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DANTE
IN
ENGLISH LITERATURE

TOYNBEE

Dietro alle poste delle care piante

Inf. xxiii. 148

AUTHOR OF

INDICE DEI NOMI PROPRI E DELLE COSE NOTABILI CON-
TENUTE NELLE OPERE DI DANTE (1894, 1897, 1904)
A DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES AND NOTABLE
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IN THE FOOTPRINTS OF DANTE (1907)

DANTE
IN
ENGLISH LITERATURE

FROM CHAUCER TO CARY

(C. 1380-1844)

BY

PAGET TOYNBEE

M.A., D.LITT. OXON.

WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES
CHRONOLOGICAL LIST, AND GENERAL INDEX

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I.

Novisti forsan et ipse
Trazerit ut DANTEM Phoebus per celsa nivosi
Cyrreos, mediosque sinus tacitosque recessus
Naturae, coelique vias terraeque marisque,
Aonios fontes, Parnasi culmen, et antra
Julia, Pariseos dudum, serusque BRITANNOS

(Joan. Boccacius ad F. Petrarcham)

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DAVID
in
ENGLISH LITERATURE
FROM CHAUCER TO KEATS

BY
J. W. GOSWAMI

DAVID
1897

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TO THE MEMORY
OF
CHARLES ELIOT NORTON,
FOUNDER AND PRESIDENT OF THE CAMBRIDGE, U.S.A.,
DANTE SOCIETY,
'IL MIO PADRE DANTESCO,'
THIS WORK,
IN THE PROGRESS OF WHICH HE SHOWED A KINDLY INTEREST,
IS DEDICATED
WITH AFFECTIONATE RESPECT



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PREFACE

THIS book is an attempt to trace the history and influence of Dante in English literature from Chaucer in the fourteenth century to Cary in the nineteenth. The year 1844 has been selected as the *terminus ad quem*, as being the date of Cary's death, as well as of the publication of the last edition revised by himself of his epoch-making translation of the *Divina Commedia*. The book, therefore, covers a period of some 460 years. The number of authors represented is between five and six hundred, viz. some fifty for the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, nearly sixty for the seventeenth, about 150 for the eighteenth, and the remainder for the first forty-four years of the nineteenth. The number of separate works quoted, including letters, diaries, reviews, magazine articles, besides books proper, amounts to considerably over a thousand.

Special pains have been taken to represent as fully as possible the somewhat formidable array of anonymous periodical literature,¹ which is of the highest value for the purposes of this work, as reflecting the influence of Dante on the popular writers and critics of the day.

English translations of standard foreign works have been included, as well as works written for English readers by foreign authors domiciled in England, many of which played a conspicuous part in spreading a knowledge of Dante on this side of the Channel. In a few cases works not written in English have been admitted; such, for instance, as Baretti's *Discours sur Shakespeare et sur M. de Voltaire*, Martinelli's *Lettere Familiari e Critiche*, and similar controversial pieces, composed and published in England, which, together with the passages from Voltaire's works which they

¹By an unfortunate accident the notes of sundry additional references to Dante in *Blackwood's Magazine*, and several other magazines and reviews, were mislaid, and were not recovered until it was too late to make use of them.

were designed to confute, could not have been omitted without neglecting an important element in the history of Dante in this country. Works written in Latin (as the language of the learned and of the schools) by English authors (e.g. Phillips, Blount, Landor, Keble, &c.) have also been included.

No apology is offered for the reproduction *in extenso* of such well-known pieces as the essays on Dante of Macaulay and Carlyle, for example; inasmuch as the presentation as far as possible of a complete body of English critical opinion on Dante and his works for the period covered by the title is one of the chief objects of the book.

A point has been stretched so as to admit as 'literature' certain 'books which are no books,' *biblia a-biblia*, as Charles Lamb would have called them, such as library and sale-catalogues, lists of MSS., bibliographies, &c., as well as such items as the dates of English editions of the *Divina Commedia*, and so on. Unpromising material of this kind has sometimes yielded unexpectedly interesting information. For example, the catalogue of the Heber sale revealed the hitherto unnoted facts that Milton possessed a copy of the *Convivio*, and Drummond of Hawthornden a copy of the *Divina Commedia*. From a similar source we learn that Charles James Fox was the owner of a MS. of the *Commedia*, the history of which can be traced to its present resting-place. Further, it has not been considered foreign to the scope of the book to register works of art, paintings, drawings, and sculpture, by English artists (Sir Joshua Reynolds, Blake, Flaxman, Westmacott, for instance), who drew their inspiration from the works of Dante. Details of this description, which might possibly be regarded as insignificant, or even as trivial, have nevertheless a value of their own, as serving to mark the growth of the interest in Dante among Englishmen—a straw will show which way the wind blows.

The subject dealt with in this book has been for the most part untouched by previous writers. A few isolated portions of it have been discussed more or less exhaustively in various articles published in English and foreign reviews by students interested in Dante. The most important of these is an article on 'Dante in der Englischen Litteratur des 16 Jahrhunderts' by E. Koepfel, which appeared in 1890 in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Litteratur-Geschichte* (N.F. Bd. iii. pp. 426-53). More recently an article on 'References to Dante in Seventeenth-Century English Literature,' by K. C. M. Sills, was published in an American journal,

Modern Philology (vol. iii. No. 1, pp. 99-116, June, 1905). Other articles, dealing with individual authors in their relation to Dante, will be found mentioned in their respective places in the body of the book.¹ An interesting, but very inadequate, essay on the estimation in which Dante was held in England and other countries was included by the late Dean Plumptre in the *Studies* appended to the second volume of his 'Translation of the *Commedia* and *Canzoniere* of Dante Alighieri' (1886-7). The usefulness of this essay, which appears to be the only attempt at a comprehensive survey of the kind,² is unfortunately greatly impaired by the numerous inaccuracies, both as to facts and dates, by which it is disfigured, in so far, at any rate, as it relates to English writers. A work on 'Dante and the English Poets from Chaucer to Tennyson,' by Oscar Kuhns, was published in New York in 1904. A considerable portion of this volume covers ground which lies outside the limits of the present work. Some of the earlier chapters, however, I have found useful occasionally as a means of checking my own conclusions. I am glad to take this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to this book, as well as to the articles and essays mentioned above. I must also acknowledge my indebtedness to the following works of reference, viz. the British Museum Catalogue, the Catalogue of the London Library, Lowndes' *Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature*, Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, Koch's *Catalogue of the Dante Collection in Cornell University Library*, and, above all, to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, of which I have availed myself freely in the compilation of the biographical notices.

For help of a practical kind, in the way of supplying information, suggesting sources, copying extracts, verifying references, or lending books, I am indebted to the kindness of numerous friends and correspondents, among whom I may especially mention Mr. F. G.

¹ I may here refer to the following articles of my own which deal with certain portions of the subject of this work, viz. 'The Earliest References to Dante in English Literature' (in *Miscellanea di Studi Critici edita in onore di Arturo Graf*, 1903); 'English Translations from Dante—Cent. xiv-xvii' (in *Journal of Comparative Literature*, vol. i. No. 4, 1903); 'English Translations of Dante in the Eighteenth Century' (in *Modern Language Review*, vol. i. No. 1, 1905); 'A Chronological List of English Translations from Dante, from Chaucer to the Present Day' (in *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge, U.S.A., Dante Society*, 1906); and 'English Translations of Dante's Works' (in *Bulletin Italien*, Tom. vi. pp. 285-8).

² The subject is dealt with cursorily in H. Oelsner's *Influence of Dante on Modern Thought* (1895). Dr. Moore touches briefly on it in his essay on 'Dante as a Religious Teacher' in the second series of his *Dante Studies* (1899).

Stokes; Dr. F. J. Furnivall; Miss Caroline Spurgeon; Miss Evelyn Fox; the late Dr. Richard Garnett, of the British Museum; Professor W. P. Ker, of University College, London; Professor H. Littledale, of Cardiff; Mr. F. Madan, of the Bodleian Library; Mr. G. K. Fortescue, Keeper of Printed Books, Dr. G. F. Warner, Keeper of MSS., and Mr. A. W. K. Miller, of the Department of Printed Books, at the British Museum; M. Lucien Auvray, of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris; Mr. H. Krebs, of the Taylorian Institution at Oxford; Mr. R. T. Holbrook, of Bryn Mawr College, Pa.; Mr. K. C. M. Sills, of Columbia University, N.Y.; Mr. J. L. Galbraith, Librarian of Glasgow University; Mr. P. A. Daniel; Mr. David Douglas; Hon. James A. Home; Miss Blunt, of Adderbury; Lady Markby; Miss Dora Roscoe; Mr. John Murray; Dr. Hermann Oelsner; Mr. W. M. Rossetti; Sir G. O. Trevelyan; the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford (Dr. Warren); and last, but by no means least, Mrs. Paget Toynbee, of whose never-failing assistance '*è più bello tacer che dire*' in this place.

I must, further, express my acknowledgments to several publishers; to Messrs. Longman, Messrs. Macmillan, Mr. John Murray, and others, for permission to include copyright matter, particulars of which are specified in their proper place in the body of the book; and especially to Messrs. Methuen for their enterprise and liberality (in every sense of the word) in undertaking the publication of this '*opra inconsumabile*,' of which I am afraid it may justly be said, '*simile mostro visto ancor non fue*.'

I am glad, finally, to take this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to the Managing Director and staff of the Aberdeen University Press for the care with which they have carried out the printing of the work.

The plan of the book requires a word of explanation. Authors are arranged in the chronological order of the first work quoted; and the several works quoted of each author are collected together (in the chronological order of publication) under that author's name; by which means the whole extent of any given author's contribution to the subject may be ascertained at a glance. A strictly chronological arrangement of the whole series of works quoted, irrespective of authorship, which at first sight might seem to be advantageous, was found in practice to be highly inconvenient and confusing. Under such an arrangement, in order to pick out

the various contributions of any single author, it would be necessary to search through the whole range of works quoted between the dates of his first and last appearance in the book. For example, in the case of Macaulay the search would have to extend over 20 years, from 1824 to 1844; while in the exceptional case of Cary it would mean a search through no less than 52 years, from 1792 to 1844, in fact through considerably more than half the book. The inconveniences, such as they are, of the arrangement adopted have been obviated as far as possible by means of a liberal use of cross references.

Notes printed at the foot of the page, without any distinguishing mark, are the notes of the author of the extract to which they refer. For the notes in square brackets, and all other matter similarly distinguished (including the preliminary notices and summary titles) the Editor is responsible.

In order to render the varied contents of the book as accessible as possible, an exhaustive¹ general analytical index has been provided, in which the more important subjects are treated with especial fulness. Under *Dante*, for instance, among other *data*, will be found collected together the most remarkable terms applied to the poet at various times, such as that he was 'a lustreless glow-worm,' 'a talkative showman,' 'an atheist,' 'a kleptomaniac'; while under *Commedia* are registered some of the choicest of the many extravagant critical opinions passed upon the poem, such as 'childish and ludicrous,' 'grossly improper,' 'transcendingly filthy,' 'a tissue of absurdities,' 'the worst poem in any language,' 'a curiosity of literature,' 'a monstrous medley,' and so on.

A chronological list of authors, with dates of works quoted, which is designed to afford a convenient conspectus of the whole period under review, is appended to the second volume.

It would be idle to suppose that in so wide a field as that covered by this book there are not many corners, perhaps even wide breadths, which have been left unexplored, or have been insufficiently explored, through ignorance or inadvertency on the part of the Editor. In extenuation of any shortcomings in these respects, and for the blemishes

'quas aut incuria fudit,
Aut humana parum cavit natura,'

¹ Exhaustive, that is, so far as matters relating to Dante and his works are concerned. Incidental names and subjects are not included.

I can only plead the old excuse, the 'quel d' Adamo,' together with the consideration that a work of this description, as Dr. Johnson puts it, must 'in time be ended, though not completed.' My experiences have been, on a small scale, those of Dr. Johnson in the compilation of his *Dictionary*: 'I saw that one enquiry only gave occasion to another, that book referred to book, that to search was not always to find; and that thus to pursue perfection was, like the first inhabitants of Arcadia, to chase the Sun, which, when they reached the hill where he seemed to rest, was still beheld at the same distance from them.'

To any who should find where I have failed to search, or should gather where I have insufficiently gleaned, I shall be grateful for information, which may serve to fill the inevitable gaps in this first instalment of the history of Dante in English literature.¹

I feel that a word of apology is due for the long delay in the appearance of these volumes. The work was announced for publication more than two years ago, and at the time of the announcement there seemed no reason to suppose that the promise would not be fulfilled. But, to quote Dr. Johnson once more, 'the distance is commonly very great between actual performances and speculative possibility. It is natural to suppose that as much as has been done to-day may be done to-morrow; but on the morrow some difficulty emerges, or some external impediment obstructs. Indolence, interruption, business and pleasure, all take their turns of retardation; and every long work is lengthened by a thousand causes that can, and ten thousand that cannot, be recounted. Perhaps no extensive and multifarious performance was ever effected within the term originally fixed in the undertaker's mind. He that runs against Time has an antagonist not subject to casualties.'

PAGET TOYNBEE

FIVEWAYS, BURNHAM, BUCKS

September 14, 1908

In obitu Dantis Florentini

¹ A few additional references, which have come to hand while the work was passing through the press, will be found in the appendix to the volume to which they belong.

INTRODUCTION ¹

Fama superstes

Gentibus extinctum memorat, populumque per omnem
Vivet et aeterno referetur laudibus aevo

(*Benevenutus Imol. in Dantem*)

THE name of Dante occurs for the first time in English literature in the first book of Chaucer's *House of Fame*, which was written some sixty years after Dante's death, probably in 1384. But this is not the earliest indication of Chaucer's acquaintance with Dante. It seems to be generally accepted that none of the poems of Chaucer in which references to, or quotations from, Dante occur is likely to have been written before the date of his first journey to Italy, that is before the year 1373. Some Chaucerian scholars hold that his acquaintance with Italian literature dates only from his second visit to Italy in 1378-9, and that any references to Dante in poems avowedly written earlier than this period are later additions. That this was the case with the *Invocacio ad Mariam* in the *Second Nun's Tale* (which is in fact a more or less youthful poem—the *Lyf of Seynt Cecile*—composed probably in 1373, and afterwards embodied by Chaucer in the *Canterbury Tales*) there can hardly be a doubt. But there are several indications that Chaucer was already to some extent familiar with Italian some years before his second journey to Italy. For example, in the *Compleynt to his Lady*, which is generally supposed to have been written in 1373 or 1374, and which consists of a series of metrical experiments, are inserted two fragments in *terza rima*—the earliest instance of the use of this metre in the English language.² Whether Chaucer adopted it from Dante, as seems most probable, or from Petrarch (whose *Trionfi* were written in *terza rima*), or from Boccaccio (who used it in his *Amorosa Visione*) it is impos-

¹ A portion of this *Introduction* was published as an article in the *Edinburgh Review* for April, 1908, under the title of *Dante in English Literature from Chaucer to Cary*. The author is indebted to the Publishers (Messrs. Longman) of the *Review* for permission to reprint the article.

² See below, p. 2.

sible to say, but that he took it from one of the three is certain, and it is consequently equally certain (if the date assigned to the *Compleynt* be correct) that he must have had some knowledge of Italian when he returned from his first visit to Italy in 1372-3. Again, in his *Anelida and Arcite*, which is assigned to about the same period as the *Compleynt to his Lady*, there are passages which appear to be reminiscent of Dante—one phrase especially, 'the poynt of remembrance' (l. 211), being an exact reproduction of a phrase of Dante, 'la puntura della rimembranza' (*Purg.* xii. 20).¹ On the whole, therefore, the view that Chaucer's so-called 'Italian period' dates from his first Italian journey, that is from the year 1373, seems the more reasonable one, though no doubt it was not until after the second visit that he was influenced by Italian literature to any appreciable extent.

At whatever period Chaucer first became acquainted with the *Divina Commedia* it is evident that the acquaintance once made he soon familiarised himself with all three divisions of the poem.² Dante is mentioned by name, each time in connection with the *Commedia*, six times in Chaucer's works, the first mention occurring, as already stated, in the *House of Fame* (1384). The earliest undoubted imitation of Dante occurs in *Troilus and Cressida*, which was written probably between 1380 and 1382. In later works we find passages, sometimes of considerable length, representing in all more than thirty *terzine* of the poem, translated direct from the *Divina Commedia*. It is not unreasonable to suppose that at the time Chaucer was engaged upon these works he was in possession of a copy of the *Commedia* of his own, acquired perhaps during his travels in Italy in 1378-9—the first copy, we may pretty safely assume, to find its way into England. In the *House of Fame* the influence of 'the grete poete of Itaille' is plainly perceptible throughout; in fact there can be little doubt that the poem was written while Chaucer was fresh from a reading of the *Divina Commedia*. But it is easy to overrate the extent to which Chaucer was indebted to Dante in this poem.³ Many of

¹ Cf. also the invocation (ll. 15-20) with *Par.* xxiii. 56, and *Par.* i. 16, 36; but it is quite possible, of course, that these are mere coincidences.

² See pp. 1-16.

³ See, for instance, the article by A. Rambeau, *Chaucer's House of Fame in seinem Verhältniss zu Dante's Divina Commedia*, in *Englische Studien* (1880), vol. iii. pp. 209 ff.

the alleged imitations are among the commonplaces of literature, and are just as original in Chaucer as they are in Dante. It is consequently by no means so certain as Professor Skeat, for instance, supposes, that this poem furnishes the explanation of Lydgate's statement that Chaucer wrote 'Daunt in English.'¹

To Chaucer's contemporary and friend, Gower, Dante appears to have been little more than a name. He is mentioned once in the thirty thousand lines of the *Confessio Amantis* (c. 1390) as 'Dante the poete;' not, however, in connection with the *Divina Commedia*, or any other of his works, but merely as the subject of an anecdote about flatterers, in a passage² which was omitted by Gower from the latest recension of his poem. There are besides two passages, one in the *Confessio Amantis*,³ which is repeated in the *Mirour de l'Omme*,⁴ and one in the *Vox Clamantis*,⁵ which may possibly be reminiscences of Dante, but this is very doubtful.⁶

Lydgate, who was Chaucer's junior by about thirty years, several times mentions Dante in his most important work, the *Falls of Princes*, which was written probably between 1430 and 1438; and on one occasion (in the Prologue to the fourth Book) he refers to the 'thre bokes' of the *Commedia*, which

'the great wonders tell
Of hevyn above, of purgatorie and of hell.'

But though in an early account Lydgate is credited with having studied at the University of Padua, and with having read 'Dante

¹ Some have supposed that William Langland made use of the *Divina Commedia* in his *Piers Plowman*; but M. Jusserand after careful consideration comes to an opposite conclusion, and there can be little doubt that he is right.

'Similarities,' he says (in his *Piers Plowman: A Contribution to the History of English Mysticism*, pp. 193 ff.), 'might be pointed out, without there being the least attempt at imitation, between Langland and Dante. The Italian, like the English poet, lived, so to speak, wrapped in his visions, absorbed in them, passing years in dreaming and writing them, and accomplishing his awful pilgrimage through the nine circles of hell, and the nine zones of the expiatory mount, until he arrived in Paradise. He, too, meets the Seven Deadly Sins; he wakes, and sleeps again, he dreams new dreams; he sees a mystical representation of the events of the Gospel. He judges Papacy with the same severity as Langland will later; he, too, curses the temporal power of the Pope; the triumphal car of the Church is, in his eyes, transformed to the Beast of the Apocalypse. Both accept the legend according to which Trajan was saved; both refuse to admit that the great men of antiquity are indiscriminately cast into hell. . . . But, in reality, the analogy of the subject and the casual similarity of the two poets' mood are the only reasons why they appear sometimes purposely to follow the same path.'

² Book VII. ll. 2329-37.

³ Book II. ll. 3095-7, with which compare *Inf.* xiii. 64-6.

⁴ Book II. ll. 67-8, with which compare *Inf.* v. 121-3.

⁵ Ll. 3831-4.

⁶ See pp. 16-17.

the Italian,' there seems hardly a doubt that he had little, if any, knowledge of Italian, and that his acquaintance with Dante was not much more extensive than that of Gower.¹

Occleve, Lydgate's contemporary, never mentions Dante, and apparently had no knowledge of him whatever.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century occurred an important incident in the annals of Dante literature, with which two distinguished Englishmen were intimately connected. While attending the Council of Constance (1414-18), Giovanni da Serravalle, Bishop of Fermo, at the instance of his two English colleagues, Nicholas Bubwith, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and Robert Hallam, Bishop of Salisbury, undertook and completed (1416-17), a Latin translation in prose of the *Divina Commedia*, together with a Latin commentary. In this commentary, Serravalle, who had himself visited England,² makes the interesting but otherwise unsubstantiated statement that Dante came to this country and was a student at Oxford. What was no doubt a copy of this commentary was presented to the library of the University of Oxford in 1443 by Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, together with a copy of the Italian text of the *Commedia*.³ A copy of Serravalle's commentary, doubtless the same, was seen and described a hundred years later at Oxford by John Leland, the antiquary, who also records that he saw a Latin translation of Dante in the Cathedral library at Wells. As this library was founded and endowed by Bishop Bubwith it is more than probable that this was a copy of Serravalle's translation, which Bubwith himself had presented.⁴ These facts, together with Serravalle's statement as to Dante's having studied at Oxford (whether or not it was made to gratify the two English bishops, one of whom, Hallam, had been Chancellor of the University) are significant of the interest aroused by Dante among men of learning in England at that period.

But this interest was not destined to be enduring. With the decline of letters in England in the fifteenth century, during the

¹ See pp. 18 ff.

² This we know on his own authority. In his comment on *Inf.* xx. 126, he takes occasion to mention the Straits of Gibraltar, through which he had himself passed once, he says, on his way back to Italy from England by sea:—'Prope Sibiliam, forte per centum leucas, est mons Giubelcar, juxta quem montem mare Oceanum per angustum spatium septem leucarum fluit et vadit, et ingreditur mare Mediterraneum; et ego jam transivi per illud angustum spatium, quando redibam de regno Anglie ad partes Ytalie per mare.'

³ See pp. 20-2.

⁴ See pp. 29-30.

Wars of the Roses, the name of Dante disappears from English literature for more than seventy years. The next mention of it does not occur till the year of the accession of Henry VIII., in the Prologue to Barclay's *Shyp of Folyes*, which was translated from Locher's Latin version of Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff*. Barclay's reference to Dante, however, was not original, being merely a reproduction of a remark made by Locher in his Latin preface.¹ This second-hand reference of Barclay's is characteristic of a large number of the references to Dante in English literature in the sixteenth century. It was an age of translation from the Italian; and as many of the works translated contain mentions of Dante, Dante's name naturally reappears in the English versions. Among the most important of these translations, the majority of which belong to the second half of the century,² were Barker's *Fearful Fancies of the Florentine Couper* (1568), from Gelli's *Capricci del Bottaiio*, in which the word 'Dantist' occurs for the first time in English literature, as well as the earliest reference to the *Convivio*;³ Peterson's *Galateo of Maister John Della Casa* (1576), in which occurs the earliest specimen of the Italian text of the *Commedia* printed in England;⁴ Pettie's *Civile Conversation of M. Stephen Guazzo* (1581);⁵ T. K.'s *Housholder's Philosophie* (1588), from Tasso's *Padre di Famiglia*;⁶ and Keper's *Courtiers Academie* (1598), from Romer's *Discorsi Cavallereschi*, which contains the earliest specimen of English translation from the *Canzoniere* of Dante.⁷ In most of these translations Dante's name occurs repeatedly, with or without quotations from his works; but it is probable that the translators themselves, as a rule, had little, if any, independent knowledge of Dante. One of these translators, Barker, it may be noted, was the first of the long series of English travellers who mention Dante in connection with places or objects of interest they had visited in Italy. In his *Epitaphia* (1554) he prints the six lines which are inscribed beneath the picture of Dante by Domenico di Michelino in the Cathedral at Florence.⁸

How far the English poets of the sixteenth century were acquainted with Dante it is difficult to determine. What some regard

¹ See pp. 22-3.

² An interesting list of these is given in Dr. Mary Augusta Scott's *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian* (1895-9).

³ See pp. 41 ff.

⁴ See pp. 59 ff.

⁵ See pp. 66 ff.

⁶ See pp. 76 ff.

⁷ See pp. 97 ff.

⁸ See p. 41.

as unmistakeable reminiscences of the *Commedia* occur in the Prologues to the first and eleventh books of Gavin Douglas' translation of the *Aeneid* (1512-3),¹ and in the *Dreme* (c. 1528) of Sir David Lyndsay,² which, like the *Induction* (1563) of Sackville³ (whom Pope classed as a poet of the school of Dante), is supposed by some critics to have been written in imitation of the *Inferno*. On the other hand, Wyatt⁴ and Surrey,⁵ whom Puttenham,⁶ in his *Art of English Poesy* (1589), claims as disciples of Dante, almost certainly owed nothing to Dante, their models having been Petrarch and Alamanni. Whether Spenser, again, was indebted to Dante is a much debated question, which it seems impossible definitely to decide. It is certain that he nowhere mentions nor even alludes to Dante. The 'sad Florentine' of Sonnet xiii. of the *Visions of Bellay*, whom many have taken to be Dante, is undoubtedly Petrarch. Spenser's expression is simply a translation of Du Bellay's 'triste Florentin,' and the allusion is without doubt to Petrarch's *canzone*, 'Standomi un giorno, solo, alla fenestra,' which Spenser translated in his *Visions of Petrarch*. In the Epistle of E. K. to Gabriel Harvey, prefixed to the *Shepherd's Calendar*, in which are enumerated the writers 'whose foting this Author everywhere followeth,' we find mention of 'Mantuan, Petrarque, Boccace, Marot, Sanazarus, and divers other excellent both Italian and French Poets,' but not a word of Dante. In Spenser's own Letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, expounding the intention of the *Faerie Queene*, he states that the poets he has followed are Homer, Virgil, Ariosto, and Tasso. If Dante had been one of the authors to whom Spenser was indebted it seems hardly likely that his name would have been omitted from both of these Epistles. Spenser, who has been described as 'one of the most learned of English poets,' must have known of Dante; but in spite of such emphatic assertions as those of Lowell, for instance, who states that Spenser had 'read Dante's works closely,' and was 'familiar with the *Divina Commedia*,' it is difficult to trace an undoubted connection between the two poets. Coincidences of thought and expression not a few are not unnaturally to be discovered in two lengthy works which have so much in common as the *Divina Commedia* and the *Faerie Queene*. For instance, Cary compares the eyes of Spenser's

¹ See pp. 24-5.² See pp. 26-8.³ See pp. 49 ff.⁴ See pp. 28-9.⁵ See p. 32.⁶ See p. 79.

Disdain (VI. vii. 42) with those of Dante's Charon (*Inf.* iii. 109); Spenser's simile of the meeting of two billows (IV. i. 42) with the kindred simile in *Inferno* vii. 22-3; the backward gait of Ignaro (I. viii. 31) with that of the soothsayers in *Inferno* xx. 13-15; and Spenser's iteration of the word 'new'—'So new this new-born knight to battle new did rise' (I. xi. 34)—with Dante's 'piante novelle Rinnovellate di novella fronda' (*Purg.* xxxiii. 143-4). Lowell, again, among Spenser's 'most important obligations to the great Tuscan,' instances the lines

'Whoso in pomp of proud estate, quoth she,
Does swim, and bathes himself in courtly bliss,
Does waste his days in dark obscurity,
And in oblivion ever buried is'

(II. iii. 40.)

as an imitation of Dante's

'Seggendo in piuma
In fama non si vien, nè sotto coltre ;
Senza la qual chi sua vita consuma,
Cotal vestigio in terra di sè lascia,
Qual fummo in aere od in acqua la schiuma.'

(*Inf.* xxiv. 47-51.)

That there are points of resemblance, sometimes very striking resemblance, between some of the parallel passages adduced by Cary, Lowell, and others, cannot be denied, but that they are more than mere coincidences remains to be proved.¹

Several English writers of this century, however, unquestionably had some first-hand acquaintance with Dante, though their knowledge may not have been very extensive. Among the most famous of these is Sir Philip Sidney, who several times refers to Dante in his *Apologie for Poetrie* (1581).² In this work occurs the first undoubted mention in English literature of the name of Dante's Beatrice. At the end of the book Sidney conjures his readers 'no more to scorne the sacred misteries of Poesie; no more to laugh at the name of Poets; but to beleve with Aristotle that they were the auncient Treasurers of the Graecians Divinity.' 'Thus doing,' he concludes, 'you shall be most fayre, most ritch, most wise, most all, you shall dwell upon Superlatives. Thus doing, your soule shal be placed with Dantes Beatrix or Virgils Anchises.'

A 'Maddame Beatrice' had been mentioned a few years earlier

¹ See pp. 80 ff.

² See pp. 69-71.

(1577) in a poem by Gabriel Harvey, but the identification of this lady with the Beatrice of Dante, as in the case of the 'Bietris' of Villon's *Ballade des Dames du Temps Jadis*, is somewhat problematical.¹

Other contemporary writers who show a knowledge of Dante are William Thomas, author of a *Dictionarie for the better understandinge of Boccace, Petrarche, and Dante* (1550), with which is incorporated an Italian grammar, the earliest attempt of the kind in English, and of a *Historie of Italie* (1549), in which reference is made to Dante's account in the *Inferno* (xx. 55 ff.) of the founding of Mantua; ² John Foxe, the martyrologist, who in all probability saw through the press, while a refugee at Basle, the *editio princeps* of Dante's *De Monarchia*, from which, as well as from the *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso*, he quotes in the second edition (1570) of his famous *Book of Martyrs*; ³ Sir John Harington, translator of the *Orlando Furioso* (1591), who refers to the meeting of Dante with Virgil and to Dante's description of Envy, and translates in *terza rima* the opening lines of the *Inferno*; ⁴ and John Florio, author of the *Worlde of Wordes* (1598), an Italian-English dictionary, which contains sundry references to Dante and to the *Divina Commedia*, among them the statement (in the *Epistle Dedicatorie*) that 'Boccace is prettie hard, yet understood: Petrarche harder, yet explained: Dante hardest, but commented. Some doubt if all aright.'⁵

A couple of alleged quotations from Dante are introduced by Greene in his *Mamillia* (1583) and *Farewell to Follie* (1587). These are not to be found anywhere in Dante's works, but the fact that Greene fathered them on Dante is instructive as showing that Dante's name had a certain vogue among English men of letters at this time. There is an interesting reference to the episode of Paolo and Francesca in Greene's *Debate betweene Follie and Love* (1584), in which, among the 'sodaine and sundrie causes' from which love may spring, he instances 'reading in a booke, as the Ladie Francis Rimhi.' This reference, however, is not original, as the work in which it occurs is a translation from the French.⁶

The author of *Tarlton Newes out of Purgatory* (1590),⁷ which has been attributed to Nashe, knew Dante's *Purgatorio*, at any

¹ See p. 63.

⁵ See pp. 86 ff.

² See pp. 38 ff.

⁶ See pp. 72-4.

³ See pp. 57 ff.

⁷ See p. 80.

⁴ See p. 83.

rate by name. In a discussion as to whether heaven and hell are ‘*contraria immediata*, so contrarie that there is no meane betwixt them,’ he makes one of the speakers exclaim: ‘Yes, yes, there is *quoddam tertium*, a third place that al our greatgrandmothers have talkt of, that *Dant* hath so learnedly writ of, and that is Purgatorie.’¹

At the Reformation curiously enough Dante was claimed as a champion on behalf of the Protestants. This was due to the fact that in certain well-known passages of the *Divina Commedia*, Dante vigorously denounces the corruptions of Rome and of the Church; hence he is frequently quoted by English reformers in this and in the next century as ‘an Italian writer against the Pope.’ In this capacity he is appealed to by Bishop Jewel,² and John Foxe,³ among others. At the close of this century we have the

¹ In 1603 was printed in Edinburgh a poem by Elizabeth Melville, Lady Colville of Culross, entitled *Ane Godlie Dreame compylit in Scottish Meter*, in which the dreamer is conducted through the next world under the guidance of Christ. There are lines in this poem which recall passages of the *Divina Commedia*, but it is probable that, as in other similar cases, the resemblances are merely accidental. The following three stanzas will serve as specimens:—

I luikit down and saw ane pit most black,
Most full of smock, and flaming fyre most fell,
That uglie sicht maid mee to flie aback,
I feirit to heir so many shout and yell: *
I him besocht that hee the treuth would tell—
Is this, said I, the Papist’s purging place,
Quhair they affirme that sillie saules do dwell,
To purge thair sin, befoir they rest in peace ?

* * * * *

This Pit is Hell, quhairthrow thou now mon go.
Thair is thy way that leids thee to the land
Now play the man, thou needs not trimbill so, †
For I sall help and hald thee by the hand. ‡
Allace! said I, I have na force to stand,
For feir I faint to sie that uglie sicht :
How can I cum among that bailfull band ?
O help mee now, I have na force or might !

I am content to do thy haill command,
Said I againe, and did him fast embrace :
Then lovenslie he held mee by the hand, §
And in wee went into that feirful place.
Hald fast thy grip, said hee, in any cace
Let mee not slip, quhat ever thou sall sie ;
Dreid not the deith, bot stoutlie forward preis,
For Deith nor Hell sall never vanquish thee.

(Stanzas xxxiii, xxxv, xxxvi.)

This poem was reprinted at Aberdeen in 1644 by E. Raban, ‘Laird of letters;’ and at Edinburgh in 1826 by D. Laing in his *Early Metrical Tales* (pp. 150-69).

² See pp. 51-2.

* Cf. *Inf.* iii. 25-7.

‡ Cf. *Inf.* iii. 19.

³ See pp. 57-9.

† Cf. *Inf.* iii. 14-15.

§ Cf. *Inf.* iii. 19-21.

earliest recorded description by an Englishman of Dante's tomb at Ravenna, the inscriptions on which were transcribed in 1594 by Fynes Moryson, who afterwards printed them, together with an English translation, in his *Itinerary* (1617).¹

The question as to whether Shakespeare had any knowledge of Dante has been discussed of late years at great length, and, it must be confessed, with a certain lack of sobriety, by sundry Italian and Shakespearean scholars. Shakespeare's works have been ransacked for traces of Dante's influence, and considerable ingenuity has been expended in attempting to prove his indebtedness. Many parallel passages and so-called imitations have been adduced, as in the case of Spenser, but the result is far from convincing. Some of the parallels are fairly close, and one or two are striking, as, for example, between Shakespeare's 'top of judgment' in *Measure for Measure* (Act ii. Sc. 2) and Dante's 'cima di giudizio' (*Purg.* vi. 37), or the expression 'ape of Nature' applied by Shakespeare to an artist in the *Winter's Tale* (Act. v. Sc. 2) and Dante's similar use of 'scimia di natura' (*Inf.* xxix. 139)—but the majority are wholly illusive. What can be more absurd, for instance, than to suppose, as one of these 'curious indagators' would have us do, that Shakespeare could not have written such a line as 'I drink, I eat, array myself, and live' (*Measure for Measure*, Act. iii. Sc. 2) without going to Dante's 'E mangia e bee e dorme e veste panni' (*Inf.* xxxiii. 141) for it? Few who have examined the evidence, such as it is, will have any hesitation in endorsing the conclusion of the well-known Shakespearean scholar, who expressed his belief that 'if Shakespeare had known Dante, he would have so used him, and so often, as to leave no doubt on the point.'²

If a knowledge of Dante must be denied to Shakespeare, to the next greatest name in English literature Dante was undoubtedly

¹ See p. 91. Lord Morley, in the dedication of his translation of Boccaccio's *De Claris Mulieribus* (c. 1545), gives what he states to be an inscription on Dante's tomb; but the lines he prints are from a sonnet on Dante by Boccaccio (see p. 34).

² Dr. F. J. Furnivall in *Notes and Queries*, 5th Series, x. 396. The most exhaustive article in support of the theory that Shakespeare borrowed from Dante is that on *Shakespeare und Dante* by Wilhelm König in *Fahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare Gesellschaft*, vii. 170-213. See also *Dante e Shakespeare*, by L. Mascetta-Caracci in *Giornale Dantesco*, N.S. i. 110-18. A writer in *Blackwood's Magazine*, in three articles on *New Views of Shakespeare's Sonnets* (June, 1884; June, 1885; March, 1886), identifies the 'other poet' of Sonnets lxxix, lxxx, lxxxv, lxxxvi, with Dante, and attempts to prove that Shakespeare was familiar with the *Vita Nuova*.

familiar. Milton¹ not only displays an intimate acquaintance with the *Divina Commedia*, but he had also read at least one of Dante's *canzoni*, as well as the *De Monarchia*, which he is the first English author to quote by name, though Foxe, as has been mentioned, had quoted from it some seventy years previously. Milton had a great admiration for both Dante and Petrarch. In a letter written in 1638 from Florence, where he spent four months, he expressly names these two among the Italian authors whom he read with eagerness; and four years later, in the *Apology for Smectymnus*, he speaks of the 'sublime and pure thoughts' of 'the two famous renowners of Beatrice and Laura.' That he had closely studied the *Divina Commedia* is evident. He makes no less than eight direct references to the poem, and quotes from all three divisions of it. In *Lycidas*, which was written before he went to Italy, his indebtedness to the *Commedia* is very marked, while more or less striking reminiscences have been traced in every book of *Paradise Lost*, as well as in the masques of *Arcades* and *Comus*. The reference to Casella in the sonnet to Henry Lawes is well known to every one. The original draft of this sonnet, which was written in 1646, is preserved among the MSS. at Trinity College, Cambridge. In its earlier form, especially in the last three lines which contain the allusion to Dante, it is greatly inferior to the final version with which we are familiar. For

'Dante shall give Fame leave to set thee higher
Than his Casella, whom he woo'd to sing
Met in the milder shades of Purgatory'—

Milton originally wrote

'Fame, by the Tuscan's leave, shall set thee higher
Than old Casell, whom Dante won to sing
Met in the mildest shades of Purgatory.'

Milton's obligations to Dante in *Paradise Lost* were no doubt considerable, though Milton was probably not always conscious of the debt. The two poets wrote on kindred subjects, and to some extent covered the same ground, and used the same authorities; it would consequently be idle to assume that in every instance where Milton's language recalls that of Dante the English poet was deliberately borrowing from the Italian. Many, perhaps the majority,

¹ See pp. 119 ff.

of the resemblances which have been pointed to as evidence of Milton's indebtedness are rather general than particular; but in some cases there can hardly be a doubt that Milton had a particular line or phrase of Dante in his mind as he wrote. To give a single instance—the line

‘ And with desire to languish without hope’

(*P. L.* x. 995.)

is so close to Dante's

‘ Senza speme vivemo in disio ’

(*Inf.* iv. 42.)

as to be almost a literal translation.

Some of the most interesting of Milton's references to Dante's works, including the *De Monarchia* and *Canzoniere*, as well as the *Commedia*, occur in his Commonplace Book. This book, which is written partly in Latin, partly in English, was discovered in 1874 among the MSS. of Sir Frederick Graham of Netherby, and has been reproduced in facsimile. The subjects in connection with which the *Commedia* is quoted, or referred to, are avarice (*Inf.* vii.), suicide (*Inf.* xiii.), sloth (*Inf.* iii.), the education of children (*Par.* viii.), usury (*Inf.* xi.), and religion in its relation to the state (*Purg.* xvi.). In the note on usury Milton refers to and quotes the commentary of Daniello da Lucca on the *Divina Commedia*, the only edition of which was published at Venice in 1568. Under the heading *Rex* the *De Monarchia* is appealed to as evidence that Dante considered the authority of the King to be independent of the Pope; and under *Nobilitas* a reference is given to Dante's *canzone* on the subject, that which is prefixed to the fourth book of the *Convivio*.

In connection with the *De Monarchia* Milton refers to Boccaccio's account in his *Vita di Dante* of the burning of the book as a heretical work by the Cardinal Bertrand Poyet. This account, he says, which is to be found in the earlier editions of the *Vita*, has been cut out by the Inquisitor from the last edition, in which all mention of the *De Monarchia* has been suppressed. This remark is of some interest, as it proves that the edition of the *Vita di Dante* made use of by Milton was that published at Florence by Sermartelli in 1576, in the same volume as fifteen of Dante's *canzoni*, and the *editio princeps* of the *Vita Nuova*, with the *imprimatur* of the Florentine Inquisitor General. As these works

form part and parcel of the same volume it is a natural assumption that Milton was acquainted with the *Vita Nuova*, though he nowhere mentions it, any more than he does the *Convivio*, of which he is known to have possessed a copy.¹ What renders it quite certain that Milton made use of this particular edition is the fact that he quotes the above-mentioned *canzone* of Dante on nobility, as "canzon 4," it being in fact the fourth in order of the fifteen *canzoni* printed by Sermartelli. Further, the wording of Milton's note, 'optime tractat de vera nobilitate' is a direct translation of the argument, 'tratta nobilmente della vera gentilezza,' prefixed by Sermartelli to the *canzone* in question.

In his tract *Of Reformation touching Church Discipline in England* (1641) Milton has introduced a translation of three lines from the *Inferno*. The vehicle he selected is blank verse, the first specimen of English translation from Dante in that metre, which not improbably suggested to Cary, nearly two centuries later, the employment of blank verse for his translation of the *Commedia*.

Other English writers in the seventeenth century besides Milton had some knowledge of Dante, though it was not to be compared with his. Thomas Heywood, the dramatist, in the seventh book of his *Hierarchie of the Blessed Angels*, which was published in 1635, prints, or rather woefully misprints, twenty-seven lines of the Italian text of the *Commedia*, containing the description of Lucifer, from the last canto of the *Inferno* (xxxiv. 28-54)—the earliest specimen of the Italian text of any length printed in England. In the same book he gives a list of 'the names of Divels according to Dantes,' which he took from the twenty-first canto of the *Inferno*. Heywood must have made use of an edition of the *Divina Commedia* containing the commentary of Landino, for the whole of his expository disquisition on the first passage, as well as his interpretations of the devil's names, is translated almost literally from Landino's *Comento*, though he does not give the reader any hint as to the source of his information.² Jeremy Taylor quotes and translates in his *Great Exemplar*, 'the elegant expression,' as he called it, of Dante in the *Paradiso* (xxiv. 101-2), with regard to miracles,

'a cui natura

Non scaldò ferro mai, nè battè ancude'—

¹ See p. 120 n.

² See pp. 128 ff.

a quotation which does not appear in the original edition (1649), but was added as an afterthought, along with other 'additional,' in the second edition (1653).¹ A few years later, another English Bishop, Stillingfleet, quotes a dozen lines in his *Origines Sacrae* (1662) from a Latin translation of the *Commedia*, which is closely akin to, but not identical with, the translation of Giovanni da Serravalle, mentioned above.²

Sir Thomas Browne, who resided for a time in Italy, and was presumably a good Italian scholar, has four or five interesting quotations from the *Commedia*. His earliest and best-known work, the *Religio Medici*, contains no reference to Dante. The first mention occurs in *Hydriotaphia*, which was published in 1658. In the third chapter of this work he quotes three lines from the *Purgatorio* (xxiii. 31-3), in which Dante describes the starved appearance of the Gluttons in the sixth circle; and in the next chapter he comments on the fact that while Plato, Socrates, and Epicurus, are placed in Dante's Hell, Cato is found in no lower place than Purgatory, and Pythagoras escapes altogether. In his *Christian Morals* (1671), in a passage which exists in MS., but does not form part of the printed text, he refers to Dante's punishment of diviners; and in the *Letter to a Friend* (1672) he refers again to the passage in the *Purgatorio* already quoted in *Hydriotaphia*. Lastly in the sixth edition (1672) of *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, originally published in 1646, he inserted a reference, *à propos* of the tradition that John the Evangelist did not die, to Dante's account in the *Paradiso* of his meeting with the soul of St. John, three lines of which (xxv. 124-6) he quotes in the original.³

Sundry illustrations from the *Commedia* are introduced in the critical works of Thomas Rymer, notably in his *Short View of Tragedy* (1693), in which he quotes from the *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso*; ⁴ while Dryden, 'the father of English criticism,' who in the lines prefixed to Roscommon's *Essay on Translated Verse* (1684) speaks of 'Dante's polish'd page' as having 'Restor'd a silver, not a golden age,' and who in several of his prefaces refers to Dante as the first refiner of the Italian tongue, shows in his *Dedication of the Aeneis* (1697) that he had read at least some part of the *Inferno*, for he gives a precise description of the place assigned

¹ See p. 143.² See pp. 157 ff.³ See pp. 148 ff.⁴ See pp. 161 ff.

by Dante to Brutus 'in the great Devil's mouth' in Hell (xxxiv. 61-7).¹

Among writers belonging to this period who mention Dante, but evidently knew him only by hearsay, are Ben Jonson, who in his *Volpone* (1605) says that Dante is hard and that few can understand him, an opinion no doubt echoed from Florio;² and John Ford, who in his *Love's Sacrifice* (1633) makes the poetaster Mauruccio boast that in comparison with himself, 'Petrarch was a dunce, and Dante a jig-maker.'³ Robert Burton in the *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621) more than once couples Dante with Virgil and Lucian as having described Hell, and he repeats one of the numerous anecdotes about 'the famous Italian poet.'⁴ Another anecdote about Dante crops up in an unexpected quarter at this time, namely, in a letter written in 1624 by Lord Keeper Williams to the Duke of Buckingham in which he tries to persuade the Duke to accept the office of Lord Steward.

'I will trouble your Grace,' he writes, 'with a Tale of *Dante*, the first Italian Poet of Note: Who, being a great and wealthy Man in *Florence*, and his Opinion demanded, Who should be sent Ambassador to the Pope? made this Answer, that he knew not who; *Si jo vo, chi sta, Si jo sto, chi va*; If I go, I know not who shall stay at Home; If I stay, I know not who can perform this Employment.'⁵

That Dante was not held in high estimation in England at this period may be gathered from the following characteristic specimens of contemporary criticism. William Burton, Robert Burton's elder brother, in his *Description of Leicestershire* (1622), compares his friend Michael Drayton with 'olde Dante,' and other Transalpine poets, by no means to the disadvantage of the author of *Poly-Olbion*;⁶ and Henry Reynolds in *Mythomystes* (1632) classes Dante with Bembo and Guarini as 'men of rare fancy,' but prefers Marino above him.⁷ Rymer, echoing Rapin, complains of Dante's want of modesty in 'invoking his own wit for his Deity'—a reference no doubt to the invocation at the beginning of the second canto of the *Inferno*—and condemns him as being lacking in fire and obscure.⁸ Sir William D'Avenant, in his preface to *Gondibert* (1651), regards Tasso as 'the first of the moderns,' and sooner than admit Dante, whom he couples with the author of the

¹ See pp. 170 ff.

² See pp. 109-10.

³ See p. 119.

⁴ See pp. 114 ff.

⁵ See p. 117—this story is told by Boccaccio in his *Vita di Dante*.

⁶ See p. 116.

⁷ See p. 118.

⁸ See pp. 161 ff.

Adone into the 'eminent rank of the Heroicks,' he excludes even Ariosto.¹

Not less significant is the fact that travellers in Italy like Evelyn and Addison express no interest whatever in Dante or his works, although they visited places intimately associated with his name, and were shown buildings and other objects described by him. Evelyn, for instance, writes in detail in his *Diary* (1645) of the Garisenda tower at Bologna, and of the bronze pine-cone at Rome, both of which figure conspicuously in the *Divina Commedia*, yet the sight of them evokes no mention of Dante. Addison spent more than a year in Italy, and visited among other places Pisa, Florence, Ravenna, and Rimini. But at Pisa, where he admires 'the great church, baptistery and leaning tower,' and at Rimini, which 'has nothing modern to boast of,' he gives not a thought to the tragedies of Ugolino and Francesca; while Florence and Ravenna mean nothing to him as the birthplace and burying-place of Dante. Addison, in fact, as Macaulay observes, knew little and cared less about the literature of modern Italy. Dante's name, for example, not only is not mentioned in the narrative of his travels in Italy, but it does not occur anywhere in the *Spectator*, nor in any other of Addison's works. In like manner, Sir William Temple, who in his *Essay upon the Ancient and Modern Learning* (1692) gives a catalogue of the greatest writers among the moderns, altogether ignores Dante in his list of Italians. However, that Dante should have been neglected in England is not surprising seeing that even in his own country his reputation was at a low ebb during this century, in the course of which, for example, only three editions of the *Divina Commedia* were printed in Italy, as against some forty in the previous century.

During the eighteenth century the position of Dante in the world of letters began slowly to win recognition in this country. Pope recognises a 'school of Dante' in his scheme for a history of English poetry;² and before the century was out of its teens the first specimen of English translation from Dante, produced avowedly as a translation, made its appearance. This was a rendering in blank verse of the Ugolino episode, the forerunner of many English versions of the same piece, which was published in 1719 by Jonathan Richardson, the artist, in his *Discourse on the Dignity, Certainty,*

¹ See p. 142.

² See pp. 193, 330-1.

*Pleasure and Advantage of the Science of a Connoisseur.*¹ Richardson's attempt, which is not a brilliant performance, was followed about twenty years later by a translation of the same episode, also in blank verse, and of not much higher merit, being no doubt a youthful exercise, by Thomas Gray,² to whom subsequently, as to Chaucer and Milton before him, Dante was to become an object of 'lungo studio e grande amore.' About the same time an anonymous writer published in *Dodsley's Museum* (1746) a graceful rendering of 'the three first stanzas of the 24th Canto of Dante's *Inferno*, made into a song, in imitation of the Earl of Surrey's *Stile*.'³

Dante now began to attract the attention of commentators and editors of Milton, Spenser, and Chaucer, who took to studying the *Divina Commedia* in order to discover traces of indebtedness to the Italian poet on the part of their authors, or to furnish illustrations. It is remarkable that Addison's famous papers on *Paradise Lost* in the *Spectator*, which appeared from January to May in 1712, contain no reference to Dante. Addison, as we have seen, was not interested in modern Italian literature; he was chiefly concerned with Milton's classical imitations, though he does not exclude the Italian poets from his purview. Not only does he refer to them in general terms in his criticism of Book V., but in the last paper, after speaking of his endeavour to show how Milton 'copied or improved Homer or Virgil,' he adds, 'I might have inserted several passages of Tasso, which our Author has likewise imitated.' Dante is equally ignored by Dr. Johnson in his *Life of Milton* published sixty years later (1779). He merely observes that 'Milton, being well versed in the Italian poets, appears to have borrowed often from them.' The first apparently to point out Milton's indebtedness to Dante were the two Richardsons, father and son, the portrait painters, who in 1734 published *Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's 'Paradise Lost,'* in which attention is drawn to several imitations, or alleged imitations, from the *Divina Commedia*.⁴ Peck, Lauder, Thomas Warton, Bowle, and others, followed in the same track. Upton, in his edition of the *Faerie Queene*, published in 1758, prints a number of passages in which he thinks Dante was imitated by Spenser;⁵

¹ See pp. 197 ff.

² See pp. 232 ff.

³ See pp. 245 ff.

⁴ See pp. 200 ff.

⁵ See pp. 309 ff.

and Chaucer is illustrated by Tyrwhitt, in his scholarly edition of the *Canterbury Tales* (1775-8), by quotations not only from the *Commedia*, but also from the *Vita Nuova*, the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, and the *Canzoniere* of Dante.¹

English critics, too, begin to take count of Dante. Thomas Blackwell, for instance, in his *Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer* (1735), speaks of Dante as having made 'the strongest draught of men and their passions that stands in the records of modern poetry ;'² Akenside in his *Balance of Poets* (1746) ranks Dante with Pindar and Sophocles ;³ and Joseph Warton, in the first volume of his *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope* (1756), places the *Inferno* next to the *Iliad*, 'in point of originality and sublimity.'⁴ But this juster appreciation of the Italian poet was by no means general among English men of letters at this time. Lord Chesterfield writes to his son that he is fully convinced that Dante 'was not worth the pains necessary to understand him ;'⁵ while Goldsmith in the *Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning in Europe* (1759), though he realises that Dante was the first poet of the modern school, the first who followed Nature, regards him as little better than a barbarian, who 'addressed a barbarous people in a method suited to their apprehensions,' and 'owes most of his reputation to the obscurity of the times in which he lived.'⁶ A little later Horace Walpole⁷ characterizes Dante as 'extravagant, absurd, disgusting, in short a Methodist parson in Bedlam ;' Thomas Warton,⁸ affects to be shocked by his 'disgusting fooleries' and 'gross improprieties ;' and an anonymous writer in the *Monthly Magazine*,⁹ who finds his *dramatis personae* 'as uninteresting and insignificant as John Doe and Richard Roe,' suggests that 'children who have been taught to find their amusement in seeing a fly spin round upon a needle, might find, perhaps, in the *Inferno*, a recreation for their riper years,' and asks what is there grand or sublime in 'the idea of lazy souls being bitten to all eternity by fleas, and heretical souls being stifled and stunk to all eternity in a bog of ordure.' Opinions such as these were no doubt more or less conscious echoes of the flippant and contemptuous criticisms of Voltaire,¹⁰ of which the article on

¹ See pp. 345 ff.

⁵ See p. 255.

⁹ See pp. 572 ff.

² See p. 230.

⁶ See p. 321.

¹⁰ See pp. 204 ff.

³ See pp. 242-3.

⁷ See p. 340.

⁴ See pp. 301 ff.

⁸ See pp. 283 ff.

Dante, first published in 1756, and afterwards inserted in the *Dictionnaire Philosophique*, furnishes the most flagrant examples.

‘Vous voulez connaître le Dante, les Italiens l’appellent *divin*, mais c’est une divinité cachée : peu de gens entendent ses oracles. Il a des commentateurs, c’est peut-être encore une raison de plus pour n’être pas compris. Sa réputation s’affermira toujours, parce qu’on ne le lit guère.’

Elsewhere he speaks of Dante’s ‘imagination stupidement extravagantes et barbares,’ and says, ‘Le Dante pourra entrer dans les bibliothèques des curieux, mais il ne sera jamais lu.’ In the third volume of his *History of English Poetry* (1781) Warton quotes with approbation Voltaire’s ‘lively paraphrase’ (which is a mere burlesque) of the Guido da Montefeltro episode in the twenty-seventh canto of the *Inferno*, and remarks ‘Dante thus translated would have had many more readers than at present.’¹ In a similar vein Martin Sherlock, who had visited Voltaire at Ferney, describes the *Commedia* in his *Letters from an English Traveller* (1780), as ‘the worst poem there is in any language,’ and ‘a tissue of barbarisms, absurdities, and horrors.’²

Voltaire’s ignorant criticisms provoked indignant protests from several of Dante’s countrymen who were domiciled in England. The most conspicuous of these was the fiery Joseph Baretti,³ whose vigorous counter attacks upon Voltaire in defence of Italian literature, and of Dante in particular, in his *Dissertation upon the Italian Poetry* (1753), and his *Discours sur Shakespeare et sur M. de Voltaire* (1777), undoubtedly played an important part in making Dante better known to the English reading public, and helped before the century was out to bring about a reaction, the results of which manifested themselves both in English literature and in English art. Thomas Warton, though, as we have seen, he professed to approve Voltaire’s cynical treatment of Dante, yet thought it incumbent on him to give ‘a general view’ of the *Commedia* in his *History of English Poetry* in which he describes the poem as

‘A wonderful compound of classical and romantic fancy, of pagan and Christian theology, of real and fictitious history, of tragical and comic incidents, of familiar and heroic manners, and of satirical and sublime poetry.’

But while he laments Dante’s ‘gothic and extravagant innovations,’ he has to allow that his ‘grossest improprieties discover an

¹ See p. 295.

² See pp. 374 ff.

³ See pp. 257 ff.

originality of invention, and his absurdities often border on sublimity.¹ Dr. Beattie, in his *Dissertations Moral and Critical* (1783), refers in eulogistic terms to Dante's 'descriptions and allegories, whereof many are highly finished and in particular passages enforced with singular energy and simplicity of expression.'² And Hayley pays a tribute to the 'sublime painting of Dante' in his *Triumphs of Temper* (1781), several passages of which are imitated from the *Inferno*; while in his *Essay on Epic Poetry* (1782), in the notes to which he inserted a biography of Dante, and a translation in *terza rima* of the first three cantos of the *Inferno*, he gives a long appreciation of Dante's style, with especial reference to the episodes of Ugolino, and of Paolo and Francesca.³

English translations from Dante, which, as has been noted above, had already begun to make their appearance in the first half of the century, now became the fashion. Stimulated no doubt by the example of Baretti, who in his *Dissertation on Italian Poetry*, already mentioned, 'literally Englished' (in prose) the story of Ugolino,⁴ Joseph Warton in his *Essay on Pope* (1756) gave a prose translation of this same 'inimitable' episode.⁵ 'I cannot recollect,' he says, 'any passage in any writer whatever, so truly pathetic;' and, to make sure that his readers shall miss none of the pathos, he adds that 'it was thought not unproper to distinguish the more moving passages by italics.' Four years later (1760) in the *British Magazine, or Monthly Repository for Gentlemen and Ladies* was printed an anonymous version in heroic couplets of the first seven *terzine* of the eleventh canto of the *Purgatorio*, being Dante's paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer. This was by William Huggins, the translator of Ariosto, who before his death in 1761 completed a translation of the whole *Commedia*.⁶ In that same year, as Madame D'Arblay informs us, Dr. Burney made 'a sedulous, yet energetic, though prose translation' of the *Inferno*.⁷ Neither this, however, nor Huggins' version ever saw the light. In 1772 the Earl of Carlisle printed privately a version in rhymed couplets of the Ugolino episode, which was published in the following year.⁸ A third prose version of this now hackneyed episode appeared in 1781 in Thomas Warton's *History of English Poetry*, together with a rendering of the inscription over the gate of Hell.⁹

¹ See pp. 283 ff.

⁴ See pp. 261 ff.

⁷ See p. 323.

² See p. 358.

⁵ See pp. 302 ff.

⁸ See pp. 334 ff.

³ See pp. 361 ff.

⁶ See pp. 306-8.

⁹ See pp. 284, 292-3.

In the next year (1782) Hayley published the translation in *terza rima* of three cantos of the *Inferno* already referred to, this being the first serious attempt in English to translate Dante in the metre of the original.¹ In this year also was published anonymously in blank verse, or rather in prose printed as verse, the first complete English translation of the *Inferno*, the author of which was Charles Rogers, a well-known virtuoso and art-collector.² A second translation of the *Inferno*, in six-line stanzas, appeared in Dublin in 1785. This work, by Henry Boyd, who at the beginning of the next century (1802) published the first English translation of the whole of the *Commedia*, is not so much a translation as a paraphrase, in which, to adopt the translator's own phrase, he has introduced 'characteristic imagery' of his own.³ The last, and perhaps the most curious specimens of eighteenth-century English Dante translation, were the versions by the eccentric Constantine Jennings, in blank verse, of the Ugolino episode, and of what he calls 'the little Novel of Francesca,' which were privately printed in 1794, and published in his *Summary and Free Reflections* in 1798.⁴ Jennings assures his readers that Dante's poem 'is certainly Poetry,' but he warns them that it is 'a painful undertaking to read it regularly through;' so, for their benefit, he weaves into 'a consistent ensemble,' after his own fashion, portions of the fifth and thirty-second and thirty-third cantos of the *Inferno*. The translation is accompanied by notes, of which the following—on the catastrophe which befell the 'lovers of Rimini' through their reading the story of Lancelot and Guenever—may serve as a sample:—

'This melancholy Event seems to be recorded by Dante, with the sole View of illustrating by actual, and then recent, Example the dangerous Practice of young People's reading Romances together in Private; and still more so, when there already exists an inclination between the Parties, as in the present Instance.'

In art as well as in literature the influence of Dante began to make itself felt in the eighteenth century in England. It was, as we have seen, an artist, Jonathan Richardson, who at the beginning of the century (1719) first translated into English the Ugolino episode, in illustration of his theory as to the relation between

¹ See pp. 363 ff. Sir John Harington, as already mentioned, had translated the opening lines of the *Inferno* in *terza rima* (see p. 83).

² See pp. 383 ff.

³ See pp. 411 ff.

⁴ See pp. 517 ff.

painting and poetry; and it was this same episode which some fifty years later furnished the subject for the first picture painted by an English artist from the *Divina Commedia*. This was the famous oil-painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds of 'Count Ugolino and his Children in the Dungeon, as described by Dante in the thirty-third Canto of the Inferno,' which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1773.¹ So great was the admiration and interest excited by this picture, the subject of which is said to have been suggested by Burke, and which was marked at the time by Horace Walpole in his copy of the Academy catalogue as 'most admirable,' that a writer in the *Quarterly Review* at the beginning of the next century (1823) declared that 'Dante was brought into fashion in England by Sir Joshua Reynolds' Ugolino.' This, of course, was an exaggeration. Dante, as we have shown, was 'in fashion' in England many years before the appearance of Sir Joshua's picture, but that the picture greatly stimulated the interest in Dante in this country is evident from the frequent references to it in contemporary literature.² The next English artist to select a subject from Dante was Henry Fuseli, an ardent admirer of the poet, whose 'Francesca and Paolo' was exhibited at the Academy in 1786.³ A few years later William Blake, who in his old age produced a series of coloured designs from the *Commedia*, painted a portrait of Dante;⁴ and at about the same time Flaxman executed at Rome his celebrated outlines from Dante, which were afterwards published in England.⁵

It is somewhat surprising to find that of the most eminent men of letters of the eighteenth century, only two, besides those already referred to, so much as mention the name of Dante. These are Johnson and Gibbon. Johnson casually refers to Dante in his *Life of Gray* in order to controvert a statement of Gray's, and he is reported by Boswell to have remarked upon the similarity between the beginning of the *Pilgrim's Progress* and that of Dante's poem;⁶ while Gibbon has one solitary reference in the sixth volume of his *Decline and Fall*.⁷ Neither Swift, nor Hume, nor

¹ See p. 343.

² See *Index*, s. v. Ugolino.

³ See pp. 424 ff. In 1788 George Sidney, an English artist at Rome, painted a picture of Ugolino, of which an account is given in the *Giornale delle Belle Arti* for that year (see p. 683).

⁴ See pp. 455 ff.

⁵ See vol. ii. pp. 56-7.

⁶ See pp. 341-2.

⁷ See pp. 441-2.

Fielding,¹ nor Richardson, nor Sterne, we believe, anywhere mentions Dante, nor, strangest of all, does Burke,² in whose *Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful* (1756) one would certainly have expected to meet with some reference to the *Divina Commedia*. Boswell was so ignorant of Dante that in his *Life of Dr. Johnson* he actually quotes three lines from the *Inferno* at second hand from Redi, as 'by an Italian writer,' without knowing who was the author, though Redi calls him 'divinus poeta.'³

The one man in England in the eighteenth century who appears really to have known and appreciated Dante was Gray, who was regarded by his contemporaries as 'perhaps the most learned man in Europe.' As a young man, while still at Cambridge, he made the translation already referred to of the Ugolino episode, and in his later years he was a close student of Dante. His friend Norton Nicholls, in his interesting *Reminiscences*,⁴ tells us that Gray 'had a perfect knowledge of the poets of Italy of the first class, to whom he certainly looked up as his great progenitors, and to Dante as the father of all.' The direct influence of Dante upon Gray as a poet no doubt was small, his one acknowledged debt being the famous first line of the *Elegy*; but that he read and studied Dante's works attentively is evident not only from his references to the *Canzoniere* and *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (which he was the first English writer to quote) in his *Observations on English Metre* and on the *Pseudo-Rhythmus*, but also from the MS. notes in his copies of the *Divina Commedia* and of Milton's *Poetical Works*.⁵

It was from Gray, we have little doubt, that Cary,⁶ who for present purposes may be regarded as the connecting-link between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, caught the enthusiasm for Dante, which led him to undertake and accomplish the task to

¹ In *Tom Jones* (1749) Fielding makes Mrs. Fitzpatrick say, at the beginning of her story: 'It is natural to the unhappy to feel a secret concern in recollecting those periods of their lives which have been most delightful to them. The remembrance of past pleasures affects us with a kind of tender grief.' (Bk. xi. Chap. iv.) The close resemblance of this passage to Francesca's words in *Inf.* v. 121-3 is probably no more than a coincidence.

² It was Burke who, as has been mentioned above, is supposed to have suggested to Sir Joshua Reynolds the subject of his picture of Count Ugolino.

³ See pp. 462 ff.

⁴ See pp. 677 ff.

⁵ See pp. 230 ff.

⁶ Cary was a warm admirer of Gray, both as a poet and as a scholar, as may be gathered from his letters and journal. In a sketch of Gray's life he says: 'England had not sent abroad so elegant a scholar since the days of Milton.' (*Life of Gray*, vol. ii. p. 293.)

which he owes the lasting association of his name to that of Dante.¹ Cary's earliest attempts at translation from Dante date from his undergraduate days at Oxford. In 1792 he writes from Christ Church to Miss Seward, advising her to read the works of the Florentine poet, and enclosing a prose rendering of two passages from the *Purgatorio*. He received scant encouragement from the 'Swan of Lichfield,' but he persevered with his study of the *Commedia*, and in the last year of the century he began his blank verse translation. The *Inferno* was published in two volumes, together with the Italian text (now for the first time printed in England) in 1805-6; and six years later Cary completed the translation of the whole, which he published at his own expense, in three diminutive volumes, in 1814. The work was received with indifference, and lay neglected and forgotten until 1818, in which year it was highly praised by Coleridge in a lecture on Dante, and was favourably reviewed in the *Edinburgh Review*.² In less than three months a thousand copies of the book were disposed of, and a new edition was called for, which was published in three handsome octavo volumes in the following year. A third edition, also in three volumes, was issued in 1831, and a fourth, in a single volume, in 1844, the year of Cary's death. This last edition was issued in two forms, the cheaper of which was sold out within a fortnight of publication.³

The secret of Cary's success is explained with great discrimination in the *Edinburgh Review* article already referred to:—

'Of all the translators of Dante with whom we are acquainted, Mr. Cary is the most successful; and we cannot but consider his work as a great acquisition to the English reader. It is executed with a fidelity almost without example; and, though the measure he has adopted conveys no idea of the original stanza, it is perhaps the best for his purpose, and what Dante himself would have chosen, had he written in English, and in a later day. . . . Throughout Mr. Cary discovers the will and the power to do justice to his author. He has omitted nothing, he has added nothing; and though here and there his inversions are ungraceful, and his phrases a little obsolete, he walks not unfrequently by the side of his master, and sometimes perhaps goes beyond him.'

Ugo Foscolo, the writer of these words, was himself an ardent student of Dante, and, as an Italian domiciled in England, one

¹ The slab above the spot where Cary is buried in Westminster Abbey bears the inscription, 'The Translator of Dante.'

² By Foscolo, assisted by Mackintosh and Rogers.

³ See pp. 465 ff.

eminently qualified to judge of the merits of an English translation of the masterpiece of Italian literature.

What Coleridge said in the lecture on Dante above mentioned as to the merits of Cary's translation has not been preserved, but in a letter written in October, 1817, he expresses his opinion to Cary himself in the following terms:—

'In the severity and *learned simplicity* of the diction, and in the peculiar character of the blank verse, your translation has transcended what I should have thought possible without the terza rima. In itself, the metre is, compared with any English poem of one quarter the length, the most varied and harmonious to my ear of any since Milton, and yet the effect is so Dantesque, that to those who should compare it only with other English poems, it would, I doubt not, have the same effect as the terza rima has, compared with other Italian metres.'

In a second letter written not long after he says:—

'To my ear and to my judgment, both your metre and your rhythm have in a far greater degree than I know any instance of, the variety of Milton without any mere Miltonisms; the verse has this variety without any loss of *continuity*, and this is the *excellence* of the work considered as a translation of Dante—that it gives the reader a similar feeling of wandering and wandering, onward and onward. Of the diction, I can only say that it is Dantesque even in that in which the Florentine must be preferred to our English giant—namely that it is not only pure *language* but pure *English*.'

In the *Friend* (1818) Coleridge speaks of 'Mr. Cary's incomparable translation of Dante;' and in his copy of the second edition (1819) he has written:—'Those only who see the difficulty of the original can do justice to Mr. Cary's translation—which may now and then not be Dante's *words*, but always, always, *Dante*.' Opposite Cary's rendering of *Paradiso* i. 36 ff. he has written:—

'Admirably translated. Oh how few will appreciate its value! Genius is not alone sufficient—it must be present, indeed, in the translator, in order to supply a *negative* test by its sympathy; to *feel* that it *has* been well done. But it is *taste, scholarship, discipline, tact*,¹ that must do it.'²

Macaulay, a little later, was no less appreciative; in his article on Dante in *Knight's Quarterly Magazine* he wrote:—

'There is no version in the world, as far as I know, so faithful as Mr. Cary's translation, yet there is no other version which so fully proves that the translator is himself a man of poetical genius. Those who are ignorant of the Italian language should read it to become acquainted with the Divine

¹ Coleridge has twice underlined this word.

² See pp. 612 ff.

Comedy. Those who are most intimate with Italian literature should read it for its original merits: and I believe that they will find it difficult to determine whether the author deserves most praise for his intimacy with the language of Dante, or for his extraordinary mastery over his own.¹

Southey, Moore, Rogers, Landor, all spoke with admiration of Cary's performance, and Wordsworth went so far as to declare that he considered Cary's translation 'a great national work.'

Cary's friend, Miss Seward, on the other hand, a high literary authority in those days, to whom he sent a copy of his *Inferno*, was a severe critic. She not only expressed her distaste for the subject-matter of the poem, but further charged the translation with 'obscurity and vulgarism,' and with being 'undignified' and 'slipshod.' The chief attraction to her of the book was in 'tracing the plagiarisms which have been made from it by more interesting and pleasing bards than Dante.' She derived much more pleasure apparently from a misprint in the notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which made Cary speak of Dante as 'one of the most obscene writers of any age' (instead of 'obscure,' as he had written), than from the poem itself. Of Dante, to whom she had been introduced by her 'dear bard' Hayley, Miss Seward had a poor opinion. She calls him a 'fire and smoke poet,' and dwells on his 'transcending filthiness,' and his 'butcherly, gridiron, and intestinal exhibitions,' while she ridicules the *Commedia* as 'an epic poem consisting wholly of dialogue and everlasting egotism.' The more she reads of the translation, the more she wonders at 'the longevity of Dante's fame;' and she expresses unfeigned astonishment at Cyril Jackson's opinion that Dante was one of the four great poets of the world.²

By Miss Seward Cary's translation was brought to the notice of Scott, who visited the poetess at Lichfield in the spring of 1807. Scott testified to Cary's 'power and skill in having breathed so much spirit into a translation so nearly literal,' but confessed that Dante did not appeal to him. He complained of Dante's 'tedious particularity,' and declared himself unable to find pleasure in the *Commedia*, 'the plan of which appeared to him unhappy as it was singular,' while he was repelled by 'the personal malignity and strange mode of revenge,' which he considered to be 'presumptuous and uninteresting.' It is evident, however, from Scott's references

¹ See vol. ii. pp. 392 ff.

² See pp. 395 ff.

to Dante in Byron's phrase, as 'the Bard of Hell,' and to his poem as 'wild and gloomy,' that such knowledge as he had of the *Commedia* was confined to the *Inferno*. Though he was a good Italian scholar, and claimed as a young man to have been 'intimate' with the works of Dante, he admitted not long before his death that he knew but little of them, that he found Dante 'too obscure and difficult.'¹

If Dante meant little to Scott, to whom Ariosto, 'the Bard of Chivalry,' was naturally more congenial than 'the Bard of Hell,' the case was otherwise with some of Scott's most illustrious contemporaries. Among these Coleridge, who has already been referred to in connection with Cary's translation, deserves especial mention, as having been the first, as Dean Plumptre² puts it, to show the way to a more critical study of Dante, and to attempt an estimate of the poet from the standpoint of a higher wisdom than that of the critics of mere similes and phrases.

In his lecture on Dante delivered in London in 1818, Coleridge discusses Dante's relation as a Christian poet to the scholastic philosophy of his age:—

'It is impossible,' he says, 'to understand the genius of Dante, and difficult to understand his poem, without some knowledge of the characters, studies, and writings of the schoolmen of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. For Dante was the living link between religion and philosophy; he philosophized the religion and christianized the philosophy of Italy. . . . The *Divina Commedia* is a system of moral, political, and theological truths, with arbitrary personal exemplifications. . . . A combination of poetry with doctrines is one of the characteristics of the Christian muse; but I think Dante has not succeeded in effecting this combination nearly so well as Milton.'

Dante's chief excellences as a poet he sums up as follows:—

'The vividness, logical connexion, strength and energy of Dante's style cannot be surpassed. In this I think Dante superior to Milton; and his style is accordingly more imitable than Milton's, and does to this day exercise a greater influence on the literature of his country. You cannot read Dante without feeling a gush of manliness of thought within you. . . . The images in Dante are not only taken from obvious nature, and are intelligible to all, but are ever conjoined with the universal feeling received from nature, and therefore affect the general feelings of all men. In this respect Dante's excellence is very great. . . . Consider the wonderful profoundness of the whole third canto of the *Inferno*. I say profoundness rather than sublimity;

¹ See pp. 442 ff.

