a most interesting and valuable addition to our scanty information on the subject. Unfortunately, however, Filelfo is a writer whose unsupported assertions it is impossible to regard without grave suspicion, even when he claims, as he does with respect to his life of Dante, that he has recorded only what he knew of his own personal knowledge, or had seen with his own eyes — "ea dumtaxat refero, quae certo scio, quaeque ipse vidi, cetera non ausim

affirmare." Apart from palpable misstatements of fact, instances of which have been pointed out by Bartoli and others,[82] there are at least two demonstrable falsifications in this same work. When he comes to deal with the *De Monarchia* and the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, in his account of Dante's writings, Filelfo, as in the case of the three letters above mentioned, makes a parade of quoting the beginnings of each of these treatises:

Romano quidem stilo edidit opus, cui Monarchiae dedit nomen, cujus hoc est principium: "Magnitudo ejus, qui sedens in throno cunctis dominatur, in caelo stans omnia videt, nusquam exclusus, nullibi est inclusus, ita dividit gratia munera, ut mutos aliquando faciat loqui." Edidit et opus de Vulgari Eloquentia hoc principio: "Ut Romana lingua in totum est orbem nobilitata terrarum, ita nostri cupiunt nobilitare suam; proptereaque difficilius est hodie recte nostra quam perite latina quidquam dicere."

A glance at the actual beginnings of the *De Monarchia* and *De Vulgari Eloquentia* will suffice to show that these alleged quotations by Filelfo do not bear the smallest resemblance to what Dante really wrote, and are in fact unblushing fabrications on Filelfo's part, — fabrications, it may be explained, in which it was comparatively safe for him to indulge, in view of the circumstance that the treatises in question existed only in MS. at that time,[83] and that the MSS. were few and not easily accessible. Such being the case, we have no alternative but to conclude, as most recent critics have done, that the letters quoted as Dante's by Filelfo are equally apocryphal. It is not without significance in this connection that Filelfo's best known work, of which no less than eight editions were printed in the fifteenth century, was an *Epistolarium, seu de arte conficiendi epistolas opus*;[84] so that no doubt in his "confection" of these alleged letters of Dante he was but exercising himself in an art of which he was the professed exponent.

[82] See Bartoli, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, Vol. V, pp. 105–106; and Moore, *Dante and his Early Biographers*, pp. 95 ff.

[83] The *De Monarchia* was not printed till 1559, and the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (of which an Italian translation by Trissino was published in 1529) not till 1577.

[84] This work contains among other things a complete analysis of "the eighty possible categories under which epistles can fall." An example of each of these categories is given, and to each of them is subjoined a list of appropriate "sinonima" or stock phrases, such as "sinonima gratulatoria," "sinonima postulativa," "sinonima vituperatoria," "sinonima invectiva," and so on. The "exemplum" under the last heading is "Es una omnium voce sentina scelerum cloaca foetidissima"!

With Filelfo we take leave of the early biographers of Dante, subsequent notices, such as those of Landino and Vellutello,[35] containing nothing, so far as Dante's letters are concerned, but a repetition in a more or less meagre form of what had already appeared in the lives of Boccaccio or of Bruni.[36]

It was not till the middle of the sixteenth century that the first actual text of a letter of Dante was given to the world. This was in 1547, in which year was published in Florence a slim quarto of eighty pages, now exceedingly rare, entitled *Prose Antiche di Dante, Petrarcha et Boccaccio, et di Molti Altri Nobili et Virtuosi Ingegni, nuovamente raccolte.* The first piece in this volume, of which the editor, as well as printer, was the eccentric Anton Francesco Doni, is "Pistola di Dante Alighieri Poeta Fiorentino all' Imperator' Arrigo di Luzimborgo," and is in fact an Italian translation, in a very corrupt and mutilated text, of Dante's letter to the Emperor Henry VII, the Latin original of which, as we have seen, was known to Villani, Boccaccio, and Bruni. The last piece but one in the volume is a letter in Italian "Al Magnifico Messer Guido da Polenta, Signor da Ravenna," dated from Venice, March 30, 1314, and signed "L'umil servo vostro Dante Alighieri Fiorentino."

No indication is given by Doni as to the source from which these two letters were derived. As regards the genuineness of the Italian translation of the letter to Henry VII there can be no manner of doubt, inasmuch as numerous MSS. of it are in existence, and it more or less closely corresponds with the Latin text as we now have it. The letter to Guido da Polenta, however, stands on a very different footing. Not only has no MS. of this letter ever been heard of, but it bears on the face of it indubitable proofs of its falsity. The letter, which purports to be an account of Dante's experiences as envoy of Guido da Polenta to the

[35] Prefixed to their commentaries on the *Commedia*, first published respectively at Florence in 1481, and at Venice in 1544.

[36] It is interesting, however, to note that Vellutello was acquainted with Filelfo's life of Dante, of which he did not disdain to avail himself, though he severely criticizes the author on the score of his numerous irrelevancies, and of his disbelief in the reality of Beatrice: "Scrisse la vita di Dante dopo l'Aretino, Mario Filelfo in lingua latina, . . . introducendovi molte cose più tosto impertinenti che accomodate alla materia, e negando Beatrice essere stata donna vera, . . . come ancora molti sciocchi hanno detto di Laura celebrata dal Petrarca."

Venetian Republic to offer congratulations on the recent election of a new Doge, runs as follows:[87]

To the Magnificent Messer Guido da Polenta, Lord of Ravenna.

Anything in the world should I sooner have expected to see, rather than what I have actually in person seen and experienced of the character of this exalted government. To quote the words of Virgil: "Minuit praesentia famam." I had imagined to myself that I should here find those noble and magnanimous Catos, those severe censors of depraved morals, in short everything which this people, in their most pompous and pretentious fashion, would have unhappy and afflicted Italy believe that they themselves specially represent. Do they not style themselves "rerum dominos gentemque togatam"? Oh truly unhappy and misguided populace, so insolently oppressed, so vilely governed, and so cruelly maltreated by these upstarts, these destroyers of ancient law, these perpetrators of injustice and corruption!