² *Commedia and Canzoniere of Dante*, vol. ii. p. 440.

for Dante does not so much elevate your thoughts as send them deeper. . . . In picturesqueness Dante is beyond all other poets, modern or ancient, and more in the stern style of Pindar than of any other. . . . Very closely connected with this picturesqueness is the topographic reality of Dante's journey through Hell. This is one of his great charms, which gives a striking peculiarity to his poetic power. He thus takes the thousand delusive forms of a nature worse than chaos, and having no reality but from the passions which they excite, and compels them into the service of the permanent. . . . For Dante's power,—his absolute mastery over, although rare exhibition of, the pathetic, I can do no more than refer to the passages on Francesca di Rimini and on Ugolino. The first is the pathos of passion, the second that of affection.'

Though in this lecture Coleridge deals with the *Inferno* only, his copy of Cary shows that he had carefully studied the rest of the poem; and it is evident from passages in his *Biographia Literaria* and *Friend* that he had also read Dante's prose works—the *Vita Nuova*, *Convivio*, and *De Vulgari Eloquentia*—as well as some of the *Canzoni*, the meaning of one of which he declares it took him thirteen years to unravel. In spite, however, of his intimate knowledge and critical appreciation of Dante's works, in Coleridge's poetry there seems to be no trace whatever of the influence of Dante.

On Byron and Shelley, on the other hand, especially on the latter, the influence of Dante is unquestionable. Byron read Dante at an early age, but it was not until after he had become domiciled in Italy that he acquired any real knowledge of the works of Dante. Though it may be gathered that he had studied the *Divina Commedia* as a whole, it is evident that he was chiefly attracted by the *Inferno*, his references, with one or two exceptions, being confined to that portion of the poem. Medwin records that he described the *Commedia* on one occasion as a

'scientific treatise of some theological student . . . so obscure, tiresome, and insupportable, that no one can read it for half an hour together without yawning and going to sleep over it. . . . A great poem! you call it; a great poem indeed! . . . fourteen thousand lines made up of prayers, dialogues, and questions!'

Nevertheless, in spite of these and similar somewhat theatrical protestations, Byron had a real appreciation of Dante, witness the indignant outburst in his *Journal* (Jan. 29, 1821) occasioned by the depreciatory criticism of Frederick Schlegel¹:—

¹ In his *Lectures on the History of Literature*, translated by Lockhart in 1818.

'This German fellow says that Dante's chief defect is a want, in a word, of gentle feelings. Of gentle feelings!—and Francesca of Rimini—and the father's feelings in Ugolino—and Beatrice—and 'La Pia'! Why, there is gentleness in Dante beyond all gentleness, when he is tender. It is true that, treating of the Christian Hades, or Hell, there is not much scope or site for gentleness—but who *but* Dante could have introduced any 'gentleness' at all into *Hell*? Is there any in Milton's? No—and Dante's Heaven is all love, and glory, and majesty.'

In Byron's everyday mood, however, Dante was for him pre-eminently the 'Bard of Hell.' Undoubtedly one of the grounds of his feeling for Dante was a personal one, namely the fact that Dante, like himself, was an exile; and, like himself (at any rate as Byron believed), was cursed with a 'fatal she' for a wife, a

'cold partner who hath brought
Destruction for a dowry.'

His references to the (reputed) miseries of Dante's married life are frequent and pointed.

Dante's direct poetical influence on Byron was less than might have been expected. His *Prophecy of Dante* (1821), for instance, a poem in which Dante is represented as foretelling shortly before his death the future fortunes of Italy, and which Byron regarded as the best thing he ever wrote, though in Dante's metre, is as unlike Dante in style as it could well be. Much the same may be said of his translation (1820) 'in *third rhyme* (*terza rima*), of which your British Blackguard reader as yet understands nothing,' of the 'Fanny of Rimini,' as he called it, which is a disappointing performance, in spite of his own description of it as 'the cream of translations.' Byron could do justice to Dante, however, when he was in the humour, as is evident from the beautiful rendering of the first six lines of the eighth canto of the *Purgatorio*, which he inserted in the third canto of *Don Juan* (1821).¹

Of all English poets Shelley perhaps was the most deeply appreciative of Dante.² It was during his residence in Italy, as was the case with Byron, that Shelley first made himself familiar with Dante's works. When he began to read the *Divina Commedia* he found Dante 'deficient in conduct, plan, nature, variety, and

¹ See vol. ii. pp. 31 ff.

² Shelley's devotion to Dante is incidentally illustrated by Peacock in his *Nightmare Abbey* (1818), in which Shelley ('Scythrop') is represented sitting with his back to the company and reading Dante. 'Mr. Listless' in the same scene remarks that Dante is 'growing fashionable.'

temperance,' and the poem itself he described as a 'misty ocean of dark and extravagant fiction,' upon which no one would be tempted to embark were it not for 'the fortunate isles, laden with golden fruit.' At the same time he credits Dante with having 'perhaps created imaginations of greater loveliness and energy than any that are to be found in the ancient literature of Greece.'¹ When this was written Shelley's reading had evidently been confined to the *Inferno*. A year or two later, in a letter to Leigh Hunt (Sept. 3, 1819), he specifies some of the beautiful passages in the *Purgatorio*, and asks in what other writer could be found 'all the exquisite tenderness, and sensibility, and ideal beauty, in which Dante excelled all poets except Shakespeare.'

Eventually he learned to prefer the *Paradiso* to either the *Purgatorio* or the *Inferno*.

'Dante's apotheosis of Beatrice in Paradise,' he writes in the *Defence of Poetry* (1821), 'and the gradations of his own love and her loveliness, by which as by steps he feigns himself to have ascended to the throne of the Supreme Cause, is the most glorious imagination of modern poetry.'—'The acutest critics,' he continues, 'have justly reversed the judgment of the vulgar, and the order of the great acts of the *Divina Commedia*, in the admiration which they accord to the Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise. The latter is a perpetual hymn of everlasting love.'

With the *Vita Nuova*, 'the prayer-book of love,' as Byron styled it, Shelley was intimately acquainted, as is evident from the advertisement to his *Epipsychidion* (1821), as well as from the poem itself, which is a Shelleyan echo of that 'inexhaustible fountain of purity of sentiment and language.'

In this poem, in parts of *Prometheus Unbound* (1820), and in the *Triumph of Life* (1822), Dante's influence on Shelley was perhaps at its strongest. Its effects, however, as regards the first two poems, are not so much perceptible in specific imitations, as in the tone and atmosphere, though there are lines in each poem which are obviously reminiscent of Dante. As might be expected, Shelley, who was fond of translation, and of metrical experiments, tried his hand at translating Dante. Besides the famous canzone 'Voi che intendendo il terzo ciel movete,' prefixed to the second book of the *Convivio*, and Dante's sonnet to Guido Cavalcanti, he translated the first seventeen *terzine* of the twenty-eighth canto

¹ *Discourse on the Manners of the Ancients relative to the Subject of Love* (1818).

of the *Purgatorio* ('Matilda gathering Flowers') into *terza rima*, a metre which he employed in several of his shorter poems; and, if Medwin is to be believed, he was the predominant partner in a joint version, also in *terza rima*, of part of the Ugolino episode. As a translator of Dante, Shelley was immeasurably superior to Byron, but in his management of the *terza rima*, whether in translation or in original poems, he was hardly more successful.¹

Of Shelley's poetical contemporaries, other than Coleridge and Byron, the two who seem to have been most familiar with the *Divina Commedia* were Moore and Rogers, both of whom visited Italy. Moore who criticises Dante, 'the sternest of all satirists,' for giving the title of 'Comedy' to his 'shadowy and awful panorama of Hell, Heaven, and Purgatory,' wrote a burlesque *Imitation of the Inferno* (1828), as well as an adaptation, under the title of *The Dream of the Two Sisters* (1841), of part of the twenty-seventh canto of the *Purgatorio*. References to Dante are frequent in other poems, as well as in his *Life of Byron* (1830), in which he institutes a comparison between the two poets, in their domestic relations.² Rogers' *Voyage of Columbus* (1810), and his *Italy* (1830), contain many allusions to Dante, and the latter poem contains also a free rendering of the same six lines from the eighth canto of the *Purgatorio*, which had already been translated by Byron in *Don Juan*.³

Southey read the *Commedia*, mottoes from which he prefixed to several chapters of his *Doctor* (1834-7), but the only one of his poems in which he refers to Dante is the *Vision of Judgment* (1821), where 'the Florentine,' who trod 'Hell's perilous chambers,' and 'the arduous Mountain of Penance,' and 'the Regions of Paradise, sphere within sphere intercircled,' is introduced by way of precedent.⁴

Wordsworth regarded Dante very much from the same point of view as did Scott. In a letter to Landor, written in 1824, he speaks of Dante's style as being 'admirable for conciseness and vigour, without abruptness,' but adds that he found 'his fictions offensively grotesque and fantastic,' and that 'he felt the poem tedious from various causes.' There are several references to Dante in Wordsworth's minor poems, the best known of which are in the lines on the sonnet (1827)—which, he says,

¹ See vol. ii. pp. 214 ff.

³ See vol. ii. pp. 71 ff.

² See vol. ii. pp. 16 ff.

⁴ See vol. i. pp. 604 ff.

‘glittered a gay myrtle leaf
Amid the cypress with which Dante crowned
His visionary brow ;’

and in the poem on the ‘Sasso di Dante,’ written at Florence in 1837.¹

To Keats, Dante in the original was a sealed book. His knowledge of the *Commedia* was derived from Cary’s translation, a copy of the first edition (1814) of which, in three tiny volumes, he carried in his knapsack on his tour in the north in 1818. In one of these volumes, the *Inferno*, which Mr. H. Buxton Forman, the present owner of them, states is marked throughout with pen and ink, Keats inscribed the rough draft of the sonnet entitled *A Dream* which was inspired by a recollection of the episode of Paolo and Francesca. He gives an interesting appreciation of Dante in a letter to Haydon (Nov. 20, 1817):—

‘How few,’ he says, ‘are the names, from the great flood, which may justly be catalogued with Dante! He has not, indeed, left one of those universal works which exact tribute from all sympathisers. There is an individuality in his imagination which makes those whose fancies run wholly in another vein, sensible only of his difficulty or his dullness. He is less to be commended than loved. With those who truly feel his charm he has attained the highest favour of an author—exemptions from those canons to which the little herd must bow.’²

The judgments on Dante in contemporary critical literature are curiously diverse. Leigh Hunt, whose *Story of Rimini* (1816) is taken from the fifth canto of the *Inferno*, where the episode ‘stands,’ he says, ‘like a lily in the mouth of Tartarus,’ describes the *Inferno* as ‘a kind of sublime nightmare ;’³ while Landor with characteristic vehemence, expresses himself in language which is even more vituperative than that of the most intemperate of the eighteenth-century critics. In the *Pentameron* (1836) he describes Dante as ‘the great master of the disgusting,’ and the *Inferno* as ‘the most immoral and impious book that ever was written ;’—‘at least sixteen parts in twenty of the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*,’ he says, ‘are detestable, both in poetry and principle ;’—‘the filthiness of some passages would disgrace the drunkenest horse-dealer.’ He talks of the ‘flatness and swamps of the *Paradiso*,’ and declares the exquisite ‘allegory of the marriage between Saint

¹ See vol. ii. pp. 1 ff.

² See vol. ii. pp. 244 ff.

³ See vol. ii. pp. 116 ff.

Francesco and Poverty' in the eleventh canto, to be as 'insipid and spiritless' as the description of Mahomet in the *Inferno* is 'indecent and filthy.' Yet he admits Dante to be 'a transcendently great poet, in the midst of his imperfections.' He was equally emphatic in his praise. Thirty lines of the Ugolino episode (*Inferno* xxxiii. 46-75) he pronounces to be 'unequaled by any other continuous thirty in the whole dominions of poetry,' while of a passage in the *Paradiso* (xx. 73-5) he says, 'all the verses that were ever written on the nightingale are scarcely worth the beautiful triad of this divine poet on the lark!'¹

Hazlitt² on the other hand, who recognises Dante as 'the father of modern poetry,' and Hallam,³ strike a more sober note in their criticism, and prepare the way for the popular essays of Macaulay (1824, 1825),⁴ and the stimulating, but (so far as details are concerned) by no means accurate lectures on Dante by Thomas Carlyle (1838, 1840).⁵ 'Of all writers,' says Hallam, 'Dante is the most unquestionably original. . . . No poet ever excelled him in conciseness, and in the rare talent of finishing his pictures by a few bold touches. . . . His great characteristic excellence is elevation of sentiments; we read him, not as an amusing poet, but as a master of moral wisdom, with reverence and awe.'

On the advent of Dante as 'the morning star of modern literature' he has a fine passage in his *Europe during the Middle Ages* (1818):—

'Italy indeed, and all Europe, had reason to be proud of such a master. Since Claudian, there had been seen for nine hundred years no considerable body of poetry . . . that could be said to pass mediocrity: and we must go much further back than Claudian to find any one capable of being compared with Dante. His appearance made an epoch in the intellectual history of modern nations, and banished the discouraging suspicions which long ages of lethargy tended to excite, that nature had exhausted her fertility in the great poets of Greece and Rome. It was as if, at some of the ancient games, a stranger had appeared upon the plain, and thrown his quoit among the marks of former casts which tradition had ascribed to the demigods.'

¹ See vol. ii. pp. 84 ff. Landor was unaware that the germ of this 'beautiful triad' was found by Dante in a poem by Bernart de Ventadour:—

Quant vey la lauzeta mover
De joi sas alas contral ray,
Que s'oblida es layssa cazer
Per la doussor qu'al cor vai. . . .

² See vol. ii. pp. 173 ff.

³ See vol. ii. pp. 253 ff.

⁴ See vol. ii. pp. 392 ff.

⁵ See vol. ii. pp. 480 ff.

In his *Introduction to the Literature of Europe* (1837-9) Hallam draws a comparison between the *Divina Commedia* and *Paradise Lost*, a subject which Macaulay treated in greater detail in his well-known essay on Milton in the *Edinburgh Review*.

Of some of the other great names in English letters in the nineteenth century we get little more than a glimpse within the period covered by this book. Tennyson, Browning, Mrs. Browning, Ruskin, for instance, all more or less devoted students and lovers of Dante, had published comparatively little before the year 1844, our *terminus ad quem*.¹

Tennyson, already at the age of eleven, quotes Dante in a letter, —the same passage from the fifth canto of the *Inferno* (ll. 121-3) which subsequently suggested the familiar lines in *Locksley Hall* (1842):—

‘ This is truth the poet sings,
That a sorrow’s crown of sorrow is remembering happier things.’

‘ Grim Dante ’ finds a place in the first published version of *The Palace of Art* (1832), with Milton, Shakespeare, and Homer, the last of whom is ousted from the stanza in the later version (1842), in order to make more room for ‘ world-worn Dante.’ Tennyson’s finest tribute to Dante in his early years is the poem of *Ulysses*, which was inspired by the account of the death of Ulysses in *Inferno* xxvi. 90-142.²

Browning’s earliest references to Dante—

‘ the pacer of the shore
Where glutton hell disgorgeth filthiest gloom ’—

occur in *Sordello* (1840), which owes its genesis to Dante’s mention of the troubadour in the *Purgatorio*.³

Elizabeth Barrett (afterwards Mrs. Browning) introduces ‘ the sublime Dante ’ in her *Essay on Mind* (1826), her earliest work, published when she was only seventeen; and conjures up ‘ Dante-stern and sweet,’ and ‘ poor in mirth,’ in her *Vision of Poets* (1844).⁴

¹ A few details as to the references to Dante in their subsequent writings will be found in the preliminary notices of these authors in the body of the work.

² See vol. ii. pp. 314 ff.

³ See vol. ii. pp. 652 ff.

⁴ See vol. ii. pp. 459 ff.

Ruskin, whose works probably contain more quotations from the *Divina Commedia* than those of any other English writer, has but one solitary reference to Dante before 1844. This occurs in a letter to Samuel Rogers, written from Venice in 1842 (the year before the publication of the first volume of *Modern Painters*), in which he suggests the addition of another scene to the *Inferno*, for the especial benefit of the indolent Venetians, who were to be driven at full speed up a tower with red-hot stairs, and dropped from the top 'into a lagoon of hot *café noir*'—a flippancy which Ruskin certainly would not have allowed himself in connection with Dante a few years later, when he had begun seriously to study the *Commedia*.¹

Other names of interest belonging to this period, which are deserving of mention, are Charles Lyell, the first English translator of the *Canzoniere* of Dante (1835);² Keble, who discussed Dante in the *Quarterly Review* (1825), and in his lectures as Professor of Poetry at Oxford (1837-41);³ Arthur Hallam, who while a boy of thirteen at Eton turned the Ugolino episode into Greek iambs, and who began, but did not live to complete, a translation of the *Vita Nuova*; ⁴ and a group of eminent statesmen, three of them subsequently Prime Ministers, viz. Brougham,⁵ Lord John Russell,⁶ Disraeli,⁷ and Gladstone,⁸ of whom the first and last were lifelong admirers of Dante, while both Russell and Gladstone published translations from the *Commedia*.

English art during the first half of the nineteenth century shows curiously little trace of the influence of Dante, other than as manifested in the designs of Flaxman and of Blake already referred to. The first picture from the *Divina Commedia* painted by an English artist, as was mentioned above, was the 'Ugolino' of Sir Joshua Reynolds, which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1773. The Academy Catalogues for the next seventy years record only fourteen other subjects from Dante; of which no less than six were taken from the hackneyed episode of Paolo and Francesca; while the names of the exhibitors of these include no artist nor

¹ See vol. ii. pp. 671 ff.

² See vol. ii. pp. 435 ff.

³ See vol. ii. pp. 432 ff.

⁴ See vol. ii. pp. 558 ff.

² See vol. ii. pp. 593 ff.

⁴ See vol. ii. pp. 416 ff.

⁶ See vol. ii. pp. 684 ff.

⁸ See vol. ii. pp. 601 ff.

sculptor of eminence with the exception of Fuseli¹ and the younger Westmacott.²

Much of the more intelligent appreciation of Dante, and of the livelier interest in his works displayed by English writers in the early decades of the nineteenth century was due no doubt to the writings of cultivated Italian political refugees, like Foscolo,³ Gabriele Rossetti,⁴ Mazzini,⁵ and Panizzi,⁶ who settled in England, and supported themselves by teaching and by contributing articles on Italian literature to the *Quarterly* and *Edinburgh*, and other English reviews. Foscolo especially did a great deal in this way to foster the study of the Italian poets and of Dante in particular in this country. It was an appreciative article of his in the *Edinburgh Review*, which, as already mentioned, helped to secure recognition of the sterling merits of Cary's translation of the *Commedia*, and was thus largely instrumental in bringing Dante within the reach of every educated reader in England.

Cary's translation naturally was not allowed to hold the field unchallenged. Two other versions of the *Inferno*, both in blank verse, appeared within a year or two of the publication of his *Hell*, namely one in 1807 by Nathaniel Howard,⁷ a west country poetaster, and a second in 1812, by Joseph Hume,⁸ 'the Radical.' Neither of these, however, met with, nor did they deserve, any measure of encouragement, and they both speedily fell into oblivion. A much more serious rival was the translation in 'bastard' *terza rima* of Ichabod Charles Wright,⁹ which was published in three instalments between 1833 and 1840. Wright's translation, which was the work of an accomplished scholar, was well received, and went through several editions, and is even now held in considerable esteem; but in spite of its undoubted merits it has not succeeded in supplanting Cary. The popularity attained by Cary's translation in his lifetime has been maintained unimpaired down to the present day, and notwithstanding the numerous versions (no less than twenty), in every variety of metre, which have appeared since it was first published, it still remains the translation which, as his latest

¹ See vol. i. pp. 424 ff.

³ See vol. ii. pp. 159 ff.

⁵ See vol. ii. pp. 623 ff.

⁷ See vol. ii. pp. 58 ff.

⁹ See vol. ii. pp. 568 ff.

² See vol. ii. pp. 630 ff.

⁴ See vol. ii. pp. 445 ff.

⁶ See vol. ii. pp. 512 ff.

⁸ See vol. ii. pp. 80 ff.

biographer¹ puts it, first occurs to the mind of an Englishman on the mention of the name of Dante. Cary, in fact, once and for all made Dante an English possession, and in so doing won for Dante as well as for himself a permanent place in English literature.

¹ Dr. Garnett in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. In this article Dr. Garnett makes the extraordinary blunder of attributing to Napoleon Voltaire's well-known caustic remark about Dante.

Thou know'st perchance how Phoebus' self did guide
Our Tuscan DANTE up the lofty side
Of snow-clad Cyrrha; how our Poet won
Parnassus' peak, and founts of Helicon;
How with Apollo, ranging wide, he sped
Through Nature's whole domain, and visited
Imperial Rome, and Paris, and so passed
O'erseas to BRITAIN'S distant shores at last.

(Boccaccio to Petrarch)

DANTE IN ENGLISH LITERATURE

GEOFFREY CHAUCER

(c. 1340-1400)

[Chaucer was born, probably in London,¹ about the year 1340, his father being John Chaucer, a citizen and vintner of London. In 1357 he was page in the household of Lionel, Duke of Clarence. Two years later he accompanied Edward III's expedition to France, and was taken prisoner, but was ransomed in the following March. On the death of the Duke of Clarence in 1368 he entered the household of John of Gaunt, in memory of whose first wife, Blanche (d. 1369) he wrote one of his earliest poems, *The Deth of Blanche the Duchesse*. From 1370 to 1386 Chaucer was attached to the court, and during the first part of this period he was employed on various diplomatic missions on the Continent. The most important of these from the point of view of the present work were his two missions to Italy—the first in 1372-3, when he went to Genoa and Florence, and may possibly have seen both Petrarch and Boccaccio; the second in 1378-9, when he was sent to Lombardy to treat with Bernabo Visconti, Lord of Milan, whom he afterwards introduced into the *Monk's Tale*. It was during these visits, and especially on the second occasion, that Chaucer gained the knowledge of Italian and of Italian literature which thenceforth exercised such a marked influence on his writings. In 1386 he sat in Parliament as knight of the shire for Kent. He received various lucrative appointments and pensions both from Edward III and Richard II, and was pensioned also by Henry IV in 1399 shortly after his accession. At the end of that year Chaucer took a house at Westminster on a long lease; but he died ten months later (Oct. 25, 1400), and was buried, in what is now known as Poet's Corner, in Westminster Abbey.

Chaucer's indebtedness to Dante,² whom he mentions by name no less than six times, is apparent in at least sixteen separate poems, in the course of which he translates, almost word for word, more than a hundred lines of the *Commedia*, all three divisions of the poem being represented; while his *House of Fame* shows such marked traces of Dante's influence throughout as to lead some critics to maintain that it was actually composed in imitation of the *Commedia*. Lydgate, in the list of Chaucer's works given in the Prologue to his *Falls of Princes*,³ credits Chaucer with having written 'Daunt in English.' Professor Skeat identifies this poem with the *House of Fame*, which is not mentioned under that name in Lydgate's list. 'The influence of Dante in the *House of Fame*,' says Skeat,⁴ 'is very marked; hence Lydgate refers to it by the name of *Dante in English*.' If Lydgate had been

¹[Evidence has recently been discovered which points to King's Lynn as Chaucer's birthplace. (See Walter Rye, *Chaucer a Norfolk Man*, in *Athenæum*, March 7, 1908.)]

²[See *Introduction*, pp. xv-xvii. The first to indicate the wide extent of Chaucer's obligations to Dante was Cary, who printed numerous extracts from Chaucer's works in this connection in the notes to the second edition (1819) of his translation of the *Divina Commedia*.]

³[See below, pp. 18-19.]

⁴[*Minor Poems of Chaucer*, p. lxx.]

an Italian scholar, and had been acquainted with the *Divina Commedia*, this inference might perhaps fairly have been drawn. But elsewhere¹ Skeat, quite correctly, states that Lydgate was 'ignorant of Italian.' It is difficult, therefore, to understand how he can have been so persuaded of Dante's influence on Chaucer in the *House of Fame*, as to refer to the latter without further explanation as 'Daunt in English.' Whatever may have been Lydgate's meaning,² it is impossible not to regret that his statement as to Chaucer's having written

'ful many a day agone
Daunt in English'—

was not literally true. That Chaucer was fully qualified for the task, both as a poet and a master of metre, is evident, not only from the specimens of translation which he has introduced into several of his later poems,³ but also from the fragments in *terza rima* which form part of the *Compleynt to his Lady*. The concluding lines of the second of these fragments may be given here, as being the first attempt at *terza rima* in English literature, and also as showing that Chaucer was quite at his ease in handling Dante's metre:

Hir love I best, and shal, whyl I may dure,
Bet than my-self an hundred thousand deel,
Than al this worldes richesse or créature.
Now hath nat Lové me bestowéd weel
To lové, ther I never shal have part?
Allas! right thus is turned me the wheel,
Thus am I slayn with Lovés fyry dart.
I can but love hir best, my sweté fo;
Love hath me taught no more of his art
But serve alwey, and stinté for no wo.⁴

(ll. 34-43.)

c. 1380-2.⁵ TROILUS AND CRESSIDA.

O UT of this blake wawes for to sayle,⁶
O wind, O wind, the weder ginneth clere;
For in this see the boot hath swich travayle,
Of my conning that unnethe I it stere:
This see clepe I the tempestous matere
Of desespyr that Troilus was inne.

(ii. 1-6.)

¹[*Works of Chaucer*, vol. iii. p. ix. n. 1.]

²[On this point see Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, vol. i. p. 425; vol. ii. pp. 236-7.]

³[See quotations below, especially those from the *Monk's Tale*, and the *Second Nun's Tale*.]

⁴[No further attempt to naturalize the *terza rima* in English seems to have been made until the beginning of the sixteenth century, when Sir Thomas Wyatt the Elder (c. 1503-1542) employed this metre for his three satires (in imitation of Alamanni) and for his translations of the Seven Penitential Psalms (possibly in imitation of the *terza rima* version attributed to Dante), and of Psalm xxxvii. The Earl of Surrey (c. 1517-1547) also wrote a poem of about sixty lines ('The sun hath twice brought forth the tender green') in *terza rima*. The next attempt seems to have been that of Milton, who rendered the second Psalm in this metre. (See Paget Toynbee, *English Translations from Dante. Cent. xiv-Cent. xvii*, in *Journal of Comparative Literature*, i. 353-4.)]

⁵[The dates here assigned to Chaucer's poems are those commonly accepted by the most competent authorities.]

⁶[Cf. *Purg.* i. 1 ff.]

The swalwe Proigné, with a sorwful lay,
Whan morwe com, gan make hir weymentinge,
Why she forshapen was.¹

(ii. 64-6.)

But right as floures, thorgh the colde of night
Y-closed, stoupen on hir stakes lowe,
Redressen hem a-yein the sonne bright,²
And spreden on hir kinde cours by rowe ;
Right so gan tho his eyen up to throwe
This Troilus . . .

(ii. 967-72.)

Benigne Love, thou holy bond of thinges,
Who-so wol grace, and list thee nought honouren,
Lo, his desyr wol flee with-ouren winges.³

(iii. 1261-3.)

But whan the cok, comune astrologer,
Gan on his brest to bete, and after crowe,
And Lucifer, the dayes messenger,
Gan for to ryse, and out hir bemes throwe ;
And estward roos, to him that coude it knowe,
Fortuna maior,⁴ than anon Criseyde,
With herte sore, to Troilus thus seyde . . .

(iii. 1415-21.)

And as in winter leves been biraft,
Eche after other, til the tree be bare,
So that ther nis but bark and braunche y-laft,⁵
Lyth Troilus, biraft of ech wel-fare,
Y-bounden in the blake bark of care.

(iv. 225-9.)

Thou oon, and two, and three, eterne on-lyve,
That regnest ay in three and two and oon,
Uncircumscrip, and al mayst circumscrip,⁶
Us from visible and invisible foon
Defende.

(v. 1863-7.)⁷¹[Cf. *Purg.* ix. 13-15.]²[*Inf.* ii. 127-9, possibly through the medium of Boccaccio's *Filostrato*, ii. 80.]³[Translation of *Par.* xxxiii. 14-15.]⁴[Cf. *Purg.* xix. 4-6.]⁵[*Inf.* iii. 112-14.]⁶[Translation of *Par.* xiv. 28-30.]⁷[In addition to the above passages it is possible, as is suggested by J. S. P. Tatlock in *Modern Philology* (iii. 367 ff.), that Chaucer was indebted to Dante for his description in *Troilus and Cressida* of Prudence, with three eyes:—

1382. PARLIAMENT OF FOWLS.

The day gan failen, and the derke night,
That reveth bestes from her besinesse,¹
Berafte me my book for lakke of light,
And to my bedde I gan me for to dresse,
Fulfilde of thought and besy hevinesse.

(ll. 85-9.)

This forseid African me hente anoon,
And forth with him unto a gate broghte
Right of a parke, walled with grene stoon;
And over the gate, with lettres large y-wroghte,
Ther weren vers y-writen . . .

‘Thorgh me men goon in-to that blisful place²
Of hertes hele and dedly woundes cure;
Thorgh me men goon unto the welle of Grace,
Ther grene and lusty May shal ever endure;
This is the wey to al good aventure . . .’

‘Thorgh me men goon,’ than spak that other syde,
Unto the mortal strokes of the spere,
Of which Disdayn and Daunger is the gyde,
Ther tree shal never fruyt ne leves bere . . .

(ll. 120 ff.)

He seyde, hit stondesth writen in thy face,
Thyn errour, though thou telle it not to me;
But dred thee nat to come in-to this place,
For this wryting is no-thing ment by thee . . .

Prudence, allas! oon of thine yën three
Me lakkéd alwey or-that I com here!
On timé passéd wel remembred me,
And present time ek coude ich wel y-see,
But futur time, or I was in the snare,
Coude I not see.

(v. 744-9.)

Dante's Prudence in the *Purgatorio* (xxix. 132) has 'tre occhi in testa' (cf. *Conv.* iv. 27, ll. 43-6: 'a essere prudente si richiede buona memoria delle vedute cose, e buona conoscenza delle presenti, e buona provvidenza delle future.') Chaucer's account of Fortune also (*Troilus and Cressida*, v. 1541-5; cf. iii. 617-19; and *Knight's Tale*, 1663-9; *Nun's Priest's Tale*, 4189-90) may owe something to Dante's account in the *Inferno* (vii. 68-9, 73, 77-82, 88).]

¹[Translation of *Inf.* ii. 1-3.]²[Cf. *Inf.* iii. 1. ff.]

With that my hond in his he took anon,¹
 Of which I comfort caughte, and went in faste.
 (ll. 155-8, 169-70.)

On every bough the briddes herde I singe,
 With voys of aungel in her armonye . . .

Therwith a wind, unnethe hit might be lesse,
 Made in the leves grene a noise softe
 Accordant to the foules songe on-lofte.²
 (ll. 190-2, 201-3.)

1384. THE HOUSE OF FAME.

[That in this poem Chaucer was largely indebted to the *Divina Commedia* is generally admitted. That it was written 'in imitation of' the latter, as some critics hold, is not so easily conceded. It is claimed that there are striking general and particular resemblances between the two poems. Both are visions; both are in three books; each book in both cases begins with an invocation; and each poet is under the conduct of a guide, Dante under that of Virgil, Chaucer under that of the eagle. As regards particular resemblances it is pointed out that 'both poets mark the exact date of commencing their poems (cf. *H. F.* 111 ff., and *Inf.* xxi. 112). . . . Chaucer sees the desert of Libya (l. 488), corresponding to similar waste spaces mentioned by Dante (*Inf.* i. 64; xiv. 8, 13); Chaucer's eagle is also Dante's eagle (*Purg.* ix. 19 ff.); Chaucer gives an account of Phaëton (l. 942) and of Icarus (l. 920) much like those given by Dante (*Inf.* xvii. 107, 109); Chaucer's account of the eagle's lecture to him (ll. 729 ff.) is copied from *Par.* i. 109-17; Chaucer's steep rock of ice (l. 1130) corresponds to Dante's steep rock (*Purg.* iii. 47); if Chaucer cannot describe all the beauty of the House of Fame (l. 1168), Dante is equally unable to describe Paradise (*Par.* i. 6); Chaucer copies from Dante his description of Statius (ll. 1460 ff.), and follows his mistake in saying that he was born at Toulouse (*Purg.* xxi. 89 ff.); that the description of the House of Rumour (ll. 2034-40) is also imitated from Dante (*Inf.* iii. 55-7); and that Chaucer's error in making Marsyas a female (l. 1229) arose from his not understanding the Italian form Marsia (*Par.* i. 20).]

It must be confessed, however, that a great number, if not the majority, of these so-called resemblances (which are here given from Skeat's summary³ of an article by A. Rambeau published in *Englische Studien* in 1880),⁴ are shadowy in the extreme, and anything but convincing to a close student of Dante. In the subjoined extracts only those passages are included in which Chaucer either actually refers to Dante, or is obviously indebted to him. For the more remote 'resemblances' the reader is referred to the article by Rambeau already mentioned.⁵

Tho saw I grave, how to Itaile
 Daun Eneas is go to saile;

* * *

¹[*Inf.* iii. 19-20.]

²[*Purg.* xxviii. 14, 16-18.]

³[*Minor Poems of Chaucer*, pp. lxx-lxxi.]

⁴[Vol. iii. pp. 209 ff. *Chaucer's House of Fame in seinem Verhältniss zu Dante's Divina Commedia.*]

⁵[See also C. Chiarini, *Di una imitazione inglese della Divina Commedia*, Bari, 1902.]

And also saw I how Sibyle
 And Eneas, besyde an yle,
 To helle wente . . .

* * *

And every tourment eek in helle
 Saw he, which is long to telle.
 Which who-so willeth for to knowe,
 He moste rede many a rowe
 On Virgile or on Claudian,
 Or Daunte,¹ that hit telle can.

(i. 433-4, 439-41, 445-50.)

[Chaucer sees an immense eagle, with feathers of gold, which swoops down upon him, like a thunderbolt, and carries him up to an incredible height, so that he thinks he is being borne up to heaven like Ganymede.—This is an evident imitation of the eagle seen by Dante in his dream on the threshold of Purgatory; this too had feathers of gold (*Purg.* ix. 20), and descended like a thunderbolt, and snatched him up to the confines of heaven (ll. 29-30), as from the place whence Ganymede was ravished to serve the gods on high (ll. 22-4).]

Myn yën to the heven I caste ;
 Tho was I war, lo ! at the laste,
 That faste by the sonne, as hyë
 As kenne mighte I with myn yë,
 Me thoughte I saw an egle sore,
 But that hit semed moche more
 Than I had any egle seyn.
 But this, as sooth as deeth, certeyn
 Hit was of golde, and shoon so brighte,
 That never saw men such a sighte,
 But-if the heven hadde y-wonne
 Al newe of golde another sonne ;²
 So shoon the egles fethres brighte,
 And somewhat dounward gan hit lighte.

(i. 495-508.)

This egle, of which I have you told,
 That shoon with fethres as of gold,
 Which that so hyë gan to sore,
 I gan beholde more and more,
 To see hir beautee and the wonder ;
 But never was ther dint of thonder,
 Ne that thing that men calle foudre,
 That smoot somtyme a tour to poudre,

¹[Alluding, of course, to the *Inferno*.]

²[Cf. *Par.* i. 62-3.]

And in his swifte coming brende,
That so swythe gan descende,
As this foul . . .

With his grimme pawes stronge
Within his sharpe nayles longe,
Me, fleinge, at a swappe he hente,
And with his sours agayn up wente,
Me caryinge in his clawes starke
As lightly as I were a larke,
How high, I can not telle yow,
For I cam up, I niste how.

* * *

‘O god,’ thoughte I, ‘that madest kinde, . . .

What thing may this signifye?
I neither am Enok, ne Elye,¹
Ne Romulus, ne Ganymede
That was y-bore up, as men rede,
To hevене with dan Jupiter,
And maad the goddes boteler.’

(ii. 21-31, 33-40, 76, 79-84.)

[As Virgil comforts Dante in his fears, and tells him of his own condition, and how and why he was sent for his salvation (*Inf.* ii. 49 ff.), so the eagle reassures Chaucer, and explains his mission.]

‘I dar wel putte thee out of doute—. . .

I wol thee telle what I am,
And whider thou shalt, and why I cam
To done this, so that thou take
Good herte, and not for fere quake.’

‘Gladly,’ quod I. ‘Now wel,² quod he,
‘First I, that in my feet have thee,
Of which thou hast a feer and wonder,
Am dwelling with the god of thonder,
Which that men callen Jupiter,
That dooth me flee ful ofte fer
To do al his comaundement.
And for this cause he hath me sent
To thee: now herke, by thy trouthe!
Certeyn, he hath of thee routhe. . . .’

(ii. 90, 93-106.)

[As Beatrice bids Dante look down from heaven at the tiny earth far below, on which he distinguishes the mountains and rivers (*Par.* xxii. 128-9, 133-5, 151-3), so at the bidding of the eagle, Chaucer does likewise.]

¹[Cf. *Inf.* ii. 31-2.]

' Now see,' quod he,
 By thy trouthe, yond adoun . . .'
 And I adoun gan loken tho'
 And beheld feldes and plaines,
 And now hilles, and now mountaines,
 Now valeys, and now forestes,
 And now, unethes, grete bestes ;
 Now riveres, now citees,
 Now tounes, and now grete trees,
 Now shippes sailinge in the see.
 But thus sone in a whyle he
 Was flowen fro the grounde so hyë,
 That al the world, as to myn yë,
 No more seemed than a prikke. . .

(ii. 380-1, 388-99.)

[At the opening of the second book Chaucer invokes the aid of the Muses, as does Dante at the beginning of the *Purgatorio* (i. 7-12); and apostrophises his 'thought,' as Dante does his mind ('mente') at the beginning of the *Inferno* (ii. 7-9).]

Ye, me to endyte and ryme
 Helpeth, that on Parnaso dwelle
 By Elicon the clere welle.¹
 O Thought, that wroot al that 'I mette,
 And in the tresorie hit shette
 Of my brayn ! now shal men see
 If any vertu in thee be,
 To tellen al my dreem aright ;
 Now kythe thyn engyne and might !²

(ii. 12-20.)

[At the opening of the third book ('this litel laste book') Chaucer invokes the aid and inspiration of Apollo, as Dante does at the beginning of the *Paradiso* ('l' ultimo lavoro') (*Par.* i. 13-27).]

O god of science and of light,
 Apollo, through thy grete might,
 This litel laste book thou gye !
 Nat that I wilne, for maistrye,
 Here art poetical be shewed
 And if, divyne vertu, thou
 Wilt helpe me to shewe now
 That in myn hede y-marked is—

¹[Cf. *Purg.* xxix. 37-42.]²[Lines 15-20 are a fairly close rendering of *Inf.* ii. 7-9.]

Lo, that is for to menen this,
 The Hous of Fame to descryve—
 Thou shalt see me go, as blyve,
 Unto the nexte laure I see,
 And kisse hit, for hit is thy tree;¹
 Now entreth in my breste anoon!²

(iii. 1-5, 11-19.)

Proserpyne,
 That queene is of the derke pyne.³

(iii. 421-2.)

c. 1385-6. PROLOGUE TO THE LEGENDE OF GOOD WOMEN.

Envye is lavender of the court alway;
 For she ne parteth, neither night ne day,
 Out of the hous of Cesar; thus seith Dante.⁴

(ll. 358-60.)

The god of love gan smyle, and than he seyde,
 'Wostow,' quod he, 'wher this be wyf or mayde,
 Or queene, or countesse, or of what degree,
 That hath so litel penance yiven thee,
 That hast deserved sorer for to smerte?
 But pitee renneth sone in gentil herte;⁵
 That maystow seen, she kytheth what she is.'

(ll. 497-504.)

c. 1385-6. LEGENDE OF DIDO.

Glory and honour, Virgil Mantuan,
 Be to thy name! and I shal, as I can,
 Folow thy lantern, as thou gost biforn.⁶

(ll. 1-3.)

This Eneas is come to Paradyss
 Out of the swolow of helle.⁷

(ll. 180-1.)

¹[Lines 11-19 are a close imitation of *Par.* i. 22-5.] ²[*Par.* i. 19.]³[*Inf.* ix. 44.]⁴[*Inf.* xiii. 64-6.]⁵[*Inf.* v. 100—a favourite line with Chaucer, who repeats it three times elsewhere, in the *Knight's Tale* (l. 903), the *Merchant's Tale* (l. 742), and the *Squire's Tale* (l. 479); cf. also the *Man of Law's Tale* (l. 660).]⁶[*Purg.* xxii. 66-9.]⁷[Cf. *Purg.* xxi. 31-2.]

c. 1385-6. LEGENDE OF YPERMYSTRE.

Ne I nolde rede thee to thy mischeef,
For al the golde under the colde mone.¹

(ll. 76-7.)

c. 1386-8. KNIGHT'S TALE.

The bisy larke, messenger of day,
Saluëth in hir song the morwe gray ;
And fyry Phebus ryseth up so brighte,
That al the orient laugheth of the lighte.²

(ll. 633-6.)

At the laste aslaked was his mood ;
For pitee renneth sone in gentil herte.³

(l. 902-3.)

Anon

That other fyre was queynte, and al agon ;
And as it queynte, it made a whisteling,
As doon thise wete brondes in hir brenninge,
And at the brondes ende out-ran anon
As it were bloody dropes many oon.⁴

(ll. 1478-82.)

c. 1386-8. MAN OF LAW'S TALE.

This Alla king hath swich compassioun,
As gentil herte is fulfild of pitee,⁵
That from his yën ran the water doun.

(ll. 659-61.)

Fy, mannysh, fy,—O nay, by God, I lye,—
Fy, feendlych spirit, for I dar wel telle,
Though thou heere walke, thy spirit is in helle.⁶

(ll. 782-4.)

¹ [*Inf.* vii. 64. Some of the MSS. read 'gode' not 'golde,' which makes the imitation less close.]

² [*Purg.* i. 19-20.]

³ [*Inf.* v. 100. See above, p. 9, note to *Prologue to Legende of Good Women.*]

⁴ [*Inf.* xiii. 40-4.]

⁵ [*Inf.* v. 100. See above, p. 9, note to *Prologue to Legende of Good Women.*]

⁶ [*Cf. Inf.* xxxiii. 139-46, where Dante says that Branca d'Oria's soul is in hell, though his body is still on earth.]

c. 1386-8. PROLOGUE TO THE PRIORESSES TALE.

Lady! thy bountee, thy magnificence,
 Thy vertu, and thy grete humilitee
 Ther may no tonge expresse in no science;
 For som-tyme, lady, er men praye to thee,
 Thou goost biforn of thy benignitee,
 And getest us the light, thurgh thy preyere,
 To gyden us un-to thy sone so dere.¹

(ll. 22-8.)

c. 1386-8. MONK'S TALE.

De Hugelino, Comite de Pize.

Of the erl Hugelyn of Pyse the langour
 Ther may no tonge telle for pitee;
 But litel out of Pyse stant a tour,
 In whiche tour in prisoun put was he,
 And with him been his litel children three.
 The eldeste scarsly fyf yeer was of age.
 Allas, fortune! it was greet crueltee
 Swiche briddes for to putte in swich a cage!

Dampned was he to deye in that prisoun,
 For Roger, which that bisshop was of Pyse,
 Hadde on him maad a fals suggestioun,
 Thurgh which the peple gan upon him ryse,
 And putten him to prisoun in swich wyse
 As ye han herd, and mete and drink he hadde
 So smal, that wel unnethe it may suffyse
 And therwith-al it was ful povve and badde.

And on a day bifil that, in that hour,
 Whan that his mete wont was to be broght,
 The gayler shette the dores of the tour.
 He herde it wel,—but he spak right noght,
 And in his herte anon ther fil a thoght,
 That they for hunger wolde doon him dyen.
 ‘Allas!’ quod he, ‘allas! that I was wroght!’
 Therwith the teres fillen from his yën.

His yonge sone, that three yeer was of age,
 Un-to him seyde, ‘fader, why do ye wepe?’

¹[Addressed to the Virgin—*Par.* xxxiii. 16-21; cf. the rendering of this same passage in the *Invocacio ad Mariam* in the *Second Nun's Tale* (see below, pp. 15-16).]

Whan wol the gayler bringen our potage,
 Is ther no morsel breed that ye do kepe?
 I am so hungry that I may nat slepe.
 Now wolde god that I mighte slepen ever!
 Than sholde nat hunger in my wombe crepe;
 Ther is no thing, save breed, that me were lever.'

Thus day by day this child bigan to crye,
 Til in his fadres barme adoun it lay,
 And seyde, 'far-wel, fader, I moot dye,'
 And kiste his fader, and deyde the same day.
 And when the woful fader deed it sey,
 For wo his armes two he gan to byte,
 And seyde, 'allas, fortune! and weylaway!
 Thy false wheel my wo al may I wyte!'

His children wende that it for hunger was
 That he his armes gnou, and nat for wo,
 And seyde, 'fader, do nat so, allas!
 But rather eet the flesh upon us two;
 Our flesh thou yaf us, tak our flesh us fro
 And eet y-nough': right thus they to him seyde,
 And after that, with-in a day or two,
 They leyde hem in his lappe adoun, and deyde.

Him-self, despeired, eek for hunger starf;
 Thus ended is this mighty Erl of Pyse;
 From heigh estaat fortune away him carf.
 Of this Tragedie it oghte y-nough suffyse.
 Who-so wol here it in a lenger wyse,
 Redeth the grete poete of Itaille,
 That highte Dant, for he can al devyse
 Fro point to point, nat o word wol he faille.¹
 (ll. 417-72.)

More delicat, more pompous of array,
 More proud was never Emperour than he;
 * * * *

His lustes were al lawe in his decree,²
 For fortune as his friend him wolde obeye.
 (ll. 481-2, 487-8.)

¹[Chaucer has here utilised, and in part translated, *Inf.* xxxiii. 43-75. This is the first of a long series (some thirty in all) of English translations (in every variety of metre) of the Ugolino episode.]

²[Chaucer here translates, and applies to Nero, what Dante says of Semiramis, *Inf.* v. 56.]

c. 1386-8. WIFE OF BATH'S TALE.

But for ye speken of swich gentillesse
 As is descended out of all richesse,
 That therefore sholden ye be gentil men,
 Swich arrogance is nat worth an hen.
 Loke who that is most vertuouus alway,
 Privee and apert, and most entendeth ay
 To do the gentil dedes that he can,
 And tak him for the grettest gentil man.
 Crist wol, we clayme of him our gentillesse,
 Nat of our eldres for hir old richesse.
 For thogh they yeve us al hir heritage,
 For which we clayme to been of heigh parage,
 Yet may they nat biquethe, for no-thing,
 To noon of us hir vertuouus living,
 That made hem gentil men y-called be ;
 And bad us folowen hem in swich degree.

Wel can the wyse poete of Florence,
 That highte Dant, speken in this sentence ;
 Lo in swich maner rym is Dantes tale :
 ' Ful selde up ryseth by his branches smale
 Prowesse of man, for god, of his goodnesse,
 Wol that of him we clayme our gentillesse ' ;¹
 For of our eldres may we no-thing clayme
 But temporel thing, that man may hurte and mayme.

Eek every wight wot this as wel as I,
 If gentillesse were planted naturelly
 Un-to a certeyn linage, doun the lyne,
 Privee ne apert, than wolde they never fyne
 To doon of gentillesse the faire offyce ;
 They mighte do no vileinye or vyce.

* * * *

Genterye

Is not annexed to possessioun,
 Sith folk ne doon hir operacioun
 Alwey, as dooth the fyr, lo ! in his kinde.
 For, god it woot, men may wel often finde
 A lordes sone do shame and vileinye ;
 And he that wol han prys of his gentrye
 For he was boren of a gentil hous,
 And hadde hise eldres noble and vertuouus,
 And nil him-selven do no gentil dedis,

¹[Translation of *Purg.* vii. 121-3.]

Ne folwe his gentil auncestre that deed is,
 He nis nat gentil, be he duk or erl;
 For vileyns sinful dedes make a cherl.
 For gentillesse nis but renomee
 Of thyne auncestres, for hir heigh bountee,
 Which is a strange thing to thy persone.
 Thy gentillesse cometh fro god allone;
 Than comth our verray gentillesse of grace,
 It was no-thing biquethe us with our place.

* * * *

Redeth Senek, and redeth eek Boëce,¹
 Ther shul ye seen expres that it no drede is,
 That he is gentil that doth gentil dedis.

(ll. 253-82, 290-309, 312-14.)

c. 1386-8. FRIAR'S TALE.

[The Summoner, having questioned the devil as to the shapes assumed by him and his fellows, is told that he will some day go to a place where he will be in a position to say more on that subject than either Virgil or Dante.]

Thou shalt her-afterward, my brother dere,
 Com ther thee nedeth nat of me to lere.
 For thou shalt by thyn owne experience
 Conne in a chayer rede of this sentence
 Bet than Virgyle, whyl he was on lyve,
 Or Dant also.

(ll. 217-22.)

c. 1386-8. MERCHANT'S TALE.

'Certeyn,' thoghte she, 'whom that this thing displese,
 I rekke noght, for here I him assure,
 To love him best of any creature,
 Though he na-more hadde than his sherte.'
 Lo, pitee renneth sone in gentil herte.²

(ll. 738-42.)

¹[This discussion as to the true nature of nobility, though partly based on a passage in the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* (iii. pr. 6. met. 6) of Boëthius, as appears from this reference, almost undoubtedly owes much to Dante's canzone on the subject prefixed to the fourth book of the *Convivio*; as does also the *Balade of Gentillesse* quoted below. There is evidence to show that this canzone of Dante was the subject of discussion, in respect of his opinions as to what constitutes nobility, at a very early date. See for instance the account given by Lapo da Castiglionchio (c. 1310-1381) in the second part of the letter to his son Bernardo (ed. Mehus, Bologna, 1753, pp. 11 ff.) of the examination of Dante's arguments by the famous jurist, Bartolo da Sassoferrato (c. 1313-1356).]

²[*Inf.* v. 100—see above, p. 9, note to *Prologue to Legende of Good Women.*]

c. 1386-8. SQUIRE'S TALE.

And, after that she of hir swough gan breyde,
 Right in hir haukes ledene thus she seyde:—
 'That pitee renneth sone in gentil herte,¹
 Feling his similitude in peynes smerte,
 Is preved al-day, as men may it see,
 As wel by werk as by auctoritee;
 For gentil herte kytheth gentillesse.'

(ll. 477-83.)

c. 1386-8. PROLOGUE TO THE SECOND NUN'S TALE.

Invocacio ad Mariam.

And thou that flour of virgines art alle,
 Of whom that Bernard list so wel to wryte,
 To thee at my biginning first I calle;
 Thou comfort of us wrecches, do me endyte
 Thy maydens deeth, that wan thurgh hir meryte
 The eternal lyf, and of the feend victorie,
 As man may after reden in hir storie.

Thou mayde and mooder, doghter of thy sone,²
 Thou welle of mercy, sinfu soules cure,
 In whom that God, for bountee, chees to wone,
 Thou humble, and heigh over every creature,
 Thou nobledest so fertorth our nature,
 That no desdeyn the maker hadde of kinde,
 His sone in blode and flesh to clothe and winde.

Withinne the cloistre blisful of thy sydes
 Took mannes shap the eternal love and pees,
 That of the tryne compas lord and gyde is,
 Whom erthe and see and heven, out of relees,
 Ay herien; and thou, virgin, wemmeless,
 Bar of thy body, and dweltest mayden pure,
 The creatour of every creature.

Assembled is in thee magnificence
 With mercy, goodnesse, and with swich pitee
 That thou, that art the somme³ of excellence,

¹[*Inf.* v. 100—see previous note.]²[What follows is a translation of *Par.* xxxiii. 1-12, 16-21.]³[The printed texts read 'sonne,' but there can be little doubt that the correct reading is 'somme' (see Paget Toynbee, *A Proposed Emendation in Chaucer's Second Nun's Tale*, in *Athenæum*, Oct. 15, 1904).]

Nat only helpest hem that preyen thee,
 But ofte tyme, of thy benignitee,
 Ful frely, er that men thyn help biseche,
 Thou goost biforn, and art hir lyves lecche.

(ll. 29-56.)

c. 1390. BALADE OF GENTILLESSE.¹

The firste stok, fader of gentillesse—
 What man that claymeth gentil for to be,
 Must folow his trace, and alle his wittes dresse
 Vertu to serve, and vyces for to fle
 For unto vertu longeth dignitee,
 And noght the revers, saufly dar I deme,
 Al were he mytre, croune, or diademe.

This firste stok was ful of rightwisnesse,
 Trewe of his word, sobre, pitous, and free,
 Clene of his goste, and loved besinesse,
 Ageinst the vyce of slouthe, in honestee;
 And, but his heir love vertu, as did he,
 He is noght gentil, thogh he riche seme,
 Al were he mytre, croune, or diademe.

Vyce may wel be heir to old richesse;
 But ther may no man, as men may wel se,
 Biquethe his heir his vertuous noblesse;
 That is approved unto no degree,
 But to the first fader in magestee,
 That maketh him his heir, that wol him queme,
 Al were he mytre, croune, or dyademe.

JOHN GOWER

(c. 1330-1408)

['Moral Gower,' as his contemporary and friend Chaucer calls him, was probably born about 1330, inasmuch as in 1400 he speaks of himself as 'senex et caecus.' He died in 1408, eight years after Chaucer, and was buried in what is now the church of St. Saviour's, Southwark, where his monument is still to be seen. Gower's three most important works were the *Speculum Meditantis*, a French poem of 30,000 lines, which was long believed to have been lost, but which was lately discovered by Mr. G. C. Macaulay in a MS. in the Cambridge University Library, and

¹[This balade, like the passage quoted above from the *Wife of Bath's Tale*, is no doubt partly based on the canzone on the same subject prefixed to Book iv. of Dante's *Convivio*. (See note, p. 14.)]

has since been published (Oxford, 1899) under the title of *Le Mirour de l'Omme*; the *Vox Clamantis*, a Latin elegiac poem in seven books; and the *Confessio Amantis*, his only important English poem, in rhymed couplets, consisting also of about 30,000 lines. The *Confessio*, which is extant in two versions, the first dedicated to Richard II, the second to Henry of Lancaster, afterwards Henry IV, contains a large number of stories drawn from Ovid, Valerius Maximus, Josephus, and later authors. Among these is an anecdote of Dante (derived apparently from the second book of the *Res Memorandae* of Petrarch), which is the only reference to Dante in the whole of Gower's works. To Gower, in fact, Dante appears to have been little more than a name. There is, however, one passage in the *Confessio* which may have been derived, directly or indirectly, from Dante, though Gower as a matter of fact gives Seneca as his authority. This passage, which has not been identified in any of Seneca's works, genuine or apocryphal, occurs in the second book (ll. 3095-7):—

Senec witnesseth openly
How that Envie proprely
Is of the Court the comun wenche.

The same saying, with the substitution of 'ly sages' for 'Senec' as the authority, occurs in the *Mirour de l'Omme* (ll. 3831-4):—

Sicomme ly sages la repute,
Envie est celle peccatrice,
Qu'es nobles courtz de son office
Demoert et est commune pute.

These lines bear a very close resemblance to Dante's description of envy in *Inferno* xiii. 64-6, which was translated by Chaucer in the *Prologue to the Legende of Good Women* (ll. 358-60).¹ Whether Gower borrowed the quotation from Chaucer or from Dante it is impossible to say; if from Dante, it is certainly remarkable that no other instance of his indebtedness to the *Divina Commedia* should have been traced in the seventy thousand lines or so of his various works. On the whole, therefore, it seems probable that Gower had no direct knowledge of Dante.^{2]}

c. 1390. CONFESSIO AMANTIS.

HOW Danté the poete answerde
To a flatour, the tale I herde.
Upon a strif bitwen hem tuo
He seide him: ther ben many mo
Of thy servantés than of myne.
For the poete of his covyne
Hath non that wol him clothe and fede,
But a flatour may reule and lede
A king with al his lond aboute.

(Bk. vii. ll. 2329*-37*.)³

*Nota exemplum
cuiusdem poete
de Ytalia, qui
Dantes vocabatur.*

¹[See above, p. 9.]

²[There is possibly a reminiscence of *Inferno* v. 121-3 in the second book of the *Vox Clamantis* (ll. 67-8):

Est nam felicem puto maxima pena fuisse
Quam miser in vita posset habere sua.

Gower may, however, have borrowed the sentiment from a passage in Chaucer's *Troilus and Cressida*, iii., 1625-8; or he may have taken it direct from Boëthius, who was Dante's, as well as Chaucer's, authority.]

³[This passage is omitted from the last recension of the *Confessio*.]

JOHN LYDGATE

(c. 1370-c. 1450)

[John Lydgate, 'the Monk of Bury,' was born at Lydgate, near Newmarket, about the year 1370. The following account of him is given in a fifteenth-century MS. in the British Museum (*Harl.* 4826. 1.):—'John Lidgate was a Monk of ye order of St. Benet in ye famous Abbey of St. Edmundes Bury. . . . After hee had for a tyme frequented the Scooles of England and made a fayre Progresse in Learning, beeing desirous to acquaynt himself with ye manners and Language of strangers, he visited ye famous Universitye of Paris in France, and Padua in Italy, where he learned ye language of both nations, and studied diligently in either Academy; thus having well furnished himself with experience of ye worlde, umility, and learned discipline, he returned into his Country. . . . Hee was not only an excellent Poet and eloquent Rhetorician, but an expert Mathematician and subtil Philosopher and a good Divine. Hee was a great ornament of ye English tounge, imitating therein our Chaucer. To this end hee used to reade Dante ye Italian, Alan ye French Poet, and such like, which hee diligently translated into English, gleaning heer and there ye elegancys of other tounge and enriching these with his owne. . . .'¹

In spite of this account, however, it seems very doubtful if Lydgate ever visited Italy, or had any acquaintance with Italian. His knowledge of Dante, notwithstanding certain superficial resemblances in his *Temple of Glas* and *Assembly of Gods*, does not appear to have covered more than the mere name of the poet and the titles of the several parts of the *Divina Commedia*.² His references to Dante (three in number) occur in his most important work, the *Falls of Princes*, which is a loose metrical version of a French translation of Boccaccio's *De Casibus Illustrium Virorum*. This poem, which was undertaken at the instance of his patron, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, was written probably between 1430 and 1438. It was first printed in 1494, and three other editions appeared in Cent. xvi (1527, 1554, 1558). In the prologue to this book occurs Lydgate's statement that Chaucer 'wrote Dante in English,' a phrase which has been interpreted as referring to Chaucer's *Hous of Fame*.³ Lydgate's two other best known works are the *Troy Book*, written between 1412 and 1420 at the request of the Prince of Wales (afterwards Henry V); and the *Story of Thebes*, written about 1420, and designed in continuation of the *Canterbury Tales*. He wrote also numerous devotional, philosophical, historical, and allegorical poems. Towards the end of his life Lydgate retired to the monastery of Bury, where he died about 1450.]

1430-8. THE FALLS OF PRINCES.

[Here begynneth the boke of Johan Bochas, discryving the fall of princes, princesses, and other nobles: Translated into Englysshe by John Lydgate monke of Bury, begynnynge at Adam and Eve, and endynge with kyng Johan of Fraunce, taken prisoner at Poyters by prince Edwarde.]⁴

[How Chaucer 'wrote Daunt in Englysch']

MY maister Chaucer with his fressh comedies
Is deed alas, chefe poete of Bretayne
That somtyme made full pitous tragedies

¹[Printed in the Introduction to *The Ancient Poem of Guillaume de Guileville, entitled Le Pelerinage de l' Homme, compared with the Pilgrim's Progress of John Bunyan* (London, 1858, p. ix).]

²[See Schick's introduction to his edition of Lydgate's *Temple of Glas*, p. cxvi.]

³[See above, p. 5.]

⁴[From the edition of 1527.]

The fall of princes he dyde also complayne
 As he that was of making soveraigne
 Whom all this lande of right ought preferre
 Sithe of our langage he was ye lode sterre.

* * * *

He wrote also full many a day agone
 Daunt in Englysch hym selfe so doth expresse.

(From the *Prologue of the translatour*. Sig. A ii.)

[Dante's 'thre bokes']

Wrytyng causeth the chapelet to be grene
 Bothe of Esope and of Juvenall
 Dauntes labour it dothe also sustene
 By a reporte very celestyall
 Songe among lombardes in especiall
 Whose thre bokes the great wonders tell
 Of hevyn above, of purgatorie and of hell.

(From the *Prologue of the fourthe boke*, fol. xcix.)

[How Dante appeared to Boccaccio in his study]

And in his study, with full hevychere
 Whyll John Bochas bode styll on his sete
 To him appered, and gan approche nere
 Daunt of Florence, the laureate poete
 With his dyties and rethoriques swete
 Demure of loke, fulfilled with pacience
 With a vysage notable of reverence

Whan Bochas sawe him, upon his fete he stode
 And to mete him, he toke his pase full right
 With great reverence, aualed cappe and hode
 To him sayd, with humble chere and sight
 O clerest sonne, O very sothfast lyght¹
 Of our cyte, which called is Florence
 Laude be to the, honour and reverence.

Thou hast enlumyned Itayle and Lombardy
 With laureate dytees, in thy flouring dayes
 Grounde and gynnyng, of prudent policy
 Mong florentynes, suffredest gret affrayes
 As golde pure, proved at all assayes
 In trouthe madest mekely thy selfe stronge
 For common profite, to suffre payne and wronge.

¹[The edition of 1554 reads here: 'O clerest sunne, day starre and soverayn light.']

O noble poete, touchyng this matere
 Howe florentynes, to the were unkynde
 I wyll remembre and write with good chere
 Thy pytous exyle, and put here in mynde
 Nay quod Daunt, here stante one behynde
 Duke of Athenes, turne to him thy style
 His uncouth story brevely to compyle.

And if thou lyst, do me this plesaunce
 To discryve his knightly excellence
 I wyll thou put his lyfe in remembraunce
 Howe he oppressed by mighty vyolence
 This famous cyte called Florence
 By whiche story, playnly thou shalt se
 Whiche were frendes, and foes to the cyte.

And whiche were able to be excused
 If the trouthe be clerely apperceyved
 And whiche were worthy to be refused
 By whom the cite, full falsly was deceyved
 The circumstaunce notably conceyved
 To reken in order by every syde
 Whiche shulde be chaced, and whiche shulde abyde.

* * * *

And whan Bochas, knewe all thentencion
 Of the sayd Daunt, he cast him anone right
 To obey his mayster, as it was reason
 Toke his penne, and as he cast his sight
 A lyte asyde, he sawe no maner wight
 Save Duke Gualter, of all the longe day
 For Daunt unwarly, vanished was away.¹

(From the *xxxii* chapter of the *nynth Boke*, fol. ccxi.)

HUMPHREY, DUKE OF GLOUCESTER

(1391-1447)

[Humphrey Plantagenet, youngest son of Henry IV, was born in 1391. In 1414 he was created Duke of Gloucester and Earl of Pembroke. He was present at the battle of Agincourt, where he was wounded, in the following year, and greatly distinguished himself in the subsequent operations in France. On the death of Henry V in 1422 he was appointed Protector. He was eventually suspected of designs upon the life of his nephew Henry VI, and died in custody in 1447. Good Duke Humphrey, as he came to be called, is said to have been educated at Balliol College, Oxford. At an early age he was a collector and reader of books, and he was a

¹[From the edition of 1527, of which the punctuation, or want of punctuation, is followed in the text.]

bountiful patron of men of letters. Among his protégés was John Lydgate, whose *Falls of Princes* was written at his instance. It was the donations of Duke Humphrey, together with the books of Thomas Cobham, Bishop of Worcester (d. 1327),¹ which first gave the University of Oxford an important library of its own. The Duke's gifts began in 1411; in 1439 he gave 129 volumes, and in 1443 he gave 135 more. In 1444 the University resolved to build a new library over the existing Divinity School. This new building, now part of the Bodleian Library, received the name, which it still bears, of Duke Humphrey's Library. The contents of the University Library were unhappily dispersed in the reign of Edward VI. The Bodleian now possesses only three volumes belonging to Duke Humphrey's collection. Among the books presented by the Duke in 1443 were four volumes of Boccaccio (including his *De Casibus Illustrium Virorum*, his *De Mulieribus Claris*, and his *De Montibus*),² seven of Petrarch, and two of Dante (one a Latin commentary on the *Commedia*, the other a copy of the Italian text.)³

1443. Feb. 25. CATALOGUE OF A GIFT OF BOOKS TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD BY HUMPHREY DUKE OF GLOUCESTER.

[Works of Boccaccio, Petrarch, and Dante presented to the University by the Duke of Gloucester]

HAEC indentura, facta Oxoniae, vicesimo quinto die mensis Februarii, anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo quadragesimo tertio, et anno regni regis Henrici sexti post conquestum vicesimo secundo, inter serenissimum et illustrissimum principem et dominum, inclitissimum dominum Humfridum, regum filium, fratrem, et patrum, duces Gloucestriae, comitem Pembrochiae, et magnum camerarium Angliae, ex una parte, ac suam humillimam et perpetuam oratricem Universitatem Oxoniae, ex altera parte, *testatur*, quod dicta Universitas, de summa et magnificentissima liberalitate praedicti inclitissimi principis, centum et triginta quinque volumina, per dilectos et speciales nuncios suos Magistrum Wilhelmum Say et Radulphum Drew, ad ipsam Universitatem destinata, recepit, quorum utique voluminum nomina cum initiis secundorum foliorum, inferius describuntur:—

* * *

Item, Johannem Boccasium . . . secundo folio, *-riarum*⁴

Item, Johannem Boccasium . . . secundo folio, *amicitiae*⁵

Item, Johannem Boccasium . . . secundo folio, *non superflue*⁶

Item, Boccasius de montibus . . . secundo folio, . . .

* * * *

¹[These books belonged of right to Oriel College, but were forcibly seized by the University. For an account of this transaction see a paper by C. L. Shadwell (now Provost of Oriel) in the *Collectanea* of the Oxford Historical Society, i. 62-5.]

²[A copy of the *De Genealogia Deorum* was among the books presented in 1439.]

³[See below, p. 22.]

⁴[No doubt a copy of the *De Casibus Illustrium Virorum*—the word *histo-riarum* occurs twice in the introduction to the first Book.]

⁵[Not identified.]

⁶[This was a copy of the *De Mulieribus Claris*—the words *non superflue* occur in the first chapter *De Heva*.]

<i>Item, Franciscum Petrarcham . . .</i>	secundo folio, <i>jecore</i> ¹
<i>Item, Franciscum Petrarcham . . .</i>	secundo folio, <i>-tati</i> ¹
<i>Item, Franciscum Petrarcham . . .</i>	secundo folio, <i>vide spatium</i> ¹
<i>Item, Franciscum Petrarcham . . .</i>	secundo folio, . . .
<i>Item, Franciscum Petrarcham . . .</i>	secundo folio, <i>si filia</i> ¹
<i>Item, Franciscum Petrarcham . . .</i>	secundo folio, <i>toto orbe</i> ¹
<i>Item, Franciscum Petrarcham . . .</i>	secundo folio, <i>quia nunc</i> ¹
	* * * *
<i>Item, Commentaria Dantes . . .</i>	secundo folio, <i>tormentabunt</i> ²
<i>Item, Librum Dantes . . .</i>	secundo folio, <i>-ate</i> ³
	* * * *

(Printed in *Munimenta Academica Oxon.*, ed. Anstey, vol. ii. pp. 765 ff.)

ALEXANDER BARCLAY

(c. 1475-1552)

[Alexander Barclay, poet, scholar, and divine, was probably of Scottish birth. He was a voluminous writer, but is best known by his translation (with numerous additions of his own) in English verse of the famous *Narrenschiff* of Sebastian Brant. The original was published at Basle in 1494; three years later it was translated into Latin by Jacob Locher under the title of *Stultifera Navis*. Barclay's version, which he called *The Shyp of Folyes of the Worlde*, and which was first published by Pynson in 1509, was based upon this Latin translation by Locher, and not upon Brant's original work. In his youth Barclay spent some time on the Continent, and among many other places visited Rome and Florence. His familiarity with French is attested by his *Introductorie to write and pronounce the frenche* (London, 1521), which is mentioned by Palsgrave in his *Eclaircissement de la Langue Françoise* (published in 1530); whether he knew Italian is doubtful. In any case the references to Dante and Petrarch in the *Prologe* to his *Shyp of Folyes* are not original, since the sentence in which they occur is merely a translation of what Locher says in the preface to his Latin version.

Barclay, who for a time resided at Ely as a Benedictine monk, before the dissolution of the monasteries joined the Franciscan order at Canterbury. In 1552 he was presented to the rectory of All Hallows, Lombard Street; he died in the same year.]

1509. THE SHYP OF FOLYS OF THE WORLDE.

[‘Dant Florentyne Poete heroycal’]

THE intencion of al Poetes hath ever ben to reprove vyce and to commende vertue. But syns it is so that nowe in our dayes ar so many neglygent and folysshe peple that they ar almost innumerable whiche despisyng the love of vertue:

¹[Not identified.]²[This was probably a copy of the Latin commentary on the *Divina Commedia* written 26 years before by Giovanni da Serravalle—doubtless the identical copy catalogued a century later by John Leland among the books in the Library of the University of Oxford (see below, p. 29-30). The word *tormentabunt*, however, is not to be found at the beginning of the Commentary as printed.]³[This was evidently a copy of the Italian text; *-ate* may be the ending of *pietate*, or *aiutate*, or *nobilitate* (*Inf.* ii. 5, 7, 9), or of *potestate*, or *create*, or *entrate* (*Inf.* iii. 5, 7, 9).]

folowe the blyndenes and vanyte of this worlde : it was expedient that of newe some lettred man, wyse, and subtil of wyt shulde awake and touche ye open vices of foles that now lyve : and blame theyr abhomynable lyfe. This fourme and lybertye of writinge, and charge hathe taken upon hym the Right excellent and worthy Mayster Sebastian Brant Doctour of both the Lawes and noble Oratour and Poete to the comon welthe of al peple in playne and comon speche of Doche in the contrey of Alemayne : to the ymytacion of Dant Florentyne : and Francis Petrarche Poetes heroycal which in their maternal langage have composed marvelous Poemes and ficcions.¹

(From the *Prologe* : ed. Jamieson, 1874, vol. i. pp. 8-9.)

WILLIAM DUNBAR

(c. 1465-c. 1530?)

[William Dunbar was born probably in East Lothian between 1460 and 1465. Little is known of his youth, save that he appears to have entered at St. Andrews University in 1475, and to have graduated there as M.A. in 1479. He was for a time a Franciscan friar, in which capacity he travelled far and wide through England, as well as into France; but he had no call for the life of a friar, which he abandoned for a more profitable career at the court of James IV, on whose missions, if we may believe his own account, he several times visited the Continent. Dunbar's first important poem, *The Thrissil and the Rois*, was composed in honour of the marriage of James IV with Margaret Tudor, daughter of Henry VII, in the negotiations for which he is believed to have had some part. Among his other poems were the fine elegy, the *Lament for the Makaris*, and several satires, the best of which is *The Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis*. The date and manner of Dunbar's death are unknown. It is supposed by some that he died with James IV at Flodden in 1513; at any rate he was no longer alive in 1530, for in that year Sir David Lyndsay refers to him among the poets of the past.

In his poem in praise of London (1501), Dunbar mentions 'Venyce' and 'Flourance' in such a way as to suggest that he had visited these cities—he had certainly been in Italy, if we are to take literally his statement in the poem *Of the Worldis Instabilitie* (c. 1509) that he had served his king

Nocht I say all be this cuntre,
France, England, Ireland, Almaine,
Bot als be Italie and Spaine;
Quhilk to considder is ane pane.

It is not beyond the bounds of probability, therefore, that he may have been acquainted with the *Divina Commedia*, a line from which (*Purg.* xxxiii. 54) it is suggested he translated as the text of his poem 'Quhat is this Lyfe bot ane straucht Way to Deid' (c. 1512). Another reminiscence of Dante may be Dunbar's complaint of Envy and his companions (in *The Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis*, written in 1507):—

Allase ! that courtis of noble kingis
Of thame can nevir be quyte—

which recalls the description of Envy in *Purg.* xiii. 64-6.]

¹[In the original : 'imitatus Dantem Florentinum atque Franciscum Petrarcham heroicos vates, qui hetrusca sua lingua mirifica contexuere poemata.']

c. 1512. OF LYFE.

WHAT is this lyfe bot ane straucht way to deid,¹
 Quhilk has a tyme to pas, and nane to duell ;
 A slideing quheill us lent to seik remeid ;
 A fre chois gevin to Paradise or Hell,
 A pray to deid, quhome vane is to repell ;
 A schoirt torment for infinite glaidness,
 Als schoirt ane joy for lestand hevyness !

GAVIN DOUGLAS

(c. 1474-1522)

[Gavin or Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, third son of Archibald 'Bell-the-Cat,' fifth Earl of Angus, was born in 1474 or 1475. He was educated at St. Andrews, and studied later at the University of Paris. His most important work, the translation of the *Aeneid*, the first in English, was written between Jan. 1512 and July 1513, three or four years before his consecration to the see of Dunkeld. In the prologues prefixed to the several books the poet reaches his highest level. According to Scott, Douglas's poetic fame was dearer to him than his prelate's mitre:—

More pleased that, in a barbarous age,
 He gave rude Scotland Virgil's page,
 Than that beneath his rule he held
 The bishopric of fair Dunkeld.²

While on the Continent Douglas probably acquired some knowledge of Italian literature. In his earliest poem, the *Palace of Honour* (written in 1501), Petrarch and Boccaccio are mentioned by name, but not Dante. Certain passages, however, in the poems attached to his version of the *Aeneid* seem to be reminiscences or imitations of Dante, though the resemblances may be merely accidental. Douglas died in London of the plague in September 1522, and was buried in the Savoy.]

1512-13. THE XIII. BUKES OF ENEADOS OF THE FAMOSE POETE
 VIRGILL, TRANSLATED OUT OF LATYNE VERSES INTO SCOTTISH METIR.³ . . .
 EVERY BUKE HAVING HYS PERTICULAR PROLOGE.

MAST reverend Virgill, of Latyne poetis prince,
 Gemme of ingine and fluide of eloquence.⁴
 (*Proloug of the First Buik*, ll. 3-4.)

Thou virgyne modir and madyne be my muse,
 That nevir yit na synfull list refuse
 Quhilk the besocht devotlie for supplie.⁵

(*Ibid.* ll. 468-70.)

¹[Cf. *Purg.* xxxiii. 54 ; 'Il viver, ch' è un correre alla morte.' This parallel, or possibly translation, was pointed out by O. L. Triggs in his Introduction to Lydgate's *Assembly of Gods*, E. E. T. S. (1896), p. xliii.]

²[*Marmion*, Canto vi.]

³[First printed in 1553: the 'xiii. Bukes' are made up of the twelve of the *Aeneid* proper, together with the thirteenth written by Maphaeus Vegius (1406-1458).]

⁴[Cf. *Inf.* i. 79-80 ; *Purg.* vii. 16.]

⁵[Cf. *Par.* xxxiii. 1, 16-17.]

The maist onsilly kynd of fortoun is
 To have bene happy: Boetius techis so.¹
 (*Proloug of the Levynst Buik*, ll. 145-6.)

I have not interpryt ne translate
 Every burell rude poet divulgait,
 Na meyn endyte, nor empty wordis vayn,
 Commone engyne, nor style barbarian;
 Bot in that art of eloquens the fluide
 Maist cheif, profund and copyus plenitude,
 Surs capitall in veyne poeticall,
 Soverane fontane, and flume imperiall.²
 (*The Dyrectioun of his Buik*, ll. 51-8.)

WILLIAM ROY AND JEROME BARLOWE

(fl. 1527)

[William Roy appears to have been the son of a native of Brabant domiciled in England. He studied at Cambridge and subsequently became a friar observant in the Franciscan monastery at Greenwich. In 1525 he was at Cologne with William Tindal, whom he served as amanuensis in his translation of the New Testament, which they completed at Worms at the beginning of the next year. Shortly after, Roy went to Strasburg, where he was joined in the summer of 1527 by Jerome Barlowe, another observant friar of the same monastery, with whose assistance he wrote the stinging satire in verse against Cardinal Wolsey, commonly entitled *Rede me and be nott wrothe* (from the motto on the title-page), which was printed at Strasburg in 1528. The extract printed below seems to have been inspired by a similar denunciation by Dante in the *Paradiso* of the follies and false doctrine of the preachers of his day.]

1528. *Rede me and be nott wrothe,*
For I saye no thinge but trothe.

THEIR³ preachynge is not scripture,
 But fables of their conjecture,
 And mens ymaginacions.
 They brynge in olde wyves tales
 Both of Englonde, Fraunce, and Wales,
 Which they call holy narracions.
 And to theym scripture they apply,
 Pervertynge it most shamfully,
 After their owne opinions.

¹[Cf. *Inf.* v. 121-3: perhaps borrowed by Douglas from Chaucer (see above, p. 17, note 2).]

²[Cf. *Inf.* i. 79 ff.]

³[That is, of the friars.]

Wherwith the people beyng fedde,
 In to manyfolde errorrs are ledde,
 And wretched supersticions.¹

(ed. Arber, 1871, p. 73.)

SIR DAVID LYNSDAY

(1490-1555)

[David Lyndsay or Lindsay, son of David Lyndsay of the Mount in Fifeshire, was born in 1490. About the year 1511, after spending four years at the University of St. Andrews, he entered the service of the Scottish court. In 1512, on the birth of Prince James, who became king as James V in the next year, Lyndsay was attached to his person as usher, a post which he held until 1522. About 1529 he was appointed Lyon King of Arms, and was knighted. Henceforth, 'Sir David Lindesay of the Mount, Lord Lion King-at-arms,' who shortly before had completed his first important poem, *The Dreame*, discharged the double office of head of the Herald's College, and poet laureate of the Scottish court. In the latter capacity he urged the necessity for the reform of church and state with an insistency which has earned for him the title of the poet of the Scottish Reformation. In his political capacity he took part in several important embassies to foreign courts. He died in 1555. Lyndsay's *Dreame* (written c. 1528 and addressed to his youthful master, King James), the only one of his numerous poems with which we are concerned here, describes in the form of a vision the poet's journey, under the guidance of Dame Remembrance, through earth to the lowest Hell, where he sees 'divers Papis and Empriouris,' with 'Proude and perverst Prelatis out of nummer,' and sundry persons mentioned by Dante, including Simon Magus (*Inf.* xix. 1), Caiaphas (*Inf.* xxiii. 111, 115), Annas (*Inf.* xxiii. 121), and Mahomet (*Inf.* xxviii. 31), and 'the treatour Judas' (*Inf.* xxxiv. 62). From Hell (his account of which reads like 'a kind of *précis* of Dante's *Inferno*')² he passes through Limbo and Purgatory, up to the Planets, and finally to the highest Heaven, where he is shown the throne of God, surrounded by the nine Orders of the Celestial Hierarchy. Then, descending again, he sees the Earth and its several countries, and lastly the Earthly Paradise, 'that precelland place, full of delyte.' In the portions of the poem which deal with the other world and Paradise there is naturally much which recalls Dante, but how far Lyndsay was actually indebted to the *Divina Commedia* it is difficult to say. Some of the passages in which the resemblances are most striking are given below.]

c. 1528. THE DREME OF SCHIR DAVID LYNSDAY.

SO war we both, in twynkling of ane ee,
 Doun throw the Eird, in myddis of the center,
 Or ever I wyste, in to the lawest Hell.
 In to that cairfull cove quhen we did enter,
 Yowtyng and yowlyng we hard, with mony yell
 In flame of fyre, rycht furious and fell,
 Was cryand mony cairfull creature,
 Blasphemand God, and waryand Nature.³

(ll. 161-8.)

¹ [Apparently an imitation or reminiscence of *Par.* xxix. 94-6, 106-8.]

² [See Courthope, *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, ii. 107.]

³ [Cf. *Inf.* iii. 22-3, 103.]

Rewland that rowte, I sawe, in capis of bras,¹
Symone Magus, and byschope Cayphas.

(ll. 216-17.)

O Empriour Constantyne!

We may wyit thy possessioun poysonabyll
Of all our gret punytioun and pyne:²
Quhowbeit thy purpose was, till ane gude fyne,³
Thow baneist frome us trew devotioun,
Haiffand sic ee tyll our promotioun.

(ll. 233-8.)

Anone

We enterit in ane place of perditoun,
Quhare mony babbis war, makand drery mone,
Because thay wantit the fruitioun
Of God, quhilk was ane gret punytioun:
Of Baptisme, the wantit the ansenze.⁴

(ll. 351-6.)

[On leaving Hell, the Author and his guide pass through the four elements of Earth, Water, Air, and Fire, and 'upwart went, withoutt in ony rest To se the Hevynnis' (ll. 379-82); but

or we mycht wyn to the hevin impyre,
We behuffit to passe the way, full evin,
Up through the Speris of the Planetis sevin (ll. 383-5).

Having visited in turn the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, 'the Firmament, the quhilk was fixit full of sterris brycht' (Heaven of fixed Stars), 'the nynt speir, and movare principall Of all the laif' (Primum Mobile) (ll. 386-511),

Than montit we, with rycht fervent desyre
Up throw the hevin callit Christallyne;
And so we enterit in the Hevin impyre,
Quhilk to descryve it passis myne ingyne;
Quhare God, in to His holy throne devyne,

Ryngis, in to his glore inestimabyll,
With Angellis cleir, quhilkis ar innumerabyll (ll. 512-18).

As did Dante, they see the vision of the Trinity,

Quhose indivisabyll essens eternal
The rude ingyne of mankynd is too small
Tyll comprehend, quhose power infinyte
And devyne nature no creature can wyte.

So, myne ingyne is nocht sufficient

For to tret of his heych Devinitie (ll. 536-41)

which Dante's powers too fail to describe (*Par.* xxxiii. 121-3); of Christ (ll. 547-53; cf. *Par.* xxxiii. 130-2); and of the Virgin Mary, surrounded with innumerable Angels (ll. 554-8; cf. *Par.* xxxi. 127-32).

Than we returnit, sore aganis my wyll,
Doun throw the Speris of the hevinnis cleir.

¹[Cf. *Inf.* xxiii. 61, 64-5, 100.]

²[Cf. *Inf.* xix. 115-17.]

³[Cf. *Par.* xx. 56.]

⁴[Cf. *Inf.* iv. 29-36; *Purg.* vii. 28 ff.]

So wer we boith brocht in the air, full sone,
 Quhare we mycht se the Eirth all at one sycht,
 Bot lyke one moit, as it apperit to me,
 In to the respect of the hevinnis brycht.

I have marvell, quod I, quhow this may be,
 The Eirth semis of so small quantitie . . . (ll. 610-11, 623-8).

So Dante looked down and saw the whole earth at a glance, and was struck with its insignificant appearance (*Par.* xxii. 133-5, 151-3.)]

This Paradyce, of all plesouris repleit,
 Situate I saw in to the Orient.
 That glorious gairth of every flouris did fleit :
 The lusty lillyis, the rosis redolent,
 Fresche holesum fructis indeficient,
 Baith herbe and tree, thare growis ever grene,
 Throw vertew of the temperat air sirene.¹

* * *

And als so hie, in situatioun,
 Surmountyng the myd Regioun of the air,
 Quhare no maner of perturbatioun
 Of wedder may ascend so hie as thare.²

(ll. 757-63, 771-4.)

SIR THOMAS WYATT

(c. 1503-1542)

[Sir Thomas Wyatt, the Elder, was born about 1503. He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, and according to tradition studied at Oxford also. In 1526-7 he travelled in Italy, and visited Venice, Ferrara, Bologna, Florence, and Rome, on which occasion no doubt he acquired his knowledge of Italian literature. As a poet Wyatt can lay little claim to originality; as he was a good scholar and read extensively, he took his models from the writers, French, Italian, Spanish, etc., whom he had studied; the greater part of his sonnets are translated from Petrarch; the form and matter of several of his satires are derived from Alamanni; his epigrams are borrowed chiefly from the *Strambotti* of Serafino D'Aquila; while his paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms seems to have been suggested by the similar performance of Dante, or of Alamanni. Wyatt is commonly coupled with Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, as having introduced the sonnet into England from Italy. It seems, however, more reasonable to assign this honour to Wyatt independently, for he was Surrey's senior by fifteen years, and first studied Petrarch's sonnets in Italy when Surrey was barely nine. Surrey consequently as a sonnet writer should rather be regarded as the disciple of Wyatt (*D.N.B.*).

It has become almost a commonplace of literary history to repeat the assertion of Puttenham in his *Arte of English Poesie*,³ that Wyatt and Surrey were influenced by Dante. Wyatt, for his part, is said to have imitated from Dante⁴ not only his paraphrase of the seven penitential psalms,⁵ but also the metre (*terza rima*) which he employed for the purpose. It is probable, however, on the whole that Wyatt's

¹[Cf. *Purg.* xxviii. 1 ff.] ²[Cf. *Purg.* xxi. 43 ff.] ³[See below, p. 79.]

⁴[The *Sette Salmi Penitenziali* commonly attributed to Dante are not now accepted as written by him. They were first printed, together with the *Credo di Dante*, in the 1477 Venice edition of the *Divina Commedia*.]

⁵[Wyatt perhaps composed his paraphrase (first printed in 1549) during his confinement in the Tower in May and June 1536.]

debt (as in certain of his satires) was rather to Alamanni¹ than to Dante. An alleged particular point of resemblance between Dante and Wyatt, in the supposed use by both of the term 'worm' for the devil, where it does not appear in the original, has been shown to be illusory. Dante speaks of the devil as 'lo gran vermo' in his version of Psalm vi, whereas Wyatt's use of the term 'the worm within that never dieth' occurs in his version of Psalm xxxviii, and not in reference to the devil, but to symbolise conscience.^{2]}

JOHN LELAND

(c. 1500-1552)

[John Leland, the antiquary, was born in London in the early years of the sixteenth century. He was educated at St. Paul's School under William Lily, the grammarian, and afterwards at Christ's College, Cambridge. Later he proceeded to All Souls' College, Oxford, and he finally completed his studies in Paris, whence he returned a finished Latin and Greek scholar, with a good knowledge of French, Italian, and Spanish. About 1530 Henry VIII made Leland keeper of his library, and in 1533 he was appointed 'King's antiquary,' an office created for him. In the same year a commission was granted to him to search for English antiquities in the libraries of all cathedrals, abbeys, colleges, etc. His antiquarian tour with this object seems to have occupied him during the best part of ten years, from 1534 to 1543. In 1536 he petitioned to be allowed to collect MSS., which were being dispersed at the dissolution of the monasteries, for the King's library, and he succeeded in securing and sending to London many treasures of this description. After his tour was finally concluded, Leland presented in 1545 an address to Henry VIII entitled *A New Year's Gift*, in which he gave a brief account of his labours. Five years later his overtaxed brain gave way, and he died insane in London in 1552. Few of Leland's works were printed in his lifetime. The publication of the chief part of them was due to the industry of Thomas Hearne, who edited Leland's *Itinerary* in nine volumes at Oxford in 1710, and his *Collectanea* in six volumes in 1715. Leland, who was a good Italian scholar,³ several times mentions Dante in a general way in his epigrams (see below) as the chief literary glory of Florence, but he does not give evidence of any detailed acquaintance with Dante's works.]

1536-1542. In the notes made by Leland during his tour through England in these years as 'King's antiquary,' are the following entries relating to works upon Dante in the libraries at Oxford and Wells.

Oxoniae in bibliotheca publica

COMMENTARII Joannes de Seravala, episcopi Firmani, ordinis Minorum, Latine scripti, super opera Dantis Aligerii, ad Nicolaum Bubwice, Bathon. et Wellensem episcopum, et D. Robertum Halam, episcopum Sarisbur: commentarii editi sunt tempore Constantiensis consilii.⁴

¹[Alamanni's version of the penitential psalms was apparently first printed in 1532.]

²[See *Wyatt and Dante*, by K. C. M. Sills, in *Journal of Comparative Literature*, i. 390-2.]

³[In Bale's edition of Leland's *New Year's Gift*, in his address to the Reader, Bale says that 'Johan Leylande was a man lerned in many sondrye languages, as Greke, Latyne, Frenche, Italion, Spanyshe, Brittyyshe, Saxonyshe, Walshe, Englyshe, and Scottyshe.']

⁴[Giovanni dei Bertoldi (c. 1350-1445), Bishop of Fermo, commonly known as Giovanni da Serravalle, from the place of his birth, wrote a translation in Latin

*Wellys*Dantes tralatus in carmen Latinum.¹(Leland, *Collectanea*, ed. Hearne, Oxford, 1715, vol. iv. pp. 58, 155.)1542. NAENIAE IN MORTEM THOMAE VIATI EQUITIS INCOMPARABILIS.²

Anglus par Italis.

*Bella suum merito jactet Florentia Dantem.**Regia Petrarcae carmina Roma probet.**His non inferior patrio sermone Viatus**Eloquii secum qui decus omne tulit.*³

(Sig. A. iii.)

[1589.] PRINCIPUM, AC ILLUSTRIORUM ALIQUOT ET ERUDITORUM IN ANGLIA VIROVUM ENCOMIA, TROPHAEA, GENETHLIACA, ET EPITHALAMIA. A JOANNE LELANDO ANTIQUARIO CONSCRIPTA, NUNC PRIMUM IN LUCEM EDITA.

prose of the *Divina Commedia*, together with a Latin commentary, at the instance of two English Bishops, Nicholas Bubwith, of Bath and Wells, and Robert Hallam, of Salisbury, who, like himself, attended the Council of Constance (1414-1418). Serravalle informs us that the translation was begun in Jan. 1416, and completed in May of the same year, while the commentary which accompanied it was begun in Feb. 1416, and completed in Jan. 1417. Nicholas Bubwith (or Bubbewyth), who was successively Master of the Rolls, Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Treasurer of England, after holding numerous minor ecclesiastical appointments, was made Bishop of London in 1406, translated to Salisbury in 1407, and thence in the same year to Bath and Wells, where he died in 1424, and was buried in the Cathedral. The Cathedral library at Wells was founded and endowed by Bishop Bubwith, who no doubt presented to it a copy of Serravalle's work, perhaps the copy seen by Leland when he visited Wells. Robert Hallam (or Hallum), who played an important part at the Council of Constance, was Chancellor of the University of Oxford from 1403 to 1405, and Bishop of Salisbury, in succession to Bubwith, from 1408 to 1417. He had been nominated by the Pope in 1405 to the Archbishopric of York, but was not consecrated owing to the opposition of the King. He was created a Cardinal in 1411. Hallam died during the Council of Constance in Sept. 1417, and was buried in the Cathedral there. Serravalle's translation and commentary, of which a MS. (*Egerton 2629*, purchased at the Wodhull sale in 1886) is in the British Museum, was first printed at Prato in 1891. The copy seen by Leland in the library at Oxford was probably identical with the *Commentaria Dantes* presented to the University by Humphrey Duke of Gloucester in 1443 (see above, p. 22). Serravalle is responsible for the interesting statement (unfortunately not otherwise authenticated, and made perhaps to please his English colleagues) that Dante came to England, and studied at Oxford.]

¹[Possibly this was a copy of Serravalle's translation (wrongly described, for it is in prose), which may have been the gift of Bishop Bubwith, the founder of the Cathedral library, and Serravalle's colleague at the Council of Constance (see previous note).]

²[An elegy on the death of Sir Thomas Wyatt, the Elder (c. 1503-1542), dedicated to the Earl of Surrey.]

³[For a translation of these lines, see below, p. 155.]

De Gallofrido Chaucero, Equite.

*Praedicat Aligerum meritò Florentia Dantem,
Italia et numeros tota (Petrarcha) tuos :
Anglia Chaucerum veneratur nostra poetam,
Cui Veneres debet patria lingua suas.*¹

(p. 80.)

Ad Gulielmum Henricum, nobilissimum
Comitem Ostrosaxonum.

*Talia personuit dulci tua cantio voce,
Qualia vel Musae concinuisse velint.
Non meliora quidem Dantes dedit inclytus ille,
Aut qui Petrarchae nomine notus erat.
Sed neque Chaucerus resonanti musicus ore,
Aut meus, arguta voce, Viatus, amor.*

(p. 98.)

ANONYMOUS

c. 1540. TALES AND QUICKE ANSWERES, VERY MERY AND PLEASANT
TO REDE.²

¶ Of Dantes answer to the jester

DANTES the poete dwelled a whyle with Can the prince de la Scale: with whome also dwelled an other Florentyne, that hadde neyther lernynge nor prudence, and was a man mete for nothings, but to scoffe and jeste: but yet with his merye toyes he so moved the sayd Can, that he ydde greatly enryche hym. And bycause Dantes dispised his foolysshnes, this scoffer said to hym: How cometh it Dantes, that thou art holde so wyse and so well lerned, and yet arte poore and nedy? I am an vnlearned man and am an ignorant fole, and yet I am farre richer than thou art. To whom Dantes answered: If I may fynde a lorde lyke and conformable to my maners, as thou haste found to thyn: he wyll lyke wyse make me ryche.³

¹[In his *De Scriptoribus Britannicis Commentarii* (printed in 1709), in his observations on Chaucer, Leland repeats these lines, with the remark 'Itaque in libris meorum Epigrammaton his versibus ejus gloriae assurgo' (fol. 422). A book entitled Leland's *Epigrammata* was licensed for the press in 1586; but his miscellaneous Latin verse and epigrams were first published in 1589 in the volume whose title is given above. For a translation by Thomas Fuller of Leland's lines on Chaucer, see below, p. 144.]

²[Printed by Thomas Berthelet (without date). The book was reprinted in 1567, and licensed again in 1576. The tale given above is from the reprint, in *Shakespeare's Jest Book* (1814), by S. W. Singer, of the unique copy in the Huth Library (p. 92).]

³[The original of this story occurs in the second book of Petrarch's *Res Memoranda*.]

HENRY HOWARD, EARL OF SURREY

(c. 1517-1547)

[Henry Howard, eldest son of Thomas Howard, afterwards 3rd Duke of Norfolk, was born about 1517. On his father's succeeding to the Dukedom in 1524, he became Earl of Surrey. He appears to have been educated at home, and to have been early instructed in classical and modern literature. He is known to have made translations from Latin, Italian, and Spanish while yet a boy. In 1532 Surrey accompanied Henry VIII and the Duke of Richmond (the king's natural son, whose companion he was), to Boulogne, and he is said to have proceeded with the Duke to study at the University of Paris. In 1541 he was appointed Steward of the University of Cambridge, a proof of his early reputation for learning. Surrey was several times imprisoned during his brief career on various charges of irreligion and brawling, and was finally executed on Tower Hill, on a charge of high treason, in Jan. 1547.]

The story told by Nashe, in his *Unfortunate Traveller, or the Adventures of Jack Wilton* (1594), of Surrey's romantic attachment to the Fair Geraldine (Lady Elizabeth Fitzgerald, who was undoubtedly the subject of many, if not all, of Surrey's love poems), and of his journey to Florence, her reputed birthplace, where he challenged all who questioned her peerless beauty, has been proved to be a fiction. Surrey never was in Italy.

As a poet, Surrey was the disciple of the elder Wyatt, who has the credit of having first introduced the sonnet from Italy, but he was in every respect Wyatt's superior. Surrey's poetical works, none of which were printed in his lifetime, consist of love poems, comprising sonnets, canzoni (one in *terza rima*), and lyrics in various metres, besides rhymed paraphrases of some of the Psalms, and a translation of two books of the *Aeneid* in blank verse—a metre which Surrey was the first to attempt in English. Puttenham couples Surrey with Wyatt as 'novices newly crept out of the schools of Dante, Ariosto, and Petrarch,'¹ but their favourite model was Petrarch, from whom most of Wyatt's and several of Surrey's sonnets are almost literally translated. The influence of Dante upon Surrey, as upon Wyatt,² in spite of the oft repeated observation of Puttenham, was insignificant, if it existed at all. Surrey may have borrowed the *terza rima* from Dante, but it is more probable that he took it from Petrarch, if not from Wyatt, or Wyatt's model, Alamanni.]

HENRY VIII'S LIBRARY

1542-3. CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY OF HENRY VIII AT WESTMINSTER.³

[Castilian translation of the *Divina Commedia*]

Danti's works in the Castilian tongue.⁴

¹ [See below, p. 79.]

² [See above, p. 28-9.]

³ [Preserved in the Record Office—see Edward Edwards: *Libraries and Founders of Libraries*, pp. 152 ff.]

⁴ [This was probably, as Prof. A. Farinelli points out (*Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.* N.S. xiii. 274), a MS. copy of the earliest Spanish translation of the *Divina Commedia*, the prose version made in 1427-8 by Enrique de Villena (d. 1434) for his friend Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, afterwards (1445) Marques de Santillana, the original MS. of which with marginal notes in the hand of the Marques, was recently discovered by M. Mario Schiff among the MSS. in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid (see Schiff: *La Bibliothèque du Marquis de Santillane*, pp. 275 ff.).]

HENRY PARKER, LORD MORLEY

(1476-1556)

[Henry Parker, tenth (or, according to another reckoning, eighth) Baron Morley, son of Sir William Parker (whose wife was Baroness Morley in her own right), is said to have been educated at Oxford, and to have there acquired his taste for literature, which was the chief occupation of his life. On the accession of Henry VIII he came to court and recommended himself to the king by gifts of his own works. In 1523 he was summoned to the House of Lords as Lord Morley. He was in attendance at the christening of Prince Edward in 1537 (on which occasion he carried the Princess Elizabeth); and in 1547 at the funeral of Henry VIII. He died in 1556, and is described on his monument as 'bonarum literarum splendore omnique virtutum genere refulgens.' Lord Morley's writings, most of which have never been printed, consist chiefly of translations from Latin and Italian. Among these were versions of Boccaccio's *De Claris Mulieribus* (extracts from which are printed in Waldron's *Literary Museum*, 1792), and of Petrarch's *Trionfi*. The latter, one of the two works published in his lifetime, was printed by John Cawood, 'Prynter to the Quenes hyghnes' (i.e. Queen Mary), consequently not earlier than 1553. Lord Morley mentions Dante several times, but he betrays no acquaintance with any of Dante's works. It is noticeable that while, in the dedication to Henry VIII of his translation of the *De Claris Mulieribus*, he gives the titles of several of the works of Petrarch and Boccaccio, he does not anywhere mention the *Divina Commedia* by name, though he speaks of Dante as having been, like Petrarch and Boccaccio, 'moste excellent in the vulgare ryme.')

c. 1545. JOHN BOCASSE HIS BOOKE INTITLED IN THE LATYNE TUNGE DE PRAECLARIS MULIERIBUS, THAT IS TO SAY IN ENGLYSHE, OF THE RYGHTE RENOUMYDE LADYES.

[Dedication to King Henry VIII, wherein the writer speaks of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, 'three excellent clerkes of Italy']

TO the moste high, moste puyssaunte, moste excellent and moste chrysten Kynge, my moste redoubtete sovereygne lorde Henry theighte by the grace of Gode of Englonde, Fraunce and Irelande Kynge, Defender of the Feythe, and in erthe undre Gode, suppreme heede of the Church of Englonde and Irelande. Your moste humble subjecte Henry Parcare, knyght, lorde Morley desyreth thys Newe Yere with infynyte of yeres to your Imperiall Maieste, helthe honoure and vyctory :

In the tyme the hoole worlde was obediente to the Romaines, moste victorouse and graciouse sovereygne Lorde, not onely by armes they were renoumede above all other naciones, but also in eloquens and goode lernynge, as it apperethe by thyes oratours and poetes in the greate Augustus days; that is to saye, Varro, Tullius Cicero, Virgill, Orace and Ovyde, with divers others. And all thoughte that those that ensuyde frome oone Emperoure to another were excellently lernede, as bothe the Plynys, Marciall, Quyntilian and Claudian, and suche other; yet why it was so, that they coulede never attayne to thes afore rehersyde, neither in prose nor yet in verse, is to me a greate wonder. For as muche as they sawe the

workes of the other, whiche as my reasone gevythe me shoulde have rather causede theym to have bene in science above them then inferiours to them. For why, if one that gothe aboute to buylde a palace, if he se another whiche lykethe hym well, it shal be noo greate mastrie, if he spye a faulte in his exemplar to amende it in hys worke. And why thys shulde not be, truely I can geve noo reasone to the contrary; for so it was that evere as the greate Empyre of Rome decayde in deedes of armes, so dyd it in learenynge. In so muche, that whether it were by the straynge nationes that they were mynglede with all, or otherwise, at the laste theimselfs that accomptyde all other nationes barbarouse, oonely the Greakes excepte, by the space of sex or sevene hundrithe yeres were as barbarouse as the best. Thys contynuyng so longe a time, that in processe aboute the yere of our lorde God a thousand foure hundrith, in the time of the floure and honoure of prynces, kynge Edwarde the thyrde of that name, holdynge by ryghte the septe of thys imperiall realme, as your Grace nowe dothe, there sprange in Italy three excellente clerkes. The fyrst was Dante, for hys greate learnynge in hys mother tunge, surnamyde dyvyne Dante. Surely not withoute cause. For it is manyfest, that it was true whiche was graven on hys tumber, that hys maternal eloquens touchede so nyghe the pryke, that it semyde a myracle of nature. And for because that one shuld not thynk I do feyne, I shall sett the wordes in the Italiane tunge, whiche is thys.

Dante alegra son minerva obscura.

De arte et de intelligentia nel au ingenio.

Le elegantia matna aiose al scengo.

Que se tient pour miracol de natura.¹

The next unto thys Dante was Frauncis Petrak, that not onely in the latyne tunge, but also in swete ryme is so extemyde, that

¹ [These lines (grievously misprinted or miscopied by Waldron, the editor) come, not from the inscription on Dante's tomb, as Lord Morley states, but from Boccaccio's sonnet on Dante (written in 1373):—

Dante Alighieri son, Minerva oscura
 D' intelligenza e d' arte, nel cui ingegno
 L' eleganza materna aggiunse al segno
 Che si tien gran miracol di natura.
 L' alta mia fantasia pronta e sicura
 Passò il tartareo e poi 'l celeste regno,
 E 'l nobil mio volume feci degno
 Di temporal e spirital lettura.
 Fiorenza gloriosa ebbi per madre
 Anzi matrigna a me pietoso figlio,
 Colpa di lingue scellerate e ladre.
 Ravenna fummi albergo nel mio esiglio;
 Et ella ha il corpo, e l' alma il sommo Padre,
 Presso cui invidia non vince consiglio.

A translation of this sonnet, headed 'Inscription for a Portrait of Dante,' is given by D. G. Rossetti, in his *Dante and his Circle*, p. 250.]

unto thys present tyme, unnethe is ther any noble Prynce in Italy, nor Gentle man withoute havynge in hys handes hys Sonnettes and hys Tryhumpes and his other Rymes. And he wrote also in the latyne tunge certeyn Eglologys in versys, and another booke namede Affrica, and of the Remedyes of bothe Fortunes, with dyvers Epistles and other Workes whiche I over passe.

The last of thies three, most gratiouse sovereigne Lorde, was John Bocas of Certaldo, whiche in lyke wyse as the tother twayne Dante and Petraccha were moste excellent in the vulgare ryme, so thys Bocas was above all others in prose, as it apperythe by hys hundrith tayles, and many other notable workes. Nor he was noo lesse elegaunte in the prose of his oune tunge, then he was in the latyne tunge, wherein as Petrak dyd wryte clercky certeyn volumes in the latyne tunge, so dyd this clerke. And first of the Fall of Prynces, of the Geonologye of the Goddes. And emonge other, thys Booke namede De Preclaris Mulieribus. That is of the Ryght Renomyde Ladies.

(Printed¹ in Waldron's² *The Literary Museum; or, Ancient and Modern Repository. Comprising scarce and curious tracts, Poetry, Biography and Criticism.* London, 1792, pp. 1-3.)

c. 1554. THE TRYUMPHE OF FRAUNCES PETRARCKE, TRANSLATED OUT OF ITALIAN INTO ENGLISH BY HENRYE PARKER KNYGHT, LORDE MORLEY.

[The 'Tryumphe of Loue' in which the Poet sees 'Dant with Beatrice']

* * *

I sawe also euyng among them all
 Alceo Macreon³ and the wyse Pyndarus
 That in loue were all thre studious
 Vyrgyll was there I say in lyke case
 Wyth other excellent poetes in that place
 The tone was Ouyde the tother Catullo
 Propercius also and eke Tubullo
 That of loue wrote many a verse and songe
 And with this excellent Poetes amonge
 Was a Grecian that with her swete style
 Of loue full many a songe dyd fyle
 Ay lookyng thus about me here and there

¹[“From a Manuscript on Vellum, Which appears to have been the Presentation-Copy to King Henry VIII.” This MS. afterwards passed into the collection of Richard Heber—see *Bibl. Heber.* Part xi. No. 340.]

²[Francis Godolphin Waldron, actor, playwright, editor and bookseller (1744-1818).]

³[For *Anacreon.*]

I sawe in a grene felde with sadde chere
 People that of loue reasonyng went
 Dant with Beatrice fayre and gent
 Lo on the tother syde I might also se
 Cino of Piscoia¹ wyth hym trust me
 Guydo of Rezzo and in that place
 Two other Guydos in lyke manner and case
 The tone of them was borne in boleyne
 The tother was a very ryghte Cicelien
 Senicio and Francisco so gentle of condicion
 And Arnolde and Daniell² in lyke facion
 A great maker and dyvyser of loue
 And dyd great honour to his Citie aboue
 There was Peter also the Clerke famousse
 And Rambaldo with his stile curiouse
 That wrote for his beaTRYCE in mont ferrato
 The olde Peter and with hym Geraldo
 Filileto³ that in Marsill bare the name
 And the prayse from Geneway by the same.
 (From *The fourth Chapter.*)

JOHN BALE

(1495-1563)

[John Bale, who was born of humble parentage in Suffolk in 1495, was educated at the Carmelite convent at Norwich and afterwards at Jesus College, Cambridge. He was originally a zealous Roman Catholic, but becoming a convert to protestantism he devoted himself to an exposure of the Romish doctrines, partly by means of scriptural plays (the earliest of which was written in 1538) in which he at the same time set forth the reformed opinions. In 1552 he was appointed by Edward VI to the see of Ossory in Ireland, where his extreme measures against the 'idolatries' of the priesthood provoked violent opposition which ended in bloodshed. On the accession of Queen Mary Bale retired to Holland and thence to Basle, where he remained until 1559. With the re-establishment of protestantism under Elizabeth he came back to England. He did not return to his diocese in Ireland, but accepted a prebend at Canterbury, where he died in 1563. Bale was a man of great learning, but a bitter controversialist, which earned for him the name of 'bilious Bale.' He was a voluminous writer, between 80 and 90 works being attributed to him. His most important work was a history of English literature, in the form of a catalogue in Latin of the writings of the authors of Great Britain in chronological order. This work, in which Bale was much indebted to the previous labours of Leland, and in which his antipapal prejudices often lead him astray, was first published in 1548 at Ipswich. A second, enlarged, edition, brought down to 1557, appeared at Basle in 1557-1559, during his exile on the continent. Bale's mentions of Dante are merely incidental in his notices of Chaucer and Lydgate. He quotes a reference to the *De Monarchia* by Rafaello Volterrano, but was apparently not acquainted with that nor with any other of Dante's works.]

¹[For *Pistoja*.]²[For *Arnaut Daniel*, made by Lord Morley into two persons.]³[For *Folcheto*.]

1548. ILLUSTRIMUM MAJORIS BRITANNIAE SCRIPTORUM, HOC EST, ANGLIAE, CAMBRIAE, AC SCOTIAE SUMMARIUM, IN QUASDAM CENTURIAS DIVISUM, CUM DIVERSITATE DOCTRINARUM ATQUE ANNORUM RECTA SUPPUTATIONE PER OMNES AETATES A JAPHETO SANCTISSIMI NOAH FILIO, AD ANNUM DOMINI M.D.XLVIII. AUTORE IOANNE BALAEO SUDOVOLCA.

[Galfridus Chaucer]

GALFRIDUS CHAUCER, Anglus, eques auratus, vir tam bonis disciplinis quam armata militia nobilis, exquisita quadam Anglici sermonis eloquentia, aetatatem suam multo quam antea ornatiorem reddidit. Praeter Mathesim quam ingenue callebat, poeta lepidus erat. Ac talis apud suos Anglos, quales olim fuere apud Italos, Dantes et Petrarcha,¹ Patrii sermonis restaurator, potius illustrator (et merito quidem) habetur adhuc primus.
(*Centuria Quarta*, fol. 198.)

1557-59. SCRIPTORUM ILLUSTRIMUM MAJORIS BRYTANNIÆ QUAM NUNC ANGLIAM ET SCOTIAM VOCANT: CATALOGUS: À JAPHETO PER 3618 ANNOS, USQUE AD ANNUM HUNC DOMINI 1557. . . . AUTORE JOANNE BALEO SUDOVOLGIO ANGLIO.

[Dantes Aligerus]

Volaterranus²: Dantes Aligerus, vel Alephorius, poeta Florentinus, opusculum scripsit de Monarchia. In quo fuit ejus opinio, quod Imperium ab ecclesia minimè dependeret. Cujus rei gratia, tanquam haereticus post ejus exitum damnatus est, Bartholi Saxoferrati et aliorum jurisperitorum sententia.

(*Centuria Quarta*, fol. 377.)³

[Galfridus Chaucer]

Galfridus Chaucer . . . *Dantem Italum transtulit, Lib. 1.* . . . In quodam libro suorum Epigrammaton his versibus Lelandus illum celebrat:

Praedicat Algerum⁴ meritò Florentia Dantem,⁵ etc.

(*Centuria Septima*, foll. 525-7.)

[Joannes Lydgate]

Joannes Lydgate, in Sudovolgiae comitatu natus, et ad Eadmundi fanum Buriensis coenobii monachus, omnium sui temporis in Anglia

¹[In the Introduction to the second volume of G. C. Macaulay's edition of John Gower's works (p. ix), it is stated (on the authority of some MS. notes communicated to the editor) that Bale referred to Gower (as he had already done to Chaucer) as 'alter Dantes ac Petrarcha.']

²[Rafaello Maffei di Volterra, commonly known as Rafaello Volterrano, who included a notice of Dante in his *Commentariorum Urbanorum Libri* (Rome, 1506).]

³[This passage occurs in the Appendix to the notice of Guilhelmus Rishanger.]

⁴[*Sic, for Aligerum.*]

⁵[See above, under Leland, p. 31.]

poetarum, absit invidia dicto, facile primus floruit . . . Subinde in variis metrorum generibus eum servare ordinem sibiipsi constituit, quem apud Italos Dantes, apud Gallos Alanus, et apud Anglos Chaucerus, eleganter servabant. . . . Tam carmine quàm soluta oratione, multa Lidgatus ex Hetrusca et Gallica linguis, in nostrum idioma, facetè, amoenè, ac lepidè transtulit . . .

Ista ex Ioanne Boccatio et aliis authoribus transtulit.

De casibus virorum illustrium, Lib. 9.

De nominibus Deorum, Lib. 1.

De bello Thebano, Lib. 3.

De genealogia Deorum, Lib. 15.

De captione Troiae, Lib. 6.

Boethium de consolatione, Lib. 5.

Dantis opuscula,¹ Lib. 1.

Petrarchae quaedam, Lib. 1.

(Centuria Octava, foll. 586-7.)

WILLIAM THOMAS

(d. 1554)

[William Thomas is said to have been a native of Radnorshire, and to have been educated at Oxford. In 1544 he left England, and spent the next five years abroad, chiefly in Italy. After the death of Henry VIII, while at Bologna he wrote a defence of the late king's character and policy, of which an Italian version, known by the short title of *Il Pellegrino Inglese*, was issued in 1552. During his residence in Italy Thomas wrote two other books, which gained him considerable reputation,—one the *Historie of Italie*, the other an Italian grammar under the title of *Principal Rules of the Italian Grammer, with a Dictionarie for the better understandynge of Boccace, Pethrarcha, and Dante*. The history of Italy was printed (by Berthelet) in 1549, in which year Thomas returned to England, and was twice reprinted after his death, in 1561 and 1562. The Italian Grammar, which is based on the *Grammatica Volgare* (1536) and *Vocabolario* (1543) of Alberto Acharisio, and the *Ricchezze della Lingua Volgare* (1543) of Francesco Alunno, and which is the earliest attempt of the kind in English, was first printed (also by Berthelet) in 1550, and speedily became popular, for it was three times reprinted, in 1560, 1562, and 1567. The occasion of the writing of the book is thus explained in a prefatory statement: 'The occasion. After that William Thomas had been about three yeres in Italie, it happened John Tamwoorth gentleman to arrive there, who beeyng desirouse to learne the tongue, intreated the saied William Thomas, to drawe him in Englishe some of the principal rules, that might leade him to the true knowlage therof: and further to translate the woordes, that Acharisius and Pietro Alunno had collected—Whiche at his request was dooen, and sente unto him from Padoa to Venice. And about two yeres after, maister Tamwoorth lent this booke written to Sir Walter Mildmaie knight, who thinkyng it a necessarie thyng for all suche of our nacion, as are studious in that tong, caused it thus to be put in printe for their commoditee.' In 1550, no doubt partly in recognition of his defence of Henry VIII, Thomas was appointed clerk of the council to Edward VI, in which capacity he appears to have acted as confidential adviser to the young king. This appointment was followed by various other preferments, all of which he lost on the accession of

¹[This, and several others of the above list, are not given in the first edition (1548).]

Queen Mary, when he joined the ultra-protestant party, and took an active share in Sir Thomas Wyatt's conspiracy to prevent the marriage of the Queen to Philip of Spain. Thomas, who is credited with designs against the life of Bishop Gardiner, and of the Queen herself, was arrested in February 1554, and imprisoned in the Tower, where he attempted to commit suicide. After being put on the rack, he was tried, found guilty of treason, and executed at Tyburn, 18 May, 1554. That Thomas had some knowledge of the *Divina Commedia* is evident from the account he gives in his *Historie* of the founding of Mantua, in which he refers to a passage in the twentieth canto of the *Inferno*. But his knowledge probably was not very extensive, for all the references to Dante in his Italian grammar (except the brief entry under Dante's own name) are taken direct from Acharisio's *Vocabolario, Grammatica, et Orthographia de la Lingua Volgare, con ispositioni di molti luoghi di Dante, del Petrarca, et del Boccaccio* (Cento, 1543).]

1549. THE HISTORIE OF ITALIE. A BOKE EXCEDING PROFITABLE TO BE REDDE: BECAUSE IT INTREATETH OF THE ASTATE OF MANY AND DIVERS COMMON WEALES HOW THEY HAVE BEN, AND NOW BE GOVERNED.

[The originall of Mantua]

BY agreement of most aucthours I fynde, that the people of Mantua are descended of those auncient Tuscanes, that before the siege of Troie departed out of Lydia in Asia, and under the leading of theyr prince Tirreno, came and inhabited the region of Italie. Part of whiche Tuscanes chosing afterwarde the place of Mantua for theyr habitacion, builded the citee, before the comyng of Eneas into Italie and before the edificacion of Rome, more than 300 yeares. The capitaine of which people at that time was named Ogno, a verie expert man in Astronomie, or in the Science of divinacion. For his vertue in whiche Science, following the Greeke woorde Mantia, he named the citee Mantua. How be it, Dante (speakyng thereof)¹ referreth the beginnyng of Mantua to Manto, daughter of Tiresia, kynge of Thebes: whom the poetes feigne, lost his sight for judgeing betwene Jupiter and Juno, that the woman in the use of nature had more pleasure than the man: taken for judge in this matter, because (through the killyng of certayne serpentes) he had before tyme been changed from a man to a woman.

(fol. 201.)

1550. PRINCIPAL RULES OF THE ITALIAN GRAMMER, WITH A DICTIONARIE FOR THE BETTER UNDERSTANDYNGE OF BOCCACE, PETHRARCHA, AND DANTE: GATHERED INTO THIS TONGUE BY WILLIAM THOMAS.

[Words used by Dante]

Dante hath used *Grando*,² for *grandine*, and Petrarke, *Pondo*, for *pondere*, and Boccace also, *spirante turbo*, for *turbine*.

(Sig. B iii, verso.)

¹[*Inf.* xx. 55-93.]

²[*Purg.* xxi. 46.]

B before *A*

Baratta, a battayle, as *Dante* used it.¹

D before *A*

Dante Aldighiere, the name of a famous Poete in the Italian tongue.²

D before *I*

Dindi, a childes terme used of *Dante*.³

L before *I*

Limbo, the skirt or garde, and used of *Dante* for the place wherin the holy fathers were before Christs comming.⁴

Q before *V*

Quoto, how many in order, and used of *Dante*, for judgement.⁵

S before *A*

Sale, salte, and used of *Dante* for the sea.⁶

Salso, salted, and used also of *Dante*, for a wounde.⁷

Sapia, a certain womans name that *Dante* used.⁸

S before *Q*

Squardernare, to marre a booke, but *Dante* hath used it for to manifest.⁹

(From the *Dictionarie*.)

WILLIAM BARKER

(fl. 1570)

[William Barker was educated at Cambridge at the cost of Queen Anne Boleyn. He took his M.A. degree in 1540, and a few years later spent some time in Italy. He was in Florence in 1548, as appears from his 'address to the reader' in his translation of Gelli's *Capricci del Bottaio*, by which his name has been preserved. After his return to England he served as one of the members for Great Yarmouth in the parliaments between 1557 and 1571. In September of the latter year he was committed to the Tower on the charge of complicity in the Duke of Norfolk's plots (whose secretary he was) against the Queen. The date of his death is unknown. Barker's translation of Gelli's *Capricci* was first published in 1568, and was reprinted in 1599. The author of the original (first issued in an incomplete form at Florence in 1546, and published complete in 1548, and again in 1549, and 1551) was Giovan Battista Gelli, a Florentine hosier, who was born in 1498, and died in 1563. He was a man of great learning and in 1548 was 'consul' of the Florentine Academy, under whose auspices in 1553 he commenced a series of public lectures on

¹ [*Inf.* xxi. 63.]

² [Dante is the only Italian poet mentioned by Thomas in the *Dictionarie*.]

³ [*Purg.* xi. 105.]

⁴ [*Inf.* iv. 45; *Purg.* xxii. 14.]

⁵ [*Coto* is the reading of modern editors, *Inf.* xxxi. 77; *Par.* iii. 26.]

⁶ [*Par.* ii. 13.]

⁷ [This is a mistake, based upon Acharisio's false interpretation of Dante's expression 'pungenti salse' (*Inf.* xxviii. 51).]

⁸ [*Purg.* xiii. 109.]

⁹ [*Par.* xxxiii. 87—read *squadernare*.]

Dante, which he continued till his death. Sundry quotations from the *Divina Commedia* are introduced into the *Capricci* which Barker translates, sometimes into doggerel verse, but it is evident that he does not always understand the original. In his 'address to the reader,' already mentioned, Barker says: 'The talke that olde Just the Couper hadde with himself, when he coulde not slepe did minister matter to the maker of this presente booke. . . . John Baptista Gellie, for so is the tailer called, and for his wisdom chief of the vulgar universitie of Florence, when I was ther, did publish these communications of Just the Couper and his Soule, gathered by one Sir Byndo his nephew and a notarie.' The book is in the form of a dialogue between Just and his soul, and is divided into ten *Ragionamenti* or '*Reasonings*.' In this translation of Barker's occurs the first reference in English literature to Dante's *Convivio*. He is the first writer who employed the word 'Dantist' in English. Barker is also credited with the authorship of a collection of *Epitaphia et Inscriptiones lugubres*, which was printed in London in 1554, and again in 1566. In this work under the heading of Florence are given six lines on Dante from the picture in the Duomo.]

1554. EPITAPHIA ET INSCRIPTIONES LUGUBRES. A GULIELMO BERCHERO, CUM IN ITALIA, ANIMI CAUSA, PEREGRINATUR, COLLECTA.¹

[Lines on Dante]

Florentiae

QUI coelum cecinit medium imumque tribunal
 Lustravit² animo cuncta Poeta suo
 Doctus adest Dantes, sua quem Florentia semper³
 Consiliis sentit⁴ ac pietate parem.⁵
 Nil potuit tanto mors saeva nocere poetae
 Quem vivum, virtus, carmen, imago facit.⁶

(Ed. 1566, sig. E. i.)

1568. THE FEARFULL FANSIES OF THE FLORENTINE COUPER: WRITTEN IN TOSCANE, BY JOHN BAPTISTA GELLI, ONE OF THE FREE STUDIE OF FLORENCE, AND FOR RECREATION TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY W. BARKER.

[Dante on the soul]

Soule. It is impossible that thou shouldst see me as I am, because I am without a body, and I have neither figure nor color: for the figure and the quantitie be only in bodies, and color can not stand but in the upper part of the same, wherby I am invisible: but I might well take a body, and so might I shewe me to thee.

Just. And howe?

Soule. Thou professest a scholer of *Dant*, haste thou not red it in his purgatorie?⁷ I coulde with my vertue informative, make me

¹ [*Excusum Londini in aedibus Iohannis Cawodi Regiae Majestatis Tipographi.*]

² [Read *Lustravitque.*]

³ [Read *saepe.*]

⁴ [Read *Sensit consiliis.*]

⁵ [Read *patrem.*]

⁶ [John Ray copied this inscription more than 100 years later (see below, p. 159). The lines are painted on the lower part of the frame of the picture of Dante by Domenico di Michelino in the Duomo at Florence.]

⁷ [What follows is a very loose paraphrase of *Purg.* xxv. 88-96.]

a body of aire, giving it thickenesse, and after colour, even as the Sunne makes the Aire grosse and vaporous, whereof comes the raine bow. The whiche waye the angels holde, and other spirites, when they will shewe themselves to men.

(fol. 8.)

[Dante's *Banquets*]

Soule. What meaneth it thou arte so long about to light that match?

Just. I thinke it is somewhat moist, and the stone is not very good, and this iron hath almost worne out the steele.

Soule. Thou doest as the Poet *Dant* saith in his banquets.¹ All artificers not cunninge, doe impute all the errorrs they do, to the matter they work on; why diddest not thou say, bicause I am olde and have the palsey, and misse the stone oftener than I hit it.

Just. That is true in deede, I cannot deny it.

(fol. 11.)

[Proverb from Dante]

Soule. Well, this thou must thinke *Just*, that men be like unto birds, wherof the yong be soone taken. But as thy friend *Dant* sayth.

*In vaine the Nette is laide,
In vaine the shafte is shot :
At birds that have their wings at wil,
And for the snare care not.*²

(fol. 14.)

[Dante and Casella]

Just. Oh my Soule, blessed bee thou,³ for thou art a faire thyng.

Soule. Sitte, sytte *Just*, least thou fall, for thou art olde.

Just. I can not holde my selfe, but I muste needes embrace thee, wyllyng thee so well, and never havynge seene thee before. But alas, what is the matter, I feele nothyng, yet I see thee: Am I not well in my Wyttes?

Soule. *Just*, thou makest profession of a *Dantist*,³ and thou doest not remember it, when thou shouldest. Doest not thou remember, that the lyke also happened unto *Dant* hymselfe, when that he woulde have embraced *Casella*:⁴ And the cause is this, that we be as shadowes, and do only shewe oure selves to the sighte, but wee can not bee properly touched, bycause that we be without bodyes.

(foll. 19-20.)

¹[That is, the *Convivio*; the reference is to *Conv.* i. 11, ll. 72-82.]

²[A free rendering of *Purg.* xxxi. 62-3.]

³[The earliest instance of this word in the Oxford English Dictionary is dated 1889.]

⁴[*Purg.* ii. 79-81.]

[Dante on fools]

Soule. What wylte thou say to him that sayeth, that this con-sonance that is in our tongue, is lyke the harmonie or musycke of drummes, or rather of harquebusshes or falconets.

Just. And should he not answeere to that ?

Soule. No, for as thy *Dante* sayth, he should be no lesse a foole to answeere him that would aske if there were fire in the house, where the flame wente out at the window, than he that asketh the question.¹

(fol. 46.)

[Of the Florentine idiom]

Soule. The beauty and grace of the tongue, procedeth not only of the words, but in the knitting and placing them together: and he that will see as in a glasse, what this second parte well used can doe, let him conferre with the writings of the *Florentines*, and with other writings that be not *Tuscanes*, and he shall finde (if he hath eares) the sweetnesse that universally is in the clauses of this, and the hardnesse that is in other: and this order and facilitie can not be observed and kepte in verses, bicause of the measure, the sound and the rime, and yet it seemeth to men agreing in certayne particuler lawes, they can more equally meete in a way of composition, and so better make verse than prose.

Just. Of this I can gyve no judgement, although I have read *Dant*, but this I can say, that I have straight knowne a man by his pronounciation whither he be a *Florentine* or no, though he forceth him selfe to speake never so well. . . .

Just. Then the tongue of which is made so great accompte, is *Florentine* proper.

Soule. Who doubteth therof? . . . : And know that who is not borne and brought up in *Florence*, do not learne it perfectly: and of this it commeth that many dispayring to speake or write it well, have entred to speake evil and to reprove it, and I thinke it hath hapned to them, as did to a great master of our time touching the poet *Dante*.

Just. What was that ?

Soule. I wil tel thee. He coveting to be compted chiefe in our tong, and beleving he justed as well as our *Petrarke*, he prayseth him marvelously, so thinking to praise himselfe, but perceiving after (as he is very witty) that he can not come nigh to *Dante* by no way, being driven by *Envie*, he did what he could to dispraise him.

Just. Then he did, as they say, the Counte of *Mirandola* and Fryer *Jerome* did, the one of the which, fyndyng by Astronomy

¹[*Convivio*, i. 12, ll. 1-6.]

he shoulde die a younge man, and the other by the handes of Justice, they began to beleve it was not true, and so both spake and wrote evill of it, but marke, for I remember, he blameth that only in the tongue, the which neyther he nor none of the other wold have done, if they had considered in what termes he found it in his time, and that he, taking the myre from it, gave more helpe unto it, than peradventure *Petrarke* did, bringing it to such a perfection.

Soule. That should be well also to consider in sciences, saying, that he only to shew him selfe a master, in them had made such Poetry, as might be resembled to a great felde full of many wilde herbs, and a thousand other things more immodest and unhonest, that I marvel, that though it were true, he would not holde his peace, for the reverence of so great a clerke.

Just. If he were not a great master as thou sayest, and so should speake of *Dante*, I would say he were presumptuous.

Soule. Say it boldly, seeing he speaketh it wythout respecte of *Dant*, to whome he is more inferiour than art thou to him, if we will not now measure the perfection of man, by the favour of Fortune, as many do now a dayes: but let him alone, for he hath nowe the pen in hande, that shewing the greatnesse and the beautie of this Poet, shal discover eyther the rashenesse, the foolishnesse, or the envie of hym.

(foll. 46-9.)

[Of translation]

Just. They say that the things that be translated out of one tongue into an other, never have the force nor grace that they have in their owne.

Soule. They have not that in theyr owne that they have in other, for every tongue hath hir fynesse and delicacie, and peradventure the *Toscane* more than an other: and he that wyl see it, let him reade *Dante* or *Petrarke*, where they have spoken of any thing that was before spoken of a Latin or Greeke Poet, and he shall see they passe hym farre, and that in fewe thyngs they be inferiour.

(foll. 61-2.)

[Dante on the ban of the Church]

Just. I will not that we speake against the Church.

Soule. Ah *Just*, if thou knewest that the church is nothing else but the universitie of good Christians, that be in the grace of God (and not these vicars that goe hither and thither, fleeing the people of the worlde, or these Friars, that have devised to delyver them selfe from the penance of labor, which God hath given us, exercising the inquisition, rather to maintayne themselves fat, and live at

ease, than for charitie) thou wouldest not so say: but let it suffice thee that *Dant* sayth.

*For their curse we do not lose,
The love eterne, our chiefe repose.¹*

Just. I can not tell, but I thinke it an hard thyng, not to be buried in the churchyard.

(fol. 76-7.)

[Dante's 'prime notizie']

Soule. Marke well *Aristotle* with them that followed hym, the whych me thynke holde mee mortall, saying: That I have my begynnyng wyth thee, and that I can worke nothyng withoute thee, and that I am nothing of my self but onely apt to learne, by the meane of a certaine lyght, I have in my self, called of them intellect agent, by the which I understande certaine things which be intelligible by theyr owne nature, as that one thing can not be and be in all one time, and such lyke, called of them first principles, and of thy *Dant* first knowledges.²

(fol. 77.)

[Dante in the Earthly Paradise]

Soule. What other greater good had our first father *Adam* before he sinned, than this inwarde peace and quiet?

Just. Oh why have it not we as well as he?

Soule. Bicause we have loste thorough his disobedience, the gift of that justice, which they call originall, which God had given him, which was nothing but a bridle and a rule, that kept the inward partes subdued and obedient to the superiour, by the which the flesh did not kicke against the spirit, nor the sensitive partes wholly did desire other in man, but the preservation of the singular, called indevided, by the benefite of the part reasonable, and not for delight, as they doe nowe, nor did seeke other than the good it selfe: the which thing thy *Dante* no lesse pleasantly than learnedly doth expresse, when being brought to the earthly Paradise, in the state of innocencie, he caused *Virgill* thus to say.

*Free I am, and right is thy pretence,
And wil not do a fault for pleasure of the sense.³*

(fol. 82.)

[Dante's simile of the rose]

Soule. Wherefore bicause man ought, for that Nature so requereth, ever as hee can, to helpe an other, in this age⁴ he oughte most to do it, and takyng the fashion of a Rose that can not remaine shut, as thy *Dant* sayth in the last parte of his Banquet,⁵ to put

¹[*Purg.* iii. 133-4.]

²['Prime notizie,' *Purg.* xviii. 56.]

³[This is meant for a rendering of *Purg.* xxvii. 140-1, which Gelli misquotes.]

⁴[That is, old age.]

⁵[*Convivio*, iv. 27, ll. 37 ff.]

forth and spreade the odour that it hath gendred in it self, wherby those vertues that he hath used in other ages, and that have ben in him onely proofes and purgations, ought in this to be examples and lessons.

(fol. 92.)

[Giambullari on the site and measure of Dante's Hell]

Soule. When it shall happen that thou defendest an opinion against some other, do it as modestly as thou canst, praising always him that doth as our maister *Pier Francis Jambulari*,¹ a man certainly of no lesse good judgement than great learning in his operation, wherin he hath with marvellous arte founde the scite and measure of *Dants Hell*, where beyng forced to speake against *Anton Manetti*,² who hath also written, but not so perfectly, saith, that if death had not prevented his honest travailes, he should not have neded to have taken this paine, *Manetto* being a man mete to bring a greater thing to perfection than that.

(foll. 105-6.)

[Dante one of the best writers in any tongue]

Soule. Men not finding any motion among natural things, that went alwaies equally, not varying, they wente to them of heaven, and not finding among them any so righte, as that, whych the starry Sphere maketh, called of them by thys occasion, without error, they toke that to be a measure for other, measuring with it all other motions that be found within these things that be moved, the which thing thy *Dant* doth so marvellously shew in his .xx. chapter of *Paradise*, when he speketh of this sphere.

The Nature of motion,

That in the midst doth rest

And else where moves,

*Hath heere aboute, hir mark adrest.*³

And after saith,

His motion is not by other meane distinct,

But other all by his, that never is extinct

And how the time, hath his foundation,

*Thou maist it know by this declaration.*⁴

Just. Truly he saith very well. But we give so much ove to this our *Dant*, that I doubt we will make him seeme more faire than he is.

¹[Pier Francesco Giambullari published in 1544 a work *De 'l sito, forma, e misure dello inferno di Dante.*]

²[Antonio Manetti's *Dialogo circa al sito, forma, e misure dello inferno di Dante* was first published in 1506.]

³[A misrendering of *Par.* xxvii. 106-8.]

⁴[*Par.* xxvii. 115-20.]

Soule. Doubt not of that Just. For I tell thee, *Dant* is one of the best writers, (as I have heard of many learned men,) that is in any tong.

Just. I would not we should prayse him so, as we shold be disprayed, as we were once, in defending him that disprayed him.

Soule. What say they whome thou sayest do reprove him?

Just. That we ought to have some respect to his good qualities: yet thou knowest he was one of the excellentest in our time.

Soule. Surely he was a man in all other things to be honored, but in this not having respect to *Dant*, we ought to have none of him, and chiefly of us *Florentines*, that do defend our Citizen, and one that hath ben a chief light of our countrey, and causeth the name of *Florence* to go through the world. So thou mayst aunswer them, that shall say any more to thee, as one did once, which defending him selfe a good while with the staffe of a Partisane, and in the ende the dogge byting him, he turned the point, and stroke him with the sharp, whose Maister saying to him, he should have ben content to strike him with the staffe, he aunswered: then shold he have bytten me with his taile.

(foll. 119-20.)

SECOND EDITION OF WILLIAM THOMAS' ITALIAN GRAMMAR

1560. In this year was issued (by H. Wykes) the second edition of William Thomas' 'PRINCIPAL RULES OF THE ITALIAN GRAMMER, WITH A DICTIONARIE FOR THE BETTER UNDERSTANDYNGE OF BOCCACE, PETRARCHA, AND DANTE' (first published in 1550).

SIR THOMAS HOBY

(1530-1566)

[Thomas Hoby, half-brother of Sir Philip Hoby, the diplomatist, was born in 1530. After studying at St. John's College, Cambridge (where he matriculated in 1545), and also, according to some accounts, at Oxford, he spent some time in travel in France and Italy and other countries, where he acquired a considerable knowledge of foreign languages. In 1566 he was knighted and sent as ambassador to France; he died at Paris in July of the same year. Hoby's chief title to fame is his *Courtyer*, a translation of *Il libro del Cortegiano* of Castiglione (first printed at Venice by Aldus in 1528). This appeared in 1561, and was several times reprinted in the course of the next fifty years. Of this book, and of the translator, Roger Ascham in his *Scholemaster* (1570) says: "To ioyne learynyng with cumlie exercises, *Conto Baldesaer Castiglione* in his booke, *Cortegiane*, doth trimlie teache: which booke, aduisedlie read, and diligentlie folowed, but one yeare at home in England, would do a yong ientleman more good, I wisse, then three yeares trauell abrode spent in *Italie*. And I maruell this booke, is no more read in the Court, than it is, seyng it is so well translated into English by a worthie Ientleman Syr *Th. Hobbie*, who was many wayes well furnished with learynyng, and very expert in knowledge of diuers tonges."

The introduction (in the margin) of Dante's name, along with those of Petrarch and Boccaccio, in the subjoined passage from the *Courtyer*, was, probably, from the order in which the names are mentioned, due to Hoby; but he may have copied the marginalia of an Italian edition. Castiglione himself nowhere names Dante in the *Cortegiano*.]

1561. THE COURTYER OF COUNT BALDESSAR CASTILIO, DIVIDED INTO FOURE BOOKES. VERY NECESSARY AND PROFITABLE FOR YONGE GENTILMEN AND GENTILWOMEN ABIDING IN COURT, PALAICE OR PLACE, DONE INTO ENGLYSHE BY THOMAS HOBY.

[The 'three noble writers of Tuscan']

How the
Italian
tunge was
corrupted

I SAY, that (to my judgement) this our tunge, whiche we name the vulgar tunge, is tender and newe, for al it hath bene now used a long while. For in that Italy hathe bene, not onely vexed and spoyled, but also inhabited a long time with barbarous people, by the great resort of those nations, the latin tunge was corrupted and destroyed, and of that corruption have spronge other tungenes. The whiche lyke the ryvers that departe from the toppe of the Appennine and runne abrode towarde the two seas: so are they also divided, and some died with the latin speach have spred abrode sundrye waies, some into one part, and some into another, and one dyed with barbarousness hath remayned in Italy. This then hath a long time bene among us out of order and dyverse, because there was none that would bestow diligence about it, nor write in it, ne yet seke to geve it brightnesse or anye grace. Yet hath it bene afterwarde broughte into better frame in Tuscan, then in the other partes of Italye. And by this it appeareth that the flowre of it hath remained there ever since those first times, because that nation hath kept proper and sweete accentnes in the pronuncia-tion and an order of grammer, where it was meete, more then the other. And hath had three noble writers, whiche wittily bothe in the woordes and termes that custome did allowe in their time, have expressed their conceites and that hath happened (in my mind) with a better grace to Petrarca in maters of love, then to any of the other.

Petrarca
Dante
Boccaccio

(Ed. 1900, pp. 54-5.)

THIRD EDITION OF WILLIAM THOMAS' ITALIAN GRAMMAR

1562. In this year was issued (by T. Powell) the third edition of William Thomas' 'PRINCIPAL RULES OF THE ITALIAN GRAMMER, WITH A DICTIONARIE FOR THE BETTER UNDERSTANDYNGE OF BOCCACE, PETRARCHA, AND DANTE' (first published in 1550).

THOMAS SACKVILLE

(1536-1608)

[Thomas Sackville, better known as Lord Buckhurst, was born at Buckhurst in Sussex in 1536. He is said to have studied both at Hart Hall, at Oxford, and at St. John's College, Cambridge, whence he proceeded to the Inner Temple. Here, in 1561, he produced, in collaboration with Thomas Norton, the first English tragedy in blank verse, *Gorboduc*, which was afterwards performed before Queen Elizabeth. About 1563 Sackville made a prolonged foreign tour, and spent several years in Italy. He returned home in 1566, and in the following year was knighted and created Lord Buckhurst, in which capacity he filled various high offices. In 1591 he was elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford, in opposition to the Earl of Essex, and in 1599 he succeeded Lord Burghley as High Treasurer of England. Shortly after the accession of James I he was created (1604) Earl of Dorset. He died, at the age of 72, while seated at the Council table at Whitehall, in 1608.

About 1557 Sackville planned a poem on the model of Lydgate's *Falls of Princes*, 'in which,' says Warton, 'all the illustrious but unfortunate characters of English history, from the Conquest to the end of the fourteenth century, were to pass in review before the poet, who descends like Dante into the infernal region, and is conducted by Sorrow. Every personage was to recite his own misfortunes in a separate soliloquy.' To this poem, the first volume of which appeared in 1559, with the title of *A Mirror for Magistrates*, Sackville contributed a poetical *Induction*, and the *Complaint of the Duke of Buckingham*, which however were not published until the issue of the second volume in 1563. The machinery and language of the *Induction* not unnaturally provoke comparison with the *Inferno*, which no doubt, as Courthope observes, led Pope to place Sackville as a poet in the school of Dante.¹ During his long residence in Italy Sackville might well have become acquainted with the *Divina Commedia*, of which there certainly seem to be reminiscences, more or less marked, in the following passages.

Sorrow speaks:—

'I shall thee guye first to the griesly lake,
And thence unto the blissfull place of rest,²
Where thou shalt see, and heare, the playnt they make
That whilom here bare swinge among the best:
This shalt thou see: but greate is the unrest³
That thou must byde, before thou canst attayne
Unto the dreadfull place where these remayne.'

And, with these words, as I uprayed stood,
And gan to follow her that straight forth paste,
Ere I was ware, into a desert woode
Wee now were come:⁴ where, hand in hand imbraste,⁵
Shee led the way, and through the thicke so traste,
As, but I had bene guided by her might,
It was no way for any mortall wight.

But, loe, while thus amid the desert darke
Wee passed on, with steps and pace unmeete,
A rumbling roare, confusde with howle and barke
Of dogs, shoke all the ground under our feete,
And stroke the din within our eares so deepe,
As, halfe distraught, unto the ground I fell,⁶
Besought retourne, and not to visite hell.⁷

¹[See below, pp. 193, 330-1.]

²[Cf. *Inf.* i. 113 ff.]

³[Cf. *Inf.* ii. 4-5.]

⁴[Cf. *Inf.* i. 2, 5, 10.]

⁵[Cf. *Inf.* iii. 19.]

⁶[Cf. *Inf.* iii. 22 ff., 130-6.]

⁷[Cf. *Inf.* ii. 37 ff.]

But shee, forthwith, uplifting mee a pace,
Removde my dread,¹ and, with a stedfast minde,
Bad mee come on, for here was now the place,
The place where wee our travail's end should finde.
(*Stanzas 26-9.*)

There heard wee him . . .
. . . all for nought his wretched mind torment,
With sweete remembrance of his pleasures past.²
(*Stanza 44.*)

We passed on so far forth till we sawe
Rude Acheron, a loathsome lake to tell,
That boyles and bubs up swelth as blacke as hell,
Where griesly Charon, at theyr fixed tyde,
Still ferries ghosts unto the fauder syde.³

When to the shoare wee pace,
Where, hand in hand as wee thus linked fast,
Within the boate wee are together plaste.
And forth wee launch full fraughted to the brinke,
Whan, with th' unwonted waight, the rusty keele,
Began to cracke as if the same should sinke.⁴
(*Stanzas 70-1.*)

Wee had not long forth past, but that wee sawe
Blacke Cerberus, the hydeous hound of hell,
With bristles reard, and with a three mouth'd jawe,
Fordingin th' ayre with his horrible yell :⁵
(*Stanza 72.*)

Thence come wee to the horrour and the hell,
The large great kingdoms, and the dreadfull raigne
Of Pluto in his throne where hee did dwell,
The wide waste places, and the hugie playne :
The waylings, shrikes, and sondry sortes of payne,
The sighes, the sobs, the deepe and deadly groane,⁶
Earth, ayre, and all, resounding playnt and moane.
(*Stanza 73.*)

Courthope⁷ is doubtless right in his contention that Sackville's actual progenitors in the *Induction* were Virgil and Gavin Douglas, but this does not preclude the suggestion that he may have been influenced by Dante as well.]

THOMAS COOPER

(c. 1517-1594)

[Thomas Cooper was the son of a poor tailor of Oxford, where he was born about 1517. He was educated as a chorister at Magdalen College School, and afterwards entered the College, of which he was Fellow from 1539 to 1545. He was

¹[*Cf. Inf. iii. 14-15.*]

²[*Cf. Inf. v. 121-3.*]

³[*Cf. Inf. iii. 77 ff.*]

⁴[*Cf. Inf. viii. 25-7.*]

⁵[*Cf. Inf. vi. 13-14 ff.*]

⁶[*Cf. Inf. iii. 22 ff.*]

⁷[*History of English Poetry, ii. 122.*]

master of Magdalen College School from 1549 to 1568, and while holding that office published (1565) his *Thesaurus Linguae Romanae et Britannicae*, known as 'Cooper's Dictionary,' which was reprinted several times in his lifetime. After the death of Queen Mary he was ordained, and was successively Dean of Christ Church (1567), Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford (1567-70), Dean of Gloucester (1569), Bishop of Lincoln (1570-84), and Bishop of Winchester (1584-94). He died at Winchester and was buried in the Cathedral. In the *Dictionarium Historicum et Poëticum* appended to his *Thesaurus* Cooper gives the names of Boccaccio ('Bocaccius. A learned man.') and Dante, but does not include Petrarch, nor Ariosto, nor Tasso.]

1565. THESAURUS LINGUAE ROMANAE ET BRITANNICAE. . . . ACCESSIT DICTIONARIUM HISTORICUM ET POËTICUM PROPRIA VOCABULA VIRORUM, MULIERUM, SECTARUM, POPULORUM, URBIUM, MONTIUM, ET CAETERORUM LOCORUM COMPLECTENS.

D A

DANTES. *A poet of Florence.*(*Dictionarium Historicum et Poëticum*, Ed. 1584. Sig. Eeeeeee iiiii.)

JOHN JEWEL

(1522-1571)

[John Jewel was born near Ilfracombe in 1522. At the age of thirteen he went to Merton College, Oxford, whence he migrated to Corpus, of which college he was elected a Fellow in 1542. On the accession of Queen Mary he was deprived of his fellowship, and though, for the sake of peace, he did violence to his conscience, and signed articles which he did not believe, he did not satisfy his enemies, and was forced to fly for his life to Frankfort (1555). There he made a public recantation from the pulpit of the doctrines he had signed at Oxford. After Mary's death he returned to England, and in 1560 was made Bishop of Salisbury. Two years later he published in Latin his *Apology of the Church of England*, which was issued by the authority of Queen Elizabeth as a Confession of the Faith of the Reformed Church of England, and was translated into English in the same year (1562). In answer to a violent onslaught on the book by Thomas Harding, a relapsed Protestant, and Oxford contemporary of Jewel, the latter published in 1567, in English, his *Defence of the Apology*, which was dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, and was ordered to be set up in the churches, for the use of the people, together with the Great Bible, and Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*. Jewel died in 1571, not yet fifty, worn out by his literary and episcopal labours, and was buried in Salisbury Cathedral. In Jewel's *Defence of the Apology* we find Dante for the first time in English Literature appealed to as a writer against Rome. A few years later Foxe also claimed him as a champion of the Reformation.¹]

1567. A DEFENCE OF THE APOLOGIE OF THE CHURCHE OF ENGLANDE.

[Dante's denunciation of Rome]

ARNULPHUS, in the *council of Rheims*, saith thus: *Quid hunc, etc.* 'What think you, reverend fathers, of this man' (he meaneth the pope) 'sitting on high in his throne, glittering in purple and cloth of gold? What think you

¹[See below, p. 58.]

him to be? Verily, if he be void of charity, and be blown up and advanced only with knowledge, *then is he Antichrist sitting in the temple of God*, and shewing out himself as if he were God?' The bishops in the council at Reinspurg say thus: *Hildebrandus papa, etc.* 'Pope Hildebrand, under a colour of holiness,' (by forbidding priests marriage) 'hath laid the foundation for Antichrist.' Dantes, an Italian poet, by express words calleth Rome *the whore of Babylon*.¹ Franciscus Petrarcha likewise saith: ² '*Rome is the whore of Babylon, the mother of idolatry and fornication, the sanctuary of heresy, and the school of error.*' I know these words will seem odious unto many. Therefore I will stay, and spare the rest.

(Part iv. *The Apologie*, Chap. 16. Divis. 1. in *Works*, ed. Jelf, 1848, vol. v. p. 508.)

FOURTH EDITION OF WILLIAM THOMAS' ITALIAN GRAMMAR

1567: In this year was issued (by H. Wykes) the fourth edition of William Thomas' 'PRINCIPAL RULES OF THE ITALIAN GRAMMER, WITH A DICTIONARIE FOR THE BETTER UNDERSTANDYNGE OF BOCCACE, PETRARCHA, AND DANTE' (first published in 1550).

THOMAS CHURCHYARD

(c. 1520-1604)

[Churchyard was born at Shrewsbury about the year 1520. As a young man he was attached for several years to the household of the Earl of Surrey, the poet, to whom he always acknowledged himself deeply indebted for encouragement in his youthful poetical ventures. He was early trained to arms, and spent many years of his life in active military service at home and abroad. His first experience of warfare was in 1542, when he served against France in the Netherlands; his last in 1572 at the defence of Zutphen. His literary career was a prolonged one, extending from the reign of Edward VI into that of James I. He died, at the age of 82, in 1604, and was buried at St. Margaret's, Westminster.