But what am I to say to you of the dense and bestial ignorance of these grave and reverend signiors? On coming into the presence of so ripe and venerable a council, in order not to derogate from your dignity and my own authority, I purposed to perform my office as your ambassador in that tongue, which along with the imperial power of fair Ausonia is daily declining, and is ever destined to decline; hoping perchance to find it throned in its majesty in this distant corner, hereafter to be spread abroad with the power of this state throughout the length and breadth of Europe, at the least. But alas! I could not have appeared more of a stranger and foreigner had I but just arrived from remotest Thule in the west. Nay, I should have been more likely to find an interpreter of my unknown tongue, if I had come to them from the fabled Antipodes, than to be listened to here with the eloquence of Rome upon my lips. For no sooner had I pronounced a few words of the exordium, which I had prepared in your name in felicitation of the recent election of this most serene Doge, namely: "Lux orta est justo, et rectis corde laetitia,"[88] than it was intimated to me that I must either provide myself with an interpreter, or speak in another language. Accordingly, whether more in amazement or indignation I know not, I began to make a short speech in the tongue which has been mine from the cradle; this, however, proved to be hardly more familiar or native to them than the Latin had been.

Hence it has come about, that instead of being the bearer to them of joy and gladness, I have been the sower, in the most fertile field of their ignorance, of the abundant seeds of wonder and confusion. And it is no matter for

[87] The original is printed among the letters of, or attributed to, Dante by Witte (*Epistola Apocrypha*), Torri (*Epist.* xi), Fraticelli (*Epist.* viii), and Giuliani (*Epist.* iv).

[88] From the Vulgate, *Psalm* xcvi, 11.

wonder if the Italian tongue is unintelligible to them, seeing that they are descended from Dalmatians and Greeks, and have brought no other contribution to this noble land than the vilest and most shameless practices, together with the abomination of every sort of unbridled licentiousness.

I have thought it incumbent on me, therefore, to send you this brief account of the mission which I have accomplished on your behalf; begging you at the same time, though you may always command my services, not to use me further on such like employments, from which you can look for no credit at any time, nor I for consolation.

I shall remain here for a few days in order to satisfy the natural appetite of my bodily eyes for the wonders and attractions of this place; after which I shall transport myself to that most welcome haven of my rest, under the gracious protection of your royal courtesy.

From Venice, this 30th day of March, 1314

Your humble servant, Dante Alighieri of Florence.

Apart from the manifest absurdity of the charge against the Venetians that they could understand neither Latin (which was in fact at that time in Venice, as elsewhere in Italy, the official language of the State) nor Italian, the following blunders chronological and otherwise have been pointed out amongst others as fatal to the pretensions of this letter to be considered authentic.[39] To begin with, all the available evidence goes to prove that Dante did not take refuge with Guido da Polenta at Ravenna till 1317 or 1318, that is to say, not till three or four years after the alleged date (1314) of this embassy to Venice. Secondly, in the year 1314 Guido da Polenta was not Lord of Ravenna, as he is styled in the letter, but Podestà of Cesena. Thirdly, the so-called "recent election" of the Doge (Gian Soranzo) had taken place more than a year and a half before, namely, on July 13, 1312. Finally, we have the damning fact that Dante, who claims in the *Commedia* that he knew the *Aeneid* "tutta quanta," is made to attribute to Virgil a quotation from Claudian, an author with whom there is no evidence that he had any acquaintance. To all of which may be added the further objections that the letter is written in Italian, instead of in Latin as we should naturally expect, and that it has a most decided "cinquecento" ring about it, the style being as unlike Dante's known epistolary style as it well could be.

[39] See Bartoli, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, Vol. V, pp. 237 ff.; and Scartazzini, *Dante in Germania*, Vol. II, pp. 303 ff.

Doni included Dante's letter to the Emperor Henry, with other pieces from the *Prose Antiche*, in a subsequent work, his *Zucca*, which he published at Venice in 1552; but he did not reprint the letter to Guido, of which it has not unnaturally been assumed that he himself was the fabricator. This letter nevertheless was accepted as genuine by Biscioni, who reproduced it, together with that to the Emperor, in his *Prose di Dante Alighieri e di Messer Giovanni Boccacci*, published at Florence in 1723; and it has also found supporters in Tasso (in his *Dialogo del Forno*, published in 1581) and Fontanini,[40] as well as in Torri,[41] Fraticelli,[42] and Scheffer-Boichorst,[43] among others of more recent date.

A few years after the publication of Doni's *Prose* we hear from several quarters of the letter to Can Grande (*Epist.* x), which, as has already been mentioned, was utilized by several of the early commentators on the *Commedia*, though, with the exception of Filippo Villani, they make no reference to it by name.[44] Giovan Batista Gelli, best known as the author of *I Capricci del Bottaio* (Englished not long after his death as *The Fearfull Fansies of the Florentine Couper*), who delivered a series of public lectures on Dante before the Florentine Academy at various times between 1541 and 1563, in a discussion in his eighth course, in 1562, as to the title *Commedia* bestowed by Dante on his poem, recapitulates what he had said on the subject in a previous lecture, and then proceeds as follows:

All that I told you on the former occasion as the expression of my own personal opinion, I to-day repeat to you as a matter of my own knowledge. For a year or two ago there came into my hands, through the good offices of the deceased Tommaso Santini, a fellow citizen of ours, a letter in Latin, which our Poet sent to the Lord Can Grande della Scala, Vicar General of the principality of Verona and of Vicenza, together with a presentation copy of the third cantica of his poem, namely the *Paradiso*. In which letter he treats of certain matters, with a view to the better understanding of his purpose in the poem, and among

[40] In his *Eloquenza Italiana*.