Many of Churchyard's early poems appeared in Tottel's *Miscellany of Songes and Sonettes* (1557). His best and most popular poem is the *Legend of Shore's Wife*, which was published in 1563, in the second issue of the *Mirror for Magistrates*, in the same volume with Sackville's *Induction*. Churchyard three times mentions Dante by name, but he probably knew little more of him than that 'Dant, Bocace, and Petrarke,' 'Three men of speechall spreete,' were the chief poetical luminaries of Italy.]

¹ *Marginal note.* Dantes in *Cantione* 32. [The reference is to *Purg.* xxxii. 148 foll. Dante, however, nowhere actually uses the expression ascribed to him by Jewel.]

² *Marginal note.* Fran. Petrarcha, *epist.* 20.

1568. PITHY PLEASAUNT AND PROFITABLE WORKES OF MAISTER SKELTON, POETE LAUREATE. NOWE COLLECTED AND NEWLY PUBLISHED. WITH PRELIMINARY VERSES BY THOMAS CHURCHYARD.

[‘Marrot, Petrark, and Dantte’]

IF slouth and tract of time
 (That wears eche thing away)
 Should rust and canker worthy artes,
 Good works would soen decay
 * * * *

You see howe forrayn realms
 Advance their Poets all :
 And ours are drowned in the dust,
 Or flong against the wall.
 In Fraunce did Marrot raigne ;
 And neighbour thear unto
 Was Petrark, marching full with Dantte,
 Who erst did wonders do ;
 Among the noble Grekes
 Was Homere full of skill ;
 And where that Ovid norisht was
 The soyll did florish still
 With letters hie of style ;
 But Virgill wan the fraes,¹
 And past them all for deep engyen,
 And made them all to gaes
 Upon the bookes he made :
 Thus eche of them, you see,
 Wan prayse and fame, and honor had,
 Eche one in their degree.
 (*Skelton's Works*, ed. Dyce, vol. i. pp. lxxvi-vii.)

1593. CHURCHYARDS CHALLENGE.

[Petrarch and Dante compared with Homer and Virgil]

In writing long, and reading works of warre,
 That *Homer* wrote and *Virgils* verse did show :
 My muse me led in overweening farre,
 When to their Stiles my pen presume to goe.
Ovid himselfe durst not have vaunted so,
 Nor *Petrarke* grave with *Homer* would compare :
Dawnt durst not think his sence so hye did flow,
 As *Virgils* works that yet much honord are.

¹[That is, ‘phrase.’ Cf. Dante’s expression, ‘averè il grido,’ of Giotto (*Purg.* xi. 95.)]

Thus each man sawe his judgement hye or low,
 And would not strive or seeke to make a jarre :
 Or wrastle where they have an overthrow.
 So I that finde the weakenes of my bow,
 Will shoot no shaft beyond my length I troe :
 For reason learnes and wisdomes makes me know.
 Whose strength is best and who doth make or marre :
 A little Lamp may not compare with Starre.
 A feeble head where no great gifts doo grow :
 Yields unto skill, whose knowledge makes smal shew.
 Then gentle world I sweetly thee beseech :
 Call *Spenser* now the spirit of learned speech.
 (*A new kinde of a Sonnet*, Sig. * *)

1595. A PRAISE OF POETRIE, SOME NOTES THEROF DRAWEN OUT
 OF THE APOLOGIE, THE NOBLE MINDED KNIGHT, SIR PHILLIP SIDNEY
 WRATE.

[‘Dant, Bocace, and Petrarke’]

Amphyon and
 Orpheus Poets
 and excellent
 musitions

Amphyons gift and grace was great
 In Thebes old stories saie
 And beasts and birds would leave their meate
 To heare Orpheus plaie.

Livius, Androni-
 cus, and Ennius

In Rome were three of peereles fame
 That florisht in their daies
 Which three did beare the onely name
 Of knowledge, skill and praise.

Dant, Bocace,
 and Petrarke

In Italy of yore did dwell
 Three men of speechall spreete
 Whose gallant stiles did sure excell
 Their verses were so sweete.

Marrot, Ronsart,
 and du Bartas

In France three more of fame we finde
 Whose bookes do well declare
 They beautifide their stately minde
 With inward vertues rare.

Goore, Chaucer,
 and the noble
 earle of Surry

In England lived three great men
 Did Poetrie advance
 And all they with the gift of pen
 Gave glorious world a glance.

(Reprinted at the Auchinleck Press, 1817, in *Fronde Caducae*,
 pp. 27 ff.)

JAMES SANFORD

(fl. 1560)

[Of James Sanford (or Sandford) little is known. He was apparently well read in classical and modern literature, and chiefly devoted himself to translation. Various works Englished by him from Greek, Latin, French, and Italian, were issued from the press in London between the years 1567 and 1582. In 1569 he published a translation, dedicated to the Duke of Norfolk, of the *De Incertitudine et Vanitate Scientiarum et Artium Invectiva* of Henricus Cornelius Agrippa (1486-1534), a native of Cologne, whose work was first printed at Antwerp in 1530. Agrippa makes a passing reference to Dante, who, in the passage as translated by Sanford, is apparently classed among 'bawdy historiographers.']

1569. HENRIE CORNELIUS AGRIPPA, OF THE VANITIE AND UNCERTAINTIE OF ARTES AND SCIENCES, ENGLISHED BY JA. SAN. GENT.

[Dante classed as a 'bawdy historiographer']

THERE have bene many bawdy Historiographers, whose names are little knowne: many famous writers beside have endeavoured the same, as emonge them of latter time, *Eneas Sylvius*, *Dante*, *Petrarcha*, *Boccace*, *Pontane*, *Baptist of Campofregoso*, and an other *Baptiste* of the *Albertes a Florentine*, *Peter Hede* also and *Peter Bembus*, *James Caniceus*, and *James Calandra* of *Mantua*, and many other: emong which notwithstanding *John Boccace* passing al the rest, hath wonne himselfe the price or palme of bawdes chieflie in those bookes, which he entituled *Le cento Novelle*: whose examples and doctrines, are nothinge els, but very subtill deceites of bawdries.

(foll. 98-98^l.)

JOHN VAN DER NOODT

(fl. 1560)

[John van der Noodt (or Noot) was a physician of Antwerp, who had taken refuge in England from religious persecution. In 1569 an English version of his precautionary instructions against the Plague was issued in London; and in the same year there was published by Henry Bynneman, the well-known printer, an English translation, by one Theodore Roest, of Van der Noodt's *Theatre for Worldlings*, of which a French version had been printed in London in the previous year by John Day. In this work, which, in the epistle dedicatory to Queen Elizabeth, dated May 25, 1569, he describes as 'a little Treatise, wherein is set forth the vile-ness and baseness of worldly things which commonly withdraw us from heavenly and spiritual matters,' Van der Noodt gives a long list of champions of the Reformation, among whom, along with several persons who are mentioned by Dante in the *Divina Commedia*, he includes Dante himself, 'Dantes Aligerius.'

The English version of Van der Noodt's book has a special literary interest, inasmuch as in it are contained the earliest printed poetical efforts of Edmund Spenser (then just leaving school for Cambridge) in the shape of translations of certain poems upon earthly vanities by Du Bellay and Petrarch, which Van der Noodt had embodied in the introduction to his work.

The title of the French translation of the book ('Imprime en la ville de Londres, chez Jean Day, 1568') runs as follows:—

'Le Theatre auquel sont exposés et montrés les inconueniens et miserés qui suivent les mondains et vicieux, ensemble les plaisirs et contentemens dont les fideles jöüssent. Matiere non moins profitable, que delectable à tous amateurs de la parole de Dieu, de la Poësie, et de la peinture. Par le Seigneur Jean Vander Noot.']

1569. A THEATRE WHEREIN BE REPRESENTED AS WEL THE MISERIES AND CALAMITIES THAT FOLLOW THE VOLUPTUOUS WORLDLINGS, AS ALSO THE GREATE JOYES AND PLESURES WHICH THE FAITHFULL DO ENJOY. AN ARGUMENT BOTH PROFITABLE AND DELECTABLE, TO ALL THAT SINCERELY LOVE THE WORD OF GOD. DEVISÉ BY S. JOHN VANDER NOODT.

[Dante a reformer of the Church]

AT all tymes and seasons there have bene holy and godly men, and well learned fathers, whiche through their excellent and divine workes and writings have exhorted and cried (especially since the comming up of the Pope) for redresse and reformation of the church, for the amendement of many faultes, and to see brotherly exhortation and christian discipline used in the same. As by Bertrandus, Herebaldus, Berengarius Turonensis, Bruno Andegavensis, Petrus Damianus,¹ Valeranus Medeburgensis, Bernardus Clarevallensis,² Robertus Tuitiensis, Joachimus Abbas,³ Cyrillus Graecus, Joannes Salisburgensis, Gilbertus Leicestrius, Angelus Hierosolymitanus, Guilielmus de Sancto Amore, Guido Bonatus,⁴ Nicolaus Gallus, Hubertus de Casale,⁵ Petrus Casali, Petrus Joannes, Marcellus Patavinus, Joannes Paris, Arnoldus de villa nova, Michael Cesenus, Gulielmus Occam, Nicolaus de Luca, Marcus de Florentia, Joannes Bulenus, Joannes Hus, Michael de Bononia, Joannes Hildesheim, Dantes Aligerius,⁶ Franciscus Petrarcha, Nicolaus Clemangis, Petrus de Aliaco, Joannes Gerson, Laurentius Valla, Lodovicus Arelatensis, Joannes Segobius, Thomas Rhedonensis Gallus, Matheus Palmarius, David Boys, Dionysius Carthusianus, Joannes Milverton, Joannes Gorchius, Joannes de Wesalia Wormaciensis, Joannes Ghijler, Joannes Crutzer, Wessalus Groeningensis, Aeneas Sylvius, Rodericus Samorensis, Julianus Brigiensis, et Hieronymus Savonarolla.

Beside these there be other which are of oure time, as Joannes Reuchlin, Baptista Mantuanus, Baptista Panecius, Joannes Crestonus, Erasmus, Lutherus, Calvinus, Swinglius, and more other. All whiche, the Papistes for the moste parte, have condemned for heretikes.⁶

(foll. 55-6.)

¹ [Par. xxi. 121.]

² [Par. xxxi. 102.]

³ [Par. xii. 140.]

⁴ [If this is Guido Bonatti, the astrologer of Forlì, whom Dante places in Hell (*Inf.* xx. 118), he finds himself here in curious company.]

⁵ [Ubertino da Casale, the reformer of the Franciscan Order (*Par.* xii. 124).]

⁶ [Dante's *De Monarchia* had been condemned to be publicly burned, by the Papal legate in Lombardy, in the days of Pope John XXII, two hundred years be-

JOHN FOXE

(1516-1587)

[John Foxe was born at Boston, Lincolnshire, in 1516. When he was sixteen he was sent to Oxford, where in 1539 he became a Fellow of Magdalen College. Among his intimate friends and correspondents while at Oxford were William Tindal and Hugh Latimer, whose extreme Protestant views he shared. Conscientious objections led to his resignation of his fellowship in 1545. In 1548, on the recommendation of the Duchess of Richmond, Foxe was appointed tutor to her nephews, Thomas (afterwards Duke of Norfolk) and Henry Howard, the orphan children of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, who had been executed in 1547. This post he held until the accession of Queen Mary, when he was dismissed from his tutorship by the catholic Duke of Norfolk, the grandfather of his pupils. In 1554 Foxe joined the Protestant refugees at Frankfort, whence in the next year he removed to Basle. Here he found employment as a reader of the press in the printing office of Johannes Oporinus (Johann Herbst, 1507-1568), in which capacity perhaps he made his first acquaintance with Dante, for in 1559 Oporinus published a small volume containing a collection of treatises concerning the Roman Empire, among which was included *Dantis Florentini de Monarchia Libri tres*, now printed for the first time. This book was in all probability seen through the press by Foxe; he was certainly acquainted with it, for he expressly refers to it, and quotes from it in his *Book of Martyrs*.¹ (See Paget Toynbee, *John Foxe and the Editio princeps of Dante's De Monarchia*, in *Athenaeum*, April 14, 1906.) While thus employed Foxe found leisure for his own literary labours. In this same year (1559) Oporinus published, in a big folio volume, the first edition, in Latin, of Foxe's celebrated work, which was dedicated to his former pupil, now Duke of Norfolk, who thirteen years later was executed for complicity in a catholic plot against Queen Elizabeth. A month after the publication Foxe returned to England, and was ordained priest. He now busied himself with translating his great work into English, and in 1563 the first English edition, with a dedication to the Queen, was issued from the press of his friend John Day in London. In recognition of his labours Foxe, at the suggestion of John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, was given a prebend in Salisbury Cathedral. A second edition of the *Book of Martyrs*, as it was popularly known from the outset, was issued in 1570, and was ordered to be placed in churches, for the use of the people, together with the Great Bible and Bishop Jewel's *Defence of the Apologie of the Church of Englande*.² A third edition appeared in 1576, and a fourth (the last in Foxe's lifetime), in 1583. Foxe died in 1587, and was buried in St. Giles's Church, Cripplegate.

The references to Dante in the *Book of Martyrs*, which first occur in the edition of 1570, show that Foxe had more than a merely nominal acquaintance with Dante's works. He quotes from the *De Monarchia* (the *editio princeps* of which, as stated above, he probably saw through the press) Dante's opinion of the relations of the Pope and the Emperor; and he closely paraphrases, almost translates, *ex libris Dantis Italice*, several passages from the *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso*.]

1570. THE FIRST VOLUME OF THE ECCLESIASTICALL HISTORY CONTAYNYNG THE ACTES AND MONUMENTES OF THYNGES PASSED IN EVERY KYNGES TYME IN THIS REALME, ESPECIALLY IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND PRINCIPALLY TO BE NOTED . . . FROM THE PRIMITIVE TYME TILL THE REIGNE OF K. HENRY VIII. NEWLY RECOGNISED AND INLARGED BY THE AUTHOR.

fore this date. In the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, promulgated by order of Pope Pius IV in 1564, at the close of the Council of Trent, *Dantis Monarchia* figures conspicuously among the books of those, 'qui aut haeretici, aut nota haeresis suspecti fuerunt.']

¹ [See below, p. 58.]² [See above, p. 51.]

[Dante a contemporary of Edward I]

IN the reigne of this Kyng [Edward I], Walter Marton byshop of Rochester, buylded Marton colledge in Oxford. In whose reigne also lived, *Henricus de Gaudano*, *Arnoldus de villa nova*, *Dantes* and other mo. And *Scotus* called *Duns*.

(fol. 440 a.)

[Dante an upholder of the Emperor against the Pope]

In writing the storie and the actes of Ludovicus the emperour . . . mention was made of certaine learned men which tooke the Emperours part agaynst the pope. In number of whom was *Marsilius Patavinus*, *Guliermus Ockam*, *Joannes Gandavensis*, *Luitpoldus*, *Andreas Landensis*, *Ulricus Hangenor* treasurer to the Emperour, *Dantes*, *Aligerius*,¹ &c. Of whom *Marsilius Patavinus* compiled and exhibited unto the Emperour Ludovicke, a worthye worke intituled *Defensor pacis*: written in the Emperours behalfe agaynst the pope.

(fol. 485 a.)

[Dante a foe to the enemies of truth]

Dantes an
Italian
writer
against
the pope

Dantes an Italian writer a Florentine, lyved in the tyme of Ludovicus themperour, about the yeare of our Lord. 1300. and tooke part with *Marsilius Patavinus* agaynst three sortes of men, which he said were enemies to the truth: That is, the Pope: Secondly, the order of religious men, which count them selves the children of the church, when they are children of the devyll theyr father: Thirdly the Doctours of decrees and decretals. Certayne of his writings be extant abroade, wherein he proveth the pope not to be above the Emperour, nor to have any right or jurisdiction in the empyre. He refuteth the Donation of Constantine to be a foreged and fayned thing, as which neither dyd stand with any law or ryght.² For the which, he was taken of manye for an hereticke. He complayneth moreover verye muche, the preaching of Gods word to be omitted: and in stede ther of, the vayne fables of Monkes and Friers to be preached and beleved of the people: and so the flock of Christ to be fed not with the foode of the Gospel, but with winde.³ The Pope saith he, of a pastor is made a wolfe, to wast the church of Christ, and to procure with hys Clergye not the word of God to be preached, but his own decrees.⁴ In his canticle of purgatory, he declareth the Pope to be the whore of Babilon.⁵ And to her ministers, to some he applieth .ii. hornes :

¹[*Sic*, the mistake of making Dante Alighieri into two persons may be due to the printers or to Foxe himself.]

²[*Mon.* iii. 10.]

³[*Par.* xxix. 94-6, 106-8.]

⁴[*Par.* ix. 132-5.]

⁵[Not in express words. See above, p. 52, note.]

to some .iiii. As to the patriarches, whom he noteth to be the tower of the said whoore Babilonicall.¹ *Ex libris Dantis Italice.*

Hereunto may be added the saying out of the booke of *Jordanus*,² imprinted with the foresayd *Dantes*,³ that forsomuch as Antichrist commeth not before the destruction of the Empire, therefore such as go about to have the empire extinct, are forerunners and messengers in so doing of Antichrist.⁴

(fol. 485 b-486 a.)

ROBERT PETERSON

(fl. 1600)

[Nothing appears to be known of Robert Peterson beyond that he was a member of Lincoln's Inn, and that he published in 1576 a translation of the *Galateo*⁵ of Giovanni della Casa, Archbishop of Benevento; and in 1606 a translation of Giovanni Botero's *Della Ragion di Stato*. In his version of the *Galateo* are several passages from Dante (though by no means all that are quoted in the original) which he has rendered into verse, which, like that of William Barker, is little better than doggerel.]

1576. GALATEO OF MAISTER IOHN DELLA CASA, ARCHEBISHOP OF BENEVENTA. OR RATHER, A TREATISE OF THE MANNERS AND BEHAVIOURS, IT BEHOVETH A MAN TO USE AND ESCHEWE, IN HIS FAMILIAR CONVERSATION. A WORKE VERY NECESSARY AND PROFITABLE FOR ALL GENTLEMEN, OR OTHER.

[A fault of Dante]

A MAN must beware that he say, not those things, which un-
saide in silence would make y^e tale plesaunt i-noughe and
peradventure, geve it a better grace to leave them out . . .
As peradventure our *Dant* hath made this fault otherwhile, where
he sayeth:

*And borne my parents were of yoare in Lumbardie,
And eke of Mantuaes soyle they both by country be.*⁶

¹[*Purg.* xxxii. 142-6, 148-50.]

²[Misprint for *Jordanes*.]

³[Fuxe here refers to the volume published by Oporinus at Basle in 1559, in which are contained (besides three other tracts on the Roman Empire) *Dantis Florentini de Monarchia libri tres*, and *Chronica M. Jordanis, qualiter Romanum Imperium translatum sit ad Germanos*. (On Foxe's connection with this edition, the first, of the *De Monarchia*, see introductory note above.)]

⁴[The passage from *Jordanes* (which occurs on p. 225 of the volume mentioned in the previous note) is as follows:—'Nota, quod cum Antichristus venturus non sit, nisi prius imperium destruat, indubitanter omnes illi qui ad hoc dant operam, ut non sit imperium, quantum ad hoc, sunt praecursores et nuncii Antichristi.']

⁵[First printed at Milan in 1559, and several times reprinted at Florence during the next few years.]

⁶[*Inf.* i. 68-9:

'Li parenti miei furon Lombardi,
Mantovani per patria ambo e dui.']

For, it was to no purpose, whether his mother were borne at *Gazuolo*, or ells at *Cremona*.

(foll. 72-3.)

[Dante not a model of courtesy]

Our wordes (be it in long discourses or other communication) must be so plaine, that all the companie may easily understand them: and withall, for sounde and sense they must be apt and sweete . . . And albeit *Dant* the learned *Poet*, did little set by suche kinde of rules: I doe not think yet, a man should allow well of him in doing so. And sure, I would not counsell you to make him your Maister in this point, to learne A Grace: forasmuche as he himselfe had none. For, this I finde in a *Chronicle* of him.

This *Dant*, was somewhat proude for his knowledge, scornefull and disdainfull, and muche (as Philosophers be) without any grace or courtesie: having no skill to behave him selfe in company.¹

(foll. 75-6.)

[Apt expressions of Dante]

Our wordes would be, (as nere as they myght be) aptly and properly applied to that thing we go about to deliver, and as little as may be, common to other matters . . . And *Dant*² did better expresse the matter, when he saide,

The weightes

*That peize the weight doe make the balance creeke,*³

Then if he had saide

Crie out and make a noise.

And it is a more proper and peculiar speache to say, *The shivering of an ague,*⁴ then to call it *The Colde*.

(foll. 76-7.)

[Obscurities in Dante]

I am well assured, if some straunger should, unhappely for my credite, hit upon this treatise of mine: he would laughe mee to scorne, and say that I taught to speake in riddles, or els in Ciphers. For as muche as these wordes, be almost so properly our owne, that other countries have no acquaintance with them; or, if they

¹[From Giovanni Villani: 'Questo Dante per lo suo sapere fu alquanto presuntuoso e schifo e isdegnoso, e quasi a guisa di filosofa mal grazioso non bene sapea conversare co' laici' (ix. 136).]

²Dant. 23. Infer.

³[*Inf.* xxiii. 101-2:

'Li pesi

Fan così cigolar le lor balance'.]

⁴[*Inf.* xvii. 85-6:

'Il riprezzo
Della quartana'.]

woulde use them, yet they cannot tell how to understand them. For, who is it that knowes what *Dant* ment in this verse.

*Gia veggia per Mezzul perdere o Lulla.*¹

Sure, I believe no man ells but we that are Florentines can understand it. Notwithstanding, for any thing that I have saide, if there be any fault in this text of *Dant*: it is not in the wordes. But, if he have faulted, it is rather in this: that (as a man somewhat wilfull) he would take upon him, a matter harde to be uttered in wordes, and peradventure unpleasaunt to heare: then that he hath exprest it ill.

(fol. 78.)

[Unseemly expressions of Dante]

It becometh everie honest gentleman, to eschewe those wordes that have no honest meaning . . .

*She gave the Spanish figge
with both her thumbes at once.*²

Saith *Dant*.

But our women, would be much ashamed to speake so . . . And therefore, suche as be, or would be better mannered or taught, take good heede they doe eschewe, not only things uncleane and dishonest, but woordes also: and not so muche those that be evill indeede, but those that may be, or doe but seeme to be dishonest, foule and filthie: as some men say these are of *Dant*.

*She blewe large blastes of winde
Both in my face and under.*³

Or els these.

*I pray thee tell mee where about
the hole doth stand.
And one of the Spirits said
Then come behinde and where the hole
is, it may be scand.*⁴

. . . . A man must not alone beware of dishonest and filthie talke: but also of that whiche is base and vile, and especially where a man

¹Dant. 28. Infer. [*Inf.* xxviii. 22. This line is the first specimen of the Italian text of Dante printed in England.]

²Dant. 25. Infer. [*Inf.* xxv. 2: 'Le mani alzò con ambedue le fiche.' Dante is speaking, not of a woman, but of Vanni Fucci, the robber.]

³Dant. 17. Infer. [*Inf.* xvii. 117: 'Al viso e disotto mi venta.' Here again, Dante is not speaking of a woman, but of the wind caused by the descent of Geryon into the abyss.]

⁴[*Purg.* xviii. III, 113-114:

'Però ne dite ov' è presso il pertugio . . .
Ed un di quegli spirti disse: Vieni
Direto a noi, e troverai la buca.'

The meaning of these passages is utterly perverted by the comments in the text.]

talketh and discourseth of greate and high matters. And for this Cause, perchance, woorthely some blame our *Beatrice*, saying :

*To passe throughe Lethes floud,
the highest Fates would blott,
Yf man mighte taste the Viandes suche,
as there doe fall by Lott,
And not pay firste a due
repentaunce for his scott.*¹

For, in my conceite, these base wordes that come out of the *Tavernes*, bee verie uncomely for suche a worthy discourse. And when a man hathe like occasion to speake of ye *Sunne*, it shall not be good to call it. *The Candell or the Lampe of the world* :² bycause such wordes do put us in minde of ye *Oyle*, and the stuffe of the kitchyn. Neyther should a man that is well advised, say that *Saincte Dominicke* was *Il Drudo della Theologia* :³ Nor yet talke, that the glorious *Sainctes* have spoken suche base and vile wordes : as for example to say.

*And leave to scratche whereas
the scabs of sinne breake out,*⁴

For they savour of ye dregges, and ye filth of ye common people, as every man may easily see. . . . Your wordes would be disposed, even as the common use of speache doth require and not unsorted, disordered and scattered confusedly : as many be woont to doe uppon a bravery, whose maner of talke is more like a *Scrivener* (me thinke) that readeth in his mother tounge, the *Indenture* he hath written before in latine : then a man that reasoneth or talketh in his *Naturall language* : as this for example.

*They drawe by sent of false
and fained steps of truth.*⁵

(*fol.* 81-3, 87.)

GABRIEL HARVEY

(c. 1550-1630)

[Gabriel Harvey, the son of a well-to-do ropemaker, was born at Saffron Walden about the year 1550. He was educated at Christ's College, Cambridge, and in 1570

¹ Dant. 30. Purgato. [*Purg.* xxx, 142-5 :

'Alto fato di Dio sarebbe rotto,
Se Letè si passasse, e tal vivanda
Fosse gustata senza alcuno scotto
Di pentimento.']

² [*Par.* i. 38 : 'La lucerna del mondo.']

³ *Drudo*, significthe a lascivious lover. [*Par.* xii. 55 : 'L' amoroso drudo Della fede cristiana'].

⁴ Dant. 22. Infer. [A wrong reference ; it should be *Par.* xvii. 129 : 'E lascia pur grattar dov' è la rognà.']

⁵ [*Purg.* xxx. 131 : 'Imagini di ben seguendo false.']

was elected a Fellow of Pembroke Hall. Here he made the acquaintance of Edmund Spenser, a junior member of the college, with whom he remained on intimate terms until Spenser's death in 1599. To Harvey, whom he has immortalised as Hobbinal in his *Shepherd's Calendar*, Spenser was indebted for his introduction to his patron Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and to Leicester's nephew, Sir Philip Sidney. A correspondence (of the years 1579-1580) between Spenser, under the name of 'Immerito,' and Harvey, at that time a Fellow of Trinity Hall, was published in 1580. In 1578, on the occasion of Queen Elizabeth's visit to Sir Thomas Smith (with whom Harvey claimed kinship) at Audley End, Harvey composed and presented personally to the Queen his *Gratulationes Valdinenses*. In 1585 he was elected to the mastership of Trinity Hall, but the election was set aside; and in the same year he took the degree of D.C.L. at Oxford. He filled sundry University offices at Cambridge. To his contemporaries Harvey was best known by the scurrilous and acrimonious paper warfare which he carried on with Greene and Nashe. The scandal of his quarrel with the latter reached such a pitch that in 1599 it was ordered that all the writings of both of them should be suppressed. Harvey's old age appears to have been spent in retirement at Saffron Walden, where he died in 1630, having survived his friend Spenser more than thirty years.

Harvey was a man of attainments, and was widely read. He apparently had a good knowledge of Italian literature, among the authors whom he mentions in his various writings, besides Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Ariosto and Tasso, being Bembo, Castiglione, Cinthio, Della Casa, Guicciardini, Guazzo, Pico della Mirandola, Machiavelli, Sannazzaro, etc. Of Dante he does not seem to have known much beyond his general reputation as the great poet of Italy, though he makes (as is supposed) one reference to Beatrice. This is the first time (if it actually be the Beatrice of Dante to whom he refers) that the name of Beatrice occurs in English literature. A few years later an unmistakable reference to her occurs in Sidney's *Apologie for Poetrie* (1581), where he speaks of her as 'Dantes Beatrix,' which is commonly supposed to be the earliest mention of her by an English writer. Harvey, who several times mentions Dante in his *Gratulationes Valdinenses*, had no very exalted opinion of him, for he regards him as in no wise superior to Du Bartas.]

1577. A SUTTLE AND TRECHROUS ADVANTAGE (POETICALLY IMAGINED) TAKEN AT UNAWARES BY THE 3 FATALL SISTERS TO BERIVE M. GASCOIGNE¹ OF HIS LIFE, NOTWITHSTANDINGE A FORMER COMPOSITION SOLEMELY AND AUTENTICALLY AGREID UPON BETWENE MARS MERCURY² AND THEM TO THE CONTRARYE.

[Harvey imagines Gascoigne in the next world, where he shall see Dante and Beatrice]

AND if with pleasure thou delightes
 To feede thine eie, injoye thy fill ;
 Here mayst thou gratis vewe the gostes
 That Socrates surveyith still.

He longd to dye, thou wottst it well
 To looke ould Homer in the face
 And to dispute with Hesiodē
 Queinte mysteries towching Poets grace.

* * * *

¹[George Gascoigne, the poet (c. 1525-1577).]

²[Gascoigne's poetical motto was *Tam Marti quam Mercurio*.]

Methinks thou gleekiste many a lorde
 And spees out maddames for the nonce
 And sporte thyselffe with this and that
 And specially with ther deinty bones.

And all that glorious cumpany
 Of parsonages heroicall,
 To greete with salutations
 Divine and metaphysicall.

Of purpose framed longe before,
 And kennd be heart as many yeares,
 As Horace¹ would have poems kepte
 Before in printe on worde appears.

This pleasure reape : and shake thou hands
 With auncient cuntrymen of thine :
 Acquayntaunce take of Chaucer first
 And then with Gower and Lydgate dine.

* * * *

Perdy thou art much to rejoice
 That good Syr Thomas More will deyne
 His cuntryman at first insight
 So curteously to interteyne.

And loa my lorde of Surrey tooe
 What countenaunce he shows to the
 O happye and thrise happye man
 That fyndes sutch heavenlye curtesye.

* * * *

Tis marvell if they have the nott
 To Maddame Beatrice belive
 Well for this once I am content
 A fewe there save those twoe do thrive.²

(fol. 35, pp. 56 ff. of *Letter-Book of Gabriel Harvey*, A.D. 1573-1580. Edited by E. J. L. Scott, for the Camden Society, 1884.)

¹['Nonumque prematur in annum,' *Ars Poëtica*, l. 388.]

²[*Editor's note*. Harvey tells Gascoigne he will be introduced to 'Maddame Beatrice,' and well content he is that they should meet, for few save 'those twoe,' Dante and her, do thrive there. (*Preface*, p. ix)—If this identification be correct (and there seems to be no other Beatrice in question) this is the first mention of Dante's Beatrice in English literature.]

1578. GABRIELIS HARVEII GRATULATIONUM VALDINENSIIUM LIBRI QUATUOR. AD ILLUSTRISS. AUGUSTISSIMAMQUE PRINCIPEM, ELIZEBETAM, ANGLIAE, FRANCIAE, HIBERNIAEQUE REGINAM LONGÈ SERENISSIMAM, ATQUE OPTATISSIMAM.

[Harvey's muse owes nothing to Petrarch, Boccaccio or Dante]

Legi ego Petrarcham: placet et Boccaccius: et me
Sylvius, et Dantes, et Castilionis amenae
Deliciae, miro multum affecere lepore.
Agnoscit nihil istorum mea Musa, nec ullam
Laureolam ingenii, nec linguae vendicat ullam.

* * * *

Italicum nomen Gabriel: Gabrielis Apollo
Italicus: lepor Italicus: carmen simul ipsum
Italicum: ingenium Italicum: quis deputet Anglum?
Quis nisi non Italus? vix hoc Boccaccius Anglo
Italicus magis, aut Dantes: nisi quod mihi ab illis
Surripuisse sales sparsim, Veneresque videtur
Italicas: referens Aeneam Sylvium ubivis:
Et Petrarcam, animam Italiae, simulanter adumbrans;
Nec non ex aliis aliquid furatus Hetruscis.

(*Liber Primus*, pp. 25, 28.)

Attamen haud lectus, sed lectio sola poetam
Fecit, et in multis sum rudis ipse nimis.
Pauca gynaecei mysteria calleo; et illa
Vix etiam agnosco visa, relecta scio.
Quaerite Boccatium, Cavicaeum, Castilionem,
Nasonemque meum, Virgiliumque meum.
Sylvius Aeneas, Danthes, Baptista, Petrarca,
Callimachusque vetus, Callimachique novi.

(*Liber Quartus*, p. 22.)

1593. PIERCE'S SUPEREROGATION, OR A NEW PRAYSE OF THE OLDE ASSE.¹

[Du Bartas not inferior to Dante]

Phy upon fooleries: there be honourable woorkes to doe; and notable woorkes to read. Salustius du Bartas,² (whome elsewhere I have stiled the Treasurer of Humanity, and the Jeweller of Divinity) for the highnesse of his subject, and the majesty of his verse, nothing

¹[This is one of Harvey's attacks upon Nashe.]

²[Guillaume de Saluste du Bartas (1544-1590), whose *Première Semaine de la Création du Monde* (published in 1579) went through thirty editions in a few years. It was translated into English by Joshua Sylvester (1605-6).]

inferiour unto Dante, (whome some Italians preferre before Virgil, or Homer,) a right inspired and enravished Poet; full of chosen, grave, profound, venerable, and stately matter; even in the next Degree to the sacred, and reverend stile of heavenly Divinity it selfe. In a manner the onely Poet, whom Urany hath voutsafed to Laureate with her owne heavenly hand: and worthy to bee alleadged of Divines, and Counsellours, as Homer is quoted of Philosophers, and Oratours.

(*Prose Works*, ed. Grosart, vol. ii. p. 103.)

GEORGE PETTIE

(1548-1589)

[George Pettie, a native of Oxfordshire, born in 1548, went to Oxford, where in 1564 he became a scholar of Christ Church, and graduated in 1569. He appears to have spent some time in foreign travel and to have had some military experience. Pettie was grand-uncle of Anthony à Wood, who says that he showed a predilection for literature while at Oxford, and records that he died in July, 1589, 'in the prime of his years, at Plymouth, being then a captain and a man of note.' Pettie's best known work is a volume of stories, published soon after 1576, under the title of *A Petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure*, in imitation of William Painter's *Palace of Pleasure* published ten years before. This book attained great popularity, seven editions of it being issued between 1576 and 1613. Pettie also published in 1581 a translation from a French version (by F. de Belleforest Commingeois, Paris, 1579) the first three books of Stefano Guazzo's *La Civil Conversazione, divisa in quattro libri* (Brescia, 1574), in which the quotations from Dante are rendered in more or less rugged rhyme. A second edition of this translation was issued in 1586, in which was included the fourth book, begun by Pettie, and completed from the Italian by Bartholomew Young (see below, p. 75).]

1581. THE CIVILE CONVERSATION OF M. STEPHEN GUAZZO, WRITTEN FIRST IN ITALIAN, DIVIDED INTO FOURE BOOKES, THE FIRST THREE TRANSLATED OUT OF FRENCH BY G. PETTIE.

[Dante on the delight of acquiring knowledge]

Guazzo. **M**Y desire is to give you occasion to give mee some light of knowledge, being willing rather to understand than to withstand: for when you make aunswere to my demaundes, I take so great pleasure in it, that I may saie with the Poet *Dant*.

Your resolutions, doe me content so well,

That I delight as much to aske, as if my selfe could tell.¹

(From the *First Booke*, ed. 1586, p. 6.)

[Dante's use of Lombard words]

Guazzo. If I ought to avoide the worst wordes in our tongue, I must be faine to put *Tuscane* wordes in their steade, which

¹[*Inf.* xi. 92-3.]

doeing, I shall make the hearers to laugh at mee, for making such a mingle mangle of *Lombarde* and *Tuscane* wordes together. And for my part, I would thinke it better to speake one tongue, altogether our own, or altogether *Bergamasque*, than to speake a language in diverse, and mingled of the *Tuscane*, and our owne, which joyned together, have that grace which *Dant* sheweth, when hee saith :

Non credo qui per terra andasse anchoi.¹

* * *

Annibale. Those erre much which speake in diverse sortes, using sometime words which are starke naught, and sometime those which are excellent good, like as *Dant* did, ending the *Tuscane* vearse before rehearsed, with a rude word of *Lombardie*, which in respect of the other words, resembleth a peece of course cloth set upon a velvet garment.

Guazzo. That poet is to bee excused, for that in his time his tongue was not come to that perfection that now it is off.

Annibale. Indeed in that respect he is to bee excused, and besides, when the necessitie of the rime did not drive him to it, he used oftner *Hoggi* than *Anchoi*. Moreover, intreating of high and waightie matters, he bent himselfe rather to profite those which should read him, than to delight them. And you may well consider that when the minde travaileth in deepe and harde matters, it cannot be curious in the choise of wordes.

Guazzo. You saie well, but I am of this minde, that the making of rime, shoulde not make a Poet use naughtie wordes.

(From the *Second Booke*, ed. 1586, p. 66.)

[Dante on half-truths]

Annibale. We must have reverent regard of the trueth, and take heede that we violate not the virginitie thereof in any sort, nor to pull so much as one haire from hir, least we sustaine shame thereby. And I will say unto you more, that the trueth is a thing so tickle, that a man may incurre reprehension, not only by disguising it in some part coulourably, but even by very reporting it simply : which is, when men tell things which are true, but yet such as fewe will beleeve to be true.

Guazzo. Of that danger *Dant* expressly speaketh in these verses.

It is not good to tell that truth,
Which seemeth like unto a lie :
For though it be no fault in deede,
Yet may a man be blamde thereby.²

(*Ibid.* ed. 1586, p. 71.)

¹[*Purg.* xiii. 52 : 'Non credo che per terra vada ancoi.']

²[*Inf.* xvi. 124-6.]

[Dante on the decay of families]

Annibale. It is evidentlie seene, that not onelie houses and families waxe olde, but even whole Cities, yea, the world it selfe. How manie auncient houses have there bene, whereof there is not at this daie anie remembrance? or else they are brought into poore and vile estate.

Guazzo. *Dant* saith thereof well, that
Races razed are, and houses runne to wracke.¹
(*Ibid.* ed. 1586, p. 83.)

[Alleged saying of Dante on nobility]

Annibale. It is in vaine called Gentry, which referring it selfe to the worthinesse of bloud is not ours, but others. And therefore the light of another cannot make me shine, if there be no brightnesse in my selfe.

Guazzo. That is noted to us by the saying of *Dant*,
That onelie he is bright, who shineth of himselfe.²
(*Ibid.* ed. 1586, p. 85.)

[Dante's opinion that a man should be allowed to follow his natural bent]

Annibale. As a fruitifull graine sowed in a soyle unfit for it, bringeth forth no increase, so a childe which is naturally given to learning, shall never doe well if he be set to warfare, so much it importeth to finde out in the beginning, whereto he is most inclined. Touching this matter, I remember I have read certaine verses of *Dant*, which I have now forgotten.

Guazzo. You shall see I will help you.

Annibale. I pray you doe.

Guazzo. If that men had more care to follow natures lore,
Of able and accomplit men, we should have greater
store,
But contrarie, a Priest of him we used to make,
Who borne is for the warre, wherein he cheefe delight
doth take,
And him we make a king, whome nature hath ordaind,
A lawier for to be, and thus is nature's course restrained.³

Annibale. What pleasure I take in these verses, as wel for their delightfull harmonie, as for that they give mee to know how good a memorie you are undued withall.

(From the *Third Booke*, ed. 1586, p. 142.)

¹[*Par.* xvi. 76.]

²[In the original: 'Che sol chiaro è colui, che per sè splende'—which *Guazzo* appears to have attributed to Dante in error, as later did *Romei* (see his *Discorsi Cavallereschi*, translated by Keper, p. 98).]

³[*Par.* viii. 142-8.]

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY

(1554-1586)

[Philip Sidney, eldest son of Sir Henry Sidney, afterwards Lord Deputy of Ireland, and of Mary Dudley, sister of Robert, Earl of Leicester, was born at Penshurst, Nov. 30, 1554. He was named after his godfather, Philip of Spain, who had married Queen Mary in the previous summer. In 1564, at the age of ten, Sidney went to Shrewsbury School, whence he proceeded in 1568 to Christ Church, Oxford. He remained at the University until 1571, but took no degree, being driven from Oxford by the plague. In the next year he left England in order to travel on the Continent. After passing some months in France, Germany, and Austria, in the autumn of 1573 he went to Italy, where he spent most of his time at Venice, and Padua. He returned to England in 1575. In 1578 Sidney, who had now attained a position of influence at court, accompanied Queen Elizabeth on a state visit to Audley End, on which occasion Gabriel Harvey, one of the representatives of the University of Cambridge, made his acquaintance. By Gabriel Harvey the youthful Edmund Spenser, a member of the same College, was recommended to the notice of Sidney and of his uncle, the Earl of Leicester. In 1579 Spenser dedicated to Sidney, 'most worthy of all titles both of learning and chevalrie,' his *Shepherdes Calender*. In the same year Stephen Gosson dedicated to him his *Schoole of Abuse*, a denunciation of playhouses, to which Sidney, who by no means approved of the dedication, replied in his *Apologie for Poetrie*. In 1581, while absent from court under the Queen's displeasure, he began his *Arcadia*, which was written for the amusement of his sister, the Countess of Pembroke. In this year he was elected to parliament as member for Kent, and two years later he was knighted. In Sept. 1583 he married Frances, daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham. In 1585, when Elizabeth sent an army to the Low Countries to support the cause of the Protestants against Spain, under the command of the Earl of Leicester, Sidney was appointed Governor of Flushing. In September of the following year, during an attack on the stronghold of Zutphen, Sidney received a wound in the thigh, from the effects of which he died a month later, Oct. 17, 1586. The story is well known of how, when wounded and parched with thirst, he handed the water he had begged for to a wounded soldier near by with the words, 'Thy necessity is yet greater than mine.' Sidney's body was brought to England, and buried in St. Paul's Cathedral, with a public funeral.

Sidney early showed a love of learning. His school-fellow and life-long friend, Fulke Greville, said of him that as a youth his talk was 'ever of knowledge, and his very play tending to enrich his mind.' His intellectual interests were wide, and he numbered among his acquaintances many of the most noted painters and musicians of the day. But as a poet, and friend of poets, and above all of Edmund Spenser, upon whose literary development he exercised an important influence, his fullest sympathy was with men of letters. Of his own literary productions nothing was published in his lifetime. His pastoral romance, the *Arcadia*, which was written between 1580 and 1583, was first printed in 1590. His *Apologie for Poetrie*, written in 1581, was not published until 1595. Sidney had a good knowledge of Italian literature. In the *Arcadia*, which is largely drawn from the romance of the same name by Jacopo Sannazzaro, he experimented with Italian metres, *terza rima* among them. His acquaintance with Dante, whom he several times names in his *Apologie for Poetrie*, probably did not go very deep. One of his references, however, has a special interest as containing the first undoubted mention of Dante's Beatrice in English literature.¹]

¹ [For a supposed earlier reference by Gabriel Harvey, see above, pp. 63-4.]

1581. AN APOLOGIE FOR POETRIE.¹

[Poets the first refiners of language]

LET learned Greece in any of her manifold Sciences, be able to shew me one booke, before *Musaeus*, *Homer*, and *Hesiodus*, all three nothing els but Poets. Nay, let any historie be brought, that can say any Writers were there before them, if they were not men of the same skil, as *Orpheus*, *Linus*, and some other men are named: who having beene the first of that Country, that made pens deliverers of their knowledge to their posterity, may justly challenge to bee called their Fathers in learning: for not only in time they had this priority (although in it self antiquity be venerable) but went before them as causes to drawe with their charming sweetnes, the wild untamed wits to an admiration of knowledge. So as *Amphion* was sayde to move stones with his Poetrie, to build Thebes. And *Orpheus* to be listened to by beastes, indeed, stony and beastly people. So among the Romans were *Livius*, *Andronicus*, and *Ennius*. So in the Italian language, the first that made it aspire to be a Treasure-house of Science, were the poets *Dante*, *Boccace*, and *Petrarch*. So in our English were *Gower* and *Chawcer*.

(ed. Arber, 1869, pp. 20-1.)

[The Historian subject to the Poet]

So then the best of the Historian, is subject to the Poet; for whatsoever action, or faction, whatsoever counsell, pollicy, or warre stratagem, the Historian is bound to recite, that may the Poet (if he list) with his imitation make his own; beautifying it both for further teaching, and more delighting, as it pleaseth him: having all, from *Dante* his heaven, to hys hell, under the authoritie of his penne. Which if I be asked what Poets have done so, as I might well name some, yet say I, and say againe, I speake of the Arte, and not of the Artificer.

(Ibid. pp. 37-8.)

[That Poets confer immortality]

I conjure you all, that have had the evill lucke to reade this incke-wasting toy of mine, even in the name of the nyne Muses, no more to scorne the sacred misteries of Poesie: no more to laugh at the name of Poets, as though they were next inheritours to Fooles: no more to jest at the reverent title of a Rymer: but to beleeve with *Aristotle*, that they were the ancient Treasurers, of the Graecians Divinity. To beleeve with *Bembus*, that they were first bringers in of all civilitie. To beleeve with *Scaliger*, that no Philosophers precepts can sooner make you an honest man, than

¹[First printed in 1595.]

the reading of *Virgill* . . . To beleeve with me, that there are many misteries contained in Poetrie, which of purpose were written darkely, least by prophane wits, it should bee abused. To beleeve with *Landin*, that they are so beloved of the Gods, that whatsoever they write, proceeds of a divine fury. Lastly, to beleeve themselves, when they tell you they will make you immortall, by their verses.

Thus doing, your name shal flourish in the Printer's shoppes; thus doing, you shall be of kinne to many a poetically Preface; thus doing, you shall be most fayre, most rich, most wise, most all, you shall dwell upon Superlatives. Thus dooing, though you be *Libertino patre natus*, you shall suddenly grow *Hercules proles* :
Si quid mea carmina possunt.

Thus doing, your soule shal be placed with *Dante's Beatrix*,¹ or *Virgils Anchises*.

(*Ibid.* pp. 71-2.)

LAURENCE HUMPHREY

(1527-1590)

[Laurence Humphrey was born at Newport Pagnell in 1527. After studying for a time at Cambridge, he removed to Oxford, where in 1546 he was elected a demy of Magdalen College, and in due course became Fellow. He was an advanced Protestant, and soon after the accession of Queen Mary, like many of his co-religionists, he took refuge in Switzerland. After Mary's death he returned to Oxford, and in 1560 was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity, and in the next year was elected President of Magdalen College. In 1566 he was among the doctors who received Queen Elizabeth at Oxford. He became Vice-Chancellor of the University in 1571, and in the same year he received the deanery of Gloucester, which in 1580 he exchanged for that of Winchester. He died at Oxford in 1590, and was buried in the chapel of Magdalen College, of which he had retained the presidency in conjunction with his other preferments. Among the works published by Humphrey, who had the reputation of being 'a great and general scholar, an able linguist, and a deep divine,' were a life of his friend Bishop Jewel, and several volumes against the Jesuits, in one of which he refers to Dante as having described Rome as the seat of Antichrist.]

1582. JESUITISMI PARS PRIMA: SIVE DE PRAXI ROMANAE CURIAE CONTRA RESP. ET PRINCIPES: ET DE NOVA LEGATIONE JESUITARUM IN ANGLIAM, *προθεραπεία* ET PRAEMUNITIO AD ANGLIOS. CUI ADJUNCTA EST CONCIO EJUSDEM ARGUMENTI.²

[Rome, in Dante's opinion, the seat of Antichrist]

OXONIENSIS fuit Galfridus Chaucerus, propter dicendi gratiam et libertatem quasi alter Dantes aut Petrarcha: quos ille etiam in linguam nostram transtulit, in quibus Romana Ecclesia tanquam sedes Antichristi describitur et ad vivum exprimi-

¹[This is the first mention in English literature of Dante and Beatrice together by name.]

²[Londini, 1582.]

tur: Hic multis in locis Fraterculos istos, monachos, missificos, Pontificiorum ceremonias, peregrinationes, facundè notavit, verum et spiritualem Christi in Sacramento esum agnovit, turpitudinem coactae virginitatis perstrinxit, libertatem conjugii in Domino commendavit, ut in fabulis Monachi, Fratris, Aratoris¹ et in reliquis legimus.

(From the *Praefatio*, sig. PPP7.)

ROBERT GREENE

(c. 1560-1592)

[Robert Greene, born at Norwich about the year 1560, entered St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1575. Shortly after taking his degree in 1579 he appears to have travelled in Italy and Spain with some of his fellow-students who led him into bad ways. On his return home he engaged in literary work in London, and between 1580 and 1590 produced a number of 'love-pamphlets,' novels, and plays. He led an irregular life in London and died in great poverty in 1592. Within a few months of his death, Gabriel Harvey published a bitter attack on him (compared by Meres to Achilles' treatment of the corpse of Hector), which drew forth a retort from Greene's friend, Thomas Nashe, and led to an exchange of acrimonious pamphlets between the two.

Nearly thirty works by Greene (chiefly romances and prose tracts) were published in his lifetime, none of them of a high order. His chief title to fame consists in the occasional poems printed in his romances, some of which are of great beauty. Greene, both in his *Mamillia*, and in the *Farewell to Follie*, professes to quote Dante, but in neither case is the quotation to be found in Dante's works. His reference to the episode of Francesca da Rimini in the *Debate betweene Follie and Love* is at second-hand, this work being a translation from the French.]

1583. MAMILLIA: THE SECOND PART OF THE TRIUMPH OF PALLAS.²

[Alleged saying of Dante as to love]

I REMEMBER the saying of *Dant*, that love cannot roughly be thrust out but it must easilie creepe, and woman must seeke by little and little to recover her former libertie, wading in love like the Crab, whose pace is always backward.³

(*Works*, ed. Grosart, vol. ii. p. 264.)

1584. THE DEBATE BETWEEN FOLLIE AND LOVE, TRANSLATED OUT OF FRENCH.⁴

[The coming of love]

Love springeth of sodaine and sundrie causes, by receyving an

¹[Humphrey apparently regarded Chaucer as the author of *Piers Plowman*.]

²[Licensed in September, 1583; first known edition, 1593.]

³[There is nothing in Dante's works in the least resembling this saying.]

⁴[Licensed, apparently, in April 1584; first known edition, 1587. The original was *Le debat de folie et d' amour*, by Louise Labé (first printed at Lyons in 1555, reprinted in 1556 and 1578).]

apple, as Cidippe:¹ by looking out at a Windowe, as Scilla:² by reading in a Booke, as the Ladie Francis Rimhi.³

(*Works*, ed. Grosart, vol. iv. p. 219.)

1587. FAREWELL TO FOLLIE.

[Alleged saying of Dante as to the consequences of gluttony]

Innumerable also be dissolute fashions and wicked enormities that spring from gluttony and dronkennesse, for where this follie is predominant, there is the minde subject unto lust, anger, sloth, adulterie, love, and all other vices that are subjectes of the sensuall part: for as the olde Poet sayeth,

Cine Cerere et Baccho friget Venus.⁴

And by the way I remember certaine verses written by our countriman⁵ *Dante* to this effect.

Il vitio chi conduce :

Englished thus :

A monster seated in the midst of men,
Which daily fed is never satiat.
A hollow gulfe of wild ingratitude,
Which for his food vouchsafes not pay of thankes,
But still doth claime a debt of due expence :
From hence doth Venus draw the shape of lust,
From hence Mars raiseth bloud and stratagemes :
The wracke of wealth, the secret foe to life,
The sword that hastneth on the date of death,
The surest friend to phisicke by disease,
The pumice that defaceth memorie,
The misty vapour that obscures the light,
And brightest beames of science glittering sunne,
And doth eclipse the minde with sluggish thoughtes :
The monster that afoordes this cursed brood,
And makes commixture of these dyer mishaps,
Is but a stomach overcharged with meates,
That takes delight in endlesse gluttony.

Well did *Dante*⁶ note in these verses the sundrie mischiefes that

¹[The story of Cydippe and the apple is told by Ovid in the *Heroides* (20, 21).]

²[The story of Scylla, daughter of Nisus, King of Megara, is told by Apollodorus.]

³[That is, Francesca da Rimini, whose story is told by Dante in the *Inferno* (v. 127 ff.). The original of the passage translated by Greene is as follows: 'Et pour commencer à la belle premiere naissance d' Amour, qu' y ha il plus depourvu de sens, que la personne à la moindre ocasion du monde vienne en Amour, en recevant une pomme comme Cydippee ? en lisant un livre, comme la Dame Francisque de Rimini ?'

The example of Scylla was supplied by Greene.]

⁴[Terence, in the *Eunuchus*: 'Sine Cerere et Libero friget Venus.']

⁵[The speaker is an Italian.]

⁶[This quotation, like the previous one, is not to be found in Dante's works.]

procede from this folly, seeing what expences to the purse, what diseases to the person, what ruine to the common wealth, what subversion of estates, what miserie to princes have insued by this insatiable sinne of gluttonie.

(*Works*, ed. Grosart, vol. ix. pp. 335-6.)

GEORGE WHETSTONE

(c. 1544-c. 1587)

[Whetstone, who came of a good Lincolnshire family, was born apparently in London about 1544. As a young man he tried his fortune at court, but with indifferent success. After dissipating his means he joined the army in the Low Countries, and on his return home in 1574 turned his attention to literature in order to gain a livelihood. In 1576 he published a volume of tales in verse and prose, chiefly drawn from Italian sources, entitled the *Rocke of Regard*, which was followed by other ventures, among them an unsuccessful play. In 1580 Whetstone visited Italy, and two years later he was back in England and published a collection of prose romances, *An Heptameron of Civill Discourses*, many of which were taken from Italian originals. On one of the stories in this work Shakespeare based his *Measure for Measure*. In 1584 Whetstone published a moral treatise in prose, under the title of *A Mirour for Magistrates of Cyties*, which was reprinted in 1586. In this work, and in another, *The English Myrror* (published in 1586, but apparently written some time before), Whetstone quotes and translates a brief passage from the *Convivio* of Dante, doubtless at second hand from Machiavelli's *Discourses on Livy* (in which the quotation occurs); or from one or other of the Italian authors he utilised. In 1585 he once more joined the army, and in September of the next year was present at the attack on Zutphen where Sir Philip Sidney received his fatal wound. Among Whetstone's latest publications (1587) was a biography of Sidney in verse. He probably died not long after.]

1584. A MIROUR FOR MAGESTRATES OF CYTIES, REPRESENTING THE ORDINANCES, POLICIES, AND DILIGENCE, OF THE NOBLE EMPEROUR, ALEXANDER (SURNAMED) SEVERUS, TO SUPPRESSE AND CHASTISE THE NOTORIOUS VICES NOORISHED IN ROME, BY THE SUPERFLUOUS NUMBER OF DICING-HOUSES, TAVARNS, AND COMMON STEWES: SUFFRED AND CHERISHED, BY HIS BEASTLYE PREDECESSOUR, HELYOGABALUS, WITH SUNDRIE GRAVE ORATIONS: BY THE SAID NOBLE EMPEROR, CONCERNING REFORMATION.

[Dante's opinion of the fickleness of the populace]

I OMYT *Themistocles*, *Photion*, and many mo, whom Histories record, to shewe the light Judgementes of Commons, *Danté*, the Italian Poet, saith ful truely of them: it is seldome seene, that the people crye not: *Viva la mia morte, muoia¹ la mia vita*: Let live my death: let die my lyfe:² Yea, those

¹[Misprinted *inoia*.]

²[The passage occurs in the *Convivio* (i. xi. ll. 52-6): 'Impossibile è a loro [le popolari persone] discrezione avere. Per che incontra che molte volte gridano: *Viva la lor morte, e Muoia la lor vita*, purchè alcuno cominci. E questo è pericolosissimo difetto nella loro cecità.']

great estates, that seek to please the people, for the most parte, have had the endes of enemies to their Countrey.

(fol. 21.)

1586. THE ENGLISH MYRROR. A REGARD WHEREIN AL ESTATES MAY BEHOLD THE CONQUESTS OF ENVY: CONTAINING RUINE OF COMMON WEALES, MURTHUR OF PRINCES, CAUSE OF HERESIES, AND IN ALL AGES, SPOIL OF DEVINE AND HUMANE BLESSINGS, UNTO WHICH IS ADJOYND ENVY CONQUERED BY VERTUES . . . BUILDED UPON THE COUNSELS OF SACRED SCRIPTURE, LAWES OF SAGE PHILOSOPHERS, AND POLLICIES OF WELL GOVERNED COMMON WEALES: WHEREIN EVERY ESTATE MAY SEE THE DIGNITIES, THE TRUE OFFICE AND CAUSE OF DISGRACE OF HIS VOCATION. . . .

[Dante's opinion of the populace]

Macedone from the tyme of *Caranus* the first, to *Perses* the last, had thirtie kinges, under whose governemente her Empire continued 923 yeeres, but helde soverainitie no more than 192 yeers, and onely was eclypsed by the envie of her own people. Many other common weales, by envie likewise came to ruine, as that of *Athens*, *Corynth*, *Carthage*, and others, famous for the vertues, lawes and policies, by which they were governed, rather than for large boundes, riches or strength, with which stately Empires are attyred: yet while their people obeyed the lawes, revered the Magistrates, and were contented with their vocations, they had houses to withstand the violence of heate and cold, wealth sufficient to sustaine their needes, and able strength to repulse their enemies: but when the multitude, wearie of their welfare, (as *Dant* the *Italian* Poet saith) began to crie out, *Viva la mia morte, muoia la mia vita*, let live my death, let die my life,¹ when they made the good Magistrates obay their willes, and they themselves contemned politike Lawes, they harboured destruction within their cities, and banished safeguard out of their dominions.

(pp. 19-20.)

BARTHOLOMEW YOUNG

(c. 1560-c. 1600)

[Of the biography of Bartholomew Young (or Yong), whose name is preserved by his translation from the Spanish of Montemayor's *Diana*, but little is known. He appears to have spent two years in Spain about 1577, and he was alive in 1600. On the title-page of his publications he describes himself as of the Middle Temple. He was an Italian as well as Spanish scholar, for besides the *Diana* (published in 1598,

¹ [The reference is to the passage in the *Convivio*, already quoted (see above p. 74).]

but written sixteen years before) he translated Boccaccio's *Amorosa Fiammetta* (1587) and the fourth book (in continuation of George Pettie's version from the French) of Stefano Guazzo's *Civil Conversazione* (1586). In this last he translates a quotation from the *Purgatorio*.]

1586. THE FOURTH BOOKE OF THE CIVILE CONVERSACION OF M. STEPHEN GUAZZO, TRANSLATED OUT OF ITALIAN INTO ENGLISH.¹

[Dante's reference to the sobriety of Roman women]

ARIPISTUS saide, I know not how my tongue went a wrye, my lippes having not as yet once saluted the Cup. Then the Queene commaunded that a Goblet of wine should be filled for him, to set his tongue in his right bias againe, the which being done, everie one beganne to drinke round about. But Ladie *Frauncis* having droncke, Lorde *Vespasian* saide unto her. You will not imitate now the auncient custome of those noble *Romaines*, who as *Dant* saith, *Were content of water for to drinke*.² Nay (said she again) I will leave water for Dogs to drinke.

(pp. 187-8.)

ANONYMOUS : T. K.

(fl. 1588)

[T. K., the anonymous translator of Tasso's *Padre di Famiglia* (first published at Venice by Aldus in 1583), may possibly be identified with Timothy Kendall, the epigrammatist, who was at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, in 1572, and published in 1577 *Flowers of Epigrammes, out of sundrie the most singular authours selected*, consisting to a large extent of translations. In the *Padre di Famiglia* occur sundry quotations from the *Divina Commedia*, which are translated into rhyme in a rough and ready way by T. K.]

1588. THE HOUSHOLDERS PHILOSOPHIE. WHEREIN IS PERFECTLY AND PROFITABLY DESCRIBED, THE TRUE OECONOMIA AND FORME OF HOUSEKEEPING. FIRST WRITTEN IN ITALIAN, BY THAT EXCELLENT ORATOR AND POET, SIGNIOR TORQUATO TASSO, AND NOW TRANSLATED BY T. K.

[The soul, according to Dante, the bride of the body]

SO much is that conjunction that the man hath with the Wife, like to that which the body hath with the soule, as not without reason the name of Consort or Fellow is to be attributed to the Husband and the Wife, as to the soule it hath benee

¹[Printed as a continuation to George Pettie's translation ('out of French') of the first three books of Guazzo's *Civil Conversazione*. (See above, pp. 66-8.)]

²[*Purg.* xxii. 145-6.]

heeretobefore attributed. Forasmuch as *Petrarch* reasoning of the soule, saith,

Lerrante mia Consorte

My wandering Companion.

In imitation perhaps of *Dante*, who in his *Canzonet* of *Noblesse* said, that the soule was espoused to the bodie.¹

(fol. 9.)

[Of servants]

Because *Hesiodus* that auncient Poet shall not beguile thee, who reckoning up the properties of housekeeping, placed the Oxe in steede of the servaunt, I wil thou understand more properlie, that the manner wherewith servaunts are governed, differeth much from that wherewith we governe Beastes. For that enstruction or kinde of teaching Beastes, is not discipline, but an use and custome, dissonant and segregat from reason: not unlike as the right hand holdeth and disposeth any sort of weapon, better then the left, albeit there is no more reason in it then in the other, but the mind also of Servaunts is accompanied with reason, and may become discipline, as is that of Children, wherefore they speake without sence and conjecture unreasonable, that rob and reave their Servaunts of the use of reason: considering it is no lesse needefull for them then Children but more peradventure, (they having alreadye so much temperaunce and strength, as not only serveth to defend themselves, but to rescue many times and asist their maisters in the perill of some cruill broyle or other troubles, that may oftentimes betide them.) And therefore was it well sayde of that *Thoscan* Poet.

*Ch' inanzi a buon signior, fa servo forte*²

Before his maister whom he likes
The sturdy servaunt stoutly strikes.

(fol. 15.)

[Dante quoted to prove that usury is a sin]

Betwixt Exchange and Usury there is some difference. Exchange may be retained, not only for the custome it hath taken and obtained in many famous Citties, but for the force of reason that it seemes to beare. For exchange is used in steede of our transporting and conveighing Corne from place to place, which being hardlie to be doone without great discomoditie, and perill, it is reason that the party that exchaungeth may have some sufficient gaine allowed. Besides the value of mony of some Country coigne, being variable and often to be changd, as wel by the Lawes, and institutions, as for the sundry worth, weight, and finenes of the Golde and Sylver,

¹[*Canz.* viii. 123.]

²[*Inf.* xvii. 90.]

the Reall exchange of mony, might bee in some sort reduced unto naturall industrie, wherwith Usury can never bee acquainted, beeing an arteficiall gayne, a corrupter of a Common wealth, a disobeyer of the Lawes of God, a Rebell and resister of all humane orders, injurious to manie, the spoile of those that most uphold it, onely profitable to it selfe, more infectious then the pestilence, and consorted with so many perilous evils, as are hard or never to be cured. Every or either of which, having not onely beene condemned by *Aristotle*, but utterly inhibited by the olde and new Law, who so considereth not, let him read what verdict *Dante* hath given of it in these verses, who to prove Usury a sinne, cyteth a sentence put by *Aristotle*, in his booke *De Phisicis*.

*E' setuben la tua fisica note,
Tu troverai non dopo molte carte,
Che la 'rte vostra quella, quanto pote
Segue ; come 'l maestro fa il discente ;
Si che vostra arte a Dio quasi e Nipote.
Da questi due ; se tu ti rechi a mente
Le Genesi dal principio convene
Prender sua vita, et avanzar la gente :
E' perche l' usurier altra via tene
Per se Natura et per la sua seguace
Dispregia, poich' in altro pon la spene.¹*

If *Aristotles* phisicks thou peruse,
Not turning many leaves thou there shalt finde
That arte doth Nature imitate and use
As pupils pleasing of their Tutors minde,
So that our arte is Neipce to God by Kind.
Of this and that, if thou remember it
In Genesis even God himselfe doth say,
*Quod ab initio oportuit
Humanum genus vitam sumere
Et unum alium excedere
Per artem et naturam.* Now because
The Usurers doo wander otherwise
Without regard of God or godly lawes

Nature and arte (her follower) they despise,
For in their Gold their hope beguiled lies.

. . . . With those verses therefore, mee thinkes not onely our discourse of naturall and not naturall gayne may be concluded and determined, but whatsoever els we purposed at first concerning Husbandry and Keeping of a house . . .

(foll. 25-6.)

¹[*Inf.* xi. 101-11. The errors are due to the English printer.]

GEORGE PUTTENHAM

(c. 1532-1590)

[George Puttenham, who is supposed to have been the author of the *Arte of English Poesie*, which was published anonymously in 1589, was the younger son of Robert Puttenham and of Margery, sister of Sir Thomas Elyot (c. 1490-1546), author of the *Governour* (published in 1531). Both he and his elder brother, Robert (whom some consider to be the author of the *Arte*), appear to have early developed a taste for literature. The book was written about 1585, for the personal information and pleasure of Queen Elizabeth, whose portrait adorns the original edition, and specimens of whose poetry are included in the work. From internal evidence it appears that the author was born about 1532, was 'a scholler of Oxford,' was well skilled in French, Italian, and Spanish, as well as in Greek and Latin, and had a wide knowledge of English literature. George Puttenham, who at one time was a notorious evil-liver, and is known to have been imprisoned in 1578, died in 1590. In the well-known passage quoted below the influence of Dante on Wyatt and Surrey is certainly overrated.]

1589. THE ARTE OF ENGLISH POESIE. CONTRIVED INTO THREE BOOKES: THE FIRST OF POETS AND POESIE, THE SECOND OF PROPORTION, THE THIRD OF ORNAMENT.

[Of the supposed influence of Dante, Ariosto and Petrarch on Wyatt and Surrey]

IN the latter end of King *Henry th' eights* raigne sprong up a new company of courtly makers, of whom Sir *Thomas Wyat th' elder* and *Henry Earle of Surrey* were the two chieftaines, who having travailed into *Italie*,¹ and there tasted the sweete and stately measures and stile of the Italian Poesie as novices newly crept out of the schooles of *Dante Arioste* and *Petrarch*, they greatly polished our rude and homely maner of vulgar Poesie, from that it had bene before, and for that cause may justly be sayd the first reformers of our English meetre and stile.

(Lib. I. Chap. 31, ed. Arber, p. 74.)

ANONYMOUS

[The anonymous work *Tarlton Newes out of Purgatorie*, published in 1590, which contains a description of Purgatory, 'the place that Dant hath so learnedly writ of,' purporting to come from Richard Tarlton, the actor, who died in 1588, has been attributed to Thomas Nashe, but it was probably not written by him. Tarlton himself, at any rate, was in no way responsible for the book.

Thomas Nashe (or Nash), the son of a minister of Lowestoft, was born in 1567. In 1582 he entered St. John's College, Cambridge, as a sizar, whence he graduated in 1586. On leaving the University he appears to have made a tour through France and Italy. In 1588 he settled in London and began his career as an author. He specially distinguished himself as a pamphleteer in the Martin Mar-Prelate controversy, in which, under the name of Pasquil, he published numerous satirical attacks upon the Puritans. Nashe was a friend of Robert Greene, and after his death (1592) took up the cudgels on his behalf against the virulent onslaught of Gabriel Harvey upon his dead antagonist. The pamphlet warfare between Nashe and Harvey reached

¹[If meant literally, this is not true of Surrey, who was never in Italy.]

such a pitch of scandal that in 1599 it was ordered that the writings of both should be suppressed. Nashe's most notable performance was his novel of adventure, the first of its kind in English literature, which he published in 1594 under the title of *The Unfortunate Traveller, or the Life of Jack Wilton*. In this work Nashe tells a romantic story of a visit to Italy of the Earl of Surrey, the poet, and of his relations with the 'fair Geraldine,' which was long accepted as authentic, but is now discredited, it having been proved that Surrey never was in Italy. Nashe died in 1601, at the age of 34.]

1590. TARLTON NEWES OUT OF PURGATORIE. ONELYE SUCH A JEST AS HIS JIGGE, FIT FOR GENTLEMEN TO LAUGH AT AN HOURE, &C. PUBLISHED BY AN OLD COMPANION OF HIS, ROBIN GOODFELLOW.

[Purgatory described by Dante]

. . . **T**HE soules of them which are departed, (if the sacred principles of Theologie be true) never returne into the world againe til the generall resurrection: for either are they plast in heaven, from whence they come not to intangle themselves with other cares, but sit continually before the seate of the Lambe singing *Alleluia* to the highest, or else they are in hell: and this is a profound and certain aphorisme, *Ab inferis nulla est redemptio*. . . . What doe you make heaven and hel *Contraria immediata*, so contrarie, that there is no meane betwixt them, but that either a mans soule must in post hast goe presently to God, or else whith a whirlwind and a vengeance goe to the divell? yes, yes my good brother, there is *Quoddam tertium* a third place that al our great grandmothers have talkt of, that *Dant* hath so learnedly writ of, and that is Purgatorie. What syr are we wiser then all our forefathers? and they not onely feared that place in life, but found it after their death: or els was there much land and annuall pensions given in vaine to morrow-masse priests for dirges, trentals and such like decretals of devotion, whereby the soules in Purgatorie were the sooner advanced into the quiet estate of heaven . . .

(pp. 2-3.)

EDMUND SPENSER

(c. 1552-1599)

[Edmund Spenser was born in London in 1551 or 1552. He was educated at the Merchant Taylors' School, and at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, which he entered as a sizar in 1569. About the time of his leaving school Spenser's first poetical composition appeared in print in the shape of translations from Petrarch and Du Bellay, which were inserted in the introduction to the English edition of John Van der Noodt's *Theatre for Worldlings*, published in 1569 (see above, pp. 55-6). At Cambridge Spenser read widely, and acquired much classical learning, besides a considerable knowledge of French and Italian literature. His favourite modern authors at this time appear to have been Petrarch, Du Bellay, Marot, and Chaucer. At Pembroke Hall he made the acquaintance of Gabriel Harvey, a Fellow of the college, by

whom later he was brought to the notice of the Earl of Leicester, and of his nephew Sir Philip Sidney. Spenser left Cambridge in 1576, and soon after he came to London, where in 1577 or 1578 he became a member of Lord Leicester's household, and was employed by him on various foreign missions, which took him into Ireland, Spain, and Italy. With Sir Philip Sidney he seems to have formed a close intimacy, and to him he dedicated his *Shepherd's Calendar*, which was written, together with the commencement of the *Faerie Queene*, under Lord Leicester's roof in 1579. The publication of this poem (1579), which was several times reprinted within a few years, at once ranked Spenser as the foremost among English poets. In 1580 he was appointed secretary to Lord Grey de Wilton, Lord Deputy of Ireland. He landed in Dublin in August, and with the exception of two visits to England in 1589-90, and 1596, he remained in Ireland until the close of 1598, within a few weeks of his death. In Ireland Spenser devoted his leisure to the continuation of the *Faerie Queene*, of which the first book and part of the second had been completed before he left England. In 1586 he wrote his elegy on Sir Philip Sidney, *Astrophel* (published in 1595). In 1589 Spenser returned to England in company with Sir Walter Raleigh, who had expressed warm admiration of the first three books of the *Faerie Queene*, and he published the first instalment of the poem in London in the following year (1590) with a dedication of 'these his labours, to the most high, mightie, and magnificent Emperesse Elizabeth, to live with the eternitie of her fame' and an expository letter to Sir Walter Raleigh. In the course of 1591 he went back to Ireland, where in 1594 he married Elizabeth Boyle, a relative of the Earl of Cork. Spenser celebrated his marriage in the *Epithalamion*, which together with his *Amoretti* (a series of sonnets written during his courtship), was published in London in 1595. Shortly before his marriage he had completed three more books of the *Faerie Queene*, which at the close of the same year he brought to London, where they were published in 1596. While in England on this occasion Spenser composed his *Prothalamion*, in honour of the marriage of two daughters of the Earl of Worcester, and he also wrote his *View of the Present State of Ireland*, which was not published until after his death. In 1597 he returned once more to Ireland, where in the autumn of the next year his house was burned over his head by the Irish rebels. A few months later he arrived in London, and on Jan. 16, 1599 he died, as is alleged by Ben Jonson 'for lack of bread,' in King Street, Westminster. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, at the expense of the Earl of Essex, close to the grave of his 'master,' Chaucer.

'Except Milton, and possibly Gray, Spenser,' writes his most recent biographer,¹ 'was the most learned of English poets, and signs of his multifarious reading in the classics and modern French and Italian literature abound in his writings. Marot inspired his *Shepherd's Calendar*. The *Faerie Queene* was avowedly written in emulation of Ariosto's *Orlando*. Throughout the work Homer and Theocritus, Virgil and Cicero, Petrarch and Tasso, Du Bellay, Chaucer, and many a modern romance writer of Western Europe, are laid under repeated contribution.' It is remarkable that Spenser nowhere mentions the name of Dante, nor even alludes to him, for the 'sad Florentine' spoken of in his *Visions of Bellay* is not Dante, as many have thought, but Petrarch.² Judging from internal evidence not a few critics and commentators, of whom Lowell is the most emphatic, maintain that in the *Faerie Queene* Spenser displays an intimate acquaintance with the *Divina Commedia*, and they quote numerous parallel passages from the two poems in support of this contention. Resemblances there certainly are, sometimes close resemblances,³ but that these are actual imitations or reminiscences of Dante, as these writers positively assert, it would be difficult to prove. A list of these alleged 'imitations,' which have been collected by Upton, Todd, Cary,⁴ and Lowell,⁵ is given below. The passages themselves, printed *in extenso*, will be found, as far as the first three are concerned, under their respective names.⁶

¹[In the *Dictionary of National Biography*.]

²[See *Introduction*, pp. xx-xxi.] ³[See *Introduction*, pp. xx-xxi.]

⁴[In the notes to his translation of the *Divina Commedia*.]

⁵[In the *Essays on Dante*, and Spenser, in *Among my Books* (Second Series).]

⁶[For Upton, see pp. 309-15; for Todd, see pp. 598-60.]

1590-6. THE FAERIE QUEENE.

[List of parallel passages in the *Faerie Queene* and the *Divina Commedia*, collected by Upton, Todd, and others]

- Book i. c. i. 7, ll. 2 ff. (*Inf.* i. 1-3); c. i. 13, ll. 6-7 (*Inf.* xvii. 1-2); c. i. 15, ll. 1-5 (*Inf.* xvii. 25-7); c. i. 17, l. 6 (*Inf.* xvii. 14-15); c. i. 21, l. 5 (*Inf.* xxxiv. 45); c. ii. 30, ll. 8 ff. (*Inf.* xiii. 28 ff.); c. ii. 41, ll. 1 ff. (*Inf.* xvii. 19 ff.); c. iv. 16, l. 3 (*Inf.* xxvi. 42); c. v. 33, l. 7 (*Inf.* v. 16); c. viii. 31, ll. 1 ff. (*Inf.* xx. 10-15); c. xi. 10, ll. 1 ff. (*Inf.* xxxiv. 46-50); c. xi. 34, l. 9 (*Purg.* xxxiii. 143-4); c. xii. 4, l. 9 (*Inf.* iii. 8).
- Book ii. c. iii. 40, ll. 1 ff. (*Inf.* xxiv. 47-51); c. vi. 46, l. 6 (*Inf.* viii. 31); c. vii. 65, ll. 1 ff. (*Purg.* xix. 118 ff.); c. viii. 35, l. 7 (*Purg.* v. 14).
- Book iii. c. ii. 23, ll. 1-2 (*Inf.* v. 100); c. iv. 3, l. 8 (*Par.* i. 12); c. xi. 54, ll. 1 ff. (*Inf.* iii. 1-9).
- Book iv. c. i. 20, ll. 4 ff. (*Inf.* i. 1 ff.); c. i. 42, ll. 1 ff. (*Inf.* vii. 22-3); c. iii. 46, ll. 2-3 (*Inf.* ix. 89-90); c. xii. 34, ll. 6 ff. (*Inf.* ii. 127-9).
- Book vi. c. vii. 42, ll. 1-2 (*Inf.* iii. 109); c. x. (*Purg.* xxx.).

SIR JOHN HARINGTON

(1561-1612)

[Harington, whose father and mother were imprisoned in the Tower with the Princess Elizabeth in 1554, was born in 1561, and had Elizabeth, then Queen, for his godmother. He was educated at Eton, and in 1578 went to Christ's College, Cambridge, and thence to study law at Lincoln's Inn. But his legal studies were not to much purpose, for he looked to favour at court rather than to his profession for advancement. He soon established a reputation as a wit in court circles, where one of his exploits was to translate for the amusement of the Queen's ladies the very free story of Giocondo from the twenty-eighth canto of the *Orlando Furioso*. On this coming to the Queen's ears she ordered him not to show his face again at court until he had translated the whole poem. Harington soon accomplished his task, and his translation 'in English heroical verse,' to which was prefixed *An Apologie of Poetrie*, was published in 1591. It was reprinted in 1607 and again after his death in 1634. In 1592 Queen Elizabeth visited Bath, and was Harington's guest at his house at Kelston near by. In 1598, after having again fallen into disgrace with Elizabeth, he accompanied the Earl of Essex on his expedition to Ireland, where he was knighted by Essex. On his return home Harington retired for a time to Kelston, but was at court again shortly before the death of the Queen. He succeeded after a time in recommending himself to James I, and was attached to the person of the young Prince Henry, in whose education he had some share. He appears to have remained at court, and to have retained the friendship of the Prince, until shortly before his death, which took place at Kelston on Nov. 20, 1612, a fortnight after that of his royal pupil. Harington had some knowledge of Dante, as appears from the passages printed below. One of these has a special interest as affording the first instance of the use of *terza rima* in an English translation from Dante. Harington's *Epigrams* were not published until after his death. A volume containing 116 of them appeared

in 1615, and this collection formed the fourth book of the complete edition, which was published in 1618, and reprinted in 1625, 1633, and in 1634 (at the end of the third edition of the *Orlando Furioso*.)

1591. ORLANDO FURIOSO IN ENGLISH HEROICAL VERSE.

[Dante's debt to Virgil]

NOW of what account Virgil is reckned, and worthily reckned, for ancient times witnesseth *August. C.* verse of him :
Ergone supremis potuit vox improba verbis
Tam dirum mandare nefas? &c.

Concluding thus,

Laudetur, placeat, vigeat, relegatur, ametur.

This is a great prayse comming from so great a Prince. For later times to omit *Scaliger* whom I recited before, that affirmeth the reading of *Virgill* may make a man honest and vertuous, that excellent Italian Poet *Dant* professeth plainly, that when he wandred out of the right way, meaning thereby when he lived fondly and looslie, *Virgill* was the first that made him looke into himselfe and reclaime himselfe from that same daungerous and lewd course: but what need we further witness do we not make our children read it commonly before they can understand it as a testimonie that we do generally approve it? and yet we see old men study it, as a prooffe that they do specially admire it: so as one writes very pretily, that children do wade in *Virgill*, and yet strong men do swim in it.

(From *A Preface, or Rather A Briefe Apologie of Poetrie*,
 Sig. iii².)

[The middle of life a critical period according to Dante]

The wayes to *Atlants* castell are described to be craggie, headlong, and unpleasant. Such be the wayes of that passion. The castell is said to be placed in the middle of a rockie mountain cloven in sunder, by which is meant, that this folly we speake of possesseth us, and dwels in us most of all about the middle of our age, as *Dant* saith,

Nel mezzo del camin di nostra vita,
Mi ritrovai per una selva oscura,
Che la dritta via era smarrita.

While yet my life was in her middle race,
 I found, I wandred in a darkesome wood,
 The right way lost with mine unstedie pace.

(From the *Allegorie of the Fourth Booke*, p. 30.)

[Dante and Ariosto on covetousness]

The description of the monster of covetousness, is (in my fancy) very well handled by mine Author, far beyond the like in *Dant* who

maketh her only like a wolfe, pined with famine¹; But *Ariosto* goeth farder, and more significantly. . . .

(From the *Allegorie of the XXVI. Booke*, p. 213.)

[1615]. THE MOST ELEGANT AND WITTIE EPIGRAMS OF SIR JOHN HARINGTON, KNIGHT, DIGESTED INTO FOURE BOOKES.

A good answer of the Poet Dant to an Atheist
 The pleasant learn'd *Italian Poet Dant*,
 Hearing an Atheist at the Scriptures jest:
 Askt him in jest, which was the greatest beast?
 He simply said; he thought an Elephant,
 Then *Elephant* (quoth *Dant*) it were commodious
 That thou wouldst hold thy peace, or get thee hence,
 Breeding our Conscience scandall and offence
 With thy prophaned speech, most vile and odious.²
 Oh Italy, thou breedst but few such *Dants*,
 I would our England bred no Elephants.

(From *The fourth Booke—Epigram xvii.*)³

JOHN FLORIO

(c. 1553-1625)

['Resolute John Florio,' as he styled himself, who is supposed to have been the original of Shakespeare's Holofernes in *Love's Labour's Lost*, was born about 1553. His father was a Florentine protestant, who took refuge from persecution in England, and in 1550 was preacher to a congregation of Italian Protestants in London. Florio resided in his youth at Oxford, where about 1576 he was appointed tutor in foreign languages to the son of the Bishop of Durham, who was at Magdalen College. In 1581 Florio himself matriculated at Magdalen and found employment as a 'teacher and instructor of certain scholars in the University.' While in Oxford he compiled several of his collections of Italian dialogues, proverbs, etc. Towards the end of Elizabeth's reign he was living in London, and was intimate with the chief literary men of the day. Among his patrons were the Earl of Southampton and the Earl of Pembroke, and it is not improbable that through his connection with them Florio became acquainted with Shakespeare. In 1598 he published his great Italian and English Dictionary, under the title of *A Worlde of Wordes*. In the next year his famous translation of Montaigne's *Essays*, which Shakespeare is known to have used, was licensed, but it was not published until 1603 (second edition in 1613). On the accession of James I Florio was appointed reader in Italian to Queen Anne, and he received a post about the King's person in the following year. In 1611 he published a new edition of the Dictionary 'much augmented,' with the title of *Queen Anna's New World of Words*. In 1620 he appears to have retired to Fulham, where he died in 1625. A third edition of Florio's Dictionary, revised by Gio. Torriano, who incorporated many MS. additions by Florio, was published in 1659; and a fourth,

¹[Cf. *Inf.* i. 49; *Purg.* xx. 10 ff.; and Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, xxvi. 31.]

²[This story comes from the *Facezie di Poggio Fiorentino* (No. lxvi.); a translation of it is given in Toynbee's *Life of Dante*, p. 190.]

³[See introductory note above.]

further revised by J. Davis, appeared in 1688. Florio does not seem to have known much about Dante, whose name is not even mentioned in the 'Catalog of bookes that I have read through of purpose for the accomplishing of this Dictionarie' (i.e. the first edition), though both Boccaccio and Petrarch are included. In the second issue (1611) four separate editions of Dante, with Italian commentaries, are mentioned, but there are hardly a dozen references to Dante in the whole work.]

1591. FLORIOS SECOND FRUTES, TO BE GATHERED OF TWELVE TREES, OF DIVERS BUT DELIGHTSOME TASTES TO THE TONGUES OF ITALIANS AND ENGLISHMEN.

From The third chapter of familiar morning communication, wherein many curtesies are handled, and the manner of saluting and visiting the sick, and of riding, withall that belongeth to a horse, betweene Aurelio, Pompilio, and Trippa the Servant.

[Dante's horse—'a dantish answer']

- T. *O* *H* ecco il signor A. che viene.
Ho see where master Aurelio coms yonder.
- P. *Ben venuta v.s. voi sete ben' a cavallo.*
You are welcome sir, you are verie well mounted.
- A. *Io son cavaliere da ogni sella.*
I am a Knight for all sadles.
- P. *Ma che bestia havete voi sotto?*
But what beaste have you got under you?
- A. *E voi, non havete il cavallo di Dante?*
And you? have you not Dante¹ his horse?
- P. *Il mio ronzino im porterebbe a Roma.*
My nagg would carie me to Rome.
- A. *Se sete domandato il pretio d' una verga d' esso, che cosa risponderete?*
If you be askt the price of a yard of the same, what will you answer?
- P. *Io leverò la coda di esso, e gl' inviterò ad entrar' in botega, che presto saremo d' acordo.*
I will lift up his taile, and desire them to goe in to the shop, that we may the sooner agree.
- A. *Risposta Dantesca, ma andiamo.*
A dantish answer, but let us goe.
- P. *A tal carne, tal coltello; ma via, cavalcato inanzi ch' io vi terro dietro.*
To such flesh, such a knife, but awaie ride on before, and I will keepe behinde you.

(pp. 46-7.)

¹[With this use of Dante's name compare the similar phrases in Howell's Italian proverbs (see below, p. 152).]

1598. A WORLDE OF WORDES, OR MOST COPIOUS, AND EXACT DICTIONARIE IN ITALIAN AND ENGLISH, COLLECTED BY JOHN FLORIO.

[Dante harder than Petrarch or Boccaccio]

Heere-hence may some good accrewe, not onelie to truantlie-schollers, which ever-and-anon runne to *Venuti*,¹ and *Alunno*²; or to new-entred novices, that hardly can construe their lesson; or to well-forwarde students, that have turnd over *Guazzo* and *Castiglione*, yea runne through *Guarini*, *Ariosto*, *Tasso*, *Boccace*, and *Petrarche*; but even to the most compleate Doctor; yea to him that best can stande *All' erta* for the best Italian, heereof sometimes may rise some use: since, have he the memorie of *Themistocles*, of *Seneca*, of *Scaliger*, yet it is not infinite, in so finite a bodie. And I have seene the best, yea naturall Italians, not onely stagger, but even sticke fast in the myre, and at last give it over, or give their verdict with An *ignoramus*. *Boccace* is prettie hard, yet understood: *Petrarche* harder, but explained: *Dante* hardest, but commented. Some doubt if all aright. *Alunno* for his foster-children hath framed a worlde of their wordes. *Venuti* taken much paines in some verie fewe authors; and our *William Thomas*³ hath done prettilie; and if all falle, although we misse or mistake the worde, yet make we up the sence. Such making is marring. Naie all as good; but not as right. And not right, is flat wrong. One saies of *Petrarche* for all: A thousand strappadas coulde not compell him to confesse, what some interpreters will make him saie he ment. And a Judicious gentleman of this lande will uphold, that none in England understands him thoroughly.

(From *The Epistle Dedicatorie*, Sig. a 3, a 4.)

[Words used by Dante]

Alheppe, used of *Dante* for *Alehebbe*, he had wings.⁴

Giuggiola, a fruite of the Apothecaries called Jujuba. Also I judge it, used by *Dante*.⁵

(From the *Dictionarie*.)

1611. QUEEN ANNA'S NEW WORLD OF WORDS, OR DICTIONARIE OF THE ITALIAN AND ENGLISH TONGUES, COLLECTED, AND NEWLY MUCH AUGMENTED BY JOHN FLORIO, READER OF THE ITALIAN UNTO THE SOVERAIGNE MAIESTIE OF ANNA, CROWNED QUEENE OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, FRANCE AND IRELAND, &C. AND ONE OF THE GENTLEMEN OF HIS ROYALL PRIVIE CHAMBER. WHEREUNTO ARE ADDED CERTAINE NECESSARIE RULES AND SHORT OBSERVATIONS FOR THE ITALIAN TONGUE.

¹[Filippo Venuti, whose *Dizionario Volgare Latino* was published at Venice in 1574 (second edition, 1592).]

²[Francesco Alunno—see above under William Thomas, p. 38.]

³[See above, pp. 39-40.]

⁴[*Aleppe* occurs in *Inf.* vii. 1, but certainly not with the meaning given by Florio.]

⁵[As a matter of fact this word is not used by Dante.]

[Editions of Dante used by Florio]

Dánte, comentáto da Alessáandro velutelli

Dánte, comentáto da Bernardíno Danielo

Dánte, comentáto da Giovánni Boccáccio

Dánte, comentáto dal Lándini.¹(From *The names of the Authors and Books that have been read of purpose for the Collecting of this Dictionarie.*)

[Words used by Dante]

Alichino, the name of a devill in Dant, that is, inclination to vice and sinne.²*Caína*, a place in hell where Dant faigneth those to be tormented that kill their allies.³*Calcabrína*, the name of a devill in Dant, that is, a trampler of God's grace under feet.⁴*Ciriáto*, the name of a devill in Dant, that is, a hog or swine wallowing in all polution.⁵*Draghigázzo*, the name of a Devil used by Dante, as much as to say, Infection of sinne, or a venomous Dragon.⁶*Gúddécca*, a place faigned by Dante in Hell where Traitors are punished.⁷*Giúggiola*, the Jubeb fruit. Also used of Dante for I judge it or the same.⁸*Graffiácáne*, the name of a divell used by Dante, as much as to say oppression, a claw-dog.⁹*Libicócco*, the name of a Divell faigned by Dante signifying burning or beastly lust.¹⁰*Male bolge*, a place in hell used in Dant, a receptacle of all mischiefs.¹¹(From *A most copious and exact Dictionarie in Italian and English.*)

¹ Vellutello's commentary on the *Divina Commedia* was first printed in 1544 (reprinted in 1564, 1578, and 1596); Daniello's in 1568 (only edition); Landino's in 1481 (reprinted in 1484, 1487, 1491, and frequently down to 1596); Boccaccio's was not printed until 1724—Florío might have known of it from Gelli's *Letture* (the first of which was published in 1553), in which Boccaccio's *Comento* is frequently quoted. (See Paget Toynbee, *Boccaccio's Commentary on the Divina Commedia* in *Modern Language Review*, vol. ii., pp. 109 ff.)

² [*Inf.* xxi. 118. The interpretations of these names are taken, without acknowledgment, from Landino's commentary.]

³ [*Inf.* xxxii. 58.]

⁴ [*Inf.* xxi. 118.]

⁵ [*Inf.* xxi. 122.]

⁶ [*Inf.* xxi. 121 (Draghignazzo).]

⁷ [*Inf.* xxxiv. 117.]

⁸ [See note on this word under 1598 above, p. 86.]

⁹ [*Inf.* xxi. 122.]

¹⁰ [*Inf.* xxi. 121.]

¹¹ [*Inf.* xviii. 1.]

[Forms of verbs used by Dante]

Si vuole. Vuolsi, *used passively by Dante when he said* Vuólsi
così lassù dóve si puóte quel ché si vuóle.¹

(From *Rules for the Italian tongue*, p. 649.)

1659. VOCABOLARIO ITALIANO ET INGLESE, A DICTIONARY ITALIAN AND ENGLISH. FORMERLY COMPILED BY JOHN FLORIO, AND SINCE HIS LAST EDITION, ANNO 1611. AUGMENTED BY HIMSELF IN HIS LIFE TIME, WITH MANY THOUSAND WORDS, AND THUSCAN PHRASES. NOW MOST DILIGENTLY REVISED, CORRECTED, AND COMPARED, WITH LA CRUSCA, AND OTHER APPROVED DICTIONARIES EXTANT SINCE HIS DEATH; AND ENRICHED WITH VERY CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONS. . . . BY GIO: TORRIANO AN ITALIAN, AND PROFESSOR OF THE ITALIAN TONGUE IN LONDON.

[Words used by Dante²]

Antenóra, a place fained in Hell by *Dante*, where traitors are punished, named so of *Antenor* who (as some say) betrayed his native country Troy.³

Cána, a place in hell, where *Danie* faigneth those to be tormented, that are false traitors and kill their brothers.

Farfarélllo, the name of a Divell used by *Dánte*, signifying a bragging or ranting pratler.⁴

Mala-códa, an ill tail, by Met. a foul Fiend or Divell of Hell.⁵

Mále-bránche, mischievous pawes, by Met. the Devil or a Cat.⁶

Graffiácáne, a Claw-dog, the name of a Divel, implying Oppression, or Extorsion.

Scarmiglióne, used by *Dante* for the name of a Scratching Divil.⁷

(From the *Dictionary*.)

1688. VOCABOLARIO ITALIANO ET INGLESE: A DICTIONARY, ITALIAN AND ENGLISH. FIRST COMPILED BY JOHN FLORIO: AND AUGMENTED BY HIMSELF, WITH MANY THOUSAND WORDS, AND THUSCAN PHRASES: DILIGENTLY REVISED, AND COMPARED WITH LA CRUSCA, AND OTHER APPROVED DICTIONARIES, EXTANT SINCE HIS DEATH; AND ENRICHED WITH VERY CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONS. . . . BY GIO. TORRIANO, AN ITALIAN; SOME TIME PROFESSOR OF THE ITALIAN TONGUE IN LONDON. NOW REPRINTED, REVISED AND CORRECTED, BY J. D. ⁸ M.D.

¹[*Inf.* iii. 95-6; v. 23-4.]

²[Only those words are given which were not included in the previous edition (1611), or of which the explanations have been altered.]

³[*Inf.* xxxii. 88. The explanation is from Landino.]

⁴[*Inf.* xxi. 123.]

⁵[*Inf.* xxi. 76.]

⁶[*Inf.* xxi. 37.]

⁷[*Inf.* xxi. 105.]

⁸[That is, J. Davis. In this edition the Dante references are the same as in the last (1659) edition.]

ABRAHAM FRAUNCE

(c. 1560-c. 1633)

[Abraham Fraunce was a native of Shropshire, and is said to have been educated at Shrewsbury School and to have been sent to Cambridge at the expense of Sir Philip Sidney. He became Fellow of St. John's College in 1580, and on leaving the University was called to the bar at Gray's Inn and practised in the court of the marches of Wales. After the death of his patron Sir Philip Sidney in 1586 Fraunce was befriended by Sidney's sister, the Countess of Pembroke, to whom he dedicated most of his works. In 1590 through the influence of the Earl of Pembroke he received the office of Queen's solicitor in the court of the marches, which he appears to have held until 1633. The date of his death is unknown. Fraunce, who was a classicist and wrote all his poems in English hexameters, had a high reputation in his own day. He was intimate with Spenser, who in 1595 referred to him as 'the habblest wit of most I know this day,' and who speaks of him as a 'sweet poet' in the *Faerie Queene*. In Italian literature Fraunce's favourite author appears to have been Tasso, whose *Aminta* he translated. In the third part (1592) of *The Countess of Pembroke's Iyechurch* (so called from one of her residences) he refers to the opening lines of the *Inferno*, which had been printed by Sir John Harington in his *Orlando Furioso* in the previous year (see above, p. 83).]

1592. THE THIRD PART OF THE COUNTESS OF PEMBROKES IVY-CHURCH: ENTITULED, AMINTAS DALE. WHEREIN ARE THE MOST CONCEITED TALES OF THE PAGAN GODS IN ENGLISH HEXAMETERS: TOGETHER WITH THEIR ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS AND PHILOSOPHICALL EXPLICATIONS.

[Proposed embassy of gardeners to Heaven]

IT fell out on a day, as we were busied in our Harbour, we heard of a reporte scattered abroad, that a general deluge and inundation of waters should happen that yeare, as was foretolde by some idle Prognosticators. This straunge newes troubled the whole countrey; and, among others, us poore Gardiners: who, having read this lewd Almanack, and considering the flourishing discourses of these Astrologicall doctors (which threatned the Vines, Gardens, and Orchyards, with blasts, frosts, caterpillers, and a thousand such phantastical dangers) layd our heads together, and dealt, as I am about to tell you. First we offered sacrifice to *Bacchus* and *Priapus*, and then concluded, to send some of our University as ambassadours to heaven: who by this one journey, might doe a double service: the one, in seeing whether these tale-tell Astrologers had any ground for their predictions; the other in obtaining grace and mercie of the Gods, by graunting plenty and abundance. Among others, *Succhory*, a pleasant and mery companion, had this conceipt in his head, to get up to heaven. It were good, me thinks, qd he, to finde out a great and mightie Egle, so strong, that some two of us might mount on his back, and he beare us up to the skies: Mary, we had need to look, that these 2 be not too heavy, or over-fat and corpulent, lest the Egle be overcharged. Therefore

the *Fennel*, and the *Violet*, in my fancy, be the fittest for this purpose, as being deft and nimble fellowes, and as light as may be. Nay, sayd *Cowslip*, there is no reason at all to use the help of an *Egle* in this matter, because you know that *Jupiter* himselfe was once transformed into an *Egle*, and caried up to heaven an other kinde of burden, then *Fennell* or *Violet*. Then out stept *Hemlock*, with his fryse bonnet, and sayd, that he had found a better and more compendious way to heaven, then that. It were not amisse, qd he, if we had a cart; because the journey is long: and, the ambassadours may by this meanes travel with greater ease and facilitie. Besides this, they may therein convey to *Olympus*, some of the best fruites of our Gardens, to present the Gods withal when they come thither. The grave advice of this fore-casting *Academike*, was generally wel liked of: saving that they could not conceave, who should draw the Cart: and therefore this invention, the more pitie, came also to nothing. All the *Academike* Gardiners devised and mused much, how it might be brought to passe. Some remembering *Lucians* ship, thought it best to goe by water: Others, rather by land, through some great Forrest,¹ as *Dante* did: at last, they all agreed, that the surest way was, to make ladders of the poles that bare up their hoppes, and by the meanes thereof, to builde and rayse up a toure that should over-looke the whole worlde: and so might they in short time pierce the clowdes: and by certaine engynes still draw up new stuffe to increase the height of their fortification, if occasion were.

(foll. 49-50.)

FYNES MORYSON

(1566-1630)

[Fynes Moryson, a native of Lincolnshire, was born in 1566, and was educated at Peterhouse, Cambridge, where he obtained a fellowship about 1584. 'From his tender youth,' as he himself records, 'he had a great desire to see foreign countries,' which was realised in 1591, when he left England for a tour of some six years in various parts of Europe. He was in Italy from October, 1593, till the beginning of 1595, during which time he visited Rome and Naples, and the cities of Northern Italy. At Ravenna he saw the tomb of Dante, his description of which is the first by an Englishman that has been preserved. In Rome he was shown 'the pineapple of Adrian,' but he does not make any reference to Dante's mention of it (*Inf.* xxxi. 59). He returned to London in July, 1597. In the autumn of 1600 he was appointed secretary to the Lord Deputy of Ireland (Sir Charles Blount, afterwards Earl of Devonshire) in which capacity he took part in the suppression of Tyrone's rebellion. After the Earl's death in 1606, Moryson devoted himself to the revision of his book of travels, which was published in three parts in 1617. He left in MS. a fourth part, which was written probably between 1617 and 1620, and which has recently been printed (in part) from the MS. in the library of Corpus Christi

¹[*Inf.* i. 2 ff.]

College, Oxford, under the title of *Shakespeare's Europe: Unpublished Chapters of Fynes Moryson's Itinerary* (1903). The editor (C. Hughes) proves that Moryson, the date of whose death was uncertain, died in 1630.]

[1617.] AN ITINERARY, WRITTEN BY FYNES MORYSON, GENT. FIRST IN THE LATINE TONGUE, AND THEN TRANSLATED BY HIM INTO ENGLISH: CONTAINING HIS TEN YEERES TRAVELL THROUGH THE TWELVE DOMINIONS OF GERMANY, BOHMERLAND, SWETZTERLAND, NETHERLAND, DENMARKE, POLAND, ITALY, TURKY, FRANCE, ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND.

[Dante's tomb at Ravenna]

A NNO 1594. *Ravenna*—In the monastery of Saint *Francis*, is the sepulcher of the Poet *Dantes*, with these verses in Latin:

*Exigua tumuli Dantes hic sorte jacebas,
Squallenti nullis¹ cognite penè situ.
At nunc marmoreo subnixus conderis Arcu,
Omnibus et cultu splendidior nites.
Nimirum Bembus Musis incensus Hetruscis
Hoc tibi (quem imprimis hae coluere) dedit.*

In a poore Tombe *Dantes* thou didst lie here,
The place obscure made thee almost unknowne,
But now a marble chest thy bones doth beare,
And thou appearest fresh as flower new blowne.
Bembus with *Tuscane* Muses ravished,
Gave this to thee, whom they most cherished.

In the yeere 1483. the sixth of the Kalends of *June*, *Bernar: Bembus* the Praetor, laid this at his owne charge: *The strength, merit, and crowne of the Friars minorite covents*. S.V.F. and these verses were added in Latin:

*Jura Monarchiae, superos, Phlegetonta, lacusque,
Lustrando cecini, voluerunt fata quousque.
Sed quia pars cessit melioribus hospita castris,
Actoremque suum petiit felicior Astris.
Hic claudor Dantes, patriis extorris ab oris,
Quem genuit parvi Fiorentia Mater Amoris.*

The Monarchies, Gods, Lakes, and Phlegeton,
I searcht and sung, while my Fates did permit;
But since my better part to heaven is gone,
And with his Maker mongst the starres doth sit,
I *Dantes* a poore banished man lie here,
Whom *Florence* Mother of Sweet² Love did beare.

(Part I. p. 95.)

¹[Read *nulli*.]

²[Moryson has totally missed the point of the expression '*parvi amoris*,' which refers, of course, to the scant affection shown by Florence for her most distinguished son.]

[Dante's denunciation of Rome]

Surely *Petrarch*, *Dantes*, and other free wits of *Italy* did see the Papall frauds before the Germanes, and though fearefully, yet plainly pronounced *Rome* to be *Babylon*.¹

(Part III. p. 41.)

c. 1617-20. ITINERARY. PART IV. BOOK V. OF THE ITALYANS NATURE AND MANNERS, BODYES AND WITTS, &C.

[Dante among the famous men of Florence]

Among all the Cittyes and Provinces of Italy, Tuscany, and more spetially the City and State of Florence therein contayned, is noted to yealde men of stronge memorye, and excelent witt to fynde out and to improve sciences, and Artes men most ingenious and fitt for affayres, and skillfull in sciences Arts and traffique. The City and state of Florence hath yealded most famous men, as Dante, Petrarcha, Boccacio, for Poets: Nicolo Machiavelli the polition, Vespuccio sent by the King of Portugall to discover the West Indyas, Accursio the Jurist, Andrea Sansovino of great learning and experience. Francesco Guicciardini the worthy Historyographer, Pietro Aretino of excellent witt if he had well imployed it, and Michael' Angelo Bonaritio, most famous for the Arts of Paynting, Sculpture, and Architecture, with many other for brevity omitted.

(*Shakespeare's Europe: Unpublished Chapters of Moryson's Itinerary*, p. 420.)

THOMAS BEDINGFIELD

(d. 1613)

[Thomas Bedingfield, a gentleman pensioner of Queen Elizabeth, was the son of Sir Henry Bedingfield (d. 1583), who for a time had charge of Elizabeth, when Princess, after the accession of Queen Mary. Little is known of him beyond the fact that he published several works translated from Latin and Italian, among them, in 1584, an *Art of Riding* from Claudio Corte's *Cavallerizzo* (Venice, 1562), and, in 1595, *The Florentine Historie* from Machiavelli's *Istorie Fiorentine* (first published at Venice in 1527, and Florence in 1532), of which this is the first English translation. He died in 1613.]

1595. THE FLORENTINE HISTORIE. WRITTEN IN THE ITALIAN TONGUE, BY NICHOLO MACCHIAVELLI, CITIZEN AND SECRETARIE OF FLORENCE. AND TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY T. B. ESQUIRE.

¹[Petrarch's sonnets in which he speaks of Rome as Babylon are well known. The passage referred to in Dante is probably *Inf.* xix. 106 ff.]

[Of the founding of Florence by Fiesole, as recorded by Dante and Villani]

THING most true it is, (as *Dante* and *John Villani* have written) that the cittie of *Fiesole* being set on the top of a mountaine, to occasion their market to bee the more frequented, and give commoditie to those that with their merchandise would resort thither, did give order that they should not climb up the hill, but stay in the plaine, betwixt the foote of the mountaine, and the river *Arno*.

(*Second Booke*, p. 28.)

[Of the factions in florence, and of Dante's part in them]

The first occasion of division in that Citie, is most publicly known, because it hath been written by *Dante* and divers others. . . . Both the Factions¹ being at that time in Armes, the *Senators* (of whome *Dante* happened to bee one) by his counsaile and wisdome, took courage and armed the people, with whome also joyned manie of the Countrey. And so inforcing the heades of the factions to laie down their armes, banished *Corso Donati*, with others of the part *Nera*.

(*Ibid.* pp. 29, 39.)

[The exile of Dante]

The greater number that remained in exile were *Ghibilini*, and some fewe of the faction *Bianca*, among whom were *Dante Alighieri*, the sonnes of *Veri de Cerchi*, and *Giano della Bella*.

(*Ibid.* p. 43.)

WILLIAM COVELL

(c. 1560-1614)

[William Covell, a native of Lancashire, was educated at Christ's College, Cambridge, and was elected a Fellow of Queen's College in 1589. He received the degree of D.D. in 1601, and soon after was appointed vicar of Sittingbourne in Kent. In 1609 he became sub-dean of Lincoln, and he probably died in 1614. Covell was the author of several theological works published between 1603 and 1606, and it has recently been proved by Professor Dowden (see *Athenæum*, July 14, 1906) that he was also the author of *Polimanteia*, which was previously ascribed to William Clerke. This work, which is dedicated to Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, and was published in 1595, contains one of the earliest mentions of Shakespeare. Of Dante, who is included in the list of illustrious Florentines (from which Boccaccio, curiously enough, is omitted), Covell evidently knew nothing beyond the mere name.]

¹[The *Neri* and *Bianchi*.]

1595. POLIMANTEIA, OR, THE MEANES LAWFULL AND UNLAWFULL, TO JUDGE OF THE FALL OF A COMMON-WEALTH, AGAINST THE FRIVOLOUS AND FOOLISH CONJECTURES OF THIS AGE. WHEREUNTO IS ADDED A LETTER FROM ENGLAND TO HER THREE DAUGHTERS, CAMBRIDGE, OXFORD, INNES OF COURT, AND TO ALL THE REST OF HER INHABITANTS: PERSWADING THEM TO A CONSTANT UNITE OF WHAT RELIGION SOEVER THEY ARE, FOR THE DEFENCE OF OUR DREAD SOVERAIGNE, AND NATIVE CUNTRY: MOST REQUISITE FOR THIS TIME WHEREIN WEE NOW LIVE.

England to Her Three Daughters

STATELY *Greece*, who sometimes was famous over al the world, had long since beene buried in the eternall night of darke forgetfulness, if her daughter *Athens* had not lincked her children in marriage, with the greatest families in all *Europe*: And renowned *Florence* (daughters give mee leave to advance your petegree) (not halfe so nobly descended as you are) being begotten by *Silla* his souldiers, a *Pagan*, borne in the dayes of infidelitie, had never been reputed as the flower of *Italie*, if laureat *Petrarch*, *Dantes*, *Accursius*, *Aretin*, and lastly, the famous Duke¹ had not made her indeard to the most renowned in all *Greece*.

(Sig. P. 3.)

ROBERT TOFTE

(d. 1620)

[Of Robert Tofte, poet and translator, who invariably describes himself as 'gentleman,' but little is known. He travelled in France and Italy, and was in Naples in 1593. He died in London in 1620. His first publication, *Laura. The Toyes of a Traveller* (1597), which contains a collection of short poems, 'most parte conceived in *Italie*,' has a line from the *Paradiso* of Dante as motto on the title-page. Tofte made many translations from Italian, including versions from Ariosto and Boiardo. His *Blazon of Jealousie* (1615), which is a translation of Varchi's *Lettura sopra un Sonetto della gelosia di Monsignor della Casa* (first published at Mantua in 1545), has a special interest as containing among the 'speciall notes upon the same' a brief biographical notice of Dante.]

1597. LAURA. THE TOYES OF A TRAVELLER. OR, THE FEAST OF FANCIE. DIVIDED INTO THREE PARTS. BY R. T. GENTLEMAN.

[Motto on title-page]

Poca favilla gran fiamma seconda.²

1615. THE BLAZON OF JEALOUSIE. A SUBJECT NOT WRITTEN OF BY ANY HERETOFORE. FIRST WRITTEN IN ITALIAN, BY THAT LEARNED GENTLEMAN BENEDETTO VARCHI, SOMETIMES LORD CHANCELOR UNTO THE SIGNORIE OF VENICE: AND TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH, WITH SPECIAL NOTES UPON THE SAME, BY R. T. GENTLEMAN.

¹ *Marginal note*: Cosmus Medices.

² [Par. i. 34.]

[Of the seven kinds of poetizing in the Florentine tongue]

There are seaven kindes of Poetizing, in the Florentine tongue, as this our Author reporteth in his Italian *Hercolano*.¹ The first and principall is that of *Dant* and *Petrarcq*: the second, of *Luigi*, and *Lucas Pulcio* (brethren :) the third, as *Burchiello* wrote (for he also was a Poet :) the fourth, the Chapiters of *Bernia*²: the fift, the Sonnets of *Antoni Allemanni*³: and besides these five, there are two, to sing Pastorals; the one in Jest, as that called *Nencia, di Lorenzo de Medices*,⁴ and that *Beca*,⁵ of *Lewis Pulci*; and another in truth and in good earnest: and this also is divided into two parts, for some write Eglogs, in loose Verse, and the other in Verse, ending in meeter or rime: and this also is done two manner of wayes, eyther with ordinary versifying, or with that long kinde of smooth, sliding, and running Rime, which *Sanazar* used in his Writings and is in Italian called *Sdursciolo*.⁶

(Translator's note, p. 9.)

[Dante's use of the verb *increscere*]

This Verbe (*Incressere*) signifieth to have compassion and pittie (for the most part) as that deepe and profound Poet *Dant* sheweth, in one of his learned and morall Canzons, beginning (as it were) somewhat abruptly, thus:

Em' incresce di me si altamente
Ch' altro tanto di doglia
Mi reca la pietà, quanto 'l martire.⁷

So much I sorrow for my selfe
And in so high degree;
As pittie brings as much of griefe
As tortors doe to me.

(pp. 43-4.)

[Biography of Dante]

This learned Poet was borne in *Florence*, his Wife being of the house of the *Donati*, there, and called *Bianca*,⁸ but he being banished from thence, lived in the ancient Citie *Ravenna*, in *Romagna*, where he lieth enterred, having a fayre Tombe over

¹[*L' Ercolano, Dialogo nel quale si ragiona generalmente delle Lingue, ed in particolare della Toscana, e della Fiorentina* (Florence, 1570).]

²[*Capitoli di Francesco Berni* (Venice, 1545).]

³[*Sonetti del Burchiello, di Antonio Alamanni, ecc.* (Florence, 1552).]

⁴[*La Nencia da Barberino di Lorenzo de' Medici* (Florence, n.d.).]

⁵[*Le Stanze in lode della Beca* (Florence, 1568—in the same volume is included also Lorenzo de' Medici's *Nencia*).]

⁶[For *sdrucchiolo*.]

⁷[*Canz.* xiii. 1-3, in the Oxford Dante. For *altamente* in l. 1, read *malamente*.]

⁸[She was, in fact, called *Gemma*.]

him, which *Bernardo Bembo*, (Father to Cardinall *Bembo*) reedified and made new¹ when hee remained *Podesta* (there) for the Signorie of *Venice*, with this epitaph over him

Exigua Tumulo (DANTES) hic forte² jacebas,
 Squallenti nulli, cognite (poene) situ ;
 At nunc Marmoreo, subnixus conderis arcu
 Omnibus, et cultu splendidiore nites,
 Nimirum BEMBUS, Musis incensus Hetruscis,
 Hoc tibi, quem imprimus³ hae coluere dedit.⁴

. . . . This *Dant* is by some learned Italians compared and equalled with *Homer* and *Virgill* and was not alone a Poet, but a Philosopher, a Devine, a Phisitian and an Astronomer with all : yet doth Cardinall *Bembo* preferre *Petrarcq* before him. When *Dant* was young, hee was Scholler to *Brunetto Latini*, *Vincentio Borghini*, Prior of the Hospitall of the Innocenti in *Florence*, having made an excellent Comment upon all his workes.⁵

(Translator's note on *Dant*, p. 44.)

MICHAEL DRAYTON

(1563-1631)

[Michael Drayton, who is said to have been the son of a butcher, though he himself claims to have been 'nobly bred' and 'well ally'd,' was born near Atherstone, in Warwickshire, in 1563. He does not appear to have been at either University. His earliest publication (1591) was the *Harmonie of the Church*, a metrical rendering of portions of the Bible. His most famous work is the *Poly-Olbion*, a long poetical description of Great Britain, the first part of which was published in 1613, the second in 1622. Drayton died in 1631, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, where a monument was erected to him with an inscription ascribed to Ben Jonson. There is a tradition that he was a personal friend of Shakespeare, and that the latter died of a fever contracted at a drinking bout with Drayton and Ben Jonson at Stratford-on-Avon. In the notes to one of his *England's Heroicall Epistles* (first published in 1597, and four times reprinted in the next six years) Drayton makes mention of Dante. His friend William Burton in his *Description of Leicestershire* (published in 1622) compares Drayton himself to Dante, and not to Drayton's disadvantage.]

1597. ENGLAND'S HEROICALL EPISTLES, WRITTEN IN IMITATION OF THE STILE AND MANNER OF OVID'S EPISTLES: WITH ANNOTATIONS OF THE CHRONICLE HISTORY.

¹[In 1483.] ²[Read *sorte*.]

³[Read *imprimis*.]

⁴[For a translation of this epitaph see above, under Fynes Moryson (p. 91).]

⁵[The *Discorsi* of Vincenzo Borghini (1515-1580) were printed at Florence in 1584-5.]

Henry Howard Earl of Surrey to the Lady Geraldine

FROM learned *Florence*, (long time rich in fame)
 From whence thy Race, thy noble Grandiers came
 To famous *England*, that kind Nurse of mine,

Thy *Surrey* sends to heav'nly *Geraldine* . . .

Florence, a *City of Tuscan*, standing upon the *River Arnus* (celebrated by *Dante*, *Petrarch*, and other the most Noble Wits of Italy) was the originall of the Family, out of which this *Geraldine* did spring.

(*Poems*, ed. 1619, p. 230.)

JOHN KEPER

(c. 1547-c. 1600)

[John Keper, who has been identified with I. K., the translator of the *Discorsi Cavallereschi del Conte Annibale Romei* (Venice, 1585; Ferrara, 1586), is supposed to have been born at Wells, Somerset, about 1547. He was educated at Hart Hall, Oxford, and at Louvain. *The Courtier's Academie* contains the earliest specimens of English translation from *Dante's Canzoniere*, as well as passages from the *Convivio*.]

[1598]. THE COURTIER'S ACADEMIE: COMPREHENDING SEVEN SEVERALL DAYES DISCOURSES: WHEREIN BE DISCUSSED, SEVEN NOBLE AND IMPORTANT ARGUMENTS. . . . ORIGINALLY WRITTEN IN ITALIAN BY COUNT HANIBALL ROMEI . . . AND TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY I. K.

[Dante on love]

IF wee attribute any thing to *Dant* a Poet of great authoritie, wee will be ready to affirme that Love is so just a Lord, that he exempteth none beloved fro loving,¹ but with his mighty power, and burning firebrands he enflameth the hearts of all them beloved, with love mutuall towards their lovers. Notwithstanding how may wee credite this, beholding the teares and hot sighes of these inamored yong Gentlemen, who shew manifest tokens of the crueltie of their ingratefull Mistresses? Putte mee therefore out of this doubt. *Ariosto* and *Petrarch* were of contrary opinion to *Dant*, answered *Guirino*, who in divers places affirme, that Love doth not force and binde the beloved to affect; but on the contrary, seldome are the desires of her beloved, correspondent to those of her lover.

(From *The second daies discourse: Of humane Love*, p. 58.)

¹['Amor, che a nullo amato amar perdona,' *Inf.* v. 103.]

[That love cannot live alone]

I will declare the fable recited by most singular *Themistius*, in his sixth oration. The goddess *Themis*, saith he, being before *Venus*, who had brought forth *Cupide*, having highly commended the beauty of that winged child, added: sincere love may well be borne, but that he should grow by himself alone, understand O *Venus*, it can no wayes be: Therefore if you desire that this your deare sonne, may encrease to his proportionable greatnesse, beget and bring forth another like to him, for such will the nature of these two brothers bee, that in beholding one another, both of them will grow alike, and looke how much shal diminish in one, no lesse will these impaire in the other. *Venus* perswaded by this most wise goddess, produced *Anterota Cupides* lawfull brother. By this fable wee may easily comprehend, that love alone cannot endure in the lovers heart, and for his maintenance and reduction, to his due stature, it is necessary, he beholde, and sport with his brother, *Anterota*. Yet, Signior *Guirino*, experience teacheth the contrarie answered the Queene: for every day, we see divers enamored, without having the least signe of interchaungeable affection, obstinate altogether in amorous enterprise, and peradventure confident in the saying of *Dant* before repeated:

*By love, beloved, eake, from love, are not exempt.*¹
(*Ibid.* p. 74.)

[Of nobility]

Socrates demaunded who was noble, answered: he that is temperate of minde and body. Unto which saying *Dant* being conformable, affirmeth:

*Where vertue is, there Gentrye sure takes place.*²

. . . . It is not to be said, that nobilitie proceeds from antiquity of blood: for if that were so, the saying of that holy man should be true, that nobilitie were alied to bricke and tiles, seeing our originall also is of the earth. Last of all, they urge that saying of *Aristotle*, that the beginning is the halfe of the whole; which being true, how should not he be noble, that is the beginning of an other mans nobilitie, if on him depend the scope and end of all nobility? with these and other such like reasons, those wise men conclude, that nobilitie cannot be the renowne of progenie: but that by vertue of it selfe it is fashioned: in confirmation of which opinion *Dant* sayth:

*That only he is excellent, who by himselfe doth shine.*³

¹[*Inf.* v. 103.]

²[*'È gentilezza dovunque è virtute,' Canz. viii. 101.]*

³[This line, which is not Dante's, is also quoted as his by Guazzo (see Pettie's translation of his *Civile Conversazione*, p. 68).]

. . . . The Emperour *Frederick* the second, who beside his dignity had the name to be greatly learned, demanded what nobility was: made answer, ancient riches, and excellent customes.¹ . . . Notwithstanding, *Dant*, *Petrarch*, and *Boccace*, have indifferently used these two terms, Noble and Gentle: yet do I make some difference betwixt them, and holde opinion, that the name of gentleman hath a farre more restrained signification than this word, noble, and that a gentleman is he, who by the Philosopher is called *Geneos*, as much as to say, governours, in whom appeares, not only the vertue of kinde, but also that of his proper selfe: for though as I saide, the name gentle is proper to him noble, yet without vertue, he shal ever be an unworthy possessor thereof: and therefore I thus conclude, that the man noble without vertue, and he vertuous without nobilitie, can never properly be termed a gentleman.

(From *The fift dayes Discourse: Of Nobilitie*, pp. 188, 190, 218, 225.)

FRANCIS MERES

(1565-1647)

[Francis Meres, a native of Lincolnshire, was born in 1565. He was a member of Pembroke College, Cambridge, where he took his degree in 1587. He was living in London in 1597, and occupied himself with literature. In 1602 he became rector of Wing, in Rutland, where he kept a school, and here he remained until his death in 1647. Meres has been identified with the F.M. whose verses are included in the *Paradise of Dainty Devices* (1595). His most interesting work was his *Palladis Tamia: Wits Treasury* (1598), a continuation of the *Politeuphuia: Wits Commonwealth* (1597) of Nicholas Ling and John Bodenham. In a section of this book, entitled *A Comparative Discourse of our English Poets, with the Greeke, Latine, and Italian Poets*, Meres takes a survey of English literature from Chaucer down to his own day, comparing each English author with a Greek, Latin, or Italian one. He thus introduces Dante, as whose English equivalent he names—Matthew Roydon, the author of the 'Elegie' on the death of Sir Philip Sidney, which is usually printed in Spenser's works. In this survey occur Meres' celebrated references to Shakespeare and his account of Marlowe's death.]

1598. PALLADIS TAMIA. WITS TREASURY. BEING THE SECOND PART OF WITS COMMONWEALTH.

[Matthew Roydon England's Dante]

AS Greece had three poets of great antiquity, Orpheus, Linus, and Musaeus, and Italy, other three auncient poets, Livius Andronicus, Ennius, and Plautus: so hath England three auncient poets, Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate.

¹[From Dante, *Convivio* iv. 3, ll. 38, 43-5: 'Federigo di Soave, ultimo imperadore de' Romani, . . . domandato, che fosse gentilezza, rispose, ch'era, antica ricchezza, e be' costumi.']

As Homer is reputed the Prince of Greek poets, and Petrarch of Italian poets, so Chaucer is accounted the god of English poets.

* * * *

As Italy had Dante, Boccace, Petrarch, Tasso, Celiano and Ariosto: so England had Mathew Roydon, Thomas Atchelow, Thomas Watson, Thomas Kid, Robert Greene and George Peele.

(From *A Comparative Discourse of our English Poets, with the Greeke, Latine, and Italian Poets*, pp. 280 ff.)

THOMAS SPEGHT

(c. 1550-c. 1602)

[Thomas Speght, a Yorkshireman, was born about the year 1550; he matriculated at Cambridge in 1566, as a sizar of Peterhouse, and took his M.A. degree in 1573. He became a schoolmaster of repute, and is credited with having sent 'nere a thousand youths of good report' to the two Universities and the Inns of Court. In 1598 Speght published his famous edition of Chaucer, of which a second edition, embodying many notes of Francis Thynne and John Stowe, was published in 1602. In his list of Chaucer's works, Speght states that Chaucer 'translated Dante,' a statement which was first made by Lydgate, and repeated by Bale, and which has given rise to considerable discussion (see above, pp. 1, 5). Among the names of the authors cited by Chaucer, he includes '*Dantes Aligerus*, an Italian, and borne in Florence, lived 1341.']

1598. THE WORKES OF OUR ANTIENT AND LEARNED ENGLISH POET,
Geffrey Chaucer, newly printed . . .

[List of Chaucer's works]

CHAUCER had alwaies an earnest desire to enrich and beautifie our English tongue, which in those daies was verie rude and barren: and this he did following the example of *Dantes* and *Petrarch*, who had done the same for the Italian tongue; *Alanus* for the French; and *Johannes Mena* for the Spanish: . . .

Besides those bookes of his which we heretofore have had in print, he wrote divers others: as,

The Flower and the Leafe . . .

In obitum Blanchiae Ducissae . . .

De Vulcani veru.

De Leone et ejus dignitate.

Comædias et Tragædias.

Facetias et Jocos

Dantem Italum transtulit

Petrarchae quaedam transtulit . . .

(Sig. b 6.)

JOHN DONNE

(1573-1631)

[John Donne, the famous Dean of St. Paul's, was born in London in 1573. In 1584 he entered Hart Hall, Oxford, where he shared the chamber of Sir Henry Wotton, his life-long friend. He left Oxford without taking a degree and spent several years in foreign travel, in the course of which he became proficient in French, Italian, and Spanish. About 1591 he returned to London, and in the next year was admitted at Lincoln's Inn. In 1596 he joined the expedition of the Earl of Essex to Cadiz, and on his return later in the same year he was appointed secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, Sir Thomas Egerton. By this time Donne had acquired a considerable reputation as a man of varied accomplishments, and he now became popular as a poet, most of his satires, elegies, and epistles dating from the period of his secretaryship. About Christmas 1600 Donne secretly married a niece of the Lord Keeper's second wife, which led to his imprisonment and to his dismissal from his post. After living for several years in distress, through the influence of powerful friends he obtained a footing at Court and attracted the notice of James I, who, however, declined to give him preferment, except in the Church. In 1610 the degree of M.A. was conferred upon him by the University of Oxford, and in 1615, after several years spent in the study of theology, he was ordained, and was at once appointed chaplain to the King, and at the King's request received the degree of D.D. from the University of Cambridge. In 1616 he was elected divinity reader at Lincoln's Inn, and it was in this capacity that Donne first made his reputation as a preacher. After waiting for several years in vain for preferment, he was at last in 1621 appointed to the Deanery of St. Paul's, which he held, with increasing popularity as a preacher, until his death in March, 1631. Though he was undoubtedly acquainted with Italian, and presumably with Dante's great poem, there are but two references to Dante in the whole of Donne's published works. These occur, not in his sermons or letters, but,—the one, in his fourth Satire, which has been made familiar to modern readers by Pope's adaptation of it,—the other in a satirical *Catalogus Librorum*, which was printed after his death.]

c. 1600. SATIRE IV.

[He 'who dreamt he saw hell']

A T home in wholesome solitarinesse
 My piteous soule began, the wretchednesse
 Of suiters at Court to mourne, and a trance
 Like his, who dreamt he saw hell,¹ did advance
 It selfe o'r mee: Such men as he saw there,
 I saw at Court, and worse, and more . . .²

(ll. 155-60, ed. 1650, pp. 133-4.)

[1649] CATALOGUS LIBRORUM.³

[Homer, Virgil, and Dante authorities on Hell]

Aevum sortiti sumus quo planè indoctis nihil turpius, plenè
 doctis nihil rarius. Tam omnes in literis aliquid sciunt, tam

¹[That is, presumably, Dante; cf. Cleveland's line in the *Rebel Scot*: 'He that saw Hell in's melancholy dream.' Pope in his imitation of this satire of Donne introduces Dante by name in this place (see below, p. 193).]

²[This satire is printed in the earliest known edition (1633) of Donne's Poems.]

³[First printed in the 1649 edition of the Poems, which was reprinted in 1650, 1654, 1669, and again in 1719.]

nemo omnia. Mediâ igitur plerumque itur viâ, et ad evitandum ignorantiae turpitudinem et legendi fastidium. Ars una est omnibus ut reliquas scire videri possint. Inde Epitomis, paradoxis, et pruritibus exorbitantium ingeniorum delectantur . . . Hunc ergo catalogum ad usum tuum exaravi, ut his paratis libris, in omni penè scientiâ, si non magis, saltem aliter doctus, quàm caeteri, subitò prosilias.

30. Quintessentia inferni; sive camera privata infernalis, ubi tractatur de loco quinto ab Homero, Virgilio, Dante, caeterisque papisticis praetermisso, ubi Reges praeter damni poenas, et sensûs, recordatione praeteritorum cruciantur.¹

(Ed. 1650, pp. 222 ff.)

EDWARD FAIRFAX

(d. 1635)

² [Edward Fairfax, a son of Sir Thomas Fairfax of Denton, Yorkshire, was born at Leeds. Few details are known of his life, which appears to have been spent for the most part in studious retirement. In 1600 he published his *Godfrey of Bulloigne* (the first complete translation into English of Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*), by which his name has been preserved. This translation, which is still the best English version of Tasso's poem, was dedicated to Queen Elizabeth. It is recorded that James I 'valued it above all other English poetry,' and that Charles I solaced himself with it in prison. A second edition appeared in 1624. Fairfax died at Fuiston in Yorkshire in 1635. His reference to Dante in the prose *Allegory of the Poem* is of a general description and does not seem to indicate more than a superficial acquaintance with 'the Comedy of Dantes.']

1600. GODFREY OF BULLOIGNE: OR THE RECOVERIE OF JERUSALEM. DONE INTO ENGLISH HEROICAL VERSE.

[Dante's Comedy a figure of the contemplative life]

OF the Life of the Contemplative Man, the Comedy of Dantes and the Odysseys, are (as it were) in every part thereof a Figure; but the civil is seen to be shadowed throughout the Iliads, and Aeneids also, although in this there be rather set out a mixture of Action and Contemplation. But since the Contemplative Man is solitary, and the Man of Action liveth in civil Company, thence it cometh that Dantes and Ulysses, in their departure from Calipso, are feigned not to be accompanied of the Army, or of a multitude of Souldiers, but to depart alone; whereas Agamemnon and Achilles are described, the one General of the Grecian Army, the other Leader of many Troops of Mirmydons,

¹ [The Catalogue contains 34 entries, numbered consecutively.]

and Aeneas is seen to be accompanied when he fighteth, or doth other civil Acts; but when he goeth to Hell and the Elisian Fields, he leaves his followers, accompanied only with his most faithful Friend Achates, who never departed from his side. Neither doth the Poet at random feign that he went alone, for that in his Voyage there is signified this only Contemplation of these Pains and Rewards which in another World are reserved for good or guilty Souls.

(From *The Allegory of the Poem*, ed. 1687, sig. a 2.)

THOMAS JAMES

(c. 1573-1629)

[Thomas James, a native of Newport, Isle of Wight, was educated at Winchester, and New College, Oxford, of which he was a Fellow from 1593 to 1602. In the latter year he was appointed by Sir Thomas Bodley keeper of the library recently presented by him to the University of Oxford. During his tenure of this office, which he held until 1620, James compiled no less than four catalogues of the books in the Bodleian, two of which, dated respectively 1602-3 and 1613, are preserved in MS., while the other two were printed and published at Oxford in 1605 and 1620. James, who held several ecclesiastical preferments, died at Oxford in 1629 and was buried in New College Chapel. From his first catalogue it appears that, so far as Dante's works are concerned, the Bodleian started with one edition of the *De Monarchia* and two of the *Divina Commedia*, which in the catalogue of 1620 had increased to five.]

1602-3. CATALOGUS LIBRORUM ALIQUOT IN BIBLIOTHECA BODLEJANA, JUXTA FACULTATES CONTEXTUS.¹

[Works of Dante in the Bodleian]

LIBRI Theologici in folio. Lit. D
Dantis de Monarchia²

(fol. 53.)

Libri Facultatis Artium in 4°. Lit. D

Dante con Espos. di M. Bern. Daniello di Lucca.³

(fol. 221.)

Libri Artium in 8o. Lit. D.

Dante dell inferno et purgatorio. Ven. 1515.⁴

¹[MS. preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.]

²[Doubtless the edition published at Basle in folio in 1566.]

³[Published at Venice in 1568. This copy was the gift of Sir Henry Danvers (afterwards Earl of Danby) in 1602.]

⁴[The second Aldine edition.]

1605. CATALOGUS LIBRORUM BIBLIOTHECAE PUBLICAE QUAM VIR ORNATISSIMUS THOMAS BODLEIUS EQUES AURATUS IN ACADEMIA OXONIENSI NUPER INSTITUIT; CONTINET AUTEM LIBROS ALPHABETICÈ DISPOSITOS SECUNDUM QUATUOR FACULTATES.¹

[Editions of the *Divina Commedia* in the Bodleian]

Libri Artium. D 2.

Dante con la espositione di Aless. Velutello. Ven. 1544.

Dante con com. di Christ. Landino. Ven. 1512²

Dante con com. di Landino. Ven. 1484.³

Dante con l'espos. di M. Bern. Daniello. Ven. 1568.⁴

(p. 312.)

1613. CATALOGUS OMNIUM EXACTISSIMUS LIBRORUM IN BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA.⁵

[Works of Dante in the Bodleian]

Dante

Con la espositione di Alessandro Velutello. *Ven. 1544.*

Con Com. di Christ. Landino. *Ven. 1512*, et *Ven. 1484.*

Con Com. di Bern. Daniello. *Ven. 1568.⁶*

De Monarchia, 1610.⁷

1620. CATALOGUS UNIVERSALIS LIBRORUM IN BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA OMNIUM LIBRORUM LINGUARUM, ET SCIENTIARUM GENERE REFERTISSIMA.⁸

[Works of Dante in the Bodleian]

Dante

Con la espositione di Aless. Velutello. *Ven. 1544.*

Con Com. di Christ. Landino. *Ven. 1512*, et *Ven. 1484.*

Con Com. di Bern. Daniello. *Ven. 1568.*

De Monarchia, 1610.

L' Inferno del Purgatorio del Paradiso. *Ven. 1515.⁹*

(p. 157a.)

¹[Published at Oxford, by Joseph Barnes.]

²[Purchased out of a sum of £100 given to the Library in 1600 by Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst (1536-1608), Chancellor of the University.]

³[The gift of Sir Michael Dormer in 1603.]

⁴[The copy entered in the MS. Catalogue of 1602-3.]

⁵[MS. preserved in the Bodleian Library.]

⁶[These four copies of the *Divina Commedia* figured in previous Catalogues.]

⁷[The rare edition published at Offenbach in 1610.]

⁸[Printed and published at Oxford.]

⁹[All the above, except the last, were registered in the MS. Catalogue of 1613. The 1515 (second Aldine) edition of the *Divina Commedia* was registered in the MS. Catalogue of 1602-3, but was omitted from the Catalogues of 1605 and 1613.]

1627. INDEX GENERALIS LIBRORUM PROHIBITORUM A PONTIFICIIS, UNA CUM EDITIONIBUS EXPURGATIS VEL EXPURGANDIS JUXTA SERIEM LITERARUM.¹

[Works of Dante on the Index]

*Dantis Monarchia cum lib. Engelberti*² vel alias. Comedia. En Ital. se prohibe. It. los com. de Christ. Landino, Aless. Vellutello sobre su Comedia y la misma³ Comedia. Venet. 1546.⁴
(Sig. D.)

NICHOLAS BRETON

(c. 1545-c. 1626)

[Nicholas Breton came of an ancient Essex family. His father made a fortune in trade in London and died in 1559, leaving a widow, who some years after married George Gascoigne, the poet. Breton is said to have been educated at Oriol College, Oxford. He was a voluminous writer in prose and verse, satirical, religious, romantic, and pastoral. Some of his lyrics, which have considerable merit, are preserved in *England's Helicon*, and in his own *Passionate Shepheard*. His works were issued in rapid succession between 1577 and 1626, which is the date of his last published volume. Breton had the reputation of being a good Italian scholar, and he was familiar at any rate with the names of the chief Italian poets. In one of his prose works, *The Court and Country*, he introduces an alleged quotation from Dante, which does not correspond with anything to be found in Dante's writings.]

1604. THE PASSIONATE SHEPHEARD, OR THE SHEPHEARDES LOVE SET DOWNE IN PASSIONS TO HIS SHEPHEARDESSE AGLAIA.

[The poets of Italy]

*P*ETRARCHE, in his thoughts divine,
Tasso in his highest line,
Ariostos best invention,
Dantes best⁵ obscur'd intention,
Ovid in his sweetest vaine:
Pastor Fidos purest straine.
With the finest Poets wit,
That of wonders ever writ:
Were they all but now alive

¹[Printed and published at Oxford.]

²[This is the edition of the *De Monarchia* published at Offenbach in 1610 by Joachim Cluten, who included with it 'Engelberti Admontensis tractatum de Ortu et Fine Romani Imperii.']

³[Misprinted *misura*.]

⁴[A misprint for 1564, in which the commentaries of Landino and Vellutello were for the first time printed together.]

⁵[So printed—perhaps by mistake for *lest* = 'least'.]

And would for the garland strive
 In the gracious praise of love
 Heere they might their passions proove.

(Sig. B 3.)

1618. THE COURT AND COUNTRY, OR A BRIEFE DISCOURSE BETWEENE THE COURTIER AND COUNTRY-MAN; OF THE MANNER, NATURE, AND CONDITION OF THEIR LIVES. DIALOGUE-WISE SET DOWNE BETWIXT A COURTIER AND COUNTRY-MAN. CONTEYNING MANY DELECTABLE AND WITTY SAYINGS WORTHY OBSERVATION.

[The obscurity of Dante]

Country-man. Doe you thinke so much of your strength as to remove a mill-stone with your little finger: or are you so perswaded of your wit, that with a word of your mouth you can take away the strength of understanding? No such matter; no hast but good: I pray you give me leave a little, and if I speake not to your purpose, I will speake to mine owne: and I will say as one Dante, an Italian Poet, once said in an obscure Booke of his, Understand me that can, I understand my selfe¹: And though my Country booke be written in a rough hand, yet I can read it and picke such matter out of it as shall serve the turne for my instruction.

(p. 8, ed. Grosart, 1879.)

SIR ROBERT DALLINGTON

(1561-1637)

[Dallington was born at Geddington, in Northamptonshire, in 1561. He was educated at Cambridge, and after leaving the University became a schoolmaster in Norfolk. In a few years he made sufficient to enable him to travel on the Continent, and on his return he wrote an account of his tour in Italy under the title of *A Survey of the Great Duke's State of Tuscany, in the yeare of our Lord 1596*. In 1624, on the recommendation of Prince Charles, in whose household he held an appointment, Dallington was elected master of Charterhouse, and in the same year he was knighted. He retained the mastership of Charterhouse until his death, at the age of seventy-six, in 1637. Dallington mentions Dante in his account of Florence in his *Survey of Tuscany*, and gives a very brief résumé of the Ugolino episode in his account of Pisa, from which it appears that he had some acquaintance, at first hand, with the *Divina Commedia*.]

1605. A SURVEY OF THE GREAT DUKES STATE OF TUSCANY. IN THE YEARE OF OUR LORD 1596.

[Petrarch and Dante, two 'singular poets' of Florence]

THE great Seale of Florence is the *Lyon and Hercules*: their Armes were in former times a *Flower de Lise* argent in a field gules, but upon the banishment to the *Ghibelline* faction, they are altered to the contrary; the Field to the colour of

¹ [No such saying is to be found in Dante's works.]

the flower, and the flower to the colour of the field. Within these hundred yeares have bene of this Cittie three Popes, *John* and *Julius Medici*, *Leo* the tenth, and *Clement* the seaventh, and *Hippolitus Aldebrandini* called *Clement* the eight that yet liveth. Here have also flourished many famous men in matter of learning, as *Francesco Guicciardini* for a judicall Historiographer: *Nicolas Machivelli* for a worldly Politician; *Michel Angelo* for an excellent Painter: *Petrache* and *Dante* for singular Poets; and *Boccace* for his pleasant garbe and refining their language, and many others.

(p. 12.)

[The 'Torre della Fame' at Pisa]

Not far from this place [the *Campo Santo* of *Pisa*] is an old ruinous Tower, called by them (*Torre di fame*) in memory of the mercylesse crueltie of *Ruggiero* the Archbishop, who upon suspicion of treason immured therein *Conte Hugolino* a Noble *Pisano*, and his foure children, causing them to be starved: of whom *Dante* the Poet in his 33. chapter *dell' inferno*, very elegantly discourseth, faining, that there for a torment due to such a fact, the *Conte* liveth upon the Bishops-head with a never satisfied greedinesse.

(p. 23.)

JOHN SANFORD

(c. 1565-1629)

[John Sanford was born at Chard, in Somersetshire, about 1565. He entered Balliol College, Oxford, as a commoner in 1581, whence he graduated B.A. in 1586, and M.A. in 1595. He acted as corrector to the press at Oxford in 1592, and was appointed chaplain of Magdalen College in 1593, which office he retained until 1616. In 1611 he accompanied Sir John Digby as his chaplain on his mission to Spain to arrange the marriage of Prince Charles with the Infanta. In 1614 he was acting as chaplain at Lambeth to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who shortly after presented him to a prebend in Canterbury Cathedral, and gave him several rectories in Kent. He died in 1629 and was buried in Canterbury Cathedral. Sanford published several pieces of verse (among them a description in Latin of the banquet given by the President and Fellows of Magdalen to Queen Elizabeth's retinue on her visit to Oxford in Sept. 1592), and grammars of French (1604), Latin (1605), Italian (1605), and Spanish (1611), of which the first three were printed at Oxford. The Italian grammar, which is dedicated to Magdalen College, contains a motto from Dante, and several references to the *Divina Commedia*, two lines of which Sanford translates (not altogether correctly).]

1605. GRAMMER, OR INTRODUCTION TO THE ITALIAN TONGUE.

[Motto on back of title-page]

Dante. Canto 26 del Paradiso

OPERA di natura è c' huom favella,
 Ma se così ò così, natura lascia
 Poi fare a voi secondo che v' abbellà.¹

Of the Articles

* *

Fortunius,² fol. 14; and *Lapinius*,³ fol. 218, observe that *Petrarke* and *Dante*, use *il*, and *lo*, indifferently before words beginning with a consonant, as *il*, or *lo mar*, the sea, *il* or *lo cuor* the heart, *il* or *lo ciel* the heaven, *lo giorno* the day, *lo mondo*, *lo maestro*, *lo mio libro*, *lo quale*, *lo petto*.

(p. 9.)

Of the Pronounes

* * * *

Nom. *quello* and *quel* which is used when the Substantive is expressed as *quel dottore*, that Doctour

Gen. *di quello*

Dat. *a quello etc.*

Plur. { Nom. *quelli et quegli et quei*
 Gen. *de quelli*

Quelli is seldom used but rather *quegli*, as *quegli occhi*, those eyes. *Quei* is sometimes of the Singular number as *qual è quei che disvuol ciò che volle*, who is who nilleth what he would. *Dante Cant. 2 del Infer.*⁴

(p. 15.)

Of the Pronounes Affixes

* * * *

These Affixes *mi*, *ti*, *si*, *vi*, *ci*, change *i*, into *e*.

1 First when they be joynd with *ne*, as *ve ne darò essemplio*, I wil give you an example hereof . . .

2 Secondly, if they be joynd with *se*, as *chi che te se l' habbia detto*. Whosoever told it thee . . .

3 Thirdly, when a word is put betweene them and the verbe as *te gli manderò*, I will send you them . . .

4 Fourthly with a preposition, as *di me*, *di te*, not *di mi*, etc.

5 Lastly, when they are pronounced a part from the verbe, as *purgon se sotto la tua balia*. *Dante. Cant. 1. del Paradis.*⁵ and they make their purgation before thy authority.

(p. 19.)

¹[*Par.* xxvi. 130-2.]

²[*Regole Gramaticali della Volgar Lingua*, by Francesco Fortunio, Ancona 1516; reprinted by Aldus in 1541, 1545, and 1552.]

³[*Institutionum Linguae Florentinae Lib. II.*, by Frosino Lapini, Florence 1574.]

⁴[*Inf.* ii. 37.]

⁵[Actually, *Purg.* i. 66.]

BEN JONSON

(c. 1573-1637)

[Ben Jonson is said to have been born in Westminster in 1572-3. His father, who died a month before Benjamin was born, is believed to have been of Scottish origin. While he was still a child his mother married as her second husband a master-bricklayer in London. Jonson was educated at Westminster School at the expense of William Camden, the antiquary, then second master. On leaving school he was put to the trade of his step-father, from which he ran away to join the English army in Flanders. About 1592 he returned to London and married, and a few years later began to work for the stage. In 1598 he fought and killed a fellow-actor, and was condemned to the gallows, which he escaped by benefit of clergy. In the same year his first extant comedy, *Every Man in his Humour*, was successfully performed at the Globe, one of the parts being taken by Shakespeare. Ben Jonson's reputation was now made, and henceforth he ranked among the foremost dramatists of the day. His first tragedy, *Sejanus*, was performed in 1603. In 1618-19 he went on foot to Scotland, and was the guest for some weeks of William Drummond of Hawthornden, whose notes of his conversation have been preserved. In the summer of 1619 he was at Oxford, and received the degree of M.A. from the University. After an active literary career, during which he produced (with varying success) a score of dramas, besides masques, poems, and miscellaneous prose, Ben Jonson died in London, 6 Aug. 1637, and was buried in the Poets' Corner in Westminster Abbey. Among his friends Jonson numbered Bacon, Chapman, Donne, and Shakespeare. His generous lines on the last, prefixed to the first folio of Shakespeare's works (1623), are well known. In Jonson's comedy *Volpone* (which was acted at the Globe in 1605, and subsequently at both Universities) occurs an interesting reference to Dante. The observation as to Dante's being 'hard,' however, is probably not original, for Florio had made a similar remark in the *Epistle Dedicatorie* to his Italian Dictionary (*A Worlde of Wordes*), which had been published only a few years before (1598) (see above, p. 86).]

1605. VOLPONE: OR THE FOX:

[Dante hard to understand]

Volpone.

THE poet
As old in time as Plato, and as know-
ing,

Says that your highest female grace is silence.

Lady Politick. Which of your poets? Petrarch, or Tasso, or
Dante?

Guarini? Ariosto? Aretine?

Cieco di Hadria? I have read them all. . . .

Here's Pastor Fido—

All our English writers,
I mean such as are happy in the Italian,
Will deign to steal out of this author, mainly;
Almost as much as from Montagnié:
He has so modern and facile a vein,
Fitting the time, and catching the court-ear!
Your Petrarch is more passionate, yet he,

In days of sonnetting, trusted them with much :
 Dante is hard, and few can understand him.
 But for a desperate wit, there's Aretine ;
 Only his pictures are a little obscene—

(Act III. Scene 2.)

ALEXANDER COOKE

(1564-1632)

[Alexander Cooke, a native of Leeds, was educated at the Leeds Grammar School, whence he proceeded to Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1581; he graduated in 1585, and was elected to a Fellowship at University College in 1587. In 1600 he became vicar of Louth in Lincolnshire, and 1615 he succeeded his brother, Robert, in the vicarage of Leeds, where he died and was buried in 1632. Cooke was the author of several works against the Papists, in one of which, *Pope Joane, A Dialogue betweene A Protestant and a Papist* (published in 1610, second edition in 1625), he mentions Dante; the reference does not appear to be original, but second hand from a work of Bellarmine. Anthony Wood says of Cooke that he was 'a person most admirably well read in the controversies between the protestants and the papists, vers'd in the fathers and schoolmen, a great Calvinist, yet witty and ingenious, and a satyirical enemy in his writings against the Romanists.']

1610. POPE JOANE: A DIALOGUE BETWEEENE A PROTESTANT AND A PAPIST; MANIFESTLY PROVING, THAT A WOMAN, CALLED JOANE, WAS POPE OF ROME; AGAINST THE SURMISES AND OBJECTIONS MADE TO THE CONTRARY, BY ROBERT BELLARMINI AND CAESAR BARONIUS, CARDINALS: FLORIMUNDUS RAEMONDUS, N.D. AND OTHER POPISH WRITERS, IMPUDENTLY DENYING THE SAME.

[Dante's strictures on the Popes]

Protestant.

JOHAN, of Calabria, told our King Richard the First, that Anticrist was as then born in Rome, and that he should be made pope. John, of Calabria, was generally reputed a prophet, and a man of great learning. Yet John, of Calabria, was so far from railing against your popes, that (if Bellarmine say true) he spoke very honourably of them. And therefore his silence, in this case, doth not help you.

Papist. Yea, but Dantes, the Italian Poet, would surely have touched this story, if he had heard any inkling of it.

Protestant. Why so? Dantes found fault only with six of your popes, viz. with Anastasius II, Nicholas III, Boniface VIII, Clement V, John XXII, and Celestine V, as Bellarmine notes. Whereby it is plain, that he never purposed to rave up all the filth which he found written of your popes. Questionless, he might well have

heard of this, for he lived after Martinus Polonus, and in Martinus's days the report of this was common.

(Reprinted, from the edition of 1625, in the *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. iv. p. 59, 1809.)