[41] See his *Epistole di Dante Allighieri edite e inedite*, pp. xvii–xviii, 71.

[42] See his *Opere minori di Dante*, Vol. III, pp. 476 ff. After examining the arguments on both sides, Fraticelli says: "Io non affermerò che la lettera appartenga indubbiamente al nostro Alighieri; ma posti in bilancia gli argomenti che dall' una e dall' altra parte si adducono, parmi che preponderino quelli che stanno per l' affermativa."

[43] In his *Aus Dantes Verbannung*; see Scartazzini, *Dante in Germania*, Vol. II, pp. 304 ff.

[44] See above, p. 4.

others of the reason why he gave to it this title of *Commedia*. He points out that Comedy differs from Tragedy in its subject matter, inasmuch as Tragedy in its beginning is admirable and quiet, but in its ending foul and horrible (these being our author's own expressions), whereas Comedy begins with an element of adversity, but in the end turns out happily — a circumstance, he adds, which has given rise to the employment by some letter-writers of the salutation, "tragicum principium, et comicum finem," as a substitute for the conventional greeting. Again, he shows that Comedy differs from Tragedy in the style of its diction, the language of Tragedy being lofty and inflated, while that of Comedy is unstudied and homely; whence he concludes [and Gelli here quotes the original text of Dante's letter]: "Et per hoc patet quod Comoedia dicitur praesens opus. Nam si ad materiam aspiciamus, a principio horribilis et foetida est, quia Infernus; in fine prospera, desiderabilis et grata, quia Paradisus. Ad modum loquendi, remissus est modus et humilis, quia locutio vulgaris, in qua et mulierculae comunicant; et sic patet, quia Comoedia dicitur." [45]

Gelli quotes the letter a second time in another lecture, of which only a fragment has been preserved, in connection with Dante's scathing apostrophe to Florence at the beginning of the twenty-sixth canto of the *Inferno*. "Not only," he says, "did Dante rebuke Florence in this place, and in numerous other passages in his works, but he twice in the letter he sent to Can Grande, Lord of Verona, with a copy of his poem, describes himself in these terms: 'Dantes Alagherius, Florentinus patria, sed non moribus.'" [46]

The Can Grande letter was known also to sundry other writers on Dante in the sixteenth century, contemporaries of Gelli (1498–1563), among others to Lodovico Castelvetro (1505–1571) of Modena, Vincenzo Borghini (1515–1580) of Florence, and Jacopo Mazzoni (1548–1598) of Cesena.[47] Castelvetro in his *Sposizione di Canti ventinove dell' Inferno di Dante* (first published in 1886) identifies the "Veltro" of *Inferno* i. 101 with Can Grande, to whom, he says, according to Boccaccio in his life of Dante, the poet dedicated the *Commedia*; "but," he continues, "I have

[45] *Epist.* x, ll. 218–225; see *Letture edite e inedite di Giovan Batista Gelli sopra la Commedia di Dante*, raccolte per cura di Carlo Negroni, Vol. II, p. 295.

[46] *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 515.

[47] The letter was also quoted by Antonio degli Albizzi (1547–1626) in his (as yet unpublished) *Risposta al Discorso del Castravilla* (see Barbi, *Della Fortuna di Dante nel Cinquecento*, p. 102); and (later) by Benedetto Buonmattei (1581–1647) in *Quaderno Secondo per le lezioni su Dante* (see Boffito. *L' Epistola di D. A. a Cangrande della Scala*, p. 3, n. 3).

in my possession a MS. of a letter of Dante's, written in Latin, which begins 'Dantes Aligerius natione florentinus, non moribus, magno Cani etc.'; from which letter it clearly appears that Dante dedicated to Can Grande, not the whole poem, but the *Paradiso* only."[48] It should be noted that Castelvetro here misrepresents Boccaccio, who does not assert positively that Dante dedicated the *Commedia* as a whole to Can Grande, but states that opinions differed as to the dedication, inasmuch as, according to some, Dante dedicated the *Inferno* to Uguccione della Faggiuola, the *Purgatorio* to Moroello Malaspina, and the *Paradiso* to Frederick the Third of Sicily; while, according to others, he dedicated the whole poem to Can Grande.[49] Castelvetro quotes the title of the letter again, in his comment on *Inferno* xv. 69, as a proof that Dante obeyed Brunetto Latini's injunction to dissociate himself from the evil ways of the Florentines — "Da' lor costumi fa che tu ti forbi."[50]

Borghini makes use of the letter in his *Introduzione al Poema di Dante per l'Allegoria* (first printed in 1855), in which he quotes long extracts from the letter in the original Latin, namely §§ 7 and 8, and parts of §§ 15 and 16, to show with what object Dante wrote the *Commedia*, and the various senses in which he meant it to be interpreted; and part of § 32 for Dante's explanation why he did not continue his exposition of the poem, his reason being the "rei familiaris angustia."[51] Borghini says that the text of the letter as seen by him (which he evidently emended in the passages he has quoted) was so corrupt as to be hardly intelligible;[52] and after stating that it was at that time known to many persons ("in mano di molti"), he observes that by some of the old commentators on the *Commedia* the letter was prefixed to their commentary as the author's own preface to his poem — an interesting observation, which, however, is not confirmed by our present knowledge of the early commentaries.[53]

[48] *Sposizione*, p. 23.

[49] *Vita di Dante*, § 15, ed. Macrì-Leone, p. 72.

[50] *Sposizione*, p. 199.

[51] See *Studi sulla Divina Commedia di Galileo Galilei, Vincenzo Borghini, ed altri*; pubblicati per cura ed opera di Ottavo Gigli, pp. 155–157, 160.