JOHN PITS

(1560-1616)

[John Pits (or Joannes Pitseus, as he Latinized his name), catholic divine and biographer, was born at Alton in Hampshire in 1560. He was educated at Winchester College, which he entered in 1571, and at New College, Oxford, where he became probationary-Fellow in 1578. He, however, sacrificed his Fellowship, and left Oxford 'for conscience' sake,' going first to Douay and Rheims, and finally to Rome, where he joined the English College in 1581. At Rome he remained six years, and was ordained priest. He spent most of his life in Germany and Lorraine, and was eventually made Dean of Liverdun, where he died and was buried in 1616. His principal work is his *Relationum Historicarum de Rebus Anglicis Tom. I., quatuor Partes complectens* (composed c. 1610, and published at Paris, after his death, in 1619), otherwise known as *De illustribus Britanniae Scriptoribus*, of which only this first volume was published. The lives of English writers are for the most part based on those by Bale in his *Scriptorum Majoris Britanniae Catalogus*¹; but the portion of the work dealing with the biographies of Catholic writers after the Reformation has an independent value. Pits mentions Dante (after Leland and Bale) in his life of Chaucer.]

[1619.] JOANNIS PITSEI ANGLI, . . . RELATIONUM HISTORICARUM DE REBUS ANGLICIS TOM. I.

De Galfredo Chaucero

QUIA sua vel patrum memoria noverant multos jam linguas vulgares industria cultura exornasse: Nam Dantes et Petrarcha Italicam, Alanus Gallicam, Joannes Mena Hispanicam linguas jam cultiores reddiderant: operae precium igitur putabant isti, idem in Anglica lingua praestare, quod viderant alios in suis linguis magna cum laude et posteritatis incomparabili utilitate gnaviter praestitisse . . .

Restat videre quibus litterarum monimentis, hanc nominis immortalitatem, quam habet, consecutus sit. De quo Lelandus noster inter epigrammata sua sic scribit

Praedicat Algerum² meritò Florentia Dantem, etc.³
(*Aetas decimaquinta*, p. 572.)

¹[See above, p. 37.]

²[*Sic*, for *Aligerum*.]

³[For this epigram, which Pits prints in full, see above, under Leland, p. 31.]

BENVENUTO ITALIANO

(fl. 1600)

[Of this Benvenuto nothing appears to be known beyond the fact that he was for some years a professor of Italian in London (as is stated on the title-page of his *Passaggiere*), and that he published in London in 1617 an attack upon the papacy under the title of *Scala Politica dell' Abominazione e Tirannia Papale*. His *Passaggiere*, which was dedicated to Prince Henry (eldest son of James I), who died in the year the book was published, consists of a collection of dialogues, in Italian and English on opposite pages, together with numerous quotations from Italian poets, accompanied by English translations. Long passages from Petrarch and Tasso are given, but there is only one reference to Dante in the whole work. The English version, as appears from the address *To the Reader*, was made by a certain 'Mr. King' ('Messer Chingo'), who has not been identified.]

1612. THE PASSENGER: OF BENVENUTO ITALIAN, PROFESSOUR OF HIS NATIVE TONGUE, FOR THESE NINE YEERES IN LONDON. DIVIDED INTO TWO PARTS, CONTAINING SEAVEN EXQUISITE DIALOGUES IN ITALIAN AND ENGLISH . . .

[Dante's definition of love]

E. **S**OME judge Love to be a stretching forth, by which the good will extendeth it selfe towards the thing beloved and desired.

A. Others call it that first suffering, and that first pleasure which wee have, when the thing wee desire commeth to our sight, and delighteth us.

E. *Plotinius* said, that it was an action of the soule, that desired what is good: and *Dante*, a gentle heart¹: and wee will say, that Love is the same: *Petrarch* saith, sometimes one thing, sometimes another.

(From Part 2. The Second Dialogue. *Wherein Mr. Eutrapelus, and Mr. Alatheus, walking through the Citie, doe discourse together of divers things*, p. 545.)

WILLIAM DRUMMOND

(1585-1649)

[William Drummond was born at Hawthornden (about seven miles from Edinburgh), of which his father was laird, in 1585. He was educated at the Edinburgh High School, whence he proceeded to the University, where he graduated in 1605. In 1606 he went to London on his way to the Continent to study law, and during the next two years he attended law lectures at Bourges and Paris. In 1610 he succeeded his father as laird of Hawthornden, whereupon he abandoned the law and devoted himself to literature, living in retirement on his estate. His first publica-

¹['Amore e 'l cor gentil sono una cosa,' *Son.* x. in the *Vita Nuova*.]

tion was a poetical lament (1613) on the death of Prince Henry. In 1618 he made the acquaintance of Ben Jonson, who paid him a visit of several weeks at Hawthornden, and of whose conversation he preserved notes. In 1623 he issued a volume of religious poems, entitled *Flowers of Sion*, among which was *An Hymn of the Passion*, 79 lines in *terza rima*, a metre which he handles with considerable skill. Drummond was a strong supporter of the royalist cause, and his death, which took place at Hawthornden in December, 1649, is said to have been hastened by his grief for the execution of Charles I. In his poems he imitated many of the Italians, chiefly Marino, Petrarch, Guarini, and Tasso, besides Bembo and Sannazzaro. In his copy of Fairfax's *Godfrey of Bulloigne* (now in the possession of Lord Home) he has made notes, which show that he compared the translation very closely with the original—that he regarded Fairfax's performance with approval may be gathered from such remarks as 'this stanza is far above that of Tasso,' 'Tasso's silver is heer changen in gold,' 'excellent translation,' and the frequently recurring 'Tasso hath no advantage of this stanza.' There is very little trace of the influence of Dante on Drummond, though he is known to have possessed a copy of the *Divina Commedia* (Venice, Giolito, 1555), which eventually passed into the Heber collection (*Bibl. Heber.*, Part VIII, No. 619). What seem to be reminiscences of Dante occur in one or two of his poems (see below), and, as has already been observed, he tried his hand at *terza rima*, which may have been in imitation of Dante.]

c. 1620. POEMS.

[Supposed reminiscences of Dante]

... **T**HE night her sable veil hath spread,
 And silently her resty coach doth roll,
 Rousing with her from Tethys' azure bed
 Those starry nymphs which dance about the pole.¹
 (*Sonnet viii.*, ed. 1894, vol. i. p. 28.)

* * * *

Me here she first perceiv'd, and here a morn
 Of bright carnations did o'erspread her face;
 Here did she sigh, here first my hopes were born,
 And I first got a pledge of promis'd grace:
 But, ah! what serv'd it to be happy so,
 Sith passed pleasures double but new woe?²
 (*Sonnet xlvii.*, ed. 1894, vol. i. p. 87.)

ANONYMOUS

[The anonymous author of this first English translation of the *Decameron* dedicated his work to Sir Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery (1584-1650), a nephew of Sir Philip Sidney. The translation soon became popular, for it was reprinted in 1625 (under the title of *The Modell of Wit, Mirth, Eloquence and Conversation. Framed in Ten Dayes, of an hundred Curious Pieces . . .*); again in 1657 (*Boccace's Tales: or, The Quintessence of Wit, Mirth, Eloquence, and Conversation . . .*); and again in 1684 (*The Novels and Tales of the Renowned John Boccaccio . . .*). The reference to Dante in the passage printed below (which is reproduced with slight variations in all the subsequent editions) is not original, Dante's name having been introduced by Boccaccio himself in his *Proemio* to the Fourth Day, from which the extract is taken.]

¹[Cary compares *Par.* xxiii. 26.]²[*Cf. Inf.* v. 121-3.]

1620. THE DECAMERON CONTAINING AN HUNDRED PLEASANT NOVELS. WITTIPLY DISCOURSED, BETWEENE SEAVEN HONOURABLE LADIES, AND THREE NOBLE GENTLEMEN.

The Fourth Day . . . The Induction unto the ensuing Nouelles.

AMONG variety of Opinions, faire Ladies; some seeing these Novelities, spared not to say; That I have bene over-pleasing to you, and wandered too farre from mine respect, imbasing my credit and repute, by delighting my selfe too curiously, for the fitting of your honours,¹ and have extolled your worth too much, with addition of worse speeches, than I meane to utter. Others, seeming to expresse more maturity of judgment, have likewise said, That it was very unsuteable for my yeares, to meddle with womens wanton pleasures, or contend to delight you by the verie least of my labors. . . . Concerning them that touch me with mine age; Do not they know, that although Leeks have white heads, yet the blades of them are alwaies greene? But referring them to their flouts and taunts, I answer, that I shall never hold it any disparagement to mee, so long as my life endureth, to delight my selfe with those exercises, which *Guido Cavalcanti*, and *Dante Alighieri*, already Aged, as also *Messer Cino de Pistoia*, older than either of them both, held it to be their chiefest honour. And were it not wandering too farre from our present argument, I would alledge Histories to approve my words full of very ancient and famous men, who in the ripest maturity of all their time, were carefully studious for the contenting of women, albeit these cockbraines neither know the way how to do it, nor are so wise as to learne it.

(foll. 122, 141-2.)

ROBERT BURTON

(1577-1640)

[Robert Burton was born at Lindley, in Leicestershire, in Feb. 1577. He was educated at the grammar school at Nuneaton, and at the free school of Sutton Coldfield, in Warwickshire, and at Oxford. He went as a commoner to Brasenose College in 1593, and in 1599 was elected student of Christ Church. He took the degree of B.D. in 1614. In 1616 he received the College living of St. Thomas, near Oxford, and about 1630 he was presented by Lord Berkeley with the living of Segrave in Leicestershire, both of which he held until his death. In 1621 he published at Oxford the first edition of his famous *Anatomy of Melancholy*, of which four other editions were issued in his lifetime, viz. in 1624, 1628, 1632, and 1638. Burton died at Christ Church in Jan. 1640, and was buried in the Cathedral, where a monument, still preserved, with his bust in colour, was erected to him by his brother, William Burton.

¹[Later editions print *humors*—the original has *honestà*.]

His portrait is in the hall of Brasenose College. He left a fine library, a portion of which he bequeathed to the Bodleian. Burton several times mentions 'Dantes' in the *Anatomy*, but he does not seem to have had more than a superficial acquaintance with the 'fabulous poet.']

1621. THE ANATOMY OF MELANCHOLY, WHAT IT IS, WITH ALL THE KINDS, CAUSES, SYMPTOMES, PROGNOSTICS, AND SEVERAL CURES OF IT. IN THREE PARTITIONS. WITH THEIR SEVERAL SECTIONS, MEMBERS, AND SUBSECTIONS, PHILOSOPHICALLY, MEDICINALLY, HISTORICALLY OPENED AND CUT UP.

Poverty and Want, Causes of Melancholy

WE see men commonly respected according to their means, (*an dives sit omnes quaerunt, nemo an bonus*¹) and vilified if they be in bad clothes. *Philophaemen*² the Orator was set to cut wood, because he was so homely attired, *Terentius*³ was placed at lower end of *Cecilius* table, because of his homely outside. *Dantes*⁴ that famous Italian Poet, by reason his clothes were but mean, could not be admitted to sit down at a feast.

(Part. i. Sec. 2, Mem. 4, Subsec. 6, ed. 1800, vol. i. p. 240.)

Digression of Ayre

What is the centre of the earth? is it pure element only, as *Aristotle* decrees, inhabited (as *Paracelsus* thinks) with creatures, whose chaos is the earth: or with fairies, as the woods and waters (according to him) are with nymphs, or as the air with spirits? *Dionisiodorus*, a mathematician in *Pliny*, that sent a letter *ad superos* after he was dead, from the centre of the earth, to signify what distance the same centre was from the *superficies* of the same, viz. 42,000 stadiums, might have done well to have satisfied all these doubts. Or is it the place of hell, as *Virgil* in his *Aeneides*, *Plato*, *Lucian*, *Dantes*, and others poetically describe it, and as many of our divines think?

(Part. ii. Sec. 2, Mem. 3, ed. 1800, vol. i. p. 373.)

Symptomes of Religious Melancholy

Mahometans are a compound of *Gentiles*, *Jewes*, and *Christians*, and so absurd in their ceremonies, as if they had taken that which is most sottish out of every one of them, full of idle fables in their superstitious law, their *Alcoran* itself a gallimaufrie of

¹ Euripides.

² Plutarch. vita ejus.

³ Vita Ter.

⁴ Gomesius lib 3. c. 21. de sale. [This appears to be a version of the story told by Giovanni Sercambi, the Lucchese novelist, how Dante was placed at the lowest seat at an entertainment given by King Robert of Naples, on account of his shabby clothes. (See Toynbee's *Life of Dante*, pp. 187-90).]

lyes, tales, ceremonies, traditions, precepts, stole from other sects, and confusedly heaped up to delude a company of rude and barbarous clownes . . . Of the day of judgement, and three sounds to prepare to it, which must last 50,000 years, of Paradise, which wholly consists in *coeundi et comedendi voluptate*, and *pecorinis hominibus scriptum, bestialis beatitudo*, is so ridiculous, that *Virgil, Dantes, Lucian*, nor any Poet can be more fabulous.

(Part. iii. Sec. 4, Mem. 1, Subsec. 3, ed. 1800, vol. ii. p. 531.)

WILLIAM BURTON

(1575-1645)

[William Burton, like his famous younger brother, Robert, the author of the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, was born (in 1575) at Lindley in Leicestershire, and was educated at Nuneaton and Brasenose College, Oxford, where he entered in 1591. In 1593 he was admitted to the Inner Temple, and he was called to the bar in 1603. His weak health, however, did not allow him to practise, and he retired soon after to his estate at Falde in Staffordshire, where he devoted himself to the writing of his best known work, *The Description of Leicestershire*, which was published in 1622. Burton died at Falde in 1645. He mentions Dante in connection with his 'old acquaintance,' Michael Drayton, whom he compares, not unfavourably, with the Italian poet.]

1622. THE DESCRIPTION OF LEICESTER SHIRE. CONTAINING MATTERS OF ANTIQUITYE, HISTORYE, ARMORYE, AND GENEALOGY.

[Michael Drayton compared to Dante]

DRAYTON in the Hundred of *Sparkenhoe*, and in some Deeds cal'd *Fenny Drayton*, standing neere *Warwickshire* upon *Watling street*. . . . This place gave the name to the Progenitors of that ingenious Poet *Michael Drayton* Esquire, my neere Countriman and olde acquaintance; who, though those *Transalpines* account us *Tramontani*, rude and barbarous, holding our braines so frozen, dull, and barren, that they can afford no invention or conceits; yet may compare either with their olde *Dante, Petrarch, or Boccace*, or their *Neotericke Marinella, Pignatello, or Stigliano*; but why should I goe about to commend him, whose owne workes and worthinesse have sufficiently extold to the world?

(Pp. 91-2.)

JOHN WILLIAMS

(1582-1650)

[John Williams, Archbishop of York and Lord Keeper, was born in 1582. He went to St. John's College Cambridge, in 1598, and became Fellow in 1603. After

holding various minor preferments, he was made Dean of Salisbury in 1619, Dean of Westminster in 1620, Bishop of Lincoln in 1621 (in which year he was also appointed Lord Keeper in succession to Bacon), and eventually Archbishop of York in 1641. He died in Wales in 1650, after a somewhat chequered political career, in the course of which he spent three years in the Tower of London (1637-1640). Williams mentions Dante, 'the first Italian Poet of note,' in connection with an anecdote told of him by Boccaccio, which he quotes by way of argument in a letter to the Duke of Buckingham.]

1624. March 2. LETTER FROM LORD KEEPER WILLIAMS TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM,¹ CONCERNING THE LORD STEWARD'S PLACE.

[A saying of Dante quoted to the Duke of Buckingham]

I REPRESENT this Office of a Lord Steward, as a Place to be either accepted of by your self, or else to be discontinued . . . I could desire your Grace had it in your own Person, for these Reasons.

1. It is an Office of fair and very competent Gettings . . .
2. It keeps you, in all Changes and Alterations of Years, near the King . . .

3. It gives you Opportunities to gratifie all the Court, great and small, *Virtute Officii*, in Right of your Place . . .

4. There must be, one day, an end of this Attendance as a Bed-Chamber Man;² but, I hope, never of being next unto the King, as a great Councillor, and Officer, and above all others: which you cannot be, but by this Office. The Master of the Horse² is but a Knights Place, at the most; and the Admiral's² (in time of action) either to be employed abroad personally, or to live at home in that Ignominy and Shame, as your Grace will never endure to do so.

I will trouble your Grace with a Tale of *Dante*, the first *Italian* Poet of Note: Who, being a great and wealthy Man in *Florence*, and his Opinion demanded, Who should be sent Ambassador to the Pope? made this Answer, that he knew not who; *Si jo vo, chi sta, Si jo sto, chi va*; If I go, I know not who shall stay at Home; if I stay, I know not who can perform this Employment.³ Yet your Grace staying at Home in Favor and Greatness with his Majesty, may, by your Designs and Directions, so dispose of the Admiral, as to enjoy the Glory, without running the Hazard of his personal Employment.

(Printed in *Cabala, sive Scrinia Sacra: Mysteries of State and Government, in Letters of Illustrious Persons, and Great Ministers of State*. Third edition,⁴ 1691, pp. 280-1.)

¹[George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham; assassinated by Felton, Aug. 1628.]

²[Buckingham had been appointed Gentleman of the Bedchamber in 1615; Master of the Horse in 1616; and Lord High Admiral of England in 1619.]

³[This anecdote is related by Boccaccio in his *Vita di Dante*, in the chapter headed 'Qualità e Difetti di Dante.']

⁴[The first edition was published in 1651; the second, in 1663.]

HENRY REYNOLDS *

(fl. 1630)

[Of the life of Henry Reynolds few details are known, beyond the facts that he was a friend of Michael Drayton, who addressed to him his epistle *Of Poets and Poesie* (1627), and that he published in 1628 a translation of Tasso's *Aminta*, and in 1632 (anonymously) his *Mythomystes*. In the latter work, in a brief survey of the Italian poets, he classes Dante with Sannazzaro and Guarini, and 'prefers chiefly' above him, Tasso, Ariosto, and—Marino, whose *Adone* he commends highly.]

1632. MYTHOMYSTES. WHEREIN A SHORT SURVAY IS TAKEN OF THE NATURE AND VALUE OF TRUE POESY AND DEPTH OF THE ANCIENTS ABOVE OUR MODERNE POETS.

[Tasso, Ariosto, and Marino, preferred above Dante]

AND first to beginne with *Spaine*. I will say it may justly boast to have afforded (but many Ages since) excellent Poets, as *Seneca*, the Tragedian, *Lucan*, and *Martiall* the Epigrammatist, with others; and in these latter times, as diverse in Prose, some good Theologians also in Rime; but for other Poesies in their (now spoke) tongue, of any great name, (not to extoll their trifling, though extolled *Celestina*, nor the second part of their *Diana de Monte Major*, better much than the first; and these but poeticke prozers neither,) I cannot say it affords many, if any at all: 'The inclination of that people being to spend much more wit, and more happily in those prose *Romances* they abound in, such as their *Lazarillo*, *Don Quixote*, *Guzman*, and those kind of *Cuenta's* of their *Picaro's*, and *Gitanillas*, than in Rime. The *French* likewise, more than for a *Ronsart*, or *Des-Portes*, but chiefly their *Salust*, (who may passe among the best of our modernes,) I can say little of. *Italy* hath in all times, as in all abilities of the mind besides, been much fertiler than either of these, in Poets. Among whom, (to omit a *Petrarch*, who though he was an excellent rimer in his owne tongue, and for his *Latine Africa* justly deserved the lawrell that was given him; yet was a much excellent Philosopher in prose; and with him, a *Bembo*, *Dante*, *Ang: Politiano*, *Caporale*, *Pietro Aretino*, *Sannazaro*, *Guarini*, and divers others, men of rare fancy all) I must preferre chiefly three; as the grave and learned *Tasso*, in his *Sette Giorni*, (a divine worke) and his *Gierusalem liberata*, so farre as an excellent pile of meerely Morall Philosophy may deserve. Then, *Ariosto*, for the artfull woofe of his ingenious, though unmeaning fables; the best, perhaps, have in that kind bene sung since *Ovid*. And lastly, that smoothwrit *Adonis* of *Marino*, full of various conception, and diversity of learning.

(pp. 5-7.)

* [Before Reynolds should come SIR HENRY WOTTON (see *Appendix*, below, p. 679).]

JOHN FORD

(c. 1586-c. 1640)

[John Ford, the dramatist, was a native of Ilstington, Devonshire, where he was born probably in 1586. He has been identified with a John Ford who matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, in 1601. In 1602 he was admitted to the Middle Temple. His best play, *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*, was published in 1633, in which same year were also published *The Broken Heart*, and *Love's Sacrifice*. In this last play Ford mentions Dante, with Petrarch, Sannazzaro, and Ariosto, as typical Italian poets. No record of Ford later than 1639 has been preserved. He is supposed to have acquired a competency, and to have retired to Devonshire to end his days.]

1633. LOVE'S SACRIFICE.

Act II. Scene I.

Mauruccio, an old antic—*Giacopo*, his servant.

Maur. **H**OLD thou the glass, *Giacopo*, and mark me
with what exceeding comeliness I could court
the lady marquess, if it come to the push
Hold up the glass higher, *Giacopo*.

Gia. Thus high, sir?

Maur. 'Tis well; now mark me

‘Most excellent marquess, most fair lady,
Let not old age or hairs that are silver
Disparage my desire; for it may be
I am than other green youth nimbeler.
Since I am your grace's servant so true
Great lady, then, love me for my virtue.

O *Giacopo*, Petrarch was a dunce, Dante a jig-maker, Sanazzar a goose, and Ariosto a puck-fist, to me! I tell thee, *Giacopo*, I am rapt with fury; and have been for these six nights together drunk with the pure liquor of Helicon.

Gia. I think no less, sir; for you look as wild, and talk as idly, as if you had not slept these nine years.

(*Works*, ed. Gifford and Dyce, vol. ii. pp. 29-30.)

JOHN MILTON

(1608-1674)

[John Milton, whose father was a scrivener, was born in Bread Street, Cheapside, on 9 Dec. 1608. He was first taught by a private tutor, Thomas Young, afterwards master of Jesus College, Cambridge. About 1620 he went to St. Paul's School, where besides Latin and Greek he learned French and Italian. In April 1625 he matriculated at Christ's College, Cambridge, where he took his M.A. degree in 1632. While at College he wrote several of his English poems, including the verses to Shakespeare, and the *Ode on the Nativity* (1629). From July 1632 to April 1638 he lived with his father (now retired from business) at Horton in Buckinghamshire.

During this period he produced the *Allegro* and *Penseroso* (c. 1632), the masques of *Arcades* and *Comus* (1634), and *Lycidas*, which was written in November, 1637, on the death of his college friend Edward King, and was published in 1638. In April 1638 Milton started on a journey abroad, travelling to Florence, where he spent two months, by way of Paris, Nice, Genoa, Leghorn, and Pisa. From Florence he went to Rome, thence to Naples, then back to Rome, and Florence, where he spent another two months, and thence to Venice by Bologna and Ferrara. While at Florence Milton visited Galileo (*Par. Lost*, i. 287-91; v. 262), and Vallombrosa (*Par. Lost*, i. 302). From Venice he returned by Verona, Milan, Geneva (where he spent some time), and Paris, reaching England in July 1639, after an absence of fifteen months. He now settled in London and busied himself with pupils and literary projects, among which a poem on 'Paradise Lost' was already taking shape. In 1641 he published three pamphlets against episcopacy, the first of which (*Of Reformation touching Church Discipline in England*) contains a translation in blank verse of three lines from the *Divina Commedia*. In 1643, the year after the outbreak of the civil war, Milton married Mary Powell, the daughter of a royalist, who returned to her father's house a month after the marriage. Milton thereupon wrote his pamphlet on *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, which was followed in 1644 by a second pamphlet on the same subject. These pamphlets having been published without a licence Milton was attacked by the Stationers' Company, which led to the publication of his famous *Areopagitica*, on the freedom of the press (1644). In 1645 Milton was reconciled to his wife, who died in 1652, after bearing him four children. In March 1649, a few weeks after the execution of Charles I, he was appointed Latin Secretary to the Council of State, a post which he held until the Restoration. In 1656 he married his second wife, who died in 1658. At the Restoration Milton concealed himself, but was arrested and fined. After his release he married a third time (1663), and went to live in Artillery Walk, Bunhill Fields, where he remained for the rest of his life. During the plague of 1665 he retired to Chalfont St. Giles, in Buckinghamshire, where the cottage he occupied is still preserved. It was here that Milton handed to Ellwood the Quaker the complete MS. of *Paradise Lost*, which was finished in 1663, though not published till 1667. The poem had been begun at least as far back as 1642, when the speech of Satan, at the beginning of the fourth book, was written. It was not, however, till 1658, when his mind was comparatively free from political and controversial distractions, that Milton seriously devoted himself to the composition of *Paradise Lost*, which occupied him for the next five years. In 1671 were published Milton's last poems, *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*. Three years later, on 8 Nov. 1674, he died of the gout, and was buried in St. Giles's, Cripplegate. Milton was an accomplished Italian scholar, as is attested by his Italian poems (five sonnets and a canzone, written probably at Bologna in 1639), and he was widely read in Italian literature. Dante's works he had studied closely, as is evident from the many references to the *Divina Commedia*, as well as to the *De Monarchia*, in his prose works and *Commonplace Book*, while Dante's influence is perceptible not only in nearly every book of *Paradise Lost*,¹ but also in *Lycidas* and other of his lyrical poems.² From references in his *Commonplace Book*, which belongs to the year 1637 or thereabouts, it appears that Milton had read parts of the *Canzoniere*, and at least one of the commentaries (that of Daniello) on the *Divina Commedia*. He quotes Boccaccio's *Vita di Dante* from the edition which was published in the same volume as the *editio princeps* (1576) of the *Vita Nuova*, so that it is not unlikely that he was acquainted with that work; and it is probable that he had also read the *Convivio*, of the third edition (1529) of which he possessed a copy.³ Milton avows his great admiration for Dante in a letter written from Florence in 1638, as well as in the *Apology for Smectymnuus* written four years later.]

¹[A list of some of the most striking parallel passages, collected by Todd, Cary, and others, will be found below, pp. 127-8.]

²[See *Introduction*, pp. xxiv.-vii.]

³[This copy of the *Convivio* was bound up with the works of Giovanni della Casa (on the title-page of which Milton has written his name, with the date 1629), and the sonnets of Benedetto Varchi. The volume eventually passed into the hands of Richard Heber (see *Bibliotheca Heberiana*, Part IV. No. 1527; and below, vol. ii., p. 587).]

c. 1634. ARCADES.

EARLY, ere the odorous breath of morn
Awakes the slumbering leaves,¹ or tasselled horn
Shakes the high thicket, haste I all about . . .
(ll. 56-8.)

O'er the smooth enamelled green,²
Where no print of step hath been,
Follow me . . .
(ll. 84-6.)

1634. COMUS.

Ere the blabbing eastern scout,
The nice Morn on the Indian steep,³
From her cabined loop-hole peep . . .
(ll. 138-40.)

But, for that damned magician, let him be girt
With all the griesly legions that troop
Under the sooty flag of Acheron.⁴
(ll. 602-4.)

c. 1637. A COMMON-PLACE BOOK OF JOHN MILTON. REPRODUCED
FROM THE ORIGINAL MS.⁵

Avaritia

Clericorum avaritiam aperte notat Dantes inferno. Cant: 7.
(fol. 12.)

Mors Spontanea

Poenam eorum apud inferos scitissimè describit Dantes inferno.
Cant: 13.
(fol. 16.)

Ignavia

Ignavorum poena apud inferos qui nihil in hac vitâ benè, vel
quod insigniter sit malum egerint describitur á Dante Florentino,
perpetuâ scilicet inquietudine et quodam oestro incassum agitantur.
Dante Inferno. Cant: 3.
(fol. 70.)

¹[Cf. *Purg.* xxiv. 145-7.]²[Cf. *Inf.* iv. 118.]³[Cf. *Purg.* ix. 2.]⁴[Cf. *Inf.* iii. 52 ff.]⁵[This Commonplace Book was discovered among the MSS. of Sir F. Graham of Netherby in 1874, and was reproduced in facsimile, with an introduction by A. J. Horwood, in 1876.]

De Liberis educandis

Natura cujusque imprimis inspicienda nec torquenda aliorum deum¹ enim non omnes ad singula destinata, sed ad suum quemque opus proprium. unde Dantes: e se 'l mondo la giù ponesse mente al fondamento che natura pone &c. vide Paradiso cant: 8.²

(fol. 111.)

De Usurâ

Usuram peccare in naturam, et in artem ait Dantes. in naturam quia facit ut nummi pariant nummos qui est partus non naturalis, in artem quia non laborat &c. vide cant: 11. inferno. et Daniell:³ in eum locum.

(fol. 160.)

Rex

Authoritatem regiam a Papâ non dependere scripsit Dantes Florentinus in eo libro cui est titulo Monarchia, quem librum Cardinalis del Poggietto tanquam scriptum hæreticum comburi curavit, ut testatur Boccattius in vitâ Dantis, editione priori nam e posteriori mentio istius rei omnis est deleta ab inquisitore.⁴

(fol. 182.)

Nobilitas

. . . . Dantes Florentinus optime tractat de verâ nobilitate canzon. 4.⁵

(fol. 191.)

¹[So in MS.; read *deus*.]²[*Par. viii. 142 ff.*]

³[That is, Daniello da Lucca, whose commentary on the *Divina Commedia* was published at Venice in 1568. Milton's remarks are a summary of his note on *Inf. xi. 109 ff.*: 'Ma perchè l' usuraro tiene altra via, cioè diversa da quella che dal principio tenne la prima gente avanzandosi, e migliorando le sue facultà per arte e per natura: conciosia che voglia che i danari partoriscono danari, il che è contra natura . . . voler che i danari partoriscono danari è cosa illicita, e chi lo fà offende la natura, e l' arte sua figliuola, non lavorando, etc.']

⁴[The 'editio posterior' here referred to by Milton must be that of Sermartelli, published at Florence, together with the *editio princeps* of the *Vita Nuova*, in 1576. This edition, in which all mention of the *De Monarchia* is suppressed, bears the imprimatur of 'Fra Francesco da Pisa Min. Conv. Inquisitor Generale dello stato di Fiorenza.' The *Vita Nuova* itself in this edition has been carefully 'edited' by the Inquisitorial censor. (See Paget Toynbee, *The Inquisition and the Editio Princeps of the Vita Nuova*, in *Modern Language Review*, April, 1908.) The first edition of the *Vita di Dante* appeared at Venice in 1477 in the edition of the *Divina Commedia* printed by Vindelin da Spira. Milton cannot be referring to the two different versions of Boccaccio's work, one of which (commonly known as the *Compendio*) is shorter than the other, inasmuch as the passage about the burning of the *De Monarchia* as a heretical book occurs in both. The *De Monarchia* had been placed on the index by Pope Pius IV in 1564.]

⁵[This is the canzone, beginning 'Le dolci rime d' amor ch' io solia,' which is prefixed to the fourth book of the *Convivio*, it being the last of the three canzoni

De Religione quatenus ad Rempublicam spectat

Ecclesiastici et Politici regiminis confusionem (cum scilicet magistratus ministrum Ecclesiae, minister Ecclesiae magistratum agit) et religioni et reipublicae pariter esse perniciosam ostendit Dantes Poeta Hetruscus in purgatorio. Cant. 16.

Soleva Roma, che 'l bon mondo feo
 Due soli haver; che l' una et l' altra strada
 Facean vedere et del mondo et di Deo.
 L' un l' altro ha spento; et è giunta la spada
 Col pastorale; et l' un et l' altro insemi
 Per viva forza mal convien che vada:
 Peroche giunti l' un l' altro non teme.

Et paulo post

Di' hoggimai che la chiesa di Roma
 Per confonder in se due reggimenti
 Cade nel fango; et se brutta, et la soma.¹
 (fol. 197.)

1637. Nov. LYCIDAS.²

[St. Peter's denunciation of unworthy pastors]

Last came, and last did go,
 The Pilot of the Galilean Lake;
 Two massy keys he bore of metals twain³
 (The golden opes, the iron shuts amain).
 He shook his mitred locks, and stern bespake⁴:—
 'How well could I have spared for thee, young swain,
 Enow of such as, for their bellies' sake,
 Creep, and intrude, and climb into the fold!
 Of other care they little reckoning make
 Than how to scramble at the shearers' feast,

discussed in that work. Milton no doubt refers to it as 'canzone 4' because it is the fourth in order of the canzoni printed by Sermartelli in his edition of the *Vita Nuova*, with which, as we know, Milton was acquainted (see previous note). This canzone of Dante's attracted attention at an early date. It was discussed and commented on in Latin by Bartolo da Sassoferrato (1313-1356), whose dissertation was reproduced in Italian by Lapo da Castiglionchio (d. 1381); and it was utilised by Chaucer in his *Wife of Bath's Tale*, to which Milton gives a reference in the next entry, as well as in his *Ballade of Gentillesse*.]

¹[*Purg.* xvi. 106-12, 127-9. This entry is not in Milton's own hand, but in that of the writer of the copy of the first book of *Paradise Lost*, in the possession of Mr. Baker of Bayfordbury.]

²[Written in Nov. 1637, published in 1638.]

³[Cf. *Inf.* xxvii. 103-4; *Purg.* ix. 117-18; *Par.* xxvii. 49.]

⁴[This apostrophe of St. Peter is evidently a reminiscence of that put into St. Peter's mouth by Dante, *Par.* xxvii. 19 ff.]

And shove away the worthy bidden guest.
 Blind mouths! that scarce themselves know how to hold
 A sheep-hook, or have learnt aught else the least
 That to the faithful herdman's art belongs!
 What recks it them? what need they? they are sped;
 And, when they list, their lean and flashy songs
 Grate on their scrannel pipes of wretched straw;
 The hungry sheep look up, and are not fed,
 But, swoln with wind and the rank mist they draw,¹
 Rot inwardly, and foul contagion spread;²
 Besides what the grim wolf with privy paw
 Daily devours apace, and nothing said.³
 But that two-handed engine at the door
 Stands ready to smite once, and smite no more.⁷

(ll. 108-31.)

1638. Sept. 10. LETTER TO BENEDETTO BUONMATTAI (from Florence).

[Dante and Petrarch among the authors eagerly read by Milton]

Ego certè istis utrisque linguis⁴ non extremis tantummodo labris madidus; sed si quis alius, quantum per annos licuit, poculis majoribus prolutus, possum tamen nonnunquam ad illum Dantem, et Petrarcham, aliosque vestros complusculos, libenter et cupidè comessatum ire. Nec me tam ipsae Athenae Atticae cum illo suo pellucido Ilisso, nec illa vetus Roma suâ Tiberis ripâ retinere valuerunt, quin saepe Arnum vestrum, et Faesulanos illos Colles invisere amem.⁵

1641. OF REFORMATION TOUCHING CHURCH DISCIPLINE IN ENGLAND . . .

[Dante's condemnation of the *Donatio Constantini*]

Now, lest it should be thought that something else might ail this author⁶ thus to hamper the bishops of those days, I will bring you the opinion of three the famousest men for wit and learning that

¹[Cf. *Par.* xxix. 106-7:—

'Le pecorelle, che non sanno,
 Tornan dal pasco pasciute di vento.']

²[Cf. *Epist.* vii. 144-6: 'haec est languida pecus, gregem domini sui sua contagione commaculans'—('the sick sheep which infects the whole flock').]

³[Cf. *Par.* xxvii. 55-6:—

'In vesta di pastor lupi rapaci
 Si veggion di quassù per tutti i paschi.']

⁴[That is, Greek and Latin.]

⁵[For a translation of this letter, by Dr. Robert Fellowes, see below, vol. ii., p. 10.]

⁶[Sulpitius.]

Italy at this day glories of, whereby it may be concluded for a received opinion, even among men professing the Romish faith, that Constantine marred all the church. Dante, in his 19th Canto of *Inferno*, hath thus, as I will render it to you in English blank verse :

Ah Constantine! of how much ill was cause,
Not thy conversion, but those rich domains
That the first wealthy pope receiv'd of thee! ¹

So, in his 20th Canto of *Paradise*, he makes the like complaint,² and Petrarch seconds him in the same mind in his 108th sonnet, which is wiped out by the inquisitor in some editions; speaking of the Roman antichrist as merely bred up by Constantine :

Founded in chaste and humble poverty,
'Gainst them that rais'd thee dost thou lift thy horn,
Impudent whore, where hast thou plac'd thy hope?
In thy adulterers, or thy ill-got wealth?
Another Constantine comes not in haste.

Ariosto of Ferrara, after both these in time, but equal in fame, following the scope of his poem in a difficult knot how to restore Orlando, his chief hero, to his lost senses, brings Astolfo, the English knight, up into the moon, where St. John, as he feigns, met him. Cant. 34 :

And, to be short, at last his guide him brings
Into a goodly valley, where he sees
A mighty mass of things strangely confus'd,
Things that on earth were lost, or were abus'd.

And amongst these so abused things listen what he met under the conduct of the Evangelist :

Then pass'd he to a flowery mountain green,
Which once smelt sweet, now stinks as odiously :
This was that gift (if you the truth will have)
That Constantine to good Sylvestro gave.

(*Prose Works*, ed. Bohn, vol. ii. pp. 383-4.)

1642. AN APOLOGY FOR SMECTYMNUS :—

['The two famous renowners of Beatrice and Laura ']

I had my time, readers, as others have, who have good learning bestowed upon them, to be sent to those places where, the opinion was, it might be soonest attained; and as the manner is, was not unstudied in those authors which are most commended. . . .

¹[*Inf.* xix. 115-17 :

'Ahi, Costantin, di quanto mal fu madre,
Non la tua conversion, ma quella dote
Che da te prese il primo ricco padre! ']

²[*Par.* xx. 55-7.]

Nor blame it, readers, in those years to propose to themselves such a reward, as the noblest dispositions above other things in this life have sometimes preferred: whereof not to be sensible when good and fair in one person meet, argues both a gross and shallow judgment, and withal an ungentle and swainish breast. For by the firm settling of these persuasions, I became, to my best memory, so much a proficient, that if I found those authors anywhere speaking unworthy things of themselves, or unchaste of those names which before they had extolled; this effect it wrought with me, from that time forward their art I still applauded, but the men I deplored; and above them all, preferred the two famous renowners of Beatrice and Laura,¹ who never write but honour of them to whom they devote their verse, displaying sublime and pure thoughts, without transgression.

(*Prose Works*, ed. Bohn, vol. iii. pp. 116-17.)

1645-6. Feb. 9. TO MR. H LAWES² ON HIS AIRS.

Harry, whose tuneful and well-measured song
 First taught our English music how to span
 Words with just note and accent, not to scan
 With Midas' ears, committing short and long,
 Thy worth and skill exempts thee from the throng,
 With praise enough for Envy to look wan;
 To after age thou shalt be writ the man
 That with smooth air couldst humour best our tongue.
 Thou honour'st Verse, and Verse must lend her wing
 To honour thee, the priest of Phoebus' quire,
 That tun'st their happiest lines in hymn or story.
 Dante shall give Fame leave to set thee higher
 Than his Casella,³ whom he wooed to sing,
 Met in the milder shades of Purgatory.⁴

¹[Dante and Petrarch.]

²[Henry Lawes, the musician (1596-1662), who wrote the music for Milton's *Comus*.]

³[Casella, a musician of Florence (or, according to some accounts, of Pistoja), and friend of Dante, who meets him in Ante-Purgatory, among those who neglected to repent, and addresses him as 'Casella mia' (*Purg.* ii. 91). Dante begs him to sing, whereupon Casella begins to chant one of Dante's own canzoni (*Purg.* ii. 106-14). Casella, who died between 1282 and 1300, is said to have set to music some of Dante's verses.]

⁴[In the original draft, preserved among the MSS. at Trinity College, Cambridge, this sonnet ran as follows:—

Harry, whose tunefull and well-measur'd song
 First taught our English Music how to span
 Words with just notes, which till then us'd to scan
 With Midas eares, committing short and long,

1667. PARADISE LOST.¹

[List of parallel passages in *Paradise Lost* and the *Divinia Commedia*, collected by Todd, Cary, and others.]²

- Book i. 16 (*Par.* ii. 7); i. 46 (*Purg.* xii. 26-7); i. 66 (*Inf.* iii. 9; v. 44); i. 94 ff. (*Inf.* xiv. 52 ff.); i. 133 (*Inf.* xxxii. 76); i. 196 (*Inf.* xxxiv. 30 ff.); i. 227 (*Inf.* xii. 30); i. 232 (*Purg.* xiv. 32); i. 302 ff. (*Inf.* iii. 112 ff.); i. 590 (*Purg.* v. 14).
- Book ii. 432 ff. (*Inf.* xxxiv. 95); ii. 488 ff. (*Inf.* xxiv. 1 ff.); ii. 600 (*Inf.* iii. 87); ii. 650 ff. (*Inf.* xvii. 10 ff.); ii. 864-5 (*Inf.* i. 85-6); ii. 879 ff. (*Purg.* ix. 133 ff.); ii. 927 (*Inf.* xxxiv. 48).
- Book iii. 413 (*Par.* i. 12); iii. 508-9 (*Purg.* xii. 64-5); iii. 520 (*Purg.* ii. 32-3); iii. 594 (*Par.* i. 60); iii. 614 ff. (*Par.* xxx. 118 ff.).
- Book iv. 114 ff. (*Inf.* xxxiv. 38 ff.); iv. 135 (*Purg.* xxviii. 23-4); iv. 148 ff. (*Purg.* xxviii. 55-6); iv. 153-4 (*Purg.* xxviii. 7-8); iv. 264 (*Purg.* xxviii. 106); iv. 556-8 (*Purg.* v. 37-9).
- Book v. 277 (*Par.* ix. 78); v. 310-11 (*Par.* i. 61-2); v. 419 (*Par.* ii. 49 ff.); v. 571 ff. (*Par.* iv. 43-5); v. 625 (*Par.* i. 78).
- Book vi. 110 (*Inf.* xxxi. 43); vi. 380, 385 (*Inf.* iii. 49).
- Book vii. 1 (*Purg.* xxix. 41); vii. 224 ff. (*Par.* xix. 40 ff.).
- Book viii. 2-3 (*Purg.* ii. 113-14); viii. 242-4 (*Inf.* iv. 7-9); viii. 265 (*Par.* xxvii. 4-5); viii. 456 (*Purg.* viii. 36); viii. 515 ff. (*Purg.* xxiv. 145 ff.); viii. 619 (*Purg.* xix. 15-16).
- Book ix. 425 (*Purg.* xxx. 28).

Thy wit and skill exempts thee from the throng
 And gives thee praise above the pipe of Pan;
 To after age thou shalt be writt a man
 That didst reform thy art, the chief among.
 Thou honourst Vers, and Vers must lend her wing
 To honour thee, the Preist of Phoebus quire
 That tun'st their happiest lines in hymn or story.
 Fame, by the Tuscans leav, shall set thee higher
 Than old Casell whom Dante won to sing
 Met in the mildest shades of Purgatory.

(Trin. Coll. MS. Facsimile, 1899, fol. 40.)]

¹[The poem was completed in 1663, but not published till 1667. It was originally divided into ten Books, but in the second edition (1674) these were increased to twelve, by the division of Books VII and X into two books each. A third edition was published in 1678 (four years after Milton's death), a fourth in 1688, a fifth in 1692, and a sixth in 1695.]

²[The passages collected by Todd are given *in extenso* under his name (see below, pp. 588 ff.). As has already been stated (see Introduction, pp. xxv.-vi.) it is not pretended that in all the above passages Milton was consciously borrowing from Dante—in some cases, no doubt, the resemblances between the two are mere verbal coincidences.]

- Book x. 511 ff. (*Inf.* xxv. 105-28); x. 522 ff. (*Inf.* xxiv. 85 ff.); x. 995 (*Inf.* iv. 42).
 Book xi. 80 ff. (*Par.* xxiv. 1 ff.); xi. 477 ff. (*Inf.* xxix. 46 ff.); xi. 494-5 (*Inf.* xx. 21-3); xi. 866 (*Purg.* xxix. 76-7).
 Book xii. 508 ff. (*Par.* xxvii. 55-6); xii. 538 (*Inf.* xix. 105); xii. 643-4 (*Inf.* ix. 36 ff.).

1671. SAMSON AGONISTES.

The Sun to me is dark
 And silent¹ as the Moon,
 When she deserts the night,
 Hid in her vacant interlunar cave.

(ll. 86-9.)

1673. A SMALL TRACTATE OF EDUCATION.²

[Mazzoni's 'Difesa di Dante']

To logic poetry would be made subsequent, or indeed rather precedent, as being less subtle and fine, but more simple, sensuous, and passionate. I mean not here the prosody of a verse, which they could not have but hit on before among the rudiments of grammar; but that sublime art which in Aristotle's poetics, in Horace, and the Italian commentaries of Castelvetro, Tasso, Mazzoni,³ and others, teaches what the laws are of a true epic poem, what of a dramatic, what of a lyric, what decorum is, which is the grand masterpiece to observe. This would make them soon perceive what despicable creatures our common rhymers and play-writers be; and shew them what religious, what glorious and magnificent use might be made of poetry, both in divine and human things.

(Prose Works, ed. Bohn, vol. iii. pp. 473-4.)

THOMAS HEYWOOD

(c. 1575-c. 1650)

[Thomas Heywood, actor and dramatist, was a native of Lincolnshire, and was born about 1575. He is said to have been a Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge. He was a voluminous writer, and claimed to have had a 'maine finger' in no less than 220 plays. The date of his death, which was subsequent to 1648, is not known.]

¹[Cf. *Inf.* i. 60: 'là dove il Sol tace'; and *Inf.* v. 28: 'loco d' ogni luce muto.']²[Originally published in the same volume with the second edition (1673) of Milton's Poems, of which the first edition had appeared in 1645.]³[Jacopo Mazzoni published in 1573 a *Discorso in Difesa della Commedia di Dante*, and in 1587 *Della Difesa della Commedia di Dante*. (See I. E. Spingarn, *La Critica Letteraria nel Rinascimento*, pp. 120, 309.)]

Among his miscellaneous works was a didactic poem in nine books, with lengthy prose excursions to each book, called *The Hierarchy of the Blessed Angels* (1635), which has a special literary interest as containing not only appreciative notices of many of Heywood's famous contemporaries, including Spenser, Shakespeare, and Ben Jonson, but also a quotation of twenty-seven lines (the first of any length in English literature) from the Italian text of the *Divina Commedia*. Heywood evidently made use of an edition of the poem which was accompanied by the commentary of Landino (perhaps one of the Venice editions of 1564, 1578, or 1596), for, as is noted below, the greater part of his expository matter is translated direct (without acknowledgment) from Landino's comment on the passage in question.]

1635. THE HIERARCHIE OF THE BLESSED ANGELS. THEIR NAMES, ORDERS, AND OFFICES. THE FALL OF LUCIFER WITH HIS ANGELLS.

The Principats

Lucifer
prince of
Divels

OF the Rebellious, *Lucifer* is prime
Captaine and King; who in the first of Time,
From out the severall Classes had selected
Legions of Angels, with like pride infected,
Against *Jehovah*; and with expedition
Hurld them with himselve headlong to perdition.

Lucifer
quasi lucem
ferens

And as in the Creation he was fram'd
More glorious far than others before nam'd;
More goodly featur'd, beautifull, and bright,
And therefore had his name deriv'd from Light:
So since his Fall, there's nothing we can stile
So ougly foule, abominably vile;
The putred Fountaine, and bitumenous Well,
From whence all Vice and malefactures swell.
Whose horrid shape, and qualities infest,
Are by the Poet *Dantes* thus exprest:

L' Imperador del Doloroso Regno,
Da mezo l petto usciva Della Gliaccia.
Et piu ch' un Gigante, io ti conuegno
Che Giganti, nouo fan conte¹ sue Braccia
Vedi Hoggimai quant' esser Dee quel tutto
Ch' a Cofi fatta parte si consaccia
Se fu si bello come e Hora brutto
E contra al suo fattore alzo le Ciglia
Ben de da lui procedor ogni lutto,
G quanto parve a me gran meraviglia
Quando vide tre faccie a la sua testa
L' una dananzia, & quella era vermiglia
De l' altre due che s' agginuge ano² a questa,
Sour effo almeza Di Ciascuna spalla,
Es' agginuge ano² al somno de la Cresta

¹[For non fan con le.]

²[For s' agginugeano.]

*La destra mi pareo trabianca & gialla.
 La sinistra al vedere, era tal quali
 Vengon di la ond 'l nilo s' aunalla*¹
*Sotto Ciascuna uscivan Due grand Ali
 Quanto si Conveniva a tanto ocello
 Vele di Mar, non vidi Mai Cotuli
 Non Havean penna Ma di vespertello
 Era lor modo & quelle ni su Alzana.*²
*Si che tre venti si movean de ello
 Quindi Cocito tutto s' Agellava
 Con sei occhi piangena, & con tre menti
 Gocciava il pianto & sanguinosa Bava.*³

In which Description he first notes the place
 Where this great Prince of Darkenesse, shut from Grace,
 Is now tormented, namely, a congeal'd Lake.
 His mighty stature next, which he doth make
 Two thousand cubits.⁴ By his Crest is meant
 His Envy, Arrogance, and proud ostent.
 Three Faces with three sev'rall colours stain'd,
 Import in him three Vices still maintain'd :
 One, fiery red, Wrath and Exorbitation
 Denotes to us, with the Spleenes inflammation.
 The pale and meagre, Avarice implies.
 From the third, blacke and swarthy, doth arise
 Unprofitable Sloath. From the two eyes
 Which to each face belongs, we may devise
 All Appetites immod'rat. In the growth
 Of these three Ills, Ire, Avarice, and Sloath,
 Two Wings, two great acitementes to those Sinnes
 Propose to us : The first of them beginnes
 In Turbulence and Fury ; from hence grow
 The windes of Crueltie that hourelly blow.
 Rapacitie and Grippleness are they
 That to the Misers Avarice obey.
 The horrid blasts that hence proceed, include
 The most unnat'urall sin, Ingratitude.
 Sorrow with Negligence on Sloath attend :
 Th' immoderat gusts of Hatred hence ascend.

¹[For *s' avalla.*]

²[For *quelle svolazzava.*]

³[*Inf.* xxxiv. 28-54. This passage, which is reproduced *verbatim, litteratim, and punctuatim* after Heywood's text, is interesting as being the earliest considerable specimen (twenty-seven lines) of the Italian text of the *Divina Commedia* printed in England.]

⁴[This is from Landino's *Sito, Forma, et Misura dell' Inferno, Et Statura de' Giganti, et di Lucifero*, prefixed to his *Comento*, where he says, 'sara credo tutto il corpo di Lucifero braccia dumila.']

Those windes of Wrath, Ingratitude, and Hate,
 With fearefull stormes trouble and agitate
 Cocitus streames, withall suppressing quite
 Those good and godly motions which accite
 Either to Faith, or unto Hope and Charity,
 Lest any should in them claime singularity.
 The greatnesse of his Wings improve th' elation
 Of his swel'd heart and proud imagination.
 That ev'ry face hath a wide mouth and throat,
 So much the Morall doth to us denote,
 That all whom such blacke sinnes contaminate,
 His jawes and rav'nous throat ingurgitate.

His Teares, which he did never yet employ,
 But (as the Crocodile useth) to destroy,
 Imports to us, that wretched Sinners state,
 Whose slacke Repentance ever comes too late.¹

And so far *Dantes*.

* * * * *

Now of the *Cacadæmons* we have ground
 For many names, in sacred Scripture found.
 The word *Diabolus* doth signifie
 A false Accuser full of calumnie.
Belial is likewise read there, and the word
 Imports an Out-Law without Yoke or Lord.
 Knowledge acute, *Daemonium* implies:
 And *Beelzebub* is the King of Flies.
Sathan, an Adversarie; *Bohemoth*, a Beast:
Leviathan, where grosse sinnes are increast,
 And builded up.² Such from *Abaddons* race
 Be styl'd, as are extermined from grace.

¹[The whole of the foregoing passage, in which Heywood gives the interpretation of the various attributes of Dante's Lucifer, is taken (without acknowledgment) from Landino's commentary on *Inferno* xxxiv:—'E conclusione fatta da tutti i theologi, che ogni vitio procede da Lucifero. La onde finge costui crestuto, et tal cresta significa la superbia, et la invidia sua figliuola. Le tre facce sono gli altri tre peccati spirituali, ira, avaritia, accidia. La faccia rossa dinota l' ira, che è accensione di sangue: . . . la faccia tra bianca e gialla, è smorta, dinota l' avaritia: perche l' avaro . . . è sempre magro et pallido . . . la terza è nera, per la quale ottimamente s' intende l' accidia . . . ciascuna faccia ha due occhi, et questi sono due disordinati rispetti . . . Due ali sono due incitamenti et levamenti, imperocche l' ira ha turbatione, et furore, onde procede il vento della crudeltà. L' avaritia ha rapacità, et tenacità, et da questo è il vento della ingratitudine. L' accidia ha tristitia, et negligentia, et di qui è il vento dell' odio. Tre venti adunque, crudeltà, ingratitudine, et odio agghiacciano Cocito, et spengono la carità, la pietà, et la conoscentia. La grandezza dell' ali significa gli eccessivi elevamenti dell' animo. Ciascuna faccia ha la sua bocca: perche ciascuna di questi vitii divora, et tormenta, chi vi cade. Le lagrime in sul mento, significano il pentimento nel fine, et dopo il fatto' (fol. 159b, ed. 1596).]

²[These names and their explanations were evidently also taken by Heywood from the commentary of Landino, who says: "È nominato *diavolo*, il che in Greco

The names
of Divels
according
to *Dantes*

We finde in *Dantes* these by observation,
Alchino, i. Unto Vice an inclination.
Then *Calchabrina, i.* One who doth despise
All Divine Grace. Neither did he devise
Vainly these names. An evill-biting Dog
Cagnazzum; *Coriato*, a fat Hog;
Barbariccia, i. Fraudu'lent and Unjust:
And *Libicocco*, One inflam'd with Lust.
Faraffel doth a Trifler intimate;
And *Rubicante*, Fir'd with Spleene and Hate.¹
(Ed. 1635, Lib. vii. pp. 412-14, 436-7.)

EDWARD DACRES

(fl. 1630)

[Edward Dacres, of whom nothing appears to be known beyond that he translated several of Machiavelli's works, published in 1636 an English version of the *Discourses upon the first decade of Livy*, of which a second edition was issued in 1663, and a third in 1674. In 1640 he published a translation of Machiavelli's *Prince*, and *Life of Castruccio Castracani* (second edition, with the *Discourses*, 1663; third, 1674). These works, which are the first English translations of the *Discourses* and the *Prince*, are dedicated to James Stuart, Duke of Lennox (1612-1655), afterwards (1641) created Duke of Richmond, 'unto whose service,' says Dacres, 'I owe my self and what I can.' On the title-pages Dacres merely places his initials E.D., but both dedications are signed with his name in full. Machiavelli's *Discorsi sopra la prima Deca di T. Livio*, was published at Florence by B. Giunta in 1531, and at Rome by Antonio Blado in the same year. *Il Principe* and *La Vita di Castruccio Castracani* were published by both Giunta and Blado in 1532. Dacres renders Machiavelli's quotations from Dante (including one from the prose works) into rhyming verse.]

1636. MACHIAVEL'S DISCOURSES UPON THE FIRST DECADE OF T. LIVIUS, TRANSLATED OUT OF THE ITALIAN.

significa calunniatore. È nominato *Belial*, cioè *senza giogo*, ovvero *senza Signore* . . . È nominato *Demonio* dalla sua *scientia* . . . È nominato *Belzebù*, cioè, *huomo di mosche* . . . et *Satanas*, cioè, *adversario*, et *Behemoth*, cioè *bestia*, et *Leviathan*, cioè *arrogimento di quelli che accumulano peccato a peccato*" (fol. 159a, ed. 1596).]

¹[These names are taken from *Inf.* xxi. 118-23. Heywood, or his printer, has distorted several of them, viz. *Alchino*, *Coriato*, and *Faraffel*, which should be *Alchino*, *Ciriatio*, and *Farfarello*. Four names he has omitted altogether, viz. *Malacoda* (l. 79), *Scarmiglione* (l. 105), *Draghignazzo* (l. 121), and *Graffiaccane* (l. 122). The interpretations of the devil's names Heywood got from Landino, who says: "*Alchino* è la *inclinazione a tal vizio* . . . *Calcabrina*, cioè, *calcante la brinata*, la quale nelle lettere sacre significa *la divina gratia* . . . *Cagnazzo*, quasi *cattivo cane*, et *mordente* . . . *Barbariccia*, cioè. *barba arriciata*, per che, secondo i *fisonomi*, la *barba crespa et arriciata*, dimostra *fraudolentia* . . . *Libicocco*, quasi *libidine cocente* . . . *Ciriatio*, perche *Ciro* significa *porco* . . . *Farfarello* dimostra *infrascatore*, et *cianciatore*. *Rubicante*, quasi *infocato*, et *furibondo*, et *audace*" (fol. 110a, ed. 1596).]

[Dante's saying as to the rarity of hereditary virtue]

WHERE the Fear of God is wanting, it must needs be that either that Kingdom goes to ruine, or that it be supported by the awe it stands in of the Prince, who may supply the defects of Religion: and because Princes are but short-liv'd, that Kingdom must needs have an end quickly, according as the vertue thereof fails: from whence it comes, that Governments which depend upon the vertue of one man, abide but a while, because that vertue ends with his life; and it seldem chanches that it is renew'd by succession, as well sayes the poet *Dante*,

*Rade volte discende per li rami.
L' humana probitate et questo vuole,
Quel, che la da, perche da lui si chiami.*¹

Vertues continue seldom by descent,
And this to shew their Spring, the Government,
And that his gifts best term'd, and by him sent.

(Book I. Chap. xi. ed. 1674, p. 52.)

[Dante's saying as to the foolishness of the populace]

The people many times deceived by an imaginary good, covet their own ruine; and unless they be given to understand, which is the evil, and which the good, by some man they trust, the Republicks ordinarily run much hazard. And when it so falls out, that the people have no great confidence in any one, as sometimes it comes to pass, having been of late deceived either by things, or men, of necessity they go to ruine. And *Dante*, to this purpose, sayes, in his discourse of a Monarchy: ²

*Il populo³ molte volte grida,
Viva la sua morte e muoia la vita.*⁴

The Vulgar oft times their own ruine chuse,
And life for death ignorantly refuse.

(Book I. Chap. liii. ed. 1674, p. 163.)

SIR KENELM DIGBY

(1603-1665)

[Kenelm Digby, author, naval commander, and diplomatist, was born in 1603. He entered Gloucester Hall (now Worcester College), Oxford, in 1618, and left the University in 1620 without taking a degree. He then went abroad and spent two years at Florence, whence he went to Madrid, where he was present during the visit of Prince Charles and Buckingham. Digby returned to England with the Prince in

¹[*Purg.* vii. 121-3.]

²[Not in the *De Monarchia*, but in *Convivio* i. 11, ll. 53-4.]

³[Printed *A populo*.]

⁴[Printed *amocoia lavita*.]

1623, in which year he was knighted by James I. Two years later he married his early love, Venetia, daughter of Sir Edward Stanley. In 1627-9 he was engaged on a privateering expedition, in the course of which, after a fierce engagement, he defeated the French and Venetian fleet at Scanderon (June 1628). In 1632 Digby presented a valuable collection of books and MSS. to the Bodleian Library at Oxford. During the remainder of his life he busied himself with diplomacy and politics (which led on one occasion to his imprisonment, on another to his banishment), and with literature and science. His reputation as a scientific observer gave him a place on the Council of the Royal Society when it was first incorporated in 1663. Among Digby's numerous works was a volume of *Observations*, from a Roman Catholic point of view, on Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici*, which he claims to have written in four and twenty hours. In this work occurs what appears to be a reference to Dante, as the 'Tuscan Virgil,' though the quotation from the author in question is not to be found in Dante's works. Sir Kenelm Digby died at his house in Covent Garden in June, 1665. His copies of Boccaccio's *Fiammetta* (Venice, 1562) and *Laberinto d' Amore* (Venice, 1564), bound in one volume, and containing numerous MS. notes and an appreciation of Boccaccio in his hand, have been preserved in private hands.^{1]}

1643. OBSERVATIONS UPON RELIGIO MEDICI, OCCASIONALLY WRITTEN BY SIR KENELME DIGBY, KNT.

[Alleged saying of Dante on love]

IT is Love only that can give us *Heaven* upon Earth, as well as in Heaven; and bringeth us thither too: so that the *Thuscan Virgil* had reason to say,

*In alte dolcezze
Non si puo gioir, se non amando.*²

(p. 100.)

ANNA HUME

(fl. c. 1630)

[Of Anna Hume, the translator of the first three of Petrarch's *Trionfi*, but little is known beyond that she was the daughter of David Hume of Godscroft in Berwickshire (d. c. 1630), the author of a *History of the House and Race of Douglas and Angus*, the publication of which she superintended after his death. She was befriended by Drummond of Hawthornden, who described her as a 'learned and worthy gentlewoman,' with a 'pregnant and rare wit.' Anna Hume had a good knowledge of Italian as is evident from her translation from Petrarch, which is by no means without merit.]

¹[See A. R. Smith's *Catalogue* No. 57 (June 1907), p. 6.]

²[The 'Thuscan Virgil' can hardly be other than Dante, but the passage quoted does not occur in Dante's works. As Digby wrote his *Observations* in twenty-four hours, possibly he has misquoted or wrongly attributed the lines.]

1644. THE TRIUMPHS OF LOVE: CHASTITIE: DEATH: TRANSLATED
OUT OF PETRARCH BY M^{RIS} ANNA HUME.

The Triumph of Love

[^t Beatrix with Dant']

ALCEUS there was knowne
Skilfull in Love and verse: Anacreon
Whose Muse sung nought but Love: Pindarus, he
Was also there: there I might Virgil see:
Many brave wits I found, some looser rimes,
By others writ hath pleas'd the ancient Times:
Ovid was one: After Catullus came;
Propertius next, his Elegies the name
Of Cynthia beare: Tibullus, and the young
Greeke Poetesse, who is receiv'd among
The noble Troup for her rare Saphick Muse.
Thus looking here and there (as oft I use)
I spi'd much people on a flowry plaine,
Amongst themselves disputes of love maintaine.
Behold Beatrix with Dant; Selvagia, she
Brought her Pistoyan Cin; Guiton may be
Offended that he is the later nam'd:
Behold both Guidoes for their learning fam'd:
Th' honest Bullonian: the Scilicians first
Wrote love in rimes, but wrote their rimes the worst.
Francischin and Senuchio, (who all know)
Were worthy and humane: after did go
A squadron of another garbe and phrase,
Of whom Arnaldo Daniel hath most praise,
Great master in Loves Art, his stile as new
As sweet, honours his Countrey: next, a few
Whom Love did lightly wound; both Peters made
Two; one, the lesse Arnaldo: some have had
A harder warre: both the Rimbaldoes, th' one
Sung Beatrix, though her quality was known
Too much above his reach in Mont-ferrat.
Alvernia's old Piero, and Girault:
Flochetto, who from Genua was estrang'd
And call'd Marsilian, he wisely chang'd
His name, his state, and countrey, and did gain
In all.¹ . . .

(From Chap. iv. pp. 45 ff.)²

¹[Most of the poets here mentioned are also mentioned by Dante.]

²[The passage in the original is Canto iii. ll. 16-51.]

GEORGE WITHER

(1588-1667)

[George Wither, poet and pamphleteer, who is best known at the present day as the author of the lyric, 'Shall I wasting in despair,' was born near Alton in Hampshire in 1588. He was educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, where he spent two years from 1604-6. He left Oxford without taking a degree and about 1610 went to London to study law, entering Lincoln's Inn in 1615. Almost as soon as he settled in London, where he spent the greater part of his life, Wither devoted himself to literature. He displayed a special gift in writing lyrical and satirical verse. His satire, *Abuses stript and whipt* (1613), led to his imprisonment in the Marshalsea, where he wrote some of his best poetry, including his famous lyric (first printed in 1619, in the second edition of his *Fidelia*). He continued to write and to publish poems and pamphlets during the remainder of his long life, which lasted till 1667, when he died in London where he had lived 'almost sixty years together.' During the civil war he took an active part for the parliament and for a short time was captain and commander of Farnham Castle (1642). Among the many works attributed to Wither is a poem called *The Great Assises Holden in Parnassus* (published in 1645), in which Apollo is represented as appointing Tasso 'Lieutenant General of the Brigade of Italian Poets,' much to the displeasure of 'elder Dante and Petrarch.' In this piece (the title of which recalls that of one of Wither's avowed works on the plague of 1625) Wither figures as the foreman of the poetical jury.]

1645. THE GREAT ASSISES HOLDEN IN PARNASSUS BY APOLLO AND HIS ASSESSOURS . . .

[Tasso preferred above Dante and Petrarch]

THEN *Phoebus* for *Torquato Tasso* sends ;
 Under whose charge some Companies were listed
 Of that stout Gend' army, which consisted
 Of Heroick Poets, whose high valour was
 No mean defence, but a magnifick grace
 Unto the Sacred Hill : this Regiment,
 On summons short, was ever ready bent
 To execute Apollo's just commands,
 With hearts couragious, and with armed hands.
 Stout *Tasso* did in sturdy buffe appeare,
 And after reverence done, desir'd to heare
 His Grace's pleasure ; who soone gave him orders,
 With all his Cavalry, to scoure the borders
 Of high *Parnassus*, and low *Helicon*,
 And to bring in alive, or dead, each one
 That had discovered been, or to defile
 The Presse with Pamphlets scarrilous, and vile,
 Or to have traduc'd with malignant spirits,
 Persons of honourable worth and merits.
Tasso departs with these instructions,

And muster'd up his witty *Myrmidons*.
 * * * *

The limits of *Parnassus* they surround,
 And *Helicon*, with verdant Laurells crown'd :
 Mount *Pindus*, and those valleys evergreene
 Where pale *Pyrene*, and pure *Hippocrene*
 In liquid crystall rise, they search'd throughout ;
 Nor was the Vale of *Tempe* left unsought :
 Nor did their labours misse successe desir'd,
 For they, before a month was full expir'd
 Had clear'd the coasts, and many pris'ners gain'd
 Which malefactors they in chaines detain'd.
 And them convey'd unto *Apolloes* Court,
 Who welcomed *Tasso* in most gracious sort :
 And for his faithfull service him hee made
 Lieutenant Generall of that proud Brigade
 Of the *Italian* Poets : This reward
 Made elder *Dante*, and *Petrarch* to regard
 His dignitie with ill affected eyes :
 And *Ariosto* discontent likewise.
 But *Phoebus* did brave *Tasso's* merit weigh
 By reason, but in scales of passion they ;
 And when hee did perceive that they did fret,
 To see themselves behind their Junior set,
 He them assur'd they must expect t' inherit
Parnassus honours not by time, but merit.

(foll. 4-6.)

JOHN EVELYN

(1620-1706)

[John Evelyn, the author of *Sylva* and of the well-known *Diary*, was born at Wotton in Surrey in 1620. He was admitted a student at the Middle Temple in 1637 and in the same year he became a Fellow Commoner at Balliol College, Oxford. He left the University without taking a degree, but was made an honorary D.C.L. in 1669. In 1643 he left England for a continental tour, during which he spent more than a year in Italy. He returned home in 1647, but in 1649, after the execution of Charles I, he again went abroad, and did not finally return until 1652. In 1653 he settled at Sayes Court, Deptford, where he remained until 1694, when he took up his residence at Wotton. He died at Wotton in his 86th year in 1706. Evelyn was one of the original fellows of the Royal Society, of which he was Secretary in 1672. His most important work, *Sylva*, 'a discourse of forest trees and the propagation of timber,' was first published in 1664, and reached a fourth edition in his lifetime (1705). His *Diary*, which was begun in 1641, and continued till within three weeks of his death, was not published until 1816-17. Though Evelyn spent fifteen months in Italy, and visited Florence, Pisa, Bologna, etc., there is but one mention of Dante,

and that only of a statue, in his *Diary*. It is probable that he knew nothing of the *Divina Commedia*, for among objects of interest he describes, without any reference to Dante, the huge bronze pine-cone at Rome, and the Garisenda tower at Bologna, both of which are mentioned in the *Commedia*.]

1645. DIARY OF JOHN EVELYN.

[Statue of Dante at Poggio Imperiale]

MAY.—Going from Lucca for Florence, we dined at Pistoia . . . Rising early the next morning, we arrived at Poggio Imperiale, being a Palace of the Great Duke, not far from the city, having omitted it in my passage to Rome. The ascent to the house is by a stately gallery as it were of tall and overgrown cypress trees for near half a mile. At the entrance of these ranges, are placed statues of the Tyber and Arno, of marble; those also of Virgil, Ovid, Petrarch, and Dante.

(Ed. Bohn, vol. i. pp. 192-3.)

GEORGE DANIEL

(1616-1657)

[George Daniel, cavalier poet, of whom few memorials remain beyond a MS. collection of his poems, preserved in the British Museum, was born at Beswick in Yorkshire in 1616, where he died in 1657. He appears to have devoted his life almost entirely to his books and to his own compositions, which include a *Vindication of Poesie*, in which he praises Ben Jonson at the expense of Shakespeare. In this same poem Daniel enumerates the most famous Italian poets, placing Sannazaro first, and Dante fourth, on his list of five.]

c. 1645. A VINDICATION OF POESIE.

[Dante the fourth of the Italian poets]

TRUTH speakes of old, the Power of Poesie ;
 Amphion, Orpheus, Stones and Trees could move ;
 Men, first by verse, were taught Civilitie ;
 Tis knowne, and granted ; yet would it behove
 Mee, with the Ancient Singers, here to Crowne
 Some later Quills, Some Makers of our owne.

Who has not heard Maeonides' loud Straine ?
 Macedon's Envie ? who did never yet
 (That has of Numbers heard, but) heare againe
 The Ascrean Pipe ? or great Musaeus' witt ?
 Who has not heard of Heroes, Demigods ?
 Of Centaur's ? Cyclops' ? Sacred Founts, and woods ?

See antique Rome ; and though you see her plaine,
 In honest Ennius ; can you but admire
 Pious Aeneas ? or the Mantuan,
 As Sweet in feilds, as statelie, in 'Troies' fire ?
 Not Euxine Pontus, nor the Tirant's Lust
 Shall make Fame be less glorious, Fate lesse Just.

For after Death, dyes Envye ; all men find
 Honour due to their merits ; this, he taught
 And this, he found ; live Ovid (unconfined)
 To better mention ; beyond a Thought
 Of *o cur vidi* ; never more exclaime ;
 Hee wrong'd his owne, and added to thy Name.

Loe yet another ; he who has not heard
 Pharsalia's Trumpet, never knew his Fate ;
 Corduba's Glorie : see the Poet smear'd
 In guiltles Blood, triumph in Neroes hate :
 His name shall live ; and he, that cannot raise
 A verse to Lucan, dye without his praise.

A noble Store, doth Italie produce,
 Which hap'lie may advance, their fame as great ;
 Sanazar,¹ Petrarch, Tassoe's honored Muse :
 Swift Arne, the Thuscan Soile, noe more shall beat,
 Nor Swan-clad Po run Sweet, nor fame be Just
 If Dant forgotten be, or Ariost' :

Nor shall the Muse of that French Eagle dye,
 Devine Sire Bartas ; and the happie writt
 Of Bellay, here shall live eternallie,
 Eternizing his name, in his owne Witt ;
 From hence, by a Short passage, wee are come
 To view the Treasure of our witts at home.

(*The Poems of George Daniel* . . . ed. Grosart, vol. i. pp.
 26-7.)

JOHN CLEVELAND

(1613-1658)

[John Cleveland, author of *The Rebel Scot*, was born at Loughborough, in Leicestershire, in 1613. He went to Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1627, where he remained for four years, when he migrated to St. John's College, of which he was

¹[Printed *Danazar* by the Editor.]

elected a Fellow in 1634. He was an ardent royalist, and when Charles I was betrayed by the Scotch, he gave vent to his indignation in a violent attack on them in his *Rebel Scot*, 'which has never been forgiven in the North.' Cleveland, who had been Judge-Advocate for the King at Newark, after the surrender lived in retirement, but fell under suspicion of being concerned in royalist plots, and was imprisoned at Yarmouth in 1655. He was kept in custody for three months and was then released by order of Cromwell. He died three years later, in 1658, at Gray's Inn. Cleveland apparently alludes to Dante and his 'melancholy dream' in a line of *The Rebel Scot*, but the reference is vague, and may perhaps be to some contemporary poem.]

c. 1646. THE REBEL SCOT.

['He that saw Hell in's melancholy Dream']

NATURE her self doth Scotchmen Beasts confess,
 Making their Country such a Wilderness;
 A Land that brings in question and suspence
 God's Omnipresence, but that *Charles* came thence;
 But that *Montross* and *Crawford's* Royal Band
 Atton'd their Sin, and Christned half their Land.
 Nor is it all the Nation hath these Spots,
 There is a Church as well as Kirk of *Scots*.
 As in a Picture where the squinting paint
 Shews Fiend on this side, and on that side Saint.
 He that saw Hell in's melancholy Dream,¹
 And in the Twy-light of his Phancie's Theme
 Scar'd from his Sins, repented in a fright,
 Had he view'd *Scotland* had turn'd Proselite.

(*Works*, ed. 1742, p. 39.)

JOHN RAYMOND

(fl. 1640)

1648. AN ITINERARY CONTAYNING A VOYAGE, MADE THROUGH ITALY,
 IN THE YEARE 1646, AND 1647.²

[Statue of Dante at Poggio Imperiale]

FLORENCE.—Going out of Florence, at the Porta Romana, one leaves Poggio Imperiale a Villa of the Great Dukes, which I had omitted above. At the entrance of the walkes of Cypres, that leads to it are the statues of the Tybre and Arno; those of the famous old and new poets, Virgil, Ovid, Petrarche and Dante.

(p. 48.)

¹ [Presumably a reference to Dante's vision, like that in Donne's fourth Satire (see above, p. 101); but both allusions may be to some other 'visionary.']

² ['Illustrated with divers figures of Antiquities never before published.' The work has the sub-title 'Il Mercurio Italico.']

[Dante's tomb at Ravenna]

Ravenna—In Saint Francis his Convent, is buried the great Italian Poet Dante, with this epitaph made by himselfe
 Jura Monarchiae, Superos Phlegetonta lacusque,¹ &c.
 (p. 281.)

JOHN SPENCER

(d. 1680)

[John Spencer, Librarian of Sion College, was born c. 1610. In 1631 (when he is described as stationer and clerk of the College) he was appointed assistant to John Simson, the first Librarian. In 1635, by which time he was Deputy-Library-Keeper, he was dismissed on account of some irregularity, but was re-appointed as Library-Keeper in 1640, and held the office till his death in 1680. Spencer was a considerable benefactor to the library, to which he presented 'several large parcels of books'; he also compiled with his own hand, and printed at his own expense, a catalogue of all the books in the library in 1650. Among them was a copy of Dante's *De Monarchia*, the date of which is not given.]

1650. CATALOGUS UNIVERSALIS LIBRORUM OMNIUM IN BIBLIOTHECA COLLEGII SIONII APUD LONDINENSES.² . . . OMNIA PER J. S. BIBLIOTHECARIUM ORDINE ALPHABETICO DISPOSITA.

Dant. *Aligherius*.

De necessitate Monarchiae.³

(fol. 6.)

SIR WILLIAM D'AVENANT

(1606-1668)

[William D'Avenant, son of a vintner and inn-keeper at Oxford, who became mayor of the city (1621), was born in Oxford in 1606. There was a tradition, which it is said D'Avenant himself encouraged, that he was an illegitimate son of Shakespeare, who used to frequent the elder D'Avenant's inn on his journeys between London and Stratford. D'Avenant was educated at Oxford, and for a time was a member of Lincoln College, which he entered about 1621. On leaving Oxford he

¹[For this epitaph, which Raymond prints in full, see above, under Fynes Moryson, p. 91. In l. 5 Raymond prints *exornis* for *extorris*.]

²[Sion College was founded pursuant to the will (dated 1623) of Dr. Thomas White (d. 1624). The library was endowed by Dr. John Simson, one of his executors.]

³[The *De Monarchia* had been five times printed before this date (1650), viz. at Basle in 1559 and 1566, at Strassburg in 1609 and 1618, and at Offenbach in 1610; but none of these editions bore the title given above. This book had disappeared from the library by the time the second catalogue (prepared by W. Reading) was issued seventy years later (1724). No doubt it perished in the great fire of 1666, when nearly 1000 books were 'lost by fire, miscarriage, &c.']

entered the service first of the Duchess of Richmond and afterwards of Lord Brooke, after whose death in 1628, he became a hanger about Court, and betook himself to writing plays and poetry. He published his first dramatic work in 1629, which was succeeded by court masques, poems, and other plays, including adaptations from Shakespeare, during the next forty years. In 1638 he was appointed Poet Laureate in succession to Ben Jonson, and in 1643 he was knighted. During the civil war he actively supported the King and was employed on confidential missions by the Queen. In 1650 he was captured and imprisoned in the Tower for two years. During his confinement he published (1651) his heroic poem *Gondibert*, in the preface to which he mentions Dante, whom he couples with Marino, the author of the *Adone*, a poem of 45,000 verses. After his release D'Avenant published his *Siege of Rhodes* (1656), which was practically the first English opera. In 1659 he was again imprisoned, but was released in the same year. After the Restoration he continued to produce plays until his death in Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1668. He was buried in Westminster Abbey.]

1651. GONDIBERT: AN HEROICK POEM.

[Dante not to be admitted among the heroic poets]

TASSO (who reviv'd the Heroick flame after it was many Ages quench'd) is held both in time and merit, the first of the Moderns; an honour by which he gains not much, because the number he excells must needs be few, which affords but one fit to succeed him; for I will yield to their opinion, who permit not *Ariosto*, no nor *Du Bartas* in this eminent rank of the Heroicks: rather than to make way by their admission for *Dante*, *Marino*, and others.

(From *The Authour's Preface to his much honour'd Friend Mr. Hobs*;¹ ed. 1651, pp. 4-5.)

JEREMY TAYLOR

(1613-1667)

[Jeremy Taylor, whose father was a barber, was born at Cambridge in 1613. He entered Gonville and Caius College as a sizar in 1626, and became Fellow in 1633. On leaving Cambridge he took orders and went to London; here his preaching attracted the attention of Laud, who sent him to Oxford and recommended him for a Fellowship at All Souls', to which he was elected in 1635. Laud made him his chaplain, and soon after he was appointed chaplain in ordinary to Charles I. In 1638 he received the living of Uppingham, where he went to reside. In 1642 the degree of D.D. was conferred on him at Oxford, and in the next year he was instituted to the rectory of Overstone in Northamptonshire. In 1644 he appears to have joined the royal army. He was taken prisoner in the royalist defeat before Cardigan Castle in 1645, but was soon released. He now retired to Golden Grove in Carmarthenshire, where some of his most famous works were composed, including *Holy Living* (1650) and *Holy Dying* (1651). Shortly after the Restoration he was made Bishop of Down and Connor, and administrator of Dromore (1661). He died at Lisburn in 1667, and was buried in the Cathedral at Dromore, which he himself had rebuilt. In the second edition (1653) of his *Great Exemplar* (first

¹[Dated 'From the Louvre in Paris, January 2, 1650.']

published in 1649), Jeremy Taylor introduces an interesting quotation from Dante, which has every appearance of being at first hand. He was certainly acquainted with Italian, as he quotes and translates from the original text of Guicciardini in his *Ductor Dubitantium* (1660).]

1653. THE GREAT EXEMPLAR. . . . THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE AND DEATH OF THE EVER-BLESSED JESUS CHRIST.

[Dante's definition of miracles]

JESUS cured leprous persons by his touch, he restored sight to the blind, who were such not by any intervening accident, hindering the act of the organ, but by nature, who were 'born blind,' and whose eyes had not any natural possibility to receive sight; who could never see without creating of new eyes for them, or some integral part co-operating to vision; and, therefore, the miracle was wholly an effect of a Divine power, for nature did not at all co-operate; or, that I may use the elegant expression of Dante, it was such

a cui natura

Non scaldò ferro mai, nè battè ancuè,¹

for which nature never did heat iron, nor beat the anvil.

(Part ii. Sect. xii. Discourse xiv. *Of the Miracles wrought by Jesus*, § 4, ed. 1880; vol. i. p. 238.)

THOMAS FULLER

(1608-1661)

[Thomas Fuller, historian and divine, was born in 1608, at Aldwincle in Northamptonshire, of which place his father was rector. At the age of 13 he was entered at Queen's College, Cambridge, where he graduated in 1625. In 1630 he was appointed to the perpetual curacy of St. Benet's, Cambridge, and in 1631 was made a prebendary of Salisbury. He resigned his Cambridge preferment in 1633, and in the next year was presented to the rectory of Broadwindsor in Dorsetshire. In 1639 he published the first of his historical works, the *History of the Holy Warre*. In 1641 he abandoned both his living and his prebend and settled in London, where he became curate of the Savoy. In 1642 he published his *Holy and Profane State*. In the following year, to avoid the difficulties of his position as a royalist, he retired to Oxford. Shortly after he accepted a chaplaincy to Sir Robert Horton, one of the royalist generals, whom he accompanied to Exeter. After the surrender of the city in April 1646 to Fairfax he returned to London, where he became chaplain to the Earl of Carlisle. Fuller published his *Pisgah-sight of Palestine* in 1650, the year after the king's death, and five years later (1655) his *Church History of Britain*. In 1658 he was appointed rector of Cranford, near Hounslow, and chaplain to Earl Berkeley, whom he accompanied to the Hague in 1660 to meet Charles II. In the same year he was created D.D. and resumed his curacy at the Savoy and his prebend

¹[*Par.* xxiv. 101-2. This quotation does not appear in the first edition (1649) of *The Great Exemplar*; it was added, along with other 'additional,' in the second edition (1653).]

at Salisbury, and was also appointed chaplain in extraordinary to the King, with the anticipation of further preferment. In 1661, however, he died in London of fever, and was buried at Cranford. His *Worthies of England*, upon which he had been at work for some years, was published by his son in 1662. In his *Church History of Britain*, Fuller quotes and translates Leland's epigram upon Chaucer, in which mention is made of Dante as the boast of Florence. He apparently had no independent knowledge of Dante.]

1655. THE CHURCH HISTORY OF BRITAIN; FROM THE BIRTH OF JESUS CHRIST, UNTIL THE YEAR M.DC.XLVIII. ENDEAVOURED BY THOMAS FULLER.

[Chaucer, Dante, and Petrarch]

CHAUCER was a great *Refiner* and *Illuminer* of our English tongue (and if he left it so bad, how much worse did he finde it?) witness *Leland* thus praising him,¹
*Praedicat Algerum*² *meritò Florentia Dantem,*
Italia et numeros tota Petrarche tuos.
Anglia Chaucerum veneratur nostra Poëtam,
Cui veneres debet patria lingua suas.

Of *Alger Dants*, *Florence* doth justly boast,
 Of *Petrarch* brags all the *Italian* coast.
England doth Poet *Chaucer* reverence,
 To whom our language owes its eloquence.

(Book iv. § 48, ed. 1655, p. 152.)

HENRY CAREY, EARL OF MONMOUTH

(1596-1661)

[Henry Carey, second Earl of Monmouth, eldest son of Robert Carey, first Earl, was born at Denham in Buckinghamshire in 1596. He entered Exeter College, Oxford, as a Fellow-Commoner at the age of fifteen in 1611, and took his degree in 1613. The next three years he spent in travelling on the continent, where he acquired a good knowledge of foreign languages. He returned to England in 1616, and was among the Knights of the Bath created in November of that year on the occasion of Prince Charles being created Prince of Wales. Not long after he appears to have retired to the country and to have devoted himself to his books. He succeeded to the Earldom in 1639 and for a short time played a part in public affairs, but after 1642 he abandoned politics and busied himself with translating various works from Italian and French. He died in 1661 at Rickmansworth in Hertfordshire. Among the books translated by Monmouth was Trajano Boccalini's *Ragguagli di Parnaso* (first published at Venice in 1612). The translation, under the title of *Advertisements from Parnassus*, was issued in 1656, and was three times reprinted after the author's death (1669, 1674, 1706). Boccalini introduces Dante into one of his *Ragguagli*, which is translated as under by Monmouth.]

¹[See above, p. 31.]

²[For *Aligerum*—this mistake, which was Fuller's own, as appears from his translation, recalls Thackeray's joke in the *Book of Snobs* as to whether 'Dante Algieri was so-called because he was born at Algiers,' to which Miss Ponto's governess, Miss Wirt, smilingly assented.]

1656. I RAGGUAGLI DI PARNASSO: OR, ADVERTISEMENTS FROM PARNASSUS: IN TWO CENTURIES. WRITTEN ORIGINALLY IN ITALIAN BY THAT FAMOUS ROMAN TRAJANO BOCALINI. AND NOW PUT INTO ENGLISH. BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE, HENRY EARL OF MONMOUTH.

Dante Alligieri being assaulted by night in his Country-house, and ill used by some disguised Vertuosi, is relieved by the great French Ronsard.

WHILEST famous *Dante Allegieri* was the other day in a Country-house of his, which he had built in a very solitary place to exercise his Poetry in, some *Literati* got secretly into his house, where they did not only take him prisoner, but holding a Dagger at his throat, and Harquebuses at his sides, they threatened to kill him, unless he would tell them the true Title of his Poem, whether he called it Comedy, Tragi-Comedy, or Heroick Poem: and *Dante* answering them, that they used him not like one of his Quality, and that if they would ask him the question in *Parnassus*, he would satisfie them; The *Literati*, that they might have their desire immediately, beat and buffeted him; and not being able by these insolencies to compass their intents, they grew so outrageous, as taking the Rope which hung upon the Bucket by the Well side, they fastened it to a beam of the House, and went about to hang *Dante* therewith, who cry'd out, Help, help, murder, murder; and so great was the noise he made, as it was heard by *Ronsard* the Prince of French Poets, who had a Country-house not far from that of *Dante*: This generous Frenchman took up his Sword immediately, and ran towards the noise; whereupon the *Literati*, fearing lest some others might be with *Ronsard*, ran away; but not so soon, but that the French man both saw and knew them. *Dante* was set at liberty, clothed, and brought to *Parnassus* by *Ronsard*; where the news of so foul a Riot being heard, *Apollo* was very much grieved at it; and his honour pressing him to know the Delinquents, he first examined *Dante*, who told him all that had past, and said, he knew not who they were that had dealt so inhumanely with him; but that it might be that *Ronsard*, who had not only seen them, but had severely reprehended them for that their insolency, might peradventure know them. *Ronsard* was forthwith sent for, who denied not only that he knew any of them, but said he had not seen them. The Judges, by reason of this contrariety between what *Dante* had said, and *Ronsard's* Deposition, feared that the Frenchman, thinking it a base thing to accuse any man, would not discover the Delinquents. When *Apollo* heard of this, he was very angry with *Ronsard*, and commanded to give him the Rack: Wherefore

Ronsard was quickly secured, who persisting in his denial, the Judges gave order that he should be put to the Rack, as one who was likely to know somewhat. *Ronsard* being stript, bound, and bidden to speak the truth, was raised from the ground. The generous Frenchman, in stead of complaining, as is usual in such cases, desired the Judges that they would not let him down all that day, affirming, that he held it too inestimable a content, rather to suffer so, than to offend any one. The Judges finding by this his constancy, that they should do no good by the Rope, caused *Ronsard* to be let down, and began to think upon some other torment; and of as many as were propounded, the Judges liked none better than that which *Perillo's* devillish Wit found out; who said, That a better way to torment a Frenchman, than either Ropes or Fire, was to set him, without either Spurr or Switch, upon a slow dull Horse: and so they did. It was a miraculous thing to see, that *Ronsard* was no sooner set on Horse-back, but belabouring him with his Legs, wrying his Body twenty several ways, and shaking the Bridle to make the Horse go fast, he grew to such impatiency, and was surprized with such an agony of mind, as being quite out of breath, he cryed to the Serjeants that were by his side, Take me down, friends, for I am dead; take me down quickly, and I will tell all; and let them suffer the punishment that have done the fault: Those you enquire after, were, *Monsignor Carrieri* of Padua, *Jacopo Mazzoni* of Cesena,¹ and another whom I know not; but you may know from the other two that I have named.

(*The XCVII Advertisement*, ed. 1669, pp. 166-7.)

EDWARD LEIGH

(1602-1671)

[Edward Leigh, a native of Leicestershire, was born in 1602. He was educated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, where he matriculated in 1617, and graduated in 1620. After leaving Oxford he became a member of the Middle Temple, and devoted himself to the study of law, history, and divinity. In 1640 he was elected M.P. for Stafford, but was expelled from the House in 1648 for having given a vote in favour of the King. Thenceforward he lived in retirement, until his death in 1671. Leigh's writings are mostly compilations. In his *Treatise of Religion and Learning* he collected various notices of Dante from comparatively little known writers, which are given below.]

¹[Among the numerous controversial works on Dante which were published in Italy at the end of the sixteenth century were *Breve ed ingegnoso Discorso contro all' opera di Dante* (Padua, 1582), and *Apologia contra le imputazioni di B. Bulgarini, e Palinodia, nella quale si dimostra l'eccellenza del Poema di Dante* (Padua, 1584), by Alessandro Carriero; and *Discorso in Difesa della Commedia del Divino Poeta Dante* (Cesena, 1573), and other works of a similar character, by Jacopo Mazzoni.]

1656. A TREATISE OF RELIGION AND LEARNING, AND OF RELIGIOUS AND LEARNED MEN . . . A WORK SEASONABLE FOR THESE TIMES, WHEREIN RELIGION AND LEARNING HAVE SO MANY ENEMIES.

[Chaucer, Dante, and Petrarch]

GALFRIDUS CHAUCERUS, *Jeffery Chaucer*, he was born in *Oxfordshire*.

He first of all so illustrated the English Poetry, that he may be esteemed our English *Homer*. He is our best English Poet, and *Spencer* the next.

*Praedicat Algerum*¹ *meritò Florentia Dantem, &c.*

*Lel. lib. Epig.*²

Marginal note. Vixit Anno Domini 1402. Propter docendi gratiam et libertatem quasi alter Dantes aut Petrarcha, quos ille etiam in linguam nostram transtulit,³ in quibus Romana Ecclesia tanquam sedes Antichristi describitur, et ad vivum exprimitur. *Humphr.* Praefat. ad lib. de Jesuitismo.⁴

(p. 160.)

[Dantes Aligherius]

Dantes Aligherius. Poeta sui saeculi nulli secundus, Italus natione, patria Florentinus. *Boissard.* Icon.⁵

His Life is written by *Paprius Massonus*.⁶

Dantes the first Italian Poet of note, being a great and wealthy man in *Florence*. He lived in the time of *Ludovicus* the Emperour, about the year of our Lord 1300, and took part with *Marsilius Patavinus* against three sorts of men, which he said were enemies to the truth: that is, the Pope. Secondly, the order of Religious men. Thirdly, the Doctors of Decrees and Decretals:

His Works are mentioned by *Boissard* in his *Icones*.⁵

Marginal note. Durantes ab initio vocatus, interciso deinde, ut fit in pueris, vocabulo, *Dantes*. Natus anno 1265, liberalibus artibus in Patria legitime eruditus, poeticae deditus ab ipsa pueritia fuit. Scripsit opusculum de Monarchia, ubi ejus fuit opinio quòd imperium ab Ecclesia minimè dependeret. Cujus rei gratia tamquam haereticus post ejus exitum damnatus est, cum aliorum, tum Bartoli jurisperiti sententia super lege i.c. praesules lib. digestorum de inquirendis reis. *Volaterrani Anthropol.*⁷ l. 21, p. 771. *Petrarchae*

¹[*Sic, for Aligerum.*]

²[See above, under *Leland*, p. 31.]

³[For *Chaucer's* alleged translation of *Dante*, see above, p. 5.]

⁴[See above, p. 71.]

⁵[*Icones et Vitae Virorum Illustrium*, Frankfort, 1592-9.]

⁶[*Jean Papire Masson* published lives of *Dante*, *Petrarch*, and *Boccaccio*, at Paris in 1587.]

⁷[*Commentariorum Urbanorum Raphaelis Volaterrani octo et triginta libri* (Basle, 1559), a work which contains *Anthropologia hominum clarorum.*]

et *Dantis* poemata illa Italica quae statum ecclesiae subinde attingunt, prae aliis poetis potissimum leguntur à Theologis. *Voet. Biblioth.*¹ l. 2, Sect. prior. c. 8. *Dantes Algerius* et Franciscus Petrarcha, primi Philosophiae, bonarum artium, et omnis eruditionis restauratores. *Heereb. Epist. Dedicat. ad Disputat. ex Philos. select.*² *Dantes* Florentinus floruit ante annos 1280. fuit vir pius et doctus, ut multi scriptores, et praesertim ipsius scripta testantur. Scripsit librum quem appellavit *Monarchiam*. In eo probavit Papam non esse supra Imperatorem nec habere aliquod Imperium. *Illyr. Catal. Test. Verit.*³ l. 18.

(p. 177.)

SIR THOMAS BROWNE

(1605-1682)

[Sir Thomas Browne, author of the *Religio Medici*, was born in London in 1605. He was educated at Winchester College, and at Broadgate Hall (now Pembroke College), Oxford, where he graduated in 1626. After practising medicine for a time in Oxfordshire he went to France and Italy and studied in the medical schools of Montpellier and Padua. On his return through Holland he was created Doctor of Medicine at Leyden, about the year 1633. In 1637, in which year he was incorporated M.D. at Oxford, he settled at Norwich, where he practised for many years as a physician, and where he died, on his seventy-seventh birthday, in 1682. He was knighted by Charles II in 1671 on the occasion of a state visit to Norwich. Sir Thomas Browne was acquainted with the *Divina Commedia*, from all three *Cantiche* of which he quotes in various works. In the *Religio Medici*, which was first published in 1642, there is no reference to Dante. The earliest mention occurs in the *Hydriotaphia*, published in 1658; other references occur in *Christian Morals* (1671), in *A Letter to a Friend* (1672), and in the sixth edition (1672) of *Pseudodoxia* (first published in 1646). Browne had apparently no knowledge of any of the works of Dante other than the *Commedia*.]

1658. HYDRIOGRAPHIA, URNE-BURIAL. OR, A BRIEF DISCOURSE OF THE SEPULCHRAL URNES LATELY FOUND IN NORFOLK.

[Dante's description of gluttons]

A CRITICAL view of bones makes a good distinction of sexes. Even colour is not beyond conjecture, since it is hard to be deceived in the distinction of *Negro's* skulls. *Dantes* Characters are to be found in skulls as well as faces.

Marginal Note. The Poet *Dante* in his view of Purgatory, found gluttons so meagre and extenuated, that he conceited them

¹[*Exercitia et Bibliotheca Studiosi Theologi* (1652), by Gisb. Voëtius (d. 1677).]

²[*Adriani Heereboord Meletemata Philosophica*, to which is prefixed an *Epistola Dedicatoria*, where the passage quoted occurs.]

³[*Catalogus Testium Veritatis* (Basle, 1562), by Mathias Flach Francowitz, known as Flaccus Illyricus (d. 1575).]

to have been in the Siege of *Jerusalem*, and that it was easie to have discovered *Homo* or *Omo* in their faces: M being made by the two lines of their cheeks, arching over the Eye-brows to the nose, and their sunk eyes making O O which makes up *Omo*. *Parean l' occhiaie anella senza gemme che¹ nel viso de gli huomini legge huomo Ben hauria quivi conosciuto l' emme.*
(Chap. iii. p. 18.)

[The places assigned by Dante to the ancient philosophers in Hell and Purgatory]

Pythagoras escapes in the fabulous hell of *Dante*,² among that swarm of Philosophers, wherein whilst we meet with *Plato* and *Socrates*, *Cato* is to be found in no lower place than purgatory. Among all the set, *Epicurus* is most considerable, whom men make honest without an *Elyzium*, who contemned life without encouragement of immortality, and making nothing after death, yet made nothing of the King of terrors. . . .

Mean while *Epicurus* lies deep in *Dante's* hell, wherein we meet with Tombs enclosing souls which denied their immortalities.³ But whether the virtuous heathen, who lived better then he spake, or erring in the principles of himself, yet lived above Philosophers of more specious Maximes, lie so deep as he is placed; at least so low as not to rise against Christians, who beleaving or knowing that truth, have lastingly denied it in their practice and conversation, were a quæry too sad to insist on.

(Chap. iv. pp. 23, 24.)

1671. CHRISTIAN MORALS.⁴

[Dante's punishment of diviners]

Many persons are like many rivers, whose mouths are at a vast distance from their heads; for their words are as far from their thoughts as *Canopus* from the head of *Nilus*. These are of the former⁵ of those men, whose punishment in *Dante's* hell⁶ is to look everlastingly backward.⁷

(Ed. Greenhill, 1881, p. 309.)

¹[Read 'gemme. Chi'; the passage occurs in *Purg.* xxiii. 31-3.]

²*Del inferno*, cant. 4.

³[*Inf.* x. 13-15.]

⁴[First printed in 1716.]

⁵[*Sic—? formes.*]

⁶[*Inf.* xx. 11-15.]

⁷[The above passage does not occur in the text of the printed editions; it was first printed by Wilkin in 1835 from MS. Brit. Mus. Sloane 1847, where it forms part of the last paragraph of Part i. § 34.]

1672. A LETTER TO A FRIEND, UPON OCCASION OF THE DEATH OF HIS INTIMATE FRIEND.¹

[‘The starved characters of Dante’]

In this consumptive Condition and remarkable Extenuation, he came to be almost half himself, and left a great part behind him which he carried not to the Grave . . . If the Bones of a good Sceleton weigh little more than twenty pounds, his Inwards and Flesh remaining could make no Bouffage, but a light bit for the Grave. I never more lively beheld the starved Characters of *Dante* in any living Face;² an *Aruspex* might have read a Lecture upon him without Exenteration, his Flesh being so consumed, that he might, in a manner, have discerned his Bowels without opening of him: so that to be carried, *sextâ cervice*, to the Grave, was but a civil unnecessary; and the Complements of the coffin might outweigh the Subject of it.

(Ed. Greenhill, 1881, § 9, pp. 133-4.)

[Dante’s epitaph]

Julius Scaliger, who in a sleepless Fit of the Gout could make two hundred Verses in a Night would have but five plain Words upon his Tomb. And this serious Person, though no minor Wit, left the Poetry of his Epitaph unto others; either unwilling to commend himself, or to be judged by a Distich, and perhaps considering how unhappy great Poets have been in versifying their own Epitaphs; wherein *Petrarcha*, *Dante*,³ and *Ariosto* have so unhappily failed, that if their Tombs should out-last their Works, Posterity would find so little of *Apollo* on them, as to mistake them for *Ciceronian* Poets.

(*Ibid.* § 21, pp. 141-2.)

1672. PSEUDODOXIA EPIDEMICA: OR, ENQUIRIES INTO VERY MANY RECEIVED TENENTS, AND COMMONLY PRESUMED TRUTHS.

[Dante’s meeting with the soul of St. John in Paradise]

That John the Evangelist should not die.—The same is also hinted by the learned Italian Poet *Dante*, who in his Poetical survey of Paradise, meeting with the soul of *St. John*, and desiring to see his body; received answer from him, that his body was in earth, and

¹[First printed in 1690.]

²[An allusion to the passage already quoted in *Hydriotaphia* (see above, p. 148).]

³[For Dante’s epitaph, which as well as those of Petrarch and Ariosto, Sir Thomas Browne probably got from the *Elogia Virorum Literis Illustrium* of Paulus Jovius, see above, p. 91. It is now held that this epitaph, which is still to be read on Dante’s tomb at Ravenna, was not composed by Dante himself, but by one Bernardo Canaccio, who wrote it about the year 1357, more than thirty years after Dante’s death. (See C. Ricci, *L’ Ultimo Rifugio di Dante*, p. 264.)]

there should remain with other bodies until the number of the blessed were accomplished.

In terra è terra il mio corpo, et saragli
Tanto con gli altri, che l' numero nostro
Con l' eterno proposito s' agguagli.¹

(Ed. 1686, Book vii. Ch. x. p. 292.)

JAMES HOWELL

(c. 1594-1666)

[James Howell, whose father was a Carmarthenshire rector, was born in Wales about 1594. He was educated at Hereford, and proceeded thence to Jesus College, Oxford, where he matriculated in 1610; he took his degree in 1613, and was elected a Fellow of Jesus in 1623. From 1616 to 1624 he travelled on the Continent and made himself an accomplished linguist. In 1627 he became M.P. for Richmond in Yorkshire, and in 1632 he accompanied the Earl of Leicester as secretary on his embassy to Denmark. On his return he was employed by Strafford in Edinburgh and London. Among Howell's intimates in London was Ben Jonson, and he corresponded regularly with Lord Herbert of Chisbury and Sir Kenelm Digby. In 1640 he published *Dodona's Grove* (a political allegory), the first of a long series of volumes, of which the *Epistolae Ho-elianae: Familiar Letters* (1645-47-50) are the best known. From 1643 to 1651 Howell was a royalist prisoner in the Fleet. At the Restoration he was appointed historiographer royal (1661). He died in London in 1666, and was buried in the Temple Church. Among Howell's works was an *English-French-Italian-Spanish Dictionary* (1659), in which Dante's name is introduced in a somewhat curious way in a list of Italian proverbial expressions. A quotation (or rather misquotation) from the *Divina Commedia* seems to point to some acquaintance with that work on Howell's part.]

1659. LEXICON TETRAGLOTTON, AN ENGLISH-FRENCH-ITALIAN-SPANISH DICTIONARY, WHEREUNTO IS ADJOINED A LARGE NOMENCLATURE OF THE PROPER TERMS (IN ALL THE FOWR) BELONGING TO SEVERAL ARTS, AND SCIENCES, . . . WITH ANOTHER VOLUME OF THE CHOICEST PROVERBS IN ALL THE SAYED TOUNGS . . .

[The Italian tongue refined by Dante, Petrarca, Boccaccio, and Ariosto]

TOUCHING the refinings, interpolation and enrichments which the English Toung hath receavd from time to time, it is to be considered that *Languages* as well as other notions of the mind use to proceed to a perfection by certain degrees; The Latin Toung remained in a kind of barbarisme nere,

¹[*Par.* xxv. 124-6. The above paragraph was first added in the sixth edition (1672) of the *Vulgar Errors* (originally published in 1646). This edition (the last in Sir Thomas Browne's lifetime) is described as 'enlarged by the Author,' who says in his postscript, 'and now this work is compleat and perfect, expect no further additions.']

upon 500. yeers till *Caesar*, *Cicero*, *Salust* and others did refine her and brought her to that purity we now read her in; So did her daughters the Italian, French and Spanish till the first was refined by *Dante*, *Petrarca* with *Boccace* (his scholler,) and *Ariosto*; The *French* began to be polishd in the reign of *Philip de Valois*, *Marot* did something under *Francis* the First, but *Ronsard* under *Henry* the Second did more then both. Now the English came to that perfection, and fullnes that she is now arrivd unto, by adopting to herself the choicest, best sounding, and significanst words of other languages, which in tract of time were enfranchizd, and made free denizons as it were of *England* by a kind of Naturalization.

(To the tru Philologer, Sig. †† recto.)

[Art must co-operate with Nature, as Dante says]

Ut sono nola, sic Homo Loquelá dignoscitur, As the goodness of a bell is known by the *Sound*, so the wisdom of a man is known by his *Speech*, for the *Toung* may be sayed to hang in the mouth, as the clapper in a bell; *Speech* is the gran test, and touchstone to try ones *talent* and worth; Now, though *Speech* be a natural *faculty* belonging to the human creture, which differenceth him from Brute animals, yet to speak well, and *eloquently*, *Art* must co-operate with nature, as the Italian Poet¹ hath it wittily,

Opera di Natura è che l' huom favella,

Ma sè così o così,

Natura lascia a l' Arte secondo che t' abbella.²

(*A Particular Vocabulary, or Nomenclature . . . To the Knowing Reader . . .* Sig. †††††† recto.)

[Proverbs about Dante]

Physicall Proverbs touching Health.

E piu lungo che un Dante.³

He is longer then Dante.

Buon dì Dante,³ di donde vieni, quanto erto el fango?

Risp. Di Roma, fin al cul, buon dì, buon anno.

Good morrow Dante, whence comest thou, how high is the dirt?

Answer. From Rome, up to the tail, a good day, and a good year to you.

(*Italian Proverbs of the Choicest Sort*, pp. 15, 16.)

¹[Dante.]

²[*Par.* xxvi. 130-2, misquoted—Dante says nothing about art in these lines.]

³[With this use of Dante's name compare the similar phrases in Florio's *Second Fruits* (see above, p. 85).]

EDMUND WARCUPP

(fl. 1660)

1660. ITALY, IN ITS ORIGINAL GLORY, RUINE, AND REVIVALL.

[Dante one of the 'excellent ingenuities' of Florence]

FLORENCE.—This renowned Country hath been the birth-place of many excellent Ingenuities . . . and infinite Persons excelling in Letters, as Dante, Petrarca, Bocaccio¹ . . .
(p. 97.)

[Dante's tomb at Ravenna]

Ravenna.—In Ravenna near the Piazza Santa Maria, stands a great Convent, and in it a magnificent Tombe of Dante Algieri,¹ erected to him by Bernardo Bembo, the Venetian Podesta in Ravenna, with this inscription by the said Bembo.

Exiguo² tumulo Danthes, hic forte³ jacebas⁴ &c.

And with this other Inscription which the said Dante near his death composed.

Jura Monarchiae, Superos Phlegetonta lacusque⁵ &c.

(p. 115.)

RICHARD LASSELS

(c. 1603-1668)

[Richard Lassels, a native of Lincolnshire, was born about 1603; he was educated at the English College at Douay, where he became professor of classics (1629) and was ordained priest (1632). As is stated on the title-page of his *Voyage of Italy* (published after his death, in 1670), he 'travelled through Italy five times, as tutor to several of the English nobility and gentry.' He died at Montpellier in France in 1668. Lassels twice mentions Dante in his account of Florence in his *Voyage of Italy*, but he does not seem to have been acquainted with any of Dante's works.]

c. 1660. THE VOYAGE OF ITALY, OR A COMPLEAT JOURNEY THROUGH ITALY.⁶ . . .

[The portrait of Dante in the Duomo at Florence]

IN the *Cathedral of Florence* . . . you see the Statues of divers *Saints* who have been Arch-bishops of this Town; and the *Tombs* of divers *famous men*; as of *Marsilius Ficinus* the *Platonick Christian Philosopher*: of *Dante the Florentine*

¹[*Sic.*]²[Read *Exigua.*]³[Read *sorte.*]⁴[For this epitaph, very incorrectly printed here, see above, under Fynes Moryson, p. 91.]⁵[For this epitaph, see above, under Fynes Moryson, p. 91. In line 5 Warcup prints *Extortis* for *Extorris.*]⁶[Published posthumously at Paris in 1670.]

Poet, whose true Picture is yet to be seen here in a red gown: ¹ of *Joannes Acutius* ² an *English Knight*, and *General* anciently of the *Pisani*, as the old Gothick Letters set high upon the wall under his Picture on horse-back, told me.

(p. 192.)

[Dante one of the learned men of Florence]

For the *Learned Men of Florence* in later times, they are these; *Marsilius Ficinus* the Christian Platonick; *Dante* and *Petrarck* in *Poetry*: *Guicciardin* in *History*: *Poggio* in raillery: *Vespucius* in *Geography*: *Accursius* in *Law*: *Michael Angelo* in *Painting*: *Joannes Casa* in *Practical Morality*: *Nacluntus* in *Divinity*: *Galilaeo* in *Astronomy*: *Doni*, *Luigi*, *Alemanni*, and others in *Belle Lettere*.

(p. 224.)

WILLIAM WINSTANLEY

(c. 1628-c. 1690)

[William Winstanley, who appears to have belonged to the same family as Henry Winstanley of Saffron Walden, the designer of the first Eddystone lighthouse (d. 1703), was for a time a barber in London. He soon exchanged the razor for the pen, and became a prolific compiler of almanacs and chapbooks under the pseudonym of 'Poor Robin.' He also published biographical compilations, largely borrowed without acknowledgment from the works of his predecessors, in two of which he incidentally mentions Dante. Winstanley, who died about 1690, was a staunch royalist, and in his *Lives of the most famous English Poets* gave vent to his feelings by writing of Milton that 'his fame is gone out like a candle in a snuff, and his memory will always stink.']

1660. ENGLAND'S WORTHIES. SELECT LIVES OF THE MOST EMINENT PERSONS FROM CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, TO THE DEATH OF OLIVER CROMWEL LATE PROTECTOR.

The Life of Geoffery Chaucer

OUR ancient Poet *Geffery Chaucer* has always an earnest desire to inrich and beautife our English Tongue, which in those dayes was very rude and barren; and this he did, following the example of *Dantes* and *Petrarch*, who had done the same for the Italian Tongue; *Alanus* for the French, and *Johannes Mena* for the Spanish: neither was *Chaucer* inferiour to any of them in the performance hereof; and *England* in this respect is much beholding to him.³

(p. 94.)

¹[The picture by Domenico di Michelino (painted in 1466) over the north door.]

²[Sir John Hawkwood (d. 1394), the great leader of Condottieri.]

³[This account of Chaucer is repeated *verbatim* in Winstanley's *Lives of the most Famous English Poets*, published in 1687.]

1687. THE LIVES OF THE MOST FAMOUS ENGLISH POETS, OR THE HONOUR OF PARNASSUS; IN A BRIEF ESSAY OF THE WORKS AND WRITINGS OF ABOVE TWO HUNDRED OF THEM, FROM THE TIME OF K. WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR, TO THE REIGN OF HIS PRESENT MAJESTY KING JAMES II.

The Life of Sir Thomas Wiat the Elder

Though he be not taken notice of by *Bale* nor *Pits*, yet for his admirable Translation of *David's* Psalms into *English* Meeter, and other Poetical Writings, *Leland*¹ forbears not to compare him to *Dante* and *Petrarch*, by giving him this large commendation.

*Bella suum merito jactet Florentia Dantem,
Regia Petrarchae carmina Roma probat,
His non inferior Patrio sermone Viattus
Eloquii secum qui decus omne tulit.*

Let *Florence* fair her *Dantes* justly boast,
And royal *Rome* her *Petrarch's* number'd feet,
In *English* *Wiat* both of them doth coast:
In whom all peaceful eloquence doth meet.²

(p. 57.)

ANTHONY WOOD*

(1632-1695)

[Anthony Wood, or Anthony à Wood, as he called himself in his later years, was born at Oxford in 1632. He was educated at New College School (1641-4), and at Thame (1644-6), whence he proceeded to Merton College, where in 1647 he was made a postmaster. He took his degree in 1652, after an undistinguished college career. In 1656 he began to make collections for a history of Oxfordshire, which he afterwards abandoned for a history of the City and University of Oxford. This was published in 1674 in Latin; an English version made by Wood himself was issued after his death (1791-6). In 1691-2 he published his *Athenae Oxonienses*, a biographical dictionary of Oxford writers and bishops. For a libel upon the Earl of Clarendon contained in this work Wood was prosecuted in the Vice Chancellor's court at Oxford, found guilty, and expelled the University (1693). He died at Oxford in 1695, and was buried in the Chapel of his old College. In his *City of Oxford* Wood has an interesting reference to Dante; but he does not appear to have had any first hand acquaintance with the works of the poet.]

1661-66. SURVEY OF THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE CITY OF OXFORD.

[The *Vicus Scholarum* at Oxford and the *Vicus Stramineus* at Paris]

EVERY corner, porch, entry, hall, and schoole in this street³ was soe wholly dedicated and sacred for the use only of the gowne that it was a great *pidiculum* for an apron to approach its borders. . . . And soe far was it different from the

¹[See above, p. 30.]

²[This version of Leland's epigram is borrowed from an anonymous work *Anglorum Speculum*, published in 1684 (see below, p. 172).]

³[The old 'Vicus Scholarum,' (Schools Street), now Radcliffe Street, forming a continuation of the former Schydyard Street, now Oriel Street.]

* [Before Wood should come BARTEN HOLYDAY (see *Appendix*, below, p. 680).]

street¹ at Paris where the philosophical professors taught in the time of Dantes the poet, and which because of the continuall noise of the disputants there was by Petrarcha termed 'vicus fragosus,'² that every cell, caverne, or cubicle of this place had a pleasant consort and concenter of parts therein.

(Ed. Clark, 1889, vol. i. p. 84.)

1691-92. ATHENAE OXONIENSES, AN EXACT HISTORY OF ALL THE WRITERS AND BISHOPS WHO HAVE HAD THEIR EDUCATION IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD. . . .

[Wyatt compared by Leland to Dante and Petrarch]

On Sir Thomas Wyatt:—For his Translation also of *David's* Psalms into English Meeter, and other of his Poëtry, *Leland* the Antiquarian Poët³ forbears not to compare him to *Dant* and *Petrarch* thus:

Bella suum merito &c.⁴ translated by another Hand⁵ as followeth:

*Let Florance fair her Dantes justly boast
And Royal Rome her Petrarch's numbred Feet;
In English Wyatt both of them doth coast,
In whom all grateful Eloquence doth meet.*

(Ed. 1691, vol. i. col. 49.)

EDWARD STILLINGFLEET

(1635-1699)

[Edward Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester, was born at Cranborne in 1635: At the age of 14 he obtained a scholarship at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he was elected to a Fellowship in 1653. In 1657 he was appointed to the rectory of Sutton, where he wrote his most famous work, *Origines Sacrae*, which was published in 1662. In 1665 he received a London living, and held at the same time the preacher-ship at the Rolls Chapel, and the readership at the Temple. In 1667 he was made a Prebendary of St. Paul's, and chaplain to Charles II; in 1669 Canon of Canterbury; in 1677 Archdeacon of London; in 1678 Dean of St. Paul's; and in 1689 Bishop of

¹[The 'Vicis Stramineus' or 'Vicis Straminis' (Rue du Fouarre), so called from the straw-strewn floors of the Schools; it was close to the Seine, in the region which is still known as the Quartier Latin, and was the centre of the Arts Schools at Paris. Dante mentions it (as 'Vico degli Strami') in connexion with Siger of Brabant, who taught there, *Par.* x. 137.]

²[Petrarch's term for it was 'strepidulus straminum vicus.']

³*In Naeniis in mort. Tho. Viati edit. Lond. MDXLII*, p. 4. Vide etiam in *Encomiis suis illustr. virorum*, &c. p. 47.

⁴[For the original, see above, p. 30.]

⁵[Apparently the anonymous author of *Anglorum Speculum*, published in 1684 (see below, p. 172). William Winstanley gives the same rendering (see above, p. 155).]

Chrysostom speaks, *εἰ σημείων χωρὶς ἔπεισαν, πολλῶ μείζον τὸ θαῦμα φαίνεται*, *it was the greatest miracle of all, if the world should believe without miracles*. Which the poet Dantes hath well expressed in the twenty-fourth canto of Paradise. For when the apostle is there brought in, asking the poet upon what account he took the Scriptures of the *Old and New Testament to be the word of God*;¹ his answer is,

Probatio quae verum hoc mihi recludit,
Sunt opera, quae secuta sunt, ad quae natura
Non candefecit ferrum unquam ant percussit incudem.²

i.e. The evidence of that is the Divine power of miracles, which was in those who delivered these things to the world. And when the apostle catechiseth him further, how he knew those miracles were such as they pretended to be, viz. that they were true and Divine;³ his answer is,

Si orbis terrae sese convertit ad Christianismum,
Inquiebam ego, sine miraculis: hoc unum
Est tale, ut reliqua non sint ejus centesima pars.⁴

i.e. If the world should be converted to the Christian faith without miracles, this would be so great a miracle, that others were not to be compared with it.

(Book ii. Chap. x. § 4, vol. i. p. 427, ed. 1836.)

NICHOLAS LLOYD

(1630-1680)

[Nicholas Lloyd, who was born at Wonston, Hampshire, in 1630, was educated at Winchester and at Wadham College, Oxford, of which he was elected Fellow in 1656. He was appointed University reader in rhetoric in 1665, and was twice (1666 and 1670) elected Sub-Warden of his College. In 1673 the Bishop of Worcester (a former Warden of Wadham), whose chaplain he was, presented him to the rectory of St. Mary, Newington Butts, where he died in 1680. Lloyd published at Oxford in 1670 a *Dictionary Historicum*, based on the work of Charles Estienne (1504-1564), in which is included a brief notice of Dante. In a greatly enlarged edition of this work, published in London in 1686, this notice was omitted.]

1670. *DICTIONARIUM HISTORICUM, GEOGRAPHICUM, POETICUM, AUTHORE CAROLO STEPHANO. . . RECENSUIT NICOLAUS LLOYDIUS.*

Dantes.⁵

DANTES, poeta Florentinus, regum et principum amicitia clarus, cujus vitam scribit Volater.⁶ lib. 12.

¹[*Par.* xxiv. 97-9.] ²[*Par.* xxiv. 100-2.] ³[*Par.* xxiv. 103-4.]

⁴[*Par.* xxiv. 106-8.]

⁵[This notice is taken from the Geneva (1603) edition of Estienne's *Dictionary*.]

⁶[*Commentariorum Urbanorum Raphaelis Volaterrani octo et triginta libri* (Basle, 1559).]

JOHN RAY

(1627-1705)

[John Ray, son of a blacksmith, the famous naturalist, in memory of whom the Ray Society was founded (1844), was born near Braintree in Essex in 1627. He was educated at Braintree Grammar School, whence he went to Catharine Hall, Cambridge, in 1644. Two years later he migrated to Trinity College, where he was elected to a Fellowship in 1649. He took his M.A. degree in 1651, and was ordained in 1660. In 1658 he made the first of a long series of botanical tours, accounts of which he published from time to time at Cambridge and London. In 1663 he left England for a prolonged continental tour through Holland, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Sicily, and Malta, and remained abroad for three years. The results of this tour were published under the title of *Observations, Topographical, Moral and Physiological*, etc., in 1673, and reprinted in 1705, and 1738. In 1667 he was admitted a Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1686 he published the first volume of his great work, the *Historia Plantarum*, of which the second volume appeared in 1688, and the third in 1704, the year before his death. In the notes of his visits to Florence and Ravenna, printed in the *Observations*, Ray mentions the memorials to Dante at those places.]

1673. OBSERVATIONS, TOPOGRAPHICAL, MORAL AND PHYSIOLOGICAL, MADE ON A JOURNEY THROUGH PART OF THE LOW COUNTRIES, GERMANY, ITALY, AND FRANCE, WITH A CATALOGUE OF PLANTS NOT NATIVE OF ENGLAND.

[Lines on Dante in the Cathedral at Florence]

IN this church on the north wall is the picture of an *English* knight on horseback; *Joannes Acutus* they write, and therefore some think that his name was Sir *John Sharp*; I incline rather to their opinion who suppose his name to have been Sir *John Hawkwood*, especially seeing *Guicciardine* writes him *Acutus* and not *Acutus*. Whatever his name were he was a valiant man and an eminent captain. Here is also a painted table¹ hung up in memory of *Dante*, the famous *Italian* poet, who was native of this city, but lived in exile and was buried at *Ravenna*. On the frame of this table are these verses inscribed,

*Qui coelum cecinit mediumque imumque tribunal,
Lustravitque animo cuncta poeta suo,
Doctus adest Dantes, sua quem Florentia saepe
Sensit consiliis ac pietate patrem.
Nil potuit tanto mors saeva nocere poetae,
Quem vivum virtus, carmen, imago facit.*

(Of Florence—ed. 1738, p. 282.)

[Dante's tomb at Ravenna]

Near the *Franciscans* cloister is the monument of *Dante* the famous poet, which is an arch erected to his memory by *Bernardus*

¹[The picture by Domenico di Michelino, beneath which the above lines are painted.]

Bembus, the Venetian Podesta in Ravenna; under which is his effigies, and two inscriptions in Latin verse,

I

Exigua tumuli Dantes hic sorte jacebas,¹ &c.

II

Jura monarchiae, superos, Phlegetonta lacusque,¹ &c.

These verses are said to have been made by Dante himself, *sed Misis parum faventibus*, and if he had not composed better in Italian he had not deserved the reputation of so great a poet.²

(Of Ravenna—ed. 1738, p. 330.)

THOMAS HYDE

(1636-1703)

[Thomas Hyde, orientalist, was educated at King's College, Cambridge, whence he migrated in 1658 to Queen's College, Oxford. In the following year he was appointed sub-librarian at the Bodleian, and in 1665 he was elected chief librarian, a post which he held until 1701. In 1691 he was made Laudian Professor of Arabic, and in 1697 he became Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church. He died at Oxford in 1703. During his tenure of the librarianship at the Bodleian Hyde compiled and published (in 1674) a catalogue of the printed books, among which figure four editions of the *Divina Commedia*, five of the *De Monarchia*, and one of the *Convivio*. Several of these were accessions since the publication in 1620 of the last catalogue by the then librarian, Thomas James.³]

1674. CATALOGUS IMPRESSORUM LIBRORUM BIBLIOTHECAE BODLEIANAE IN ACADEMIA OXONIENSI.

[Works of Dante (in the Bodleian)]

DANTE ALGHIERI, sive *Alighieri* vel *Aligherius*, seu *Alighieri*, vel *Alaghieri*.

Opera poëtica, cum Comm. Chr. Landini, Italicé, Ven. 1584.⁴

De Monarchiâ, libri 3, Latiné, Arg. 1609, Bas. 1557,⁵ Bas. 1559, Arg. 1618, Offenb. 1610.

¹[For these epitaphs which Ray prints in full, see above, under Fynes Moryson, p. 91.]

²[This epitaph is not accepted by modern authorities as the composition of Dante.]

³[See above, p. 104.]

⁴[No doubt a mistake for 1484 (see Paget Toynbee, *An Apocryphal Venice edition of the Divina Commedia*, in *Bulletin Italien*, vii. 85-6), an edition of that date with Landino's commentary being registered in previous catalogues (see above, p. 104).]

⁵[This must be a mistake (no doubt for 1566, in which year the second edition of the work was published at Basle), as no edition of the *De Monarchia* of 1557 is known to exist, the first having been published at Basle in 1559.]

Comedia dell' Inferno, del Purgatorio et del Paradiso con l' Esposizione di Bernardino Daniello. Ven. 1568.

Et con la Esp. di Al. Velutello. Ven. 1544.

Et con le comm. di Christophoro Landino. Ven. 1512.

L' Amoroso Convivio. Ven. 1531.

(p. 20.)

THOMAS RYMER

(1641-1713)

[Thomas Rymer, best known as the editor of the *Foedera*, a collection of the public conventions of Great Britain with other powers, was born at Yafforth in Yorkshire in 1641. He went to Cambridge, to Sidney-Sussex College, in 1658, but left the University without a degree. In 1666 he became a member of Gray's Inn, and was called to the bar in 1673. He neglected the law, however, and devoted himself to dramatic literature, on which he published several critical works. The first of these, issued in 1674, was an English translation of Rapin's *Reflections on Aristotle's Treatise of Poesie*; which was followed in 1677 by his critical treatise entitled *The Tragedies of the Last Age considered and examined by the Practice of the Ancients*, and in 1693 by *A Short View of Tragedy*. In both these treatises Rymer violently attacked Shakespeare as a writer of tragedies. In 1692 he was appointed historiographer to William III, and in the following year was entrusted with the collection and publication of the *Foedera*, of which fifteen volumes appeared before his death in 1713. Rymer's critical works contain frequent references to Dante, with several quotations from the *Commedia*.]

1674. REFLECTIONS ON ARISTOTLE'S TREATISE OF POESIE, CONTAINING THE NECESSARY, RATIONAL, AND UNIVERSAL RULES FOR EPICK, DRAMATICK, AND THE OTHER SORTS OF POETRY. WITH REFLECTIONS ON THE WORKS OF THE ANCIENT AND MODERN POETS, AND THEIR FAULTS NOTED. BY R. RAPIN.¹

[Dante lacking in fire]

OVID in his *Metamorphosis* sometimes loses himself through his defect of judgment. *Ariosto* has too much flame. *Dante* has none at all.

(From *Reflections of Aristotle's Treatise of Poetrie in General*, Chap. ii. p. 2.)

[Dante hard to understand]

The language [of Poetry] must be *clear*, that it may be intelligible, for one of the greatest faults in discourse is *obscurity*: in this *Camoens*, whom the *Portuguese* call their *Virgil*, is extremely blameable; for his Verse are so *obscure*, that they may

¹[On the title-page of the second edition (1694) is added 'Made English by Mr. Rymer.']

pass for mysteries: and the thoughts of *Dante* are so profound, that much art is requir'd to dive into them. *Poetry* demands a more clear air, and what is less incomprehensible.

(*Ibid.* Chap. xxvii. p. 42.)

[Dante wanting in modesty]

Besides all the *Rules* taken from *Aristotle*, there remains one mentioned by *Horace*, to which all the other *Rules* must be subject, as to the most essential, which is the *decorum*. Without which the other *Rules* of *Poetry* are false: it being the most solid foundation of that *probability* so essential to this Art. Because it is only by the *decorum* that this probability gains its effect; all becomes *probable*, where the *decorum* is strictly preserv'd in all circumstances. One ordinarily transgresses this Rule, either by confounding the *serious* with the *pleasant*, as *Pulci* has done in his Poem of *Morgante*; or by giving *Manners* disproportionate to the condition of the persons, as *Guarini* has done to his *Shepherd*, which are too *polite*: in like manner as those of *Ronsard* are too *gross*; or because no regard is had to make the wonderful Adventures *probable*, whereof *Ariosto* is guilty in his *Orlando*; or that a due *preparation* is not made for the great Events by a *natural* Conduct, in which *Bernardo Tasso* transgressed in his Poem of *Amadis*, and in his *Floridante*; or by want of care to sustain the *Characters* of persons, as *Theophile* in his Tragedy of *Pyramus* and *Thisbe*; or by following rather a *capricious Genius* than *Nature*, as *Lope de Vega*, who gives his *wit* too much *swinge*, and is ever *foisting* in his own Fancies on all occasions; or by want of *Modesty*, as *Dante*, who invokes his own *wit* for his *Deity*;¹ and as *Boccace*, who is perpetually *speaking of himself*; or by saying every thing *indifferently* without shame, as Cavalier *Marino* in his *Adonis*.

(*Ibid.* Chap. xxxix. pp. 65-6.)

[Dante too profound]

When Letters pass'd from *Italy* into *Africk*, the *Arabians*, though lovers of *Poetry*, produc'd nothing of *Heroick*. That barbarous *air* of the *Goths* which then was spread in *Europe* over all *Arts*, did also mingle with *Poetry*; as appears by the works of *Sidonius*, *Mamercus*, *Nemesianus*, and others, who writ then after a dry, jejune, and insipid manner. Some Ages after these, *Poesie* began to flourish again in *Italy* by the Poems of *Dante*, *Petrarch*, and *Boccace*. The Poem of *Dante*, which the *Italians* of those days, call'd a *Comedy*, passes for an *Epick* Poem in the

¹[A reference no doubt to the invocation in *Inf.* ii. 7.]

opinion of *Castelvetro*; but it is of a sad and woful contrivance. And speaking generally *Dante* has a strain too profound, *Petrarch* too vast, *Boccace* too trivial and familiar, to deserve the name of *Heroick* Poets: though they have writ with much purity in their own Tongue, especially *Petrarch* and *Boccace*.

(From *Reflections on Aristotle's Book of Poesie in Particular*;
Chap. xvi. pp. 98-9.)

1693. A SHORT VIEW OF TRAGEDY; IT'S ORIGINAL, EXCELLENCY, AND CORRUPTION. WITH SOME REFLECTIONS ON SHAKESPEAR; AND OTHER PRACTITIONERS FOR THE STAGE.

[Folquet of Marseilles placed by *Dante* in *Paradise*]

The Italian Authors acknowledge that the best part of their Language, and of their Poetry is drawn from that of *Provence*, as, indeed, is also that of the Spanish, and other Modern Languages. It is certain that *Petrarch* (the Poet that the Italians brag most on to this day) wou'd show very empty, If the *Provencial* Poets had from him, all their own again. . . .

One of these [*Provencial*] *Jesters* was *Fouchet* of *Marseilles*, who upon the death of King *Richard*, went home, turn'd Monk, and rose to be Archbishop of *Tholouse*. *Dante* has him in his *Paradise*.¹

(Chap. v. pp. 66-7, 70.)

[*Dante's* reference to the four daughters of *Raymond Berenger*]

Those who have written the lives of the *Provencial* Poets, with King *Richard*, and the Emperor *Frederick Barbarossa*, give us also the life of *Ramond* Count of *Provence*, memorable for his four Daughters, married to so many Kings. *Margaret*, to *Lewis* King of *France*. *Elionor* to our *H. III.* *Sance*, to *Richard* King of the *Romans*, *Beatrice* to *Charles* King of *Naples* and *Sicily*. On this occasion, thus *Dante*.

Quattro figlie hebbe, et Ciascuna reina
*Ramondo Beringhieri . . .*²

Four lovely Daughters, each of them a Queen,
Had Ramond Beringher . . .

(Chap. vi. p. 76.)

[*Boccaccio*, *Dante*, and *Petrarch*, the reformers of the Italian tongue]

This *Provencial* was the first, of the modern languages, that yielded and chim'd in with the musick and sweetness of ryme; which making its way by *Savoy* to *Monferat*; the *Italians* thence began

¹[*Par.* ix. 94.]

²[*Par.* vi. 133-4.]

to file their *volgare*; And to set their verses all after the Chimes of *Provence*. Our Intermarriages, and our Dominions thereabouts, brought us much sooner acquainted with their Tongue and Poetry; And they, with us, that would write verse, as King *Richard*, *Savery de Mauleon*, and *Rob. Grostead*, finding the English stubborn and unweildy, fell readily to that of *Provence*, as more glib, and lighter on the Tongue. But they who attempted verse in English, down till *Chaucers* time, made an heavy pudder, and are always miserably put to't for a word to clink: which commonly fall so awkward, and unexpectedly as dropping from the Clouds by some Machine or Miracle.

Chaucer found an Herculean labour on his Hands; and did perform to Admiration. He seizes all Provencal, French or Latin that came in his way, gives them a new garb and livery, and mingles them amongst our English: turns out English, gowty, or superannuated, to place in their room the foreigners, fit for service, train'd and accustomed to Poetical Discipline.

But tho' the Italian reformation was begun and finished well nigh at the same time by *Boccace*, *Dante*, and *Petrarch*. Our language retain'd something of the churl; something of the Stiff and Gothic did stick upon it, till long after *Chaucer*.

Chaucer threw in Latin, French, Provencal, and other Languages, like new Stum to raise a Fermentation; In Queen *Elizabeth's* time it grew fine, but came not to an Heed and Spirit, did not shine and sparkle till Mr. *Waller* set it a running.

(Chap. vi. pp. 77-9.)

[Dante's reference to Hugh Capet]

In these two speeches¹ we have the true character of *Brutus*, according to History. But when *Shakespear's* own blundering Maggot of self contradiction works, then must *Brutus* cry out.

Bru. . . . Stoop, Romans, stoop,
And let us bath our hands in Caesars blood
Up to the Elbows². . .

Had this been spoken by some King of *France*, we might remember *Villon*:

*Se fusse des hoirs Hue Capel,
Qui fut extrait de boucherie,
On m' eut parmy ce drapel,
Fait boire de l' escorcherie.*

¹[From *Shakespeare's Julius Caesar*: *Ant.* 'His life was gentle—this was a man.' (Act v. Sc. 5.) *Bru.* 'Our course will seem too bloody—when Caesar's head is off.' (Act ii. Sc. 1.)]

²[Act iii. Sc. 1.]

And what *Dante* has recorded.

*Chiamato fui di là Ugo ciapetta,
Di me son Nati i Philippi, e' Loigi,
Per cui novellamente e' Francia retta,
Figliuol fui d' un Beccaiolo di Parigi*¹ . . .

For, indeed, that Language which *Shakespear* puts in the Mouth of Brutus wou'd not suit, or be convenient, unless from some son of the Shambles, or some natural offspring of the Butchery. But never any Poet so boldly and so barefac'd, flounced along from contradiction to contradiction.

(Chap. viii. pp. 150-1.)

J. SMITH²

(fl. 1670)

1674. GRAMMATICA QUADRILINGUIS, OR, BRIEF INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE FRENCH, ITALIAN, SPANISH, AND ENGLISH TONGUES.

[Guarini, Dante, Tasso, and Bembo, the boasts of the Italian tongue]

THE *French*, *Italian*, and *Spanish* are derived from the *Latine*, for when that Noble Language ceased to be spoken, viz. in the year 872 (as *Carion*³ observes) then these Tongues sprung out of her Ruines, but they have many words of a bastard extraction, viz. *Celtick*, *Tuscan*, *Morisco*, etc.

French (which I place first not for its dignity) is of late much refined, Nobly entertained in many great Courts, especially in that of *England*, and is become famous for the rare production of its *Beaux Esprits*, namely, *Richleu*'s *Memoires*, Mr. *Corneille*'s Plays, *Scudery*'s works, etc. Indeed it is most *Alamode*, and best pleases the Ladies, and we cannot deny that Messieurs of *France* are excellent wits.

The *Italian* runs very glib, and sweetly terminates in vowels, easier to be pronounced than the *French*, and boasts it self in the renown'd Writings of *Guarino*, *Dante*, *Torquato Tasso*, *Bembo*, etc.

The *Spanish* is like the People, grave and stately, and constant to one Garb. Many solid Authorn it hath, but in my Opinion not comparable to the former. The *English* is a compound of all these, and many more (as you may see in the late Dictionary of Learned

¹[*Purg.* xx. 49-52.]

²[Of this writer nothing appears to be known.]

³[J. Carion, a German, who published a Chronicle in 1531.]

Dr. *Skinner*¹), and I am verily perswaded that for its copiousness, and happy expressions, it is the richest and most eloquent Tongue in the World, and surpasses all, both Ancient and Modern, especially in Dramatick Poetry, the great Masters whereof were *Johnson*, *Shakespear*, *Beaumont*, and *Fletcher*, etc.

(From *Preface to the Reader*, pp. i-iii.)

ANONYMOUS : M. K.

(fl. 1670)

[The identity of M. K., the translator of Machiavelli's *Florentine History*, is not known. The work is dedicated to Prince James, Duke of Monmouth, in an Epistle, to which these initials are appended.]

1674. THE FLORENTINE HISTORY IN VIII. BOOKS. WRITTEN BY NICHOLAS MACHIAVEL, CITIZEN AND SECRETARY OF FLORENCE. NOW EXACTLY TRANSLATED FROM THE ITALIAN.

[Of the founding of Florence by Fiesole, as recorded by Dante and Villani]

THE City of *Florence* had its beginning from *Fiesole*, and its increase from Colonies. Most true it is, (as *Dante* and *John Villani* demonstrates) that the Citizens of *Fiesole* (seeing their Town seated on the very summit or top of the Mountain) to the end their Markets might be the better frequented, and those who came thither with their Merchandize, be encouraged by conveniencie, had appointed their Market-place not upon the Hill, but on the Plain, between the foot of the Mountain and the River *Arno*.

(Book ii. pp. 3-4.)

[The origin of the Guelf and Ghibelline factions in Florence described by Dante]

As in our bodies, the later infirmities happen, the more dangerous and mortal they are ; so *Florence*, by so much the later it came to be infected with the Factions of *Italy*, by so much the more violently was it afflicted with them : The occasion of the first division is very notable and much celebrated by *Dante*² and other writers. I will therefore be very brief in the relation of it.

(Book ii. p. 7.)

¹[Dr. Stephen Skinner (1623-1667), whose *Etymologicon Linguae Anglicanae* was published in London in 1671.]

²[The origin of the Guelf and Ghibelline factions in Florence is several times referred to by Dante in the *Divina Commedia*, e.g. *Inf.* xxviii. 106-8; and *Par.* xvi. 140 ff.]

[The part played by Dante in the factions of the Neri and the Bianchi]

Both parts [the *Neri* and the *Bianchi*] being in Arms, the *Signory* (of whose number *Dante* then was one) by his counsel and prudence took heart, and armed the people, to whom many out of the Country joyning, they at length forced the Heads of both parties to lay down Arms, and confined *Messer Corso Donati*, and many that took part with the *Neri*

There was a conspiracy discovered to have been held by the *Bianchi* . . . which thing came to light, by Letters written from the *Cerchi*, though it was the opinion of many that the Letters were counterfeit. . . However the *Cerchi* were all confined, together with all their followers of the Faction of the *Bianchi* (amongst whom was *Dante* the Poet) their goods put to sale, and their houses razed to the ground. . . .

Messer Corso dead (which happened in the year 1308) the tumults ceased, and the City lived in peace till such time as they heard that the Emperour *Harry* was coming into *Italy* with all the *Florentine* Rebels, whom he had promised to restore to their Countrey, whereupon the heads of the Commonwealth thought fit to lessen the number of their enemies, and to that end determined that all who had not by special name been banished, should be recalled, so that there remained still excluded almost all the *Ghibellines*, and some of the *Bianchi*, among which were *Dante Alighieri*, the children of *Veri de Cerchi*, and *Giano della Bella*.

(Book ii. pp. 35, 39, 47-8.)

HENRY NEVILLE

(1620-1694)

[Henry Neville, second son of Sir Henry Neville, of Billingbear, in Berkshire, was born in 1620. He matriculated at Merton College, Oxford, in 1635, whence he migrated to University College, but after some years of residence he left the University without taking a degree, and made a tour on the continent, during which he visited Italy. He took the parliamentary side in the Civil War, but made himself obnoxious to Cromwell, who banished him from London in 1654. After Cromwell's death he became M.P. for Reading (1658-9). In 1663 he was imprisoned in the Tower on suspicion of being implicated in a rising in the North, but was released in the following year, after which he seems to have lived in retirement until his death in 1694. Part of his leisure he occupied in making a translation of Machiavelli's works (including the *History of Florence*, the *Prince*, the *Discourses on Livy*, the *Art of War*, and several minor pieces), which was published anonymously in 1675, the year following the publication of M. K.'s translation of the *Florentine History* (of which Neville's version is quite independent). In Machiavelli's *Discourses on Livy* occur two quotations from Dante (one in prose, from the *Convivio*), both of which Neville has rendered in rhyme. Neville no doubt acquired his knowledge of Italian during his visit to Italy after leaving Oxford.]

1675. THE DISCOURSES OF NICHOLAS MACHIAVEL UPON THE FIRST DECADE OF TITUS LIVIUS. FAITHFULLY ENGLISHED.

[Dante's saying as to the rarity of hereditary virtue]

TAKE away Religion, and take away the foundation of Government; for though perhaps the goodness and fear of their Prince may sustain it for some time, and supply the want of Religion in his Subjects; yet because he is mortal, and possibly but very short lived, that Kingdom can hardly out-live the virtue of its Governor: Wherefore those States which depend only upon the piety of their Princes, are of little duration, for commonly one dyes with the other, and the virtue of the Father seldom revives in the Son, as *Dante* has said very wisely,

*Rade volte discende per li rami
L' humana¹ probitate, et questo vuole
Quel che la da, perche da lui si chiami.²*

Virtue's but seldom to the branches spread,
He who bestows't, has in his wisdom said,
Let him that wants, come to the fountain-head.

(Book i. Chap. xi. p. 283.)

[Dante's saying as to the foolishness of the people]

The people being deceived with a false imagination of good, do many times solicit their own ruine, and run the Commonwealth upon infinite dangers and difficulties, unless some person in whom they have great confidence strikes in to instruct them which is the good, and which is the evil; and when by accident it falls out that the people (having been formerly deceived either by persons or things) cannot repose that confidence in any one, then of necessity all goes to wrack, and nothing can prevent it: to this purpose *Dante* in his discourse about Monarchy,³ tells us,

*Il popolo molte volte grida
Viva la sua morte, et muoia la sua vita.*

*The enraged multitude do often crie
Give us our death, our life we do defie.*

(Book i. Chap. liii. p. 322.)

EDWARD PHILLIPS

(1630-c. 1696)

[Edward Phillips, miscellaneous writer, nephew of Milton, was born in London in 1630. As a boy he was educated by his uncle. In 1650 he went for a brief period

¹[Printed *L' humana probitate.*]

²[*Purg.* vii. 121-3.]

³[Not in the *De Monarchia*, but in *Convivio* i. 11, ll. 53-4.]

to Magdalen Hall, Oxford, but left without taking a degree in the next year, and sought a livelihood in London by literary work and private tuition. His most important publication was an English Dictionary, which was issued in 1658, with a title (*A New World of Words*) borrowed from that of Florio's Italian Dictionary published in 1611. Of this work five editions were published in Phillips' lifetime, and three after his death, which took place about 1696. In 1675 he published his *Theatrum Poetarum*, in which he is said to have been largely assisted by Milton; and in 1679 he brought out a new edition of *Joannis Buckleri Sacrarum Profanarumque Phrasium Poeticarum Thesaurus*, to which he appended two original essays in Latin, one of them being a 'Compendious Enumeration of the most famous Italian, German, English, and French Poets, who have flourished from the time of Dante Alighieri down to the present Age.' Both of these works contain notices of Dante.]

1675. THEATRUM POETARUM, OR A COMPLEAT COLLECTION OF THE POETS, ESPECIALLY THE MOST EMINENT, OF ALL AGES. THE ANTIENTS DISTINGUISH'T FROM THE MODERNS IN THEIR SEVERAL ALPHABETS. WITH SOME OBSERVATIONS AND REFLECTIONS UPON MANY OF THEM, PARTICULARLY THOSE OF OUR OWN NATION. TOGETHER WITH A PREFATORY DISCOURSE OF THE POETS AND POETRY IN GENERALL.

[Dante and his writings]

DANTES ALIGERUS, a most Renowned *Florentine*, and the first of *Italian* Poets of any Fame or Note for Vernacular Verse; but that which most proclaims his Fame to the World is his Triple Poem Entitled, *Paradise, Purgatory and Hell*; besides which he wrote several things in Prose; the Meridian of his flourishing time was the Year 1321. The Emperour *Lewes* the 5th Surnamed *Bavarus* then Reigning.

(From *Eminent Poets among the Moderns*, pp. 30-1.)

[Wyatt compared by Leland to Dante and Petrarch]

Sir Thomas Wiat, of *Allington-Castle*, in *Kent*; a Person of great esteem and reputation in the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth. . . . For his Translation of *David's Psalms* into English Meeter, and other Poetical Writings, *Leland* forbears not to compare him to *Dante* and *Petrarch*.¹

(*Ibid.* p. 185.)

1679. TRACTATUS DE CARMINE DRAMATICO POETARUM VETERUM, PRAESERTIM IN CHORIS, TRAGICIS, ET VETERIS COMOEDIAE. CUI SUBJUNGITUR COMPENDIOSA ENUMERATIO POETARUM (SALTEM QUORUM FAMA MAXIMÈ ENITUIT) QUI A TEMPORE DANTIS ALIGERII USQUE AD HUNC AETATEM CLARUERUNT: NEMPE ITALORUM, GERMANORUM, ANGLORUM ET GALLORUM, UBI OBITER PAUCA OCCURRUNT, DE MODO CARMINIS AB ITALIS, ANGLIS, &C., USITATI IN VERNACULIS LINGUIS.

¹[See above, p. 30.]

[Dantes Algerius]

Cum Poeticum Buchleri Thesaurum ex opibus Antiquorum Poetarum congestum fuisse satis constet, non fuit abs re quod ille fecit, qui quasi Monumenti et honoris Gratiâ nomina eorum qui tam bene de hoc opere meruerant eidem affixit, eademque ratione, cum nuperis saeculis non pauci qui carmine claruerunt, Eruditorum sententiis vix alicui Veterum Poetarum cedunt, cumque nihil dubitandum sit Fiscum Poeseos adhuc magna copia adauctum, uberioremque fuisse factum ex opulentis et opimis ingeniis Poetarum qui ex Modernis cultissimi habentur, non adeo inutile duximus, eorum etiam Catalogum huc adungere, idque eo potius, ut scientiae Poeticae studiosi eo largiorem inire societatem possint cum omnibus ejusdem quibuscumque professoribus, eorumque auxiliis instructiores in hanc militiam fierent; libet igitur initium facere à *Dante Algerio* Florentino Poeta celeberrimo, et quasi Principe Antipilano Italorum qui vulgari Idiomate bene scripserunt carmine; famâ notissimum ejus operum quae extant sive Prosaica sive Metrica Oratione est Poema ejus quod inscribitur *Paradisus*, cui adduntur *Purgatorium* et *Infernum*; floruit Anno Domini 1321. Imperante tunc temporis in Germania Ludovico quinto Bavaro.

(From *Poetae Itali in Compendiosa Enumeratio Poetarum &c.*: printed in *Sacrarum Profanarumque Phrasium Poeticarum Thesaurus recens perpolitus et numerosior factus opera Joannis Buchleri*, pp. 388-9.)

JOHN DRYDEN

(1631-1700)

[John Dryden, a native of Northamptonshire, was born in 1631. He was a scholar of Westminster School under Busby, and matriculated at Cambridge as a scholar of Trinity College in 1650, taking his degree in 1654. After leaving Cambridge he found employment in London as clerk to a relation, who was Chamberlain to the Protector. Dryden commenced his literary career with the publication of *Heroic Stanzas* on the death of Cromwell (1658), and shortly after he celebrated the Restoration in the poem *Astraea Redux* (1660). In 1663 his *Wild Gallant* was performed, the first of a long series of acted plays which terminated in *Love Triumphant* in 1694. He was appointed Poet Laureate in 1670, but was deprived of the office after the Revolution of 1688. In 1686 he became a Roman Catholic, in which faith he died (1700). Dryden's voluminous works, besides some 30 plays and operas, comprise original poems (among them, *Annus Mirabilis*, 1667; *Absalom and Achitophel*, 1681-2; *Religio Laici*, 1682; *The Hind and the Panther*, 1687; and *Alexander's Feast*, 1697), poetical translations (*Juvenal and Persius*, 1693; *Virgil*, 1697; *Fables*, 1700), and numerous prose pieces, including the famous *Essay on Dramatic Poesy* (1668), in which he defends the use of rhyme in tragedy, and various prefaces to plays and poems. Dryden several times mentions Dante, for the most part as the refiner of the Italian tongue. Only once (in the *Dedication of the Aeneis*) does he refer to him in such a way as to show any direct knowledge of Dante's works.]

1684. TO THE EARL OF ROSCOMMON, ON HIS EXCELLENT ESSAY ON TRANSLATED VERSE.¹

[‘Dante’s polish’d page’]

ITALY, reviving from the trance
Of Vandal, Goth, and monkish ignorance,
With pauses, cadence, and well-vowel’d words,
And all the graces a good ear affords,
Made rhyme an art, and Dante’s polish’d page
Restor’d a silver, not a golden age.