[52] "Detta Epistola, che io ho veduta, è tanto scorretta, che a pena si può leggere" (*op. cit.*, p. 155).

[53] This observation may possibly have been suggested to Borghini by the *Praefatio incerti auctoris*, which accompanies the letter in some of the MSS., and was first printed by Baruffaldi in 1700 (see below, p. 21).

Mazzoni's mention of the letter occurs in the *Introduttione e Sommario* of the first volume of his celebrated *Difesa di Dante*, which was published at Cesena in 1587. In his summary of the contents of the last chapter of the first book[54] he says: "It is shown in this chapter that Dante's poem was composed by him in the form of a vision, as he himself has openly declared in his *Vita Nuova*, as well as in a Latin letter which he sent to Cane della Scala, explaining the purpose of the third cantica of his poem; which letter was sent to me from Florence a few days ago by Signor Domenico Mellini, a most worthy gentleman and lover of letters."

He then proceeds to excuse himself from discussing the letter at that point, on the ground that it was his intention to speak of it at length in his second volume. This second volume, however, which was not published till 1688, ninety years after Mazzoni's death, unfortunately contains no reference to the letter; whence it has been concluded either that his projected disquisition on the subject was never written, or that it was suppressed by his editor.

In the seventeenth century we find notice for the first time of the existence of the Latin text of the letter to the Emperor Henry VII. This occurs in the notes (first printed in 1636) on the *De Rebus Gestis Henrici Septimi* of Albertino Mussato by Lorenzo Pignoria of Padua (1571–1631), who states that he had in his own possession a MS. of this text; he identifies the letter with that mentioned by Villani, and with that printed in Italian by Doni, and promises to publish it — a promise which remained unfulfilled.

"Dantes vatum clarissimus," he writes, "hisce diebus epistolam scripsit Henrico, quam nacti in pervetusto codice, nostro manuscripto publici juris facere decrevimus, et describi curavimus seorsum in calce spicelegii nostri, cum aliis nonnullis ejusdem aevi monumentis; et ejusdem epistolae meminit Johannes Villanus, lib. 9, cap. 35. Quam etiam Italicè redditam vidimus et editam Florentiae, anno 1547."[55]

In the last year of this century (1700) the complete text of the letter to Can Grande was published at Venice in a literary periodical called *La Galleria di Minerva*,[56] to which it had been communicated two years

[54] In § 90 (numbered on the margin) of the *Introduttione e Sommario*, which is not paged in the original 1587 edition.

[55] See Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, X, 385. [56] Vol. III, pp. 220–228.

before by Girolamo Baruffaldi, sub-librarian of the public library at Ferrara, this being the first letter of Dante to be given to the world in the original Latin. In his dedicatory note to Giulio Cesare Grazzini, secretary of the Academy of the *Intrepidi* of Ferrara, Baruffaldi states that the letter, which he describes as "una antica e non pubblicata Pistola del divino Dante Alighieri," had been discovered a short time previously in a MS. in the collection of the well-known scholar and physician of Ferrara, Giuseppe Lanzoni (1663–1730), who had obligingly placed it at his disposal. Baruffaldi printed at the head of the letter a *Praefatio incerti Auctoris*, which runs as follows:

It was customary in former times for writers to prefix to their works a few introductory remarks, which the briefer they were, the more quickly they led up to the subject of the work in question, especially in the case of authors who were not gifted with the elegant and correct style of diction proper to professed teachers of rhetoric. I will hasten, therefore, to acquit myself of my task, lest, while studying to avoid prolixity, I should fall into that very fault. Suffice it then that in lieu of preface I present the reader with what the Poet wrote to Messer Cane, to whom he dedicated this third cantica, whereby his intention in the poem may the more easily be comprehended from the observations to which he himself gave expression in the following form.[57]

This preface, which occurs in four of the six known MSS.,[58] was reprinted by the eighteenth-century editors, but it has been discarded by the more recent editors of the letters of Dante.

The text of the letter as printed in the *Galleria di Minerva* was full of blunders, due either to the original scribe or to the copyist of the Lanzoni MS.; and in this corrupt form it continued to be reproduced for more than a hundred years. It may be mentioned that a collation with this text of the passages recorded above as having been quoted by Gelli and Borghini shows that the latter were not derived from the same MS. as the Baruffaldi text.

[57] "Praefari aliqua in initio cujusque operis sui antiquitas consuevit, quae quanto pauciora fuerint, tanto ocius ad rem, de qua agitur, aditus fiet, praesertim cui curae non erit exquisita, et accurata locutio, quae docentibus eloquentiam convenit. Expediam igitur illicò, ne dum studeo devitare prolixitatem, in illam ipsam incurrerim. Satis igitur mihi erit in loco, vice prohemii fore consultum, si quae Poeta rescribens Domino Cani, cui hanc canticam tertiam dedicavit, pro ipsa praefatione indiderim: quo melius Poetae intentio ab ejusdem observationibus intelligatur; quae sub hac forma fuere. . . ."

[58] See *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N. S., XVI, 23.

Later in this century we get the first accession to the list of letters hitherto recorded. This consists of the letter to the Princes and Peoples of Italy (*Epist.* v), in an Italian version, which was printed in a collection of letters of the eleventh, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, published at Rome in 1754 by Pietro Lazzari from MSS. in the library of the Jesuits' College at Rome.[59] Lazzari states that the MS. in which the letter occurs contained also the Italian version of Dante's letter to the Emperor, as well as Marsilio Ficino's translation of the *De Monarchia*, extracts from the *Vita Nuova*, and Bruni's lives of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. He remarks that the text of the letter to the Emperor differs to some extent from that printed by Biscioni,[60] from which he concludes, rightly as we now know, that both that letter and the one he now prints for the first time were originally written in Latin.

In 1788 Giovan Jacopo Dionisi of Verona printed in the fourth volume of his series of *Aneddoti*[61] sundry variants from a MS., at that time in the Cocchi collection, now in the Chapter library at Verona, of the letter to Can Grande; and two years later (1790) he printed for the first time, in the fifth volume of the same series, the Latin text of yet another letter of Dante, namely, the letter to a Florentine friend.[62] This letter was discovered at Florence in the now famous Laurentian MS.,[63] usually known as the *Zibaldone Boccaccesco*. The contents of this MS. had been described by Bandini in the volume of his catalogue of the MSS. in the Laurentian Library[64] published in 1775, but he does not appear to have had any inkling as to the authorship of the letter, which, together with two others in the same MS., he registered as anonymous. The Abate Mehus, however, who a few years before (in 1759) had printed in his *Vita Ambrosii Camaldulensis* the much-discussed letter of Frate Ilario from this same MS., recognized Dante as the author of the letter to a

[59] *Miscellaneorum ex MSS. libris Bibliothecae Collegii Romani Societatis Jesu tomus primus* (pp. 139–144).

[60] In *Prose di Dante Alighieri e di Messer Giovanni Boccacci*, published at Florence in 1723 (see above, p. 17).

[61] Vol. IV, p. 19.

[62] Vol. V, pp. 176–177.

[63] *Cod. Laurent.* XXIX, 8.

[64] Angelo Maria Bandini (1726–1800); his *Catalogus Codicum MSS. Græcorum, Latinorum, et Italorum Bibliothecæ Mediceæ-Laurentianæ* was published at Florence in eight folio volumes in 1764–1778; his description of MS. XXIX, 8 occurs in Vol. II, pp. 9–28 (see Troya, *Del Veltro Allegorico di Dante*, pp. 202–203).

Florentine friend, and communicated the fact to Dionisi, who printed it accordingly.[65] This original text in the *Aneddoti* having been very imperfect, Dionisi subsequently issued an emended text in his *Preparazione istorica e critica alla nuova edizione di Dante Allighieri*,[66] which was published at Verona in 1806. Twenty years later (in 1826) Carlo Troya made a fresh examination of the letters in the Laurentian MS., and satisfied himself that not only the letter to a Florentine friend, but also the other two letters, which immediately precede it in the MS., and which Bandini had catalogued as anonymous, were written by Dante. In the former of these two letters, which is headed *Cardinalibus Italicis D. de Florentia*, he recognized the letter mentioned by Villani as having been written by Dante to the Italian Cardinals after the death of Clement V. The second letter is headed *Exulanti Pistoriensi florentinus exul immeritus*, the addressee of which Troya identified with Dante's friend, Cino da Pistoja, an identification which has been generally accepted, as has that of the Florentine "exul immeritus" with Dante himself. Troya's famous *Veltro Allegorico di Dante* being at that time on the eve of publication, he was unable to include these two new letters in that work, but he announced his discovery in the book, and by way of specimen printed the first few paragraphs of the letter to the Cardinals in an Appendix.[67]

Besides the letters of Dante and of Frate Ilario this Laurentian MS. contains the poetical correspondence of Dante and Giovanni del Virgilio. It has recently been established by Henri Hauvette that these portions of the MS. are in the handwriting of Boccaccio,[68] who, as we have already stated, made use in his *Vita di Dante* of the letter to a Florentine friend, and also, it may here be added, of the letter of Frate Ilario in the same work.

In 1827, the year following Troya's announcement of his discovery in the Laurentian MS., appeared the first attempt at a collected edition of the letters of Dante. This was Karl Witte's *Dantis Alligherii Epistolae quae exstant*, which was printed privately, in sixty copies only,[69] at

[65] See Troya, *Del Veltro Allegorico di Dante*, pp. 203–204.

[66] Vol. I, pp. 71–73.

[67] *Del Veltro Allegorico di Dante*, pp. 204–205, 214–216.

[68] See above, p. 4, note 12.

[69] "In nur 60 verschenkten Exemplaren," wrote Witte of this volume in his article *Neu aufgefundene Briefe des Dante Allighieri*, published in 1838 in *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* (Nos. 149–151), and reprinted in *Dante-Forschungen*, Vol. I, pp. 473–487.

Padua in that year. The contents of this volume, the idea of which seems to have been suggested to Witte by the desire for such an edition expressed nearly a hundred years before by Fontanini in his *Eloquenza Italiana*,[70] were as follows, there being seven letters in all:

1. The Latin text of the letter to Cino da Pistoja (*Epist.* iv), now printed for the first time from a copy supplied by Sebastiano Ciampi from the Laurentian MS.

2. The Italian translation of the letter to the Princes and Peoples of Italy (*Epist.* v), first printed by Lazzari at Rome in 1754.

3. The Latin text of the letter to the Emperor Henry VII (*Epist.* vii), now printed for the first time from a MS. in the Biblioteca Marciana at Venice. Witte's attention having been drawn to the fact that extracts from this letter in Latin were printed in the catalogue of the Biblioteca Muranese, search was made at his instance through the good offices of the Marchese Gian Giacomo Trivulzio, with the result that the MS. containing the letter was discovered by the Abate Giovanni Antonio Moschini, the Prefetto of the Biblioteca Marciana, whither the spoils of the Murano library had been transferred. Besides the Latin text, Witte included an emended text of the Italian translation of the same letter, which had been first printed by Doni in 1547.

4. The Latin text of the letter to the Italian Cardinals (*Epist.* viii), now first printed in full from the Laurentian MS. The first few paragraphs of this letter were, as we have seen, printed by Troya in his *Veltro Allegorico* in 1826. The remainder was copied and printed by Witte himself in the same year in the *Antologia* of Florence;[71] and he now printed a revised and emended text of the whole letter.