(ll. 15-19.)

1685. ALBION AND ALBANIUS, AN OPERA.

[Dante the first refiner of the Italian tongue]

All who are conversant in the Italian cannot but observe that it is the softest, the sweetest, the most harmonious, not only of any modern tongue, but even beyond any of the learned. It seems indeed to have been invented for the sake of Poetry and Music; the vowels are so abounding in all words, especially in terminations of them, that, excepting some few monosyllables, the whole language ends in them. Then the pronunciation is so manly, and so sonorous, that their very speaking has more of music in it than Dutch poetry and song. It has withal derived so much copiousness and eloquence from the Greek and Latin, in the composition of words, and the formation of them, that if, after all, we must call it barbarous, ’tis the most beautiful and most learned of any barbarism in modern tongues; and we may at least as justly praise it, as Pyrrhus did the Roman discipline and martial order, that it was of barbarians (for so the Greeks called all other nations), but had nothing in it of barbarity. This language has in a manner been refined and purified from the Gothic ever since the time of Dante, which is above four hundred years ago; and the French, who now cast a longing eye to their country, are not less ambitious to possess their elegance in Poetry and Music; in both which they labour at impossibilities.

(From the *Preface—Essays of John Dryden*, ed. W. P. Ker, vol. i. pp. 273-274.)

1697. DEDICATION OF THE AENEIS.

[Brutus placed by Dante in the great Devil’s mouth]

Caesar being murdered by his own son, whom I neither dare commend, nor can justly blame (though Dante, in his *Inferno*,² has put

¹[Prefixed to the Earl of Roscommon’s *Essay on Translated Verse*, published in 1684.]

²[*Inf.* xxxiv. 61-7.]

him and Cassius, and Judas Iscariot betwixt them, into the great Devil's mouth), the Commonwealth popped up its head for the third time, under Brutus and Cassius, and then sunk for ever.

(*Essays*, ed. W. P. Ker, vol. ii. pp. 169-70.)

1700. FABLES, ANCIENT AND MODERN, TRANSLATED INTO VERSE FROM HOMER (THE FIRST ILIAD), OVID, BOCCACCIO, AND CHAUCER, WITH ORIGINAL POEMS.

[Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio the first reformers of the Italian tongue]

From Chaucer I was led to think on Boccace, who was not only his contemporary, but also pursued the same studies; wrote novels in prose, and many works in verse; particularly is said to have invented the octave rhyme, or stanza of eight lines, which ever since has been maintained by the practice of all Italian writers who are, or at least assume the title of, heroic poets. He and Chaucer, among other things, had this in common, that they refined their mother-tongues; but with this difference, that Dante had begun to file their language, at least in verse, before the time of Boccace, who likewise received no little help from his master Petrarch; but the reformation of their prose was wholly owing to Boccace himself, who is yet the standard of purity in the Italian tongue, though many of his phrases are become obsolete, as in process of time it must needs happen.

(From the *Preface—Essays*, ed. W. P. Ker. vol. ii. pp. 248-9.)

ANONYMOUS: G. S.¹

(fl. 1680)

1684. ANGLORUM SPECULUM, OR THE WORTHIES OF ENGLAND, IN CHURCH AND STATE.

[Wyatt compared by Leland to Dante and Petrarch]

SIR TH. WIAT (Senior) was one of great Learning, admirable Ingenuity, and answered his Anagram *Wiat a Wit*. He translated *David* Psalms into English Metre. Of him
Leland

*Let Florence fair her Dantes justly boast,
And Royal Rome her Petrarchs numbered feet,
In English, Wiat both of them doth Coast,
In whom all graceful Eloquence doth meet.*²

(p. 412).

¹[The identity of G. S. has not been established.]

²[This version of Leland's Latin epigram on Wyatt (for which, see above, p. 30), which is also quoted by Anthony Wood, is borrowed, without acknowledgment, by Winstanley in his *Lives of the most Famous English Poets* (1687), see above, p. 155.]

WILLIAM AGLIONBY

(fl. 1680)

[William Aglionby, of whom little appears to be known beyond that he was appointed K.C. by William III, and was the envoy of Queen Anne to the Swiss Cantons, published in 1685 *Painting Illustrated in three Dialogues*, which contains translations from several of the best known of Vasari's *Vite de' più eccellenti Pittori, Scultori ed Architettori*. The lives of Cimabue, Giotto, and Raphael, contain interesting references to Dante. The work was reissued in 1719 with the title *Choice Observations upon the Art of Painting*.]

1685. PAINTING ILLUSTRATED IN THREE DIALOGUES, CONTAINING SOME CHOICE OBSERVATIONS UPON THE ART. TOGETHER WITH THE LIVES OF THE MOST EMINENT PAINTERS, FROM CIMABUE, TO THE TIME OF RAPHAEL AND MICHAEL ANGELO.¹

[Dante's lines on Cimabue and Giotto]

WE may say, that if *Cimabue* had not been followed so close, and so much Outdone by his Schollar *Ghiotto*,² his Fame would have been much greater; as appears by these Verses of Dante:

*Credette Simabue² nella Pittura
Tener lo campo e hora ha Ghiotto² il Grido,
Si che la Fama di colui oscura.³*

(*The Life of Cimabue: A Florentin Painter*, pp. 131-2.)

[Giotto's portrait of Dante]

*Ghiotto*⁴ becoming a strong Imitator of Nature, began to revive that which has been since called the Modern Way of Painting: For he used often to draw Men and Women by the Life; a thing that had not been Practised in Two Hundred Years before, or at least, not with that Success and Skill that *Ghiotto* had; as appears by some Things of that kind, which we have preserved to this day. Amongst the rest, he Drew *Dante Alighieri*, the famous Poet of those Times, and his Intimate Friend, as may be seen in that Chappel of the Palace of the *Podesta* of *Florence*: In the same Chappel, is likewise the Picture of *Ser Brunetto Latini*, *Dantes* Master, and of *M. Coriso*⁵ *Donati*, a noble Citizen, and of great Renown in those Times.

(*The Life of Ghiotto A Florentine: Both Painter, Sculptor, and Architect*, p. 139.)

¹[The lives represented are those of Cimabue Giotto, Lionardo da Vinci, Andrea del Sarto, Raphael, Giorgione, Michael Angelo, Giulio Romano, Perino del Vaga, Titian, and Donato, a sculptor.]

²[*Sic.*]

³[*Purg.* xi. 94-6.]

⁴[*Sic.*]

⁵[*Sic.* for Corso.]

[Dante and Giotto at Ravenna]

At the Instance of the *Signori della Scala*, *Ghiotto* went to *Padoua*, where in the Church, called the *Sancto*, newly built in those days, he painted a Chappel most curiously. From thence he went to *Verona*, and painted divers Things in the Palace of *Messer Cane della Scala*; amongst the rest, the Picture of that Lord. In his Return to *Florence*, he was obliged to take *Ferrara* on his way, to obey the commands of the Lords of *Este*, for whom he did many Things in that City: At the same time, *Dante* the famous Poet, hearing that *Ghiotto* was at *Ferrara*, and being himself at *Ravenna*, where he was then in Exile, wrought so with him, that he got him to *Ravenna*, where he painted in *Sancta*¹ *Francisco*, some Stories in *Fresco*, for the *Signori di Polenta*.

(*Ibid.* p. 149.)

[Giotto's indebtedness to Dante]

Ghiotto painted divers of the Chappels [of the Royal Nunnery of *Sancta Chiara*, at *Naples*] with Stories of the Old Testament, and some of the New; particularly those out of the *Revelations*, are thought to be the Invention of the Poet *Dante*, as also those very well Invented Stories of the Church of *Assisa*,² they having been Intimate Friends: And though 'tis true, *Dante* died the Year before, yet 'tis possible that they might have Talked together of those Stories of the *Apocalyps*.

(*Ibid.* pp. 150-1.)

[Raphael's drawing of Dante]

In that part [of *Pope Giulio* the Second's Palace at *Rome*] which looks towards *Belvedere*, *Raphael* drew the Mount *Parnassus*, with the Fountain *Helicon* . . . the Hill is filled with Poets in different postures . . . There on one Side, you see *Ovid*, *Virgil*, *Ennius*, *Tibullus*, *Catullus*, *Propertius*, and *Homer* by himself; . . . On the other Side, is the Learned *Sappio*,³ the most Divine *Dante*, Gentle *Pearch*,⁴ and Amorous *Boccaccio*, with a great many more of the Moderns:

(*The Life of Raphael Del Urbin, A Painter and Architect*, pp. 227-8.)

SIR PAUL RYCAUT

(1628-1700)

[Paul Rycout, whose grandfather was a grandee of Brabant, was born at Aylesford, in Kent, in 1628. He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he

¹[*Sic.*] ²[*Sic.* for Assisi.] ³[*Sic.* for Sappho.] ⁴[*Sic.* for Petrarch.]

graduated in 1650. He spent the greater part of the next thirty years abroad. In 1661 he went to Turkey as secretary to the embassy of the Earl of Winchelsea, and he was attached to the Porte for six years, during which he collected the materials for his *Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (1668). In 1666 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and in 1667 he was appointed Consul to the Levant Company at Smyrna. He returned to England in 1679 and in the next year he published his *History of the Turkish Empire*. In 1685 he was knighted and sworn Privy Councillor and Judge of Admiralty in Ireland, where he remained till 1688. In 1689 he was appointed Resident in Hamburg and the Hanse Towns, which post he held until his recall, a few months before his death at Aylesford in 1700. In 1685 Rycaut published a translation (of which a second edition was issued in 1688) of the *Vitae Pontificum* of Baptista Sacchi of Piadena, commonly known as Platina (1421-1481), which was first printed at Venice in 1479. References to Dante occur in the lives of Boniface VIII. and Clement V.]

1685. THE LIVES OF THE POPES, FROM THE TIME OF OUR SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST, TO THE REIGN OF SIXTUS IV. WRITTEN ORIGINALLY IN LATIN, BY BAPTISTA PLATINA.

[Dante exiled from Florence in the time of Boniface VIII]

BONIFACE made *Charles* Earl of *Valois* sole Governor of *Peter's* Patrimony, and sent a Legat into *Tuscany*, to appease the new broils there. For instead of *Gibellines* and *Guelfs* they were called *Whites* and *Blacks*. But the Legat could do no good, though he threatened to interdict them; nor could *Charles* of *Valois*, who came thither by the Pope's Order, restrain the *Florentines* so much, but that they did drive the *Albi* or *Whites* out of their City, and killed a great many of them besides. For, at that time, the *Gibellines* were called the *Whites*, . . . When *Charles* of *Valois* went out of *Tuscany*, the *Whites*, who were driven out of *Florence*, went in great numbers to *Forli*. among whom there was one *Dantes Aldegerius*, a very Learned man, and an excellent Poet in his Mother-Tongue: This Person endeavoured to return into his own Country several times, but in vain; although he were assisted by the *Bolognians* and *Canegrandis*, Governors of *Verona*, with whom he lived afterward for some time in all the freedom of conversation.

(From *Boniface VIII*, ed. 1688, p. 297.)

[Dante rebukes the Florentines for their foolish answer to Henry VII]

At that time *Henry* of *Lucemburgh* was chosen Emperor by the *Germans*, and confirmed by the Pope, upon condition, that he should come into *Italy* within two years and receive his Crown at *Rome*. This the Pope did to the end that the commotions in *Italy* would be suppressed by the arrival of the Emperor. Who promised to perform what the Pope had enjoined him, and immediately sent Agents into *Italy* to all the States and Princes there; but chiefly to the *Florentines* who at that time harrassed them of

Arezzo. The *Florentines* made answer, That so great a Prince as he was did not do prudently, in endeavouring to bring Foreigners into *Italy*, which was a Countrey that, as Emperor, he ought to defend from such with his utmost power. And that he did not do well to protect them of *Arezzo*, who, he knew, had banished the *Guelfs*, their Fellow-Citizens: Whereas it was the Emperors prerogative alone to banish or to recal from Exile. They say, that *Dantes* then told the *Florentines*, They were blind for making such a foolish answer to the Emperor, than which nothing could be more to the disadvantage of their State, especially when so great and Warlike a Prince, with so great an Army, approached them.

(From *Clement V*, ed. 1688, p. 302.)

SIR THOMAS POPE BLOUNT

(1649-1697)

[Thomas Pope Blount, eldest son of Sir Henry Blount, of Tittenhanger, Hertfordshire, the author of the *Voyage to the Levant*, was born in 1649. He was carefully educated and at an early age acquired a reputation for learning, of which he afterwards gave evidence in his published works. Blount, who was created a baronet by Charles II in 1679, sat in Parliament for some years, and at the time of his death, which took place at Tittenhanger in 1697, was Commissioner of Accounts in the House of Commons. The most important of his works was the *Censura celebriorum Authorum*, published in 1690, which has been described as 'a record of the opinions of the greatest writers of all ages on one another.' This was followed in 1694 by his *De Re Poetica*, which deals with the characteristics of English, French, Italian, and Spanish poetry, and contains an account of nearly 70 poets of various ages and countries, including many who were omitted from the *Censura*. Dante is included in both these works, the remarks upon him of fifteen authors being quoted in the *Censura*, and of eight (some being identical with those already quoted) in the *De Re Poetica*.]

1690. CENSURA CELEBRIORUM AUTHORUM: SIVE TRACTATUS IN QUO VARIA VIRORUM DOCTORUM DE CLARISSIMIS CUJUSQUE SEculi SCRIPTORIBUS JUDICIA TRADUNTUR.

Dantes Aligerus (Clar. An. Dom. MCCCX)

ITALUS natione, patriâ *Florentinus*, natus est Anno 1265, obiit *Ravennae* anno Dom. 1321.

Scripta ejus sunt: Comoediarum liber 1.—De Monarchia Mundi lib. 1.—Epistolae plures—Disputatio de aquâ et terrâ—Larmina de Inferno, Purgatorio, Paradiso, Italicè conscripta—Cibellus de amore¹—Cantica viginti, Italico sermone composita—Libellus de Officio Pontificis et *Caesaris Romani*²—De vulgari

¹[The *Vita Nuova*.]

²[Dante wrote no work with this title; doubtless the *De Monarchia* (already mentioned) is meant.]

eloquentia libri duo, cùm tamen quatuor se daturum polliceatur, sed hoc consilium mors ejus interrupit. . . .¹

Maximâ vir laude et autoritate, eruditioneque omnibus carissimus, veritatem magnâ ex parte agnoscens, regni Papistici fraudes non ignoravit. *Olear.* in *Abac.* PP.²

Dantes Aligerus Poëta sui seculi nulli secundus. Erat non tantùm *Graecè* et *Latinè* peritus, sed in linguâ *Hetruscâ* facundissimus: proptereâ quoties ad colloquia Principum admittebatur, tantâ sermonis elegantîâ, tantâ ubertate, et eloquentiae floribus omnium in se animos convertibat, ut nemo illum non diligeret et admiraretur. *Boissard.* *Icon.*³

In eo quidem eruditionem, et multarum rerum cognitionem offendetis, et inprimis ejus theologiae, quae *Parisiensibus* attribuitur. In eo salis et mordacitatis ad fastidium interdum usque. Certe in eo Poeticam dispositionem majoremque diligentiam plerosque desiderare video, ejusque linguae nitorem: quos *Joannes Stephanus* eremita, et amicus charissimus, et municeps noster, quâ est eruditione, et quo à teneris erga *Dantherm* fuit studio, mirabiliter solitus est refellere. *Lil. Gyrald.*⁴

Dantes Aligherius et ipse concivis nuper mens, vir vulgari eloquio clarissimus fuit, sed moribus parùm per contumaciam, et oratione liberior, quam delicatis ac studiosis aetatis nostrae principum auribus atque oculis acceptum foret. *Francisc. Petrarch.*

Boccacius Dantem Aligherium poetam insignem fuisse dicit in libris de casibus virorum illustrium.

Dantes verò Poëta non aspernabilis. *Coel. Rhodigin.* l. 15, c. 20. *Lect. Antiq.*⁵

Dantes Aligherius, vir aeternâ dignus memoriâ, et in Poësi vernaculâ excellentissimus. *Boxhorn.* in *Monument. vir. Illustrium.*⁶

Habitus est *Dantes Aldegerius* vir doctissimus, et suâ vernaculâ linguâ Poëta insignis. *Platina* in *Vit. Bonifac. VIII*⁷⁸

Primus *Italorum Danthes Aldigerius*, non instituto vetustatis

¹[Blount here inserts the accounts of Dante given by Raffaello Volterrano, Voetius, and Flaccus Illyricus, which are quoted by Edward Leigh (see above, pp. 147-8).]

²[*Abacus Patrologicus* in *Patrologi ꝑ. Gerhardi Supplementum*, by Johann Gottfried Olearius (Jena, 1673).]

³[*Icones et Vitae Virorum Illustrium*, by Jean Jacques Boissard (Frankfort 1592-9).]

⁴[Lilio Giraldi, of Ferrara (1479-1552).]

⁵[Ludovicus Coelius Rhodiginus, of Rovigo (1450-1525); his *Antiquae Lectiones* was published at Venice in 1516.]

⁶[M. Z. Boxhornius, of Leyden (1612-1653); his *Virorum Illustrium Elogia* was published in 1638.]

⁷[Baptista Sacchi, of Piadena, surnamed Platina (1421-1481); his *Vitae Pontificum* was published at Venice in 1479, and was translated into English by Sir Paul Rycaut in 1685 (see above, pp. 175-6).]

⁸[Blount here gives the passage from Heerebord quoted by Edward Leigh (see above, p. 148).]

ordine tantum, sed praeccellenti gravis ingenii foecunditate primum locum inter imagines meritis, optimo jure conspicitur. Hunc *Florentia*, factiosa eo seculo civitas protulit, ab altaque mentis indole cognitum, octovirali supremæ potestatis Magistratu insignem fecit: ut mox fatali conversa turbine et summum civem, et *Etruscae* linguae conditorem, tanquam saeva et ingrata patria proscriberet. Sed exilium, vel toto *Etruriae* principatu ei majus, et gloriosius fuit, quum illam sub amarâ cogitatione excitatam, occulti, divinique ingenii vim exacerit, et inflammârit. Enata siquidem est in exilio Comoedia triplex *Platonicae* eruditionis lumine perillustris, ut, abdicatâ patriâ, totius *Italiae* civitate donaretur. Plenus ideo gloriâ perenni, quum eam quae piis mortalibus expetitur, coelestis auroe foelicitatem tanto ore, tantoque spiritu decantatam contemplantur, nullâ adhuc obortâ canitie, *Ravennae* morbo interiiit, adeo mentis compos, ut sex versus sepulchro incidendo componeret. Nec *Ravennates* in apparatu funeris publico totius *Italiae* civi defuerunt. Quum enim sepulchrum è marmore condidissent, non obscure exprobratâ *Etruscis* acerbitate, novam sibi claritatem gloriosâ pietate vendicarunt. *Paul. Jovius* in Elog.¹

Quis tam sui inscius, qui advertens *Dantem Aligerium* sacrae Theologiae implicitos persaepe nexus mirâ demonstratione solventem, non sentiat eum, non solum Philosophum, sed et Theologum insignem fuisse? *Boccacius* l. 14. Gen. Deor.

Jean Villani qui estoit de son païs et presque son contemporain, assure que personne jusqu' alors n'avoit écrit avec plus de noblesse et de majesté ni en Vers, ni en prose: mais comme il y avoit peu de gens qui eussent écrit avant luy, cette reputation n'a pas dû luy coûter beaucoup—effectivement *Dante* a esté un des premiers qui, selon *Messieurs* du *Port-Royal*, a eu la gloire d'entreprendre en ces derniers siecles de faire des Poèmes heroïques: et il y a si bien réüssi qu'il est encore aujourd'huy admiré des sçavans pour ce sujet. De sorte qu'il ne s'est encore trouvé personne, dit le *Chevalier Salviati*, qu'il ait² pû passer en ce genre, tant il est propre dans ses mots et dans ses expressions; quoique le sujet extraordinaire qu'il avoit choisi de parler de l'*Enfer*, du *Purgatoire*, et du *Paradis*, l'ait souvent obligé de se servir de mots et de façons de parler un peu singulieres. Mais une des choses les plus estimables dans ce Poète, au jugement de ces *Messieurs*, est que son Ouvrage est aussi pur pour les mœurs que pour le langage.—Le *P. Gallucci* a trouvé à redire à ses allegories, dont il dit qu'il est tout tissu, ajoutant que si on les luy ostoit il ne luy resteroit plus rien de ce qui luy a acquis la reputation de Poète. C'est, dit il,

¹[Paolo Giovio, of Como (1485-1552); his notice of Dante occurs in his *Elogia Virorum literis illustrium* (Florence, 1549).

²[*Sic*; read *qui l'ait*.]

toute son invention, c'est toute sa fiction, en quoy il est bien éloigné de l'air naturel qui se trouve par tout dans les Ouvrages de *Virgile*. Jugemens des Sçavans par Monsieur Baillet¹ à Paris 1686.

Vivens ipse sibi hoc Epitaphium scripsit, cujus primis verbis significat libellum de *Officio Caesaris et Romani Pontificis*, deinde *Cantica* sua, nomen, exilium, patriam, sepulturae locum, *Jura Monarchiae, superos, Phlegethonta, lacusque*,² etc.

Eum tumulum *Bembus* civis *Venetus*, *Bembi Cardinalis* pater, cum *Ravennae* Praetor esset, refici et restitui curavit incisus his versibus,

Exiguâ Tumuli, Dantes, hic sorte jacebas,³ etc.

Le P. *Rapin* dit que les pensées de ce Poète sont presque toujours si abstraites et si difficiles, qu'il y a de l'art à les penetrer: que *Dante* n'a pas assez de feu; que pour l'ordinaire il n'est pas assez modeste, et qu'il a esté trop hardi d'invoquer son propre esprit pour sa Divinité.

* *Dantis Aligeri Monarchia* omnino prohibetur.

Extant ejus *Poëmata Italica* cum expositione *Christophori Landini et Alex. Vellutelli* editore *Francisco Sansovino Florentino*. *Venetis* apud *Joan. Baptistam Sessam* et fratres in fol. anno. 1564.

(pp. 297-8)

Johannes Boccatus (Clar. An. Dom. MCCCLXVI)

. . . Quemadmodum *Petrarcha* eloquentiam in Poësi *Hetrusca* à cive et Magistro suo *Dante Aligerio*, inchoatam, perduxit ad maturitatem: ita iisdem temporibus *Boccacius* pedestrem eloquentiam in sermone patrio (ut *Jovii* de eo judicium est) simul et inchoavit et absolvit. *Voss. de Hist. Lat.*⁴

(p. 308.)

Galfredus Chaucerus (Clar. An. Dom. MCCCLXXX)

. . . De *Chaucero Lelandus* inter Epigrammata sua sic scribit: *Praedicat Algerum meritò Florentia Dantem*,⁵ etc.

(p. 312.)

¹[*Jugement des Savans sur les principaux ouvrages des auteurs*, by A. Baillet de la Neuville (1649-1706).]

²[For this epitaph, which Blount prints in full, see above, under Fynes Moryson, p. 91.]

³[For this epitaph, which Blount prints in full, see above, under Fynes Moryson, p. 91.]

⁴[G. J. Vossius (1577-1649); his *De Historicis Latinis* was published at Amsterdam.]

⁵[For this epigram, which Blount prints in full, see above, under Leland, p. 31.]

1694. DE RE POETICA: OR, REMARKS UPON POETRY. WITH CHARACTERS AND CENSURES OF THE MOST CONSIDERABLE POETS, WHETHER ANCIENT OR MODERN. EXTRACTED OUT OF THE BEST AND CHOICEST CRITICKS.¹

Dantes Aligerus

A most Renowned *Florentine*, and the first of *Italian Poets* of any Fame or Note. He was born in the year 1265. He dyed at *Ravanna* in the year 1321. That which most proclaims his Fame to the World, is his Triple Poem, Entituled, *Paradise, Purgatory, and Hell*; besides which he has Wrote several Things in Prose. In his *Opusculum de Monarchia* he held, That the *Civil Government* had no dependance upon the *Church*; for which reason, after his Death, he was condemn'd as an *Heretick*, and the said Book was Prohibited by the Church of *Rome*.

Gisbertus Voetius,² in the Second Book, the First Section, and the Ninth Chapter of his *Bibliotheca*, says, That those *Italian Poems* of *Petrarcha* and *Aligerus*, which do now and then touch upon *Ecclesiastical Matters*, are preferr'd by *Divines* before any of the Works of the other *Poets*.

Olearius, in his *Abacus Patrologicus*, calls *Aligerus*, a Man of very great Credit and Authority, who by his Learning had got the Love and Esteem of all men; and that he was so great an *Asserter* of *Truth*, that he often laid open the *frauds* of the Church of *Rome*.

Johannes Villani, both his Countrey-Man and Contemporary, in the Ninth Book of his *Florentine History*, affirms, That *Aligerus* exceeded all that went before him, either in *Verse* or in *Prose*, both for Nobleness of Fancy, and a Majestick Style.

Boccace, in his *De Casibus virorum Illustrium*, calls *Dantes Aligerus*, an excellent Poet.

Caelius Rhodiginus, *lib. 15, cap. 20. Lectionum Antiquarum*, stiles him a Poet not contemptible.

Platina, in the life of *Boniface VIII.* says, That *Dantes Aldegerius* was a man of very great Learning, and an excellent *Italian Poet*.

Lilius Gyraldus, remarks, That in *Aligerus*, one might find both Learning and great Knowledge, and that he was particularly skill'd in the *Parisian Divinity*; but that sometimes he is too sharp and biting. He further tells us, That many think him too

¹[In this work Blount gives an English paraphrase or translation of several of the notices of Dante already quoted in the *Censura*. He also quotes Rymer's translation of Rapin's remarks upon Dante (see above, pp. 161-3), and Dryden's remarks in his Preface to *Albion and Albanus* (see above, p. 171).]

²[For this and the following names, see the notes to the *Censura* above.]

negligent in point of Order and Method, and also as to his Style; but that one *Joannes Stephanus*, a *Hermite*, a Person of great Learning, and one who from his Childhood had a mighty affection for *Aligerus*, was wont to refute those persons, by giving a full Answer to their Objections.

(*Characters and Censures*, pp. 56 ff.)

FRANCIS MAXIMILIAN MISSON

(c. 1650-1722)

[Misson was born in France about 1650. In 1685 he came over to England, and was appointed tutor to Charles Butler, afterwards Earl of Arran, grandson of the Duke of Ormonde. He made the grand tour with his pupil in 1687 and 1688, most of the time being spent in Italy. In 1691 Misson published at the Hague an account of his travels under the title of *Nouveau Voyage d' Italie*, of which an English translation was published in London in 1695. Several editions of this translation appeared before Misson's death, which took place in London in 1722. The accuracy of his account of Italy is praised by Addison. Among the places visited was Ravenna, in the account of which a description is given of Dante's tomb.]

1695. A NEW VOYAGE TO ITALY: WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE CHIEF TOWNS, CHURCHES, TOMBS, LIBRARIES, PALACES, STATUES AND ANTIQUITIES. . . .

[Dante's tomb at Ravenna]

WE saw the Tomb of the Poet *Dantes*,¹ in the Cloyster of the *Conventual Franciscans*. I transcrib'd the Epitaph, principally for the Curiosity of the Rhimes, which is as follows:—

Jura Monarchiae, Superos, Phlegetonta, Lacusque,² etc.

Another:³

Exiguâ Tumuli Danthes hic sorte jacebas,⁴ etc.

(From *Letter xviii*. vol. i. pp. 219-20.)

¹ *Dante Dalighieri*, a *Florentin*, a man of Quality and great Merit, died in Exile at *Ravenna*, in the Year 1321, and the 56th Year of his Age. [In the second edition (1699), 'enlarg'd above one third,' is added 'He was banish'd because he sided with the *Gibbelins* of *Pioloja*' (*sic*, for *Pistoja*).]

² [For this epitaph, which Misson prints in full, see above, under *Fynes Moryson*, p. 91.]

³ [In subsequent editions: 'Another which was added when Cardinal *Bembo* repair'd this Monument.'—(Not Cardinal *Bembo*, but *Bernardo Bembo*).]

⁴ [For this epitaph, which Misson prints in full, see above, under *Fynes Moryson*, p. 91. In the last line for *haec coluere* Misson reads *haec coluere*, for which he was taken to task by *William Guthrie*, see below p. 240.]

EDWARD BERNARD

(1638-1697)

[Edward Bernard, born in 1638, was educated at Merchant Taylors' School, and St. John's College, Oxford, of which he became a Fellow in 1658. In 1673 he was appointed to the Savilian Professorship of Astronomy at Oxford, in succession to Sir Christopher Wren, which he resigned in 1691, on his presentation to a living in Berkshire. He died at Oxford in 1697, and was buried in his College Chapel. Among his works was a Catalogue of the MSS. in the libraries of England and Ireland, which was begun in 1692 and published at Oxford in 1697 shortly after his death. It is noteworthy that only three MSS. of Dante are mentioned in the Catalogue. These belonged to Eton and Westminster Abbey, there being not a single copy in any of the libraries of Oxford or Cambridge at this date.]

[1697.] CATALOGI LIBRORUM MANUSCRIPTORUM ANGLIAE ET HIBERNIAE IN UNUM COLLECTI CUM INDICE ALPHABETICO. OXONIAE MDCXCVII.

[MS. of Dante at Westminster]

LIBRORUM *Manuscriptorum* Ecclesiae Westmonasteriensis
Catalogus:—
1162. Comedie di Dante D' Algieri, viz. Inferno, Purgatorio, Cielo.

(Tomus ii. p. 28.)

[MSS. of Dante at Eton]

Librorum Manuscriptorum Collegii Etonensis *sub Arce Windesoria Catalogus*:—

1842. Dante, an Italian Poet. fol.

1843. An Italian Comment on his Poem. fol.

(Tomus ii. p. 46.)

WILLIAM WOTTON

(1666-1726)

[William Wotton, scholar and divine, was born at Wrentham in Suffolk in 1666. He received his early education from his father, under whose tuition he exhibited most remarkable precocity in learning languages. By the time he was six years old he could read Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. He was admitted at Catharine Hall, Cambridge, in 1676, before he was ten. He graduated B.A. in 1679, and in 1683 was elected Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Four years later he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1705 Bishop Burnet made him a prebendary of Salisbury, which preferment he held until his death in 1726. In 1694 Wotton published his most important work, *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning*, in which he upholds the moderns against the classics, in opposition to Sir William Temple.¹ In the second edition of this work (1697) he introduces a reference to Dante.]

¹[In his *Essay upon the Ancient and Modern Learning* (1692).]

1697. REFLECTIONS UPON ANCIENT AND MODERN LEARNING.¹

[The place of Dante, Boccaccio, Petrarch, and Villani in Italian literature]

THAT a derived Language should be Sweeter than its Mother-Tongue, will seem strange to none that compares the Modern *Tuscan* with the Ancient *Latin*; where, though their Affinity is visible at first sight, in every Sentence, yet one sees that that derived Language actually has a Sweetness and Tunableness in its Composition, that could not be derived from its Parent; since nothing can impart that to another, which it has not it self: And it shews likewise, that a Barbarous People, as the *Italians* were when mingled with the *Goths* and *Lombards*, may, without knowing or minding Grammatical Analogy, form a Language so exceedingly Musical, that scarce any Art can mend it. For, in *Boccace's* Time, who liv'd above CCC years ago, in the earliest Dawnings of Polite Learning in these Western Parts of the World, *Italian* was a formed Language, endued with that peculiar Smoothness which other *Europaean* Languages wanted; and it has since suffered no fundamental Alterations; not any, one should think, for the better, since in the *Dictionary* of the *Academy della Crusca*, *Boccace's* Writings are constantly appealed to, as the Standards of the Tongue. Nay it is still disputed among the Criticks of the *Italian Language*, whether *Dante*, *Boccace*, *Petrarch*, and *Villani*, who were all Contemporaries, are not the Valuablest as well as the Ancientest Authors they have.

(From Chap. iii. *Of Ancient and Modern Eloquence and Poesie*, pp. 26-7.)

E. VERYARD

(fl. 1700)

1701. AN ACCOUNT OF DIVERS CHOICE REMARKS, AS WELL GEOGRAPHICAL, AS HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, MATHEMATICAL, PHYSICAL, AND MORAL; TAKEN IN A JOURNEY THROUGH THE LOW COUNTRIES, FRANCE, ITALY, AND PART OF SPAIN; ETC.

[Dante's tomb at Ravenna]

RAVENNA.—Amongst other Curiosities of this City, we observ'd an Arch erected to the memory of *Dante*, the famous *Italian* Poet, with these Verses, the first being composed by *Bernard Bembo*, Father of the eminent Cardinal

¹[First published in 1694; the reference to Dante was added in the second edition (1697) 'with large additions;' a third edition was published in 1705.]

of that Name, and the latter by *Dante* himself, which shew him to have been a much worse *Latin* Poet than *Italian*.

I

*Exigua tumuli, Dantes, hic sorte jacebas,*¹ etc.

II

*Jura Monarchiae, superos, Phlegetonta, lacusque,*² etc.

(p. 149.)

[Dante's portrait in the Duomo at Florence]

Florence.—The *Domo*, or principal Church, is one of the most magestick in *Europe*, presenting nothing to the Eye, both within and without, but marble of all sorts. . . . Amongst a great number of Epitaphs of famous Men, Natives of this City, we remark'd these Three; the First is of *Giotto*, who restor'd the Art of Painting, compos'd by *Angelus Politianus*.

*Ille ego sum per quem pictura extincta revixit,*³ etc.

The Second is of *Marsilius Ficinus*, the Physician and Platonist, who, out of meer Veneration, kept a Lamp continually burning in his Chamber before *Plato's* Picture.

*En Hospes,*⁴ etc.

The Third is of *Dante*, the famous *Italian* Poet, who, tho' buried at *Ravenna*, has his memory still preserv'd here by a painted Square,⁵ hung up in this Church, on which we read the following Verses:

*Qui caelum cecinit, mediumq; imumq; tribunal,*⁶ etc.

(pp. 240-1.)

[The famous men of Florence]

Tuscany.—The *Florentines* who have most contributed to the advancement of Learning, are *Marsilius Ficinus*, *Petrarcha*, *Dante*, *Bocchatius*, *Angelus Politianus*, *Palmerus*, *Accursius*, *Leo Albertus*, *Donatus Victorius*, *Vespucius*, *Guiccardinus*, *Galilaeus de Galilaeis*, *Joannes Casa*, *Michael Angelo Buonoroto*, *Philipppo Brunelleschi*, with divers Architects, Sculptors, and Painters of the first Rank.

(p. 247.)

¹[For this epitaph (printed in full by Veryard) see above, under Fynes Moryson, p. 91.]

²[For this epitaph (printed in full by Veryard), see above, under Fynes Moryson, p. 91.]

³[Veryard prints the epitaph (8 lines) in full.]

⁴[Printed in full (7 lines) by Veryard.]

⁵[The picture by Domenico di Michelino, now over the north door of the Cathedral.]

⁶[For this inscription (printed in full by Veryard), see above, under William Barker, p. 41.]

THOMAS BROWN

(1663-1704)

[Thomas Brown, 'of facetious memory,' as Addison describes him, was the son of a farmer, and was born at Shifnal in Shropshire in 1663. In 1678 he went to Christ Church, Oxford, where he wrote the well-known epigram on the Dean, 'I do not love thee, Dr. Fell.' He left the University without a degree, and was for a time a schoolmaster at Kingston. Subsequently he settled in London as a hack writer. A volume of his humorous and satirical verses was published in 1699. Among the objects of his satire were Dryden and Titus Oates. Brown led a profligate life in London and died in Aldersgate Street in 1704. He was buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey. His name is best known in connection with the *Letters from the Dead to the Living*, of which he was one of the principal authors. In one of these there is a mention of Dante.]

1702. LETTERS FROM THE DEAD TO THE LIVING.

[Homer, Virgil, Dante, and Quevedo, among those who have described Hell]

I AM not insensible, gentlemen, that *Homer, Virgil, Dante, Don Quevedo*, and many more before me, have given an account of these subterranean dominions, for which reason, it may look like affectation or vanity in me to meddle with a subject so often handled; but if new travels into *Italy, Spain, and Germany*, are daily read with approbation, because new matters of enquiry and observation perpetually arise, I don't see why the present state of the *Plutonian* kingdoms may not be acceptable, there having been as great changes and alterations in these infernal regions, as in any other part of the universe whatever.

(*Works*, ed. 1719, vol. ii. p. 2.)

BIBLIOTHECA SUNDERLANDIANA

c. 1702. BIBLIOTHECA SUNDERLANDIANA: CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY OF THE EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

[Charles Spencer, third Earl of Sunderland (1674-1722), second son of Robert, second Earl, succeeded his father in 1702. He early displayed a taste for books, and began to form a collection before he was twenty. By 1699 he had, as Evelyn records in his *Diary*, 'an incomparable library' at Althorp, which four years later was described as 'the finest in Europe.' In 1749, when it was removed to Blenheim, it consisted of 17,000 volumes. The library was sold in 1881-3, the total amount realised by the sale exceeding £56,000. The collection was rich in copies of the works of Dante, including more than thirty editions of the *Divina Commedia*, of which nine belonged to the fifteenth century, viz., Foligno, 1472 (*editio princeps*); Naples, n.d. (F. del Tuppo); Venice, 1477 (two copies); Milan, 1478; Venice, 1478; Florence, 1481 (with three of the nineteen plates); Venice, 1484; Bressa, 1487; and Venice, 1491 (Benali); and fifteen to the sixteenth

century, including Aldus, 1502, and the Lyons counterfeit, and Junta, 1506. The collection also included a Cent. XV MS. of the *Inferno* with the commentary of Guido Pisano; and the *editio princeps* of the *Convivio* (Florence, 1490), and of the *Vita Nuova* (Florence, 1576).¹

JEREMY COLLIER

(1650-1726)

[Jeremy Collier, nonjuring divine, was born at Stow Qui in Cambridgeshire in 1650. He was educated under his father at the free school at Ipswich, whence he went in 1669, as a 'poor scholar,' to Caius College, Cambridge. He graduated M.A. in 1676, in which year he was ordained. He was rector of Ampton in Suffolk from 1679 to 1685, when he was appointed lecturer of Gray's Inn in London. At the Revolution he was a strenuous opponent of William III, and was several times imprisoned on account of his political publications. In the reign of Queen Anne he was ordained a nonjuring bishop (1713). He died in London in 1726, at the age of 76. Collier's most important work was his attack on the corruptions of the stage. His famous *Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage* was published in 1698, and produced an immediate effect, public opinion being on his side. Among Collier's numerous other writings was a *Historical Dictionary*, founded on and partly translated from that of Louis Moréri (1643-1680); of which the first two volumes appeared in 1701 and 1705, the third (Supplement) in 1705, and the fourth (Appendix) in 1721. The Supplement contains a life of Dante, the authorities for which are given at the end of the article.]

1705. A SUPPLEMENT TO THE GREAT HISTORICAL, GEOGRAPHICAL, GENEALOGICAL AND POETICAL DICTIONARY: BEING A CURIOUS MISCELLANY OF SACRED AND PROFANE HISTORY. . . .

[Life of Dante]

DANTES (*Aligheri*) was born at *Florence* in 1265. He was Extracted from a good Family, and had a great Genius for Poetry. During the Faction of the *Blacks* or *Guelfs*, and the *Whites*, who were most of them *Gibelines*; during this Faction, I say, he was one of the Governors of *Florence*. *Charles of France*, Earl of *Valois*, whom Pope *Boniface VIII.* had prevail'd with to come to *Florence* in 1301, to break the Factions with which that Republick was so terribly harrass'd, cou'd not hinder the *Blacks* from banishing the *Whites*, and pulling down their Houses. *Dantes* being one of the *Whites*, tho' in other respects a good *Guelf*, was banish'd among the rest, and cou'd never make an Interest to be recall'd. He blam'd the Earl of *Valois* for not preventing this Injustice, and endeavoured to revenge himself upon the whole Royal Family of *France*, by aspersing their Genealogy in his Writings; this Calumny would probably have made an Impression, if their Pedigree had not been

¹[The list of editions of Dante is given in the Catalogue (Nos. 3684-3726) of the Blenheim sale in 1881.]

very clear and satisfactory. Afterwards *Dantes* fell foul upon the Pope, which has made him be censur'd as Unorthodox: 'Tis in his Tract *de Monarchia*, in which he affirms the Emperors are Independent of the Popes. *Volaterran* relates it thus: *Ejus fuit opinio, quod Imperium ab Ecclesia minime dependeret. Cujus rei gratia post ejus exitum damnatus est.* And here *Spondanus*,¹ a French Bishop of *Pomiers*, writes like a rank *Ultra-Montan*, for he mentions this passage of *Volaterran* without any mark of censure or dislike: and just in the same manner of Approbation he quotes St Antony, who, says he, has confuted at large the grand Error in the Works of this Poet: that is, his lessening the Pope's power over Princes in *Temporalibus*. *Conatus est, says Spondanus, deprimere Auctoritatem Romani Pontificis supra Imperatores seu Reges Romanorum in Temporalibus, quem idem Antoninus pluribus Confutat;* but, by *Spondanus's* favour, this is pure *Italian* Doctrine, his Pen seems to be govern'd by the Interest and Bigottry of the Court of *Rome*, for a true Son of the *Gallican* Church never swaggers over Princes at this rate. To return: *Dantes* gain'd the Patronage of several Persons of Quality in his Exile, but his temper being somewhat uncompliant, and over free, he quickly lost their favour. *Petrarch* reports of him, that *l'Escale*, Prince of *Verona*, one of *Dantes's* Patrons, happen'd to tell him one day, That 'twas a strange thing that a *Buffoon*, or *Merry Andrew*, who makes it his business to play the Fool, shou'd be so very agreeable to us, and be acceptable in all Companies; which is a point that you, who go for a Wise Man, cannot compass. That's no wonder at all, replies *Dantes*, neither would you admire it in the least, if you consider'd that a resemblance of Nature and Temper is generally the ground of Friendship and Approbation. This liberty, we may imagine, did his business with the Prince of *Verona*. Beside his Book *De Monarchia*, he wrote a Poem about *Purgatory*, *Paradise*, etc. He died at *Ravenna* in 1321, being fifty-six Years of Age: Some say he died of Grief, for being unsuccessful in his Embassy to *Venice*, whether he was sent by *Guy Polentano*, Prince of *Ravenna*. When he was upon his Death-Bed, he recollected his Spirits so far as to make his own Epitaph, which is as follows:

*Jura Monarchiae Superos, phlegetonta, lacusq;*² etc.,
(*Villani*, lib. 9, cap. 135. *Petrarch. Rerum. Memor. lib. 2, cap. 4*
& *alib. Paulus Jovius in Elog. cap. 4. Spondan A. C. 1321,*
N. 7.)

¹[Henri de Sponde (1568-1643), author of an abridgment of the *Annales* of Baronius.]

²[For this epitaph (printed in full by Collier), see above, under Fynes Moryson, p. 91.]

ANONYMOUS

1707. THE MUSES MERCURY: OR, THE MONTHLY MISCELLANY. THE OLD ENGLISH POETS AND POETRY.

[Dante the first European writer of note in his own tongue]

THE Poets, tho they cou'd not shake off this [*Latin*] Yoke, yet they knew their own Languages wou'd not express the Majesty or Beauty of a fine Thought; and therefore they seldom or never writ in them. The first that got any great Reputation in *Europe* in writing in Verse, in his own Tongue, was *Dante*, an *Italian*, who writ about the Year 1320. He was soon follow'd by *Petrarch*. . . .

(Vol. i. No. 8, p. 128.)

WILLIAM KING

(1663-1712)

[William King, miscellaneous writer, was born in London in 1663. He went to Westminster School as a scholar in 1678, and matriculated as a student at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1681. He took the degree of D.C.L. in 1692, in which year he was admitted advocate at Doctors' Commons. He was judge of the Admiralty Court in Ireland from 1701 to 1707; and in 1711 he was, on Swift's recommendation, appointed to succeed Steele in the post of gazetteer. He died in London in 1712, and was buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey. King's best known work is the *Dialogues of the Dead* (1699), which is an attack upon Bentley. In his *Art of Love* (1709) in imitation of Ovid, he mentions Dante, but in such a way as to show that he knew little more of him than his name.]

1709. THE ART OF LOVE: IN IMITATION OF OVID DE ARTE AMANDI

[Dante among the singers of the Trojan War]

A CHILLES, a Gigantick Boy,
 Was wanted at the Siege of *Troy*:
 His Country's Danger did require him.
 And all the Generals did desire him:
 For *Discord*, you must know, had thrown
 An Apple, where 'twas two to one
 But, if a Stir was made about it,
 Two of the Three must go without it.
 And so it was; for *Paris* gave it
 To *Venus*, who resolved to have it.
 (The story here would be too long:
 But you may find it in the Song).
Venus, although not over-virtuous,

Yet still designing to be courteous,
 Resolv'd for to procure the Varlet
 A flaming and triumphant Harlot;
 First stol'n by one she would not stay with,
 Then married to be run away with.
 Her *Paris* carried to his Mother,
 And thence in *Greece* arose that Pother,
 Of which old *Homer*, *Virgil*, *Dant*,
 And *Chaucer* make us such a Cant.

(pp. 59-60, ll. 635-56.)

THOMAS TANNER

(1674-1735)

[Thomas Tanner, antiquary, a native of Wiltshire, was born in 1674; he matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford, in 1689, and was elected a Fellow of All Souls' in 1696. He became Canon of Ely in 1713; of Christ Church, Oxford, in 1724; and Bishop of St. Asaph in 1732. He died at Christ Church in 1735, and was buried in the Cathedral. Tanner left a valuable bequest of books and MSS. to the Bodleian Library. He was the author of two well-known works, *Notitia Monastica*, a history of the religious houses of England and Wales, published at Oxford in 1695; and *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, an account of all the authors in Great Britain and Ireland down to the beginning of the seventeenth century, which was published after his death.]

c. 1710. BIBLIOTHECA BRITANNICO-HIBERNICA: SIVE, DE SCRIPTORI-BUS QUI IN ANGLIA, SCOTIA, ET HIBERNIA AD SAECULI XVII INITIUM FLORUERUNT; COMMENTARIUS.

[In this work, which was published posthumously in 1748, Tanner quotes (p. 167) Leland's epigram on Chaucer, in which the English poet is compared to Dante (see above, under John Leland, p. 31 and note).]

THOMAS HEARNE

(1678-1735)

[Thomas Hearne, historical antiquary, the son of a Berkshire parish clerk, was born in 1678. His education was provided for by a patron, who sent him to school at Bray, and afterwards (in 1696) to St. Edmund Hall at Oxford, where he graduated M.A. in 1703. He spent many years working in the Bodleian Library, of which he was made second keeper in 1712. He was offered the librarianship in 1719 and again in 1729, but as a non-juror he declined to take the oaths. He died at Oxford in 1735. Among his numerous works were his valuable editions of the *Itinerary* and *Collectanea* of John Leland (published respectively in 1710-12, and 1715), in which Dante is several times mentioned (as recorded below).]

1710-12. THE ITINERARY OF JOHN LELAND, THE ANTIQUARY. PUBLISHED FROM THE ORIGINAL MS. IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY.

[To the second volume (of the edition of 1744) is prefixed *Mr. Leland's Naeniae upon the death of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, in one of which (p. xiii) Wyatt is compared to Dante and Petrarch (see above, p. 30); on p. v is given the extract from Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses*, in which Dante is mentioned (see above, p. 156).]

1715. JOANNIS LELANDI ANTIQUARII DE REBUS BRITANNICIS COLLECTANEA. EX AUTOGRAPHIS DESCRIPSIT, EDIDITQUE THO. HEARNIUS.

[In the fourth volume (pp. 58, 155) are given Leland's notices of MSS. of Dante in the libraries of Oxford and Wells; in the fifth volume (p. 141) is given Leland's epigram on Chaucer (from the *Principum ac illustrium . . . in Anglia virorum Encomia*), in which Chaucer is compared to Dante and Petrarch (see above, pp. 29-31)].

MICHAEL DE LA ROCHE

(fl. 1710)

[Michael de la Roche, a French Protestant, came to England as a refugee. He joined the Church of England, and settled in London as a literary critic. In 1710 he began the issue of his *Memoirs of Literature*, the prototype of the popular literary magazines and reviews, which was continued until 1714; it was resuscitated for a few months in 1717, when it came to an end. In 1725 he started *New Memoirs of Literature*, which ran for two years, and finally, in 1730, he issued a continuation, under the title of *A Literary Journal*; which came to an end in 1731. In his notices of Italian books, in the first issue, occur several interesting references to Dante.]

1710. June. MEMOIRS OF LITERATURE. ART. II. AN EXTRACT OF THE SECOND BOOK DELLA RAGION POETICA.¹

[Whether Dante wrote in the Florentine dialect]

M. GRAVINA observes that Poetry was in former times cultivated by Legislators and Statesmen, such as *Solon*, *Cicero*, and others; that it was a kind of Sacred Language among the Ancients; and that oracles were delivered in Verses. He adds that the Reason why it is now so little valued, is because it seems to be design'd rather to please the Ear, than to instruct. This gives him Occasion to bestow a great Encomium upon *Dantes*, because that excellent Poet, who wanted neither sublime Expressions, nor deep Thoughts, added the Knowledge of Divine Things to Poetry, in Imitation of the Ancients. In his time the *Latin Tongue* and measured Verses were entirely lost;² and therefore he was obliged to write his Poem in the *Vulgar Language*, and Rhymed Verses. . . . Rhymes having been introduced into

¹[*Della Ragion Poetica Libri Due*, by Vincenzo Gravina (1664-1718).]

²[This is an error—Dante himself wrote his Eclogues in Latin hexameters; and, according to the tradition preserved by Boccaccio, actually began the *Divina Commedia* in the same metre.]

Latin Poems, were also admitted into the *Vulgar Poetry*, which consisted no longer of Feet, but of a certain Number of Syllables. *Dantes*, in order to make Rhymes less tedious, took care to insert a third Verse with a different Termination between two Rhyming Verses: This sort of Verses are call'd *Terzina* by the *Italians*.

As for what concerns the Language of *Dantes*, some of the most learned *Italians* will have it to be a *Florentin* Dialect, which is the opinion of *Bembo*, *Varchi*, *Dolce*, *Ptolemeo*, &c. Others maintain that he writ his Poem in the common Language of *Italy*: *Trissino*, *Muzio*, *Castelvetro*, and *Castilioneus* affirm it. *M. Gravina* thinks it probable that as *Homer* used all the *Greek* Dialects, but particularly the *Ionick*, and did not scruple to insert many Words and Phrases, that were grown obsolete, and to invent new ones; in like manner, *Dantes* writ in the common Language of *Italy*, but he took several Words and Expressions from other Dialects, especially from the *Tuscan*, coin'd a great many, and borrowed others from the *Latin* Tongue, though they were out of use. He adds that this Method of *Dantes* plainly appears from his Book *de vulgari eloquentia*, which he writ in his Exile. That Book was found by *Corbinellus*, a *Florentin*, in a Library of *Padua*, and translated into Italian by *Trissino*:¹ *M. Gravina* maintains that *Dantes* is the Author of it, though several Writers affirm the contrary. . . .

In the Xth Century, the Language of the People became a noble Language, and was used in the Publick Acts. . . . From that time the *Italians* began to write Poems in the *Vulgar* Tongue, in Imitation of the Poets of *Provence*, who ever since the Reign of *Frederick I.* made use of the *Roman* Tongue, spoken by the common People, both in Verse and Prose. Those Poets, being invited to *Naples* by the Kings descended from the House of *Provence*, made a great Alteration in the *Vulgar Italian*; but on the other side encouraged others to cultivate that Language. *Dantes* acknowledged that the Kingdom of *Naples* was the Seat of the fine Language; and took it ill that the *Florentins* should presume to intrude their Dialect upon others, as if it had been the common Language of *Italy*. However, *M. Gravina* owns, that the *Florentins* had a great deal of the common Language in their Dialect; which he ascribes to the Form of their Republick. . . .

After these Observations upon the *Italian* Language, the Author proceeds to treat of the Style of *Dantes*, and of the Nature of his Work, which he takes to be a Comedy, rather than an Epick Poem. He thinks the Design of *Dantes* was to shew the Necessity of Re-

¹[On the contrary, the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* was originally brought to light and translated by *Trissino* in 1529; *Corbinelli* printed the Latin text (from another MS.) at Paris in 1577.]

uniting *Italy* under one Government; because that Country was at that time divided into many small Republicks, and besides horribly afflicted by the Factions of the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins*.
(Ed. 1712, vol. i. p. 59.)

1712. MEMOIRS OF LITERATURE. ART. LXXI. A LETTER TO M. APOSTOLO ZENO, CONCERNING THE LIBRARY OF H.R.H. THE DUKE OF SAVOY. BY THE MARQUIS SCIPIO MAFFEI.¹

[An old French translation of Dante at Turin]

Among the *Italian* Manuscripts, there is a Copy of *Dantes*, (among many others written by a good Hand) attended with a *French* Translation in three Rhymes, as the Text. It begins thus :

Au millieu du chemin de la vie presente
Me retrouway parmy une forest obscure
*Ou mestoye esgare hors de la droicte sente.*²

This Translator did not scruple to put together many Feminine Rhymes, that is, ending with a Mute *e*.

Among the *French* Manuscripts I have found the *Treasure of Brunetto Latini*, which he writ in *France*, and in *French*, as you know. This Manuscript is very scarce, and not to be found, that I know of, any where else but in the *Vatican* Library, and in that of the King of *France*. . . . *Brunetto* had a great Esteem for this Book : which moved *Dantes* to make him say in his *Inferno* :

Siati raccomandato il mio Tesoro,
*Nel quale i' vivo ancora, e più non cheggio.*³

(Ed. 1822, vol. v. pp. 403-4.)

ALEXANDER POPE

(1688-1744)

[Alexander Pope, whose father was a Roman Catholic linen-draper of London, was born in Lombard Street in 1688; he died in 1744, and was buried at Twickenham. Pope was a precocious child, and while still a boy studied French, Italian, Latin, and Greek. The publication of his *Pastorals* in 1709 first brought him into notice, and his reputation was quickly established by his *Essay on Criticism* (1711), and by the *Rape of the Lock* (1712, and 1714). Of his numerous other writings the only one of interest from the point of view of this work is his versification of Donne's fourth Satire, in which occurs a reference to Dante (see above, p. 101), which Pope has pointed and accentuated by the mention of Dante's name. Though he had studied Italian, there is no evidence that he had more than a superficial acquaintance with Dante's poem; but he to some extent recognised Dante's place

¹[Written from Turin, 26th June, 1711.]

²[This translation has now been printed from the Turin MS. by C. Morel, in *Les Plus Anciennes Traductions Françaises de la Divine Comédie* (Paris, 1897).]

³[*Inf.* xv. 119-20.]

in literature, as appears from Ruffhead's *Life of Pope* (published in 1769), where are printed the outlines of a scheme of Pope's for a History of English Poetry, the fourth division of Aera I in this scheme being entitled the 'School of Dante' (see below, pp. 330-1). In 1740 Pope published an edition of *Selecta Poemata Italorum qui Latine scripserunt*, among which ought to have been included the Latin Eclogues of Dante (first printed at Florence in the collection of *Carmina illustrium Poetarum Italorum*, 1719-26); but he appears to have been unaware of their existence.]

c. 1712. THE SATIRES OF DR. JOHN DONNE, DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S, VERSIFIED.¹

[Dante, the poet of Hell]

WELL if it be my time to quit the stage,
Adieu to all the follies of the age!
I die in charity with fool and knave,
Secure of peace at least beyond the grave.
I've had my Purgatory here betimes,
And paid for all my satires, all my rhymes.
The Poet's² hell, its tortures, fiends, and flames,
To this were trifles, toys, and empty names.

* * *

Bear me, some God! oh quickly bear me hence
To wholesome Solitude, the nurse of sense:
'Where Contemplation prunes her ruffled wings,'³
And the free soul looks down to pity Kings!
There sober thought pursu'd th' amusing theme,
Till Fancy colour'd it, and form'd a Dream.
A Vision hermits can to Hell transport,
And forc'd ev'n me to see the damn'd at Court.
Not *Dante* dreaming all th' infernal state,
Beheld such scenes of envy, sin, and hate.

(*Satire* iv. ll. 1-8, 184-93.)

[1769]. OUTLINE OF HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY.

[Ruffhead, in his *Life of Pope*, published in 1769, prints a scheme drawn up by Pope for an outline of the history of English poetry, in which the fourth 'school' of the first 'aera' is called 'the school of Dante' (see below, under Ruffhead, pp. 330-1).]

ANONYMOUS

1712. THE TRAVELS OF THE LEARNED FATHER MONTFAUCON FROM PARIS THRO' ITALY. MADE ENGLISH FROM THE PARIS EDITION.⁴

¹[First printed in 1735. Pope, in the Advertisement prefixed to the *Satires and Epistles of Horace Imitated*, says 'The Satires of Dr. Donne I versified, at the desire of the Earl of Oxford while he was Lord Treasurer.' Oxford was lord-treasurer from 1711-1714.]

²[Dante.]

³[From Milton's *Comus*.]

⁴[The *Diarium Italicum* of Bernard de Montfaucon (1655-1741), first published in 1702.]

[MS. of Dante at Modena]

FROM *Parma* we went by the way of *Rhegio* to *Modena*. . . . *F. Benedict Bacchinius*, a Learned Person, was then the Duke's Library-keeper, and we went to it that same day. . . . I will here mention the chiefest of the Manuscripts. . . .

A Book of *Dante d' Aligeri* almost as ancient as the Author, curiously writ.

(Chap. iii. pp. 45-6.)

[Giotto the friend of Dante]

From *Classe* we went to the Church of *Sancta Maria Portuensis*, of the Canons Regulars, two Miles from the City of *Ravenna*. . . . The Church is no otherwise remarkable than for having been painted by *Jottus*¹ the *Florentine*, the Restorer of the Art of Painting in *Italy*. *Jottus* was Friend to the Famous Poet *Dante Alighieri*.²

(Chap. vii. p. 106.)

JOHN URRY

(1666-1715)

[Urry, who was of Scottish extraction, was born in Dublin in 1666. He was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, where he was elected to a studentship in 1682. He was a loyalist, and fought against Monmouth during the rising in the West; on the accession of William III he refused the oath of supremacy, and was in consequence deprived of his studentship. In 1711 he was persuaded by Atterbury, then Dean of Christ Church, to undertake a new edition of Chaucer, but the task was uncongenial and he left the work unfinished at his death in 1715. The edition which has the distinction of containing the worst text of Chaucer ever printed, was completed by other hands, and published in London in 1721. Dante is several times mentioned in the introductory portion of the work, but it is evident that Urry knew little of him beyond his name.]

1714. THE WORKS OF GEOFFREY CHAUCER.³

IN 'A Short Account of some of the Authors cited by Chaucer,' Urry includes:—

Dante, called *Dantes Aligerus*, an *Italian* Poet, born in *Florence*. He flourished A.D. 1341.⁴

Also in the 'Testimonies of Learned Men concerning Chaucer and his Works' he quotes the passages in which Dante is mentioned

¹[Giotto.]

²[Though he is writing at Ravenna, Montfaucon makes no mention of Dante's tomb.]

³[Licensed in July 1714, but not printed till 1721, after Urry's death.]

⁴[Dante died in 1321.]

from Lydgate's 'Prologue to his Translation of *Boccace* of the *Fall of Princes*,'¹ from Leland's *Encomia illustrium Virorum*,² and from Sidney's *Defense of Poesie*;³ and in a note to the 'Life of Chaucer' he quotes Winstanley's mention of Dante in his *England's Worthies*.⁴

MOORE MSS. AT CAMBRIDGE*

1715. **I**N this year George I presented to the Cambridge University Library the books of the late Bishop of Ely (John Moore, Bishop of Norwich, 1691-1707; Bishop of Ely, 1707-14), which he purchased for 6000 guineas. Among them were three MSS. of the *Divina Commedia*, one of the fourteenth century, and two of the fifteenth, formerly in the collection of the celebrated numismatist, Jean Baptiste Haultin (d. 1640).⁵

COKE MSS. AT HOLKHAM

c. 1716-18. **A**BOUT this date Thomas Coke of Holkham in Norfolk (1697-1759), afterwards Earl of Leicester (1744), purchased in Italy for the Library at Holkham six MSS. of the *Divina Commedia*, two of the fourteenth century, and four of the fifteenth; also a MS. of the *Convivio*, of the fifteenth century. In the catalogue made in 1773 these MSS. are described as follows: ⁶—

¹[See above, pp. 18-19.]

²[See above, p. 31.]

³[See above, p. 70.]

⁴[See above, p. 154.]

⁵[George I's gift of Bishop Moore's library to Cambridge gave occasion to the following epigram from Oxford:—

The King, observing with judicious eyes,
The state of both his Universities,
To Oxford sent a troop of horse; and why?
That learned body wanted loyalty:
To Cambridge books, as very well discerning,
How much that loyal body wanted learning.

To which William Browne (the founder of the Browne medals) replied on behalf of Cambridge:—

The King to Oxford sent a troop of horse,
For Tories own no argument but force;
With equal skill to Cambridge books he sent,
For Whigs admit no force but argument.]

⁶[This catalogue was printed privately by Sir Thomas Phillipps at Middle Hill, Worcestershire, c. 1835. These MSS. which were also catalogued (c. 1820) by William Roscoe (whose catalogue has not been printed), are described in detail by E. Moore in his *Textual Criticism of the Divina Commedia*, pp. 604-9.]

*[Before this entry should come JONATHAN RICHARDSON, accidentally misplaced (see below, p. 196 note *).]

Codices Poetici

No. 456.	Opere di Dante, con <i>Illum.</i>	<i>Memb.</i>
457.	do	do
458.	Opere di Dante	<i>Charta.</i>
459.	do	<i>Memb.</i>
461.	Opere di Dante	<i>Memb.</i>
468.	Opere di Dante	<i>Charta.</i>

In the same collection are the following printed editions of Dante's works: *Divina Commedia*, Venetia, 1477; *Il Dante, con argomenta*, etc., Lione, 1547; *Dante con l'espositione di M. Bernardino Daniello da Lucca*, Venetia, 1568; *Dante con l'espositioni di Christophoro Landino e d' Alessandro Vellutello*, Venetia, 1578; and *L' Amorofo Convivio*, Vinegia, 1529.

CHARLES GILDON

(1665-1724)

[Charles Gildon was born near Shaftesbury in Dorsetshire in 1665. His family being Roman Catholics, he was educated at Douay and was intended for the priesthood, but in later life he abandoned his religion and became a deist. As a hack-writer he came into collision with Pope, who attacked him in the *Dunciad* and elsewhere. Gildon died in 1724, with the reputation of a person of 'great literature but mean genius'. He was the author of five plays, the *Life and Adventures of Defoe*, and various other works. Among these was *The Complete Art of Poetry* (1718), in which he incidentally mentions Dante, whom he accuses (at second-hand) of obscurity.]

1718. THE COMPLETE ART OF POETRY.

[The remarks upon Dante in Dialogue I. *Of the Nature, Use, Excellence, Rise, and Progress of Poetry* (p. 81), and in Dialogue V. *The Rules of the Epic or Narrative Poems, of the Poetic Diction or Language, and of English Numbers* (pp. 287-8), of this work are borrowed unblushingly by Gildon almost word for word from Rymer's translation of Rapin's *Reflections on Aristotle's Treatise of Poesie* (see above, pp. 161-3).]

JONATHAN RICHARDSON*

(1665-1745)

[Jonathan Richardson, portrait-painter and author, was born in 1665. After serving for a time as apprentice to a scrivener, he followed his inclination to study painting, and at the age of twenty became the pupil of John Riley, the portrait-painter, whose niece he married. Richardson made a considerable reputation as a portrait-painter, among his sitters being Pope, Prior, Steele, and Horace Walpole as a boy. He also obtained some distinction as an author, being better known by his books, according to Dr. Johnson, than by his pictures. After his retirement from business, according to Horace Walpole, 'he amused himself with writing a short poem, and drawing his own or his son's portrait every day.' Richardson died in London in 1745, leaving a valuable collection of drawings by the old masters, which were sold in

* [Richardson should come after Urry (p. 195), as his *Essay on the Theory of Painting*, published in 1715, contains references to Dante (see *Appendix*, below, pp. 680-2).]

1747 for over £2000. His best-known work were *An Essay on the Theory of Painting*, which was published in 1715, and a volume entitled *Two Discourses*. I. *An Essay on the whole Art of Criticism as it relates to Painting*. II. *An Argument in behalf of the Science of a Connoisseur*, which was published in 1719, and was several times reprinted (in 1725, 1773, and 1792). The second essay, to which he gave the elaborate title of *A Discourse on the Dignity, Certainty, Pleasure and Advantage, of the Science of a Connoisseur*, has a special interest as containing the first translation from Dante (viz., of the Ugolino episode), produced avowedly as a translation, in English literature. In 1722 Richardson published in collaboration with his son, Jonathan Richardson the younger (1694-1771), who travelled in Italy in 1720, *An Account of some of the Statues, Bas-reliefs, Drawings and Pictures in Italy, &c., with Remarks*; and in 1734, also in collaboration with his son, *Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's Paradise Lost*, which contain several references to Dante. From a remark of his son's in the former work (see below, p. 200) it appears that Richardson possessed a portrait of Dante.]

1719. A DISCOURSE ON THE DIGNITY, CERTAINTY, PLEASURE AND ADVANTAGE, OF THE SCIENCE OF A CONNOISSEUR.

[Count Ugolino—Translation of Dante's account of his death]

AS the business of Painting is to Raise, and Improve Nature, it answers to Poetry; (tho' upon Occasion it can also be Strictly Historical) And as it serves to the Other, more Noble End, this Hieroglyphic Language completes what Words, or Writing began, and Sculpture carried on, and Thus perfects all that Humane Nature is capable of in the Communication of Ideas 'till we arrive to a more Angelical, and Spiritual State in another World.

I believe it will not be unacceptable to my Readers if I illustrate what I have been saying by Examples, and the rather because they are very Curious and very little Known.

[After a résumé of Villani's account of Ugolino, he continues:—]

The Poet carries this Story farther than the Historian could, by relating what pass'd in the Prison. This is *Dante*, who was a young man when this happened, and was Ruin'd by the Commotions of these times. He was a *Florentine*, which City after having been long divided by the *Guelf* and *Ghibelline* Faction at last became intirely *Guelf*: But This Party then split into two others under the Names of the *Bianchi*, and the *Neri*, the Latter of which prevailing, Plunder'd, and Banish'd *Dante*; not because he was of the Contrary Party, but for being Neuter, and a Friend to his Country.

When Virtue fails, and Party-heats endure

The Post of Honour is the Least Secure.

This great Man (in the 33d Canto of the 1st part of his *Comedia*) in his Passage thro' Hell, introduces Count *Ugolino* knawing the Head of this Treacherous, and Cruel Enemy the Archbishop, and telling his own sad Story. At the appearance of *Dante*

*La bocca sollevò dal fiero pasto
Quel peccator, &c.*

He from the Horrid Food his Mouth withdrew,
 And wiping with the Clotted, Offal hair
 His shudd'ring Lips, raising his Head thus spake.
 You will compel me to renew my Grief
 Which e're I speak oppresses my sad Heart ;
 But if I Infamy accumulate
 On him whose Head I know, I'll not forbear
 To speak tho' Tears flow faster than my Words.

I know not who you are, nor by what power,
 Whether of Saints, or Devils you hither came,
 But by your Speech you seem a Florentine ;
 Know then that I Count *Ugolino* am,
 Archbishop *Ruggieri* this, which known
 That I by him Betray'd was put to Death
 Is needless to relate, you must have heard ;
 But what must be unknown to Mortal Men,
 The cruel Circumstances of my Death
 These I will tell, which Dreadful Secret known
 You will conceive how Just is my Revenge.

The ancient Tower in which I was confin'd,
 And which is now the Tower of Famine call'd,
 Had in her Sides some Symptoms of decay,
 Through these I saw the first approach of morn,
 After a restless night, the first I slept
 A Prisoner in its Walls ; Unquiet Dreams
 Oppress'd my lab'ring Brain. I saw this Man
 Hunting a Wolfe, and her four little Whelps
 Upon that ridge of Mountains which divides
 The *Pisan* Lands from those which *Lucca* claims ;
 With Meagre, Hungry Dogs the Chase was made,
 Nor long continued, quick they seiz'd the Prey,
 And tore their Bowels with remorseless Teeth.

Soon as my broken Slumbers fled, I heard
 My Sons (who also were confin'd with me)
 Cry in their troubled Sleep, and ask for Bread :
 O you are Cruel if you do not weep
 Thinking on that, which now you well perceive
 My Heart divin'd ; If this provoke not Tears
 At what are you accustomed to weep ?

The hour was come when Food should have been brought,
 Instead of that, O God ! I heard the noise
 Of creaking Locks, and Bolts, with doubled force
 Securing our Destruction. I beheld
 The Faces of my Sons with troubled Eyes ;
 I Look'd on them, but utter'd not a Word :

Nor could I weep; They wept, *Anselmo* said
 (My little, dear *Anselmo*) What's the matter
 Father, Why look you so? I wept not yet,
 Nor spake a Word that Day, nor following Night.

But when the Light of the succeeding Morn
 Faintly appear'd, and I beheld my Own
 In the four Faces of my Wretched Sons
 I in my clenched Fists fasten'd my Teeth:
 They judging 'twas for Hunger rose at once,
 You Sir have giv'n us Being, you have cloath'd
 Us with this miserable Flesh, 'tis yours,
 Sustain your Self with it, the Grief to Us
 Is less to Dye, than thus to see your Woes.
 Thus spake my Boyes: I like a Statue then
 Was Silent, Still, and not to add to Theirs
 Doubled the weight of my Own Miseries:

This, and the following Day in Silence pass'd.
 Why Cruel Earth dist thou not open then!

The Fourth came on; my *Gaddo* at my Feet
 Cry'd Father help me; said no more but dy'd:
 Another Day two other Sons expir'd;
 The next left me alone in Woe; Their Griefs
 Were ended. Blindness now had seiz'd my Eyes,
 But no Relief afforded; I saw not
 My Sons, but groped about with Feeble hands
 Longing to touch their Famish'd Carcasses,
 Calling first One, then T'other by their Names,
 Till after two days more what Grief could not
 That Famine did. He said no more, but turn'd
 With baleful Eyes distorted all in haste,
 And seiz'd again, and gnaw'd the mangled Head.

The Historian, and Poet having done Their parts comes *Michelangelo Buonarotti*, and goes on in a *Bas-relief* I have seen . . . He shews us the Count sitting with his Four Sons, one dead at his Feet, Over their Heads is a Figure repre-enting Famine, and underneath is another to denote the River *Arno*, on whose Banks this Tragedy was acted. *Michelangelo* was the fittest Man that ever liv'd to Cut, or Paint this Story, if I had wish'd to see it represented in Sculpture, or Painting I should have fix'd upon this Hand: He was a *Dante* in his way, and he read him perpetually.

(pp. 25-33.)

[‘Cosa fatta, capo ha’]

Twas formerly a *trite* saying among the *Florentines* (and may

be so still for ought I know) *Cosa fatta, Capo hà*; ¹ *a thing done has a Head*; that is, 'till then it has no Life, the Main circumstance is wanting, 'tis good for little.

(p. 213.)

[Dante as a writer superior to Giotto as a painter]

When the *Roman Power* was broken and dissipated; and Arts, Empire, and Common Honesty were succeeded by Ignorance, Superstition, and Priest-Craft, the Dishonour of Humane Nature was Completed, for 'twas Begun long before in *Greece*, and *Asia*. In these Miserable times, and for Ages afterwards, God knows there were no *Connoisseurs!* to Write, and Read was Then an Accomplishment for a Prince to value himself upon. As the Species began to Recover themselves, and to gain more Strength, Literature, and Painting also lifted up their heads; but however not equally; That Degree of Vigour that serv'd to produce a *Dante* in Writing, could rise no higher than a *Giotto* in Painting.

(p. 220.)

1722. AN ACCOUNT OF SOME OF THE STATUES, BAS-BELIEFS, DRAWINGS AND PICTURES IN ITALY &C. WITH REMARKS. BY MR. RICHARDSON, SEN. AND JUN.²

[Dante's portrait in the Duomo at Florence]

Florence.—*The Dome. Sancta Maria del Fiore.* . . . There are many Statues and Paintings in this Church. I was particularly pleased with *Dante's* Picture done by *Andr. Orgagna*³; he is reading, and walking in the Fields by his own House, a View of *Florence* at a distance; extremely well preserv'd, and of a lively Colouring. I believe this is the most Authentic Portrait of that Poet, and has entirely the same Face as the Drawing my Father has.⁴

(pp. 42-3.)

1734. EXPLANATORY NOTES AND REMARKS ON MILTON'S PARADISE LOST. BY J. RICHARDSON, FATHER AND SON.

[*'Cosa fatta, capo ha'*]

Whatever *Milton* Undertook was Dispatch'd as soon as possible. He was Always in Haste. *Cosa Fatta Capo hà*'⁵ is an old

¹[Quoted by Dante, *Inf.* xxviii. 107.]

²[Jonathan Richardson, the younger, portrait-painter (1694-1771). This account was really written by the son, who travelled in Italy in 1720; his father, who never was in Italy, contributed notes and sundry