5. The Latin text (revised) of the letter to a Florentine friend (*Epist.* ix), first printed by Dionisi at Verona in 1790.

6. The Latin text (with numerous emendations) of the letter to Can Grande (*Epist.* x) first printed in full by Baruffaldi at Venice in 1700.

7. The apocryphal letter, as Witte does not hesitate to pronounce it,[72] to Guido da Polenta, first printed by Doni in 1547.

[70] See Witte, *Dantis Alligherii Epistolæ quæ exstant*, p. 4 n.: "Una ut ederentur [Dantis Epistolæ], jam Fontaninus (Eloqu. ital. Ven. 1737, p. 154) desideravit."

[71] Vol. XXIII, p. 57.

[72] He heads it "Epistola Apocrypha."

In 1837, ten years after the appearance of Witte's volume, occurred what is undoubtedly the most important event yet recorded in the history of the letters of Dante; namely, the discovery in the Vatican Library, by a German student named Theodor Heyse, while collating MSS. of the *Divina Commedia* on behalf of Witte, of a fourteenth-century MS. containing no less than nine letters directly or indirectly attributed to Dante. The history of this MS., which, besides the letters of Dante, contains Petrarch's twelve eclogues and Dante's *De Monarchia*, so far as it has been possible to trace it, is briefly as follows.[73] It was executed in the fourteenth century, apparently for Francesco da Montepulciano, of the family of the Piendibeni of that place,[74] a Tuscan notary of some distinction, the friend and correspondent of Coluccio Salutati, the Florentine Chancellor, and successor of Filippo Villani in the Chancellorship of Perugia, who at the end of the eclogues has written his name and the date, Perugia, 20 July, 1394.[75] Francesco da Montepulciano left his books to the Capitular Library of the Cathedral of Montepulciano, the greater part of which was destroyed by fire in 1539;[76] but this MS. by some chance before that date had come into the possession of the Florentine scholar and biographer of Dante, Giannozzo Manetti (1396–1459),[77] whence it eventually passed into the collection of the celebrated bibliophile, Ulrich Fugger (1526–1584),[78] son of Raimund Fugger, one of the famous merchant-princes of Augsburg. Ulrich Fugger, as is well known, became a Protestant, and to escape persecution took refuge in the Rhenish Palatinate and settled at Heidelberg, where he died in 1584, leaving his extensive collection of MSS. to the library of that city.

[73] For a slightly fuller account, see the present writer's article, *The Vatican Text* (*Cod. Vat.-Palat. Lat.* 1729) *of the Letters of Dante*, in *Modern Language Review*, VII, 1–3.

[74] To give him his full description, Francesco di Ser Jacopo di Ser Piendibene da Montepulciano (see F. Novati, *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*, iii, 312, n. 2; and O. Zenatti, *Dante e Firenze*, pp. 378 ff.).

[75] *Francisci de Montepolitiano. Expleui corrigere 20 Iulii Perusii 1394* (see Witte, *Dante-Forschungen*, Vol. I, p. 474; and Zenatti, *Dante e Firenze*, p. 374). For an enumeration of the portions of the MS. in the handwriting of Francesco, see Zenatti, *op. cit.*, p. 378.

[76] See F. Novati, *Le Epistole di Dante*, in *Lectura Dantis: Le Opere Minori di D. A.*, p. 300.

[77] See Zenatti, *op. cit.*, pp. 370–375 note, 414–419.

[78] See Zenatti, *op. cit.*, pp. 372–374 note.

After the capture of Heidelberg by Tilly in 1622, the most valuable portion of the library, consisting of nearly two hundred cases of MSS., was presented by Maximilian I of Bavaria, in return for the papal support, to Pope Gregory XV, and was transferred to Rome and incorporated in the Vatican Library, under the superintendence of Leone Allacci.[79] Among the MSS. thus removed to the Vatican were many which had formed part of the Fugger collection, one of them being this MS.[80] containing the nine letters attributed to Dante discovered by Heyse.

Witte, having received copies of the letters from Heyse, wrote an account of them, with copious (translated) extracts, in an article entitled *Neu aufgefundene Briefe des Dante Allighieri*,[81] which appeared in *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* in May, 1838, and prepared to edit and publish them. But while he was engaged upon the work, his portfolio containing the transcript of the letters was stolen from him, and it was more than two years before he could succeed in getting fresh copies made.[82] In the meantime, attention having been directed to the MS. by the publication of Witte's article, one of the employés at the Vatican Library, Massi by name, took copies of the letters on his own account with the intention of forestalling Witte's projected edition. Massi, however, was unable to obtain the necessary *imprimatur*, and he

[79] Allacci, who was subsequently librarian of the Vatican (1661–1669), has left an interesting account of this transaction (see Curzio Mazzi, *Leone Allacci e la Palatina di Heidelberg*, Bologna, 1893). Some idea of the extent of the collection may be gathered from the fact that Allacci estimated that the covers alone, which to facilitate transport he caused to be stripped from the MSS., amounted to thirteen wagon-loads: "Lo sgravamento delle coperte," he writes, "è stato tanto necessario, poichè importava tanto e con l' occupar il luogho et il peso (poichè, se si fosse fatto altrimenti, saria stato impossibile la condotta), poichè importava tanto quanto li doi terzi delli libri che mecho conduco. E per mia curiosità ho posto da parte tutte quelle coperte, per veder quanto luogho occupavano e quanto pesavano, e trovai che non bastavano mancho tredici carri, e fu giudicato che pesassero passa duecento centinara" (*op. cit.*, p. 25).

[80] Now *Cod. Vaticano-Palatino Latino* 1729.

[81] In this article Witte omitted to mention the name of the student to whom the discovery was due, an omission which he did not repair until four years later, in 1842, in which year he acknowledged his indebtedness to Heyse in the Appendix to the second part of *Dante Alighieri's Lyrische Gedichte, übersetzt und erklärt von K. L. Kannegiesser und K. Witte* (p. 234).

[82] For this second transcript Witte was indebted once more to Heyse (see *Le Lettere di Dante scoperte dal Signor Teodoro Heyse*, in Vol. II, p. 701, of Niccolò Tommaseo's edition of the *Divina Commedia*, Milano, 1865).

then (in the autumn of 1841) offered his copies to Alessandro Torri of Pisa, who had been for some time engaged upon an edition of the minor works of Dante. Torri availed himself of the offer, and forthwith proceeded to Rome for the purpose of collating the copies with the original MS. in the Vatican. Having satisfied himself as to their accuracy, he included the nine letters in his volume, *Epistole di Dante Allighieri edite e inedite*, which was published at Leghorn at the end of the following year (1842).[83] It should be mentioned that before the publication of Torri's volume Witte had printed the text of one of the letters in the Vatican MS. in an appendix to the second volume of *Dante Alighieri's Lyrische Gedichte*,[84] published by Karl Ludwig Kannegiesser and himself at Leipzig earlier in the same year.

Of the letters contained in the Vatican MS. all except one, namely that to the Emperor Henry VII, were now made known for the first time, or for the first time in the original Latin text. The letters, in the order of their occurrence in the MS., are as follows:

1. To the Emperor Henry VII (*Epist.* vii), the Latin text of which had been printed by Witte in his collected edition in 1827 from the Venetian MS.

2. To the Florentines (*Epist.* vi) — "scelestissimis Florentinis intrinsecis," the title and contents of which prove it to be the abusive letter mentioned by Bruni and Manetti as having been written by Dante to the Florentines after the coming of Henry VII into Italy.[85]

3, 4, 5. Three short letters written in the name of a Countess of Battifolle to Margaret of Brabant, wife of the Emperor Henry.

6. To the Counts Oberto and Guido da Romena (*Epist.* ii).

7. To the Marquis Moroello Malaspina (*Epist.* iii), this being the letter mentioned above as having been printed by Witte in *Dante's Lyrische Gedichte*.[86]

8. To the Cardinal Niccolò da Prato (*Epist.* i).

9. To the Princes and Peoples of Italy (*Epist.* v), which had been printed in an Italian version by Lazzari in 1754.

Of these nine letters, five are definitely ascribed to Dante by name in the MS.; while it is evident from the places assigned to them in the

[83] See Witte's article, *Torris Ausgabe von Dantes Briefen*, in *Dante-Forschungen*, Vol. I, pp. 489–490; and Torri, *op. cit.*, pp. vii–viii.

[84] Pp. 235–236. [85] See above, pp. 8–9. [86] See note 84.

midst of the others, that the remaining four, namely the three to the Empress and that to the Cardinal Niccolò, were regarded by the compiler of the collection as having been written by Dante.

With Torri's edition of the letters finality was reached so far as numbers are concerned. This total consisted of fourteen letters, which was made up of the three from the Laurentian MS., the nine from the Vatican MS., the letter to Can Grande, and the letter to Guido da Polenta; that is to say, his edition included the ten letters now usually accepted as Dante's (*Epistles* i to x in the *Oxford Dante*), together with the three Battifolle letters, which are as yet in dispute,[87] and the Polenta letter, now almost universally recognized as a falsification.

In 1857 Fraticelli published at Florence a revised edition of the letters, in which were embodied sundry emendations, the results of a fresh collation of the MSS. by Witte;[88] which, however, were by no means always improvements, for textual criticism, in spite of Witte's reputation as critic and editor, was not altogether his strongest point.

In 1882 Giuliani published, also at Florence, an edition of all the letters,[89] with characteristic emendations of his own; while from time to time in the course of the last sixty years or so, critical or diplomatic texts of individual letters have been printed by various editors, for example, by Torricelli (*Epist.* v),[90] Muzzi (*Epist.* iv, viii, ix),[91] Zenatti

[87] For the arguments in favor of their having been written by Dante, see Moore, *The 'Battifolle' Letters sometimes attributed to Dante*, in *Modern Language Review*, IX, 173–189 (reprinted in *Studies in Dante, Fourth Series*).

[88] Fraticelli writes in his *Proemio*: "Il dotto alemanno prof. Witte . . . non pago di quanto avea fatto la prima volta, volle di nuovo riscontrare i codici e confrontare le varie lezioni; e nuovamente portando il suo esame critico sopra ogni frase ed ogni parola del testo, potè rettificare molti passi disordinati, rendere intelligibili varie frasi oscure, e correggere parecchi e parecchi errori. E quantunque del suo accurato lavoro avess' egli determinato valersi per una ristampa, pure per un tratto d' impareggiabil cortesia ha voluto esserne con me liberale, affinchè io me ne giovassi per l' edizione presente. La lezione dunque del testo latino, che or per me si produce, è interamente al Witte dovuta" (*Opere Minori di Dante*, ed. 1893, Vol. III, p. 408). In 1855 Witte printed from a fifteenth-century MS. at Munich an improved text of the first four paragraphs of the letter to Can Grande (*Epist.* x) (see *Dante-Forschungen*, Vol. I, pp. 500–507), of which Fraticelli does not appear to have availed himself.

[89] In the second volume of his *Opere Latine di Dante* (pp. 1–73).

[90] In the *Antologia di Fossombrone* for October 22, 1842 (see my article on *The S. Pantaleo Text of Dante's Letters to the Emperor Henry VII, and to the Princes and Peoples of Italy*, in *Modern Language Review*, Vol. VII, p. 215, n. 1).

[91] In *Tre Epistole Latine di Dante Allighieri*, Prato, 1845.

(*Epist.* i, iii),[92] Torraca (*Epist.* iii),[93] Della Torre (*Epist.* ix),[94] Boffito (*Epist.* x),[95] Novati (*Epist.* iii),[96] Rostagno (*Epist.* viii),[97] and Parodi (*Epist.* iv).[98]

In 1895 Barbi drew attention in the *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*[99] to yet another MS., the fourth, containing letters of Dante. This was the fourteenth-century San Pantaleo MS. in the Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele at Rome,[100] which had been registered by Colomb de Batines in his *Bibliografia Dantesca*[101] fifty years before, but had strangely been overlooked by all the editors of the letters.

During the last few years diplomatic texts of the two letters contained in this San Pantaleo MS., of the one in the Venetian MS., and of the nine in the Vatican MS., as well as of two of those in the Laurentian MS., together with critical texts of four of the letters (viz. *Epist.* iv, v, vii, ix), have been printed in the *Modern Language Review*[102] by the present writer, with a view to the improvement of the text in the *Oxford Dante.*

[92] In *Dante e Firenze*, pp. 359–360, 431–432.

[93] In *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N. S., X, 143.

[94] In *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N. S., XII, 122–123.

[95] In *Memorie della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, Serie II, Tom. LVII.

[96] In *Dante e la Lunigiana*, pp. 518–520.

[97] In *Sul Testo della Lettera di Dante ai Cardinali Italiani*, in *La Bibliofilia* (November, 1912).

[98] In *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N. S., XIX, 271–272.

[99] N. S., II, 23 n.

[100] *Cod. S. Pantaleo* 8.

[101] Vol. II, pp. 208–209.

[102] Paget Toynbee, *The Vatican Text* (*Cod. Vat.-Palat. Lat. 1729*) *of the Letters of Dante* (in *M. L. R.*, VII, 1–39); *The S. Pantaleo Text of Dante's Letters to the Emperor Henry VII, and to the Princes and Peoples of Italy* (in *M. L. R.*, VII, 208–224); *The Venetian Text* (*Cod. Marc. Lat. XIV, 115*) *of Dante's Letter to the Emperor Henry VII* (in *M. L. R.*, VII, 433–440); *The S. Pantaleo Italian Translation of Dante's Letter to the Emperor Henry VII* (in *M. L. R.*, IX, 332–343); *Dante's Letter to the Emperor Henry VII: Critical Text* (in *M. L. R.*, X, 64–72); *Dante's Letter to the Princes and Peoples of Italy: Critical Text* (in *M. L. R.*, X, 150–156); *The Laurentian Text* (*Cod. Laurent. XXIX, 8*) *of Dante's Letter to a Friend in Florence* (in *M. L. R.*, XI, 61–68); *The Laurentian Text* (*Cod. Laurent. XXIX, 8*) *of Dante's Letter to a Pistojan Exile* (in *M. L. R.*, XII, 37–44, 359–360). [Since the foregoing account was written the present writer has printed three more articles, namely, *Dante's Letter to the Florentines* (*Epist. vi*): *Emended Text* (in *M. L. R.*, XII, 182–191); *The Battifolle Letters attributed to Dante: Emended Text* (in *M. L. R.*, XII, 302–309); and *The Laurentian Text* (*Cod. Laurent. XXIX, 8*) *of Dante's Letter to the Italian Cardinals* (*Epist. viii*): *Emended Text* (in *M. L. R.*, XIII, 208–227).]

The critical edition of the letters, undertaken by the Italian Dante Society, which was entrusted originally to Novati,[103] and, since his death, to Pistelli (who recently printed trial texts of *Epist.* vii and ix),[104] is still awaited, and apparently now is not likely to see the light before the latest term fixed by the Society, namely, the sixth centenary of the death of Dante in 1921.[105]

PAGET TOYNBEE

FIVEWAYS, BURNHAM, BUCKS
ENGLAND, JUNE, 1916

Supplementary Note. In the foregoing article I have confined myself to the history of the text of the letters, and have made no mention (save incidentally) of translations and critical essays. As regards translations — Italian versions are included in the editions of the letters published by Fraticelli (Firenze, 1840, 1857, etc.) and by Torri (Livorno, 1842); there is a German translation by Kannegiesser (Leipzig, 1845); and there are two English translations, one by the late C. S. Latham (*Dante's Eleven Letters*, Boston, 1891), which was published more or less under the auspices of this Society, the other by P. H. Wicksteed (in *Translation of the Latin Works of Dante*, London, 1894). Critical essays are numerous; deserving of special mention here are the article by the late F. Novati in the volume *Lectura Dantis: Le Opere Minori di Dante Alighieri* (Firenze, 1906), and two by the late Dr. Edward Moore, on "The Epistle to Can Grande" (in *Studies in Dante. Third Series.* Oxford, 1903), and on "The Battifolle Letters" (in *Studies in Dante. Fourth Series.* Oxford, 1917). References to many other articles of importance will be found in the admirable indices to the volumes of the *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, edited originally by M. Barbi, and latterly by E. G. Parodi.

T.

[103] Novati published an article on *Le Epistole di Dante*, in *Lectura Dantis: Le Opere Minori di D. A.*, Firenze, 1906 (pp. 285–310); and another on *L' Epistola di Dante a Moroello Malaspina*, in *Dante e la Lunigiana*, Milano, 1909 (pp. 507–542).

[104] In the Appendix (pp. 199–221) to *Piccola Antologia della Bibbia Volgata, con Introduzioni e Note*, per cura di Ermenegildo Pistelli, Firenze, 1915.

[105] [An edition of the letters, with emended text, translation, and notes, together with introduction, appendices (containing diplomatic transcripts of the MS. texts, chronological table, and article on Dante and the *cursus*), and indices, is in preparation by the present writer, and will be published by the Oxford University Press as soon as war conditions permit. *In obitu Dantis*, September 14, 1918.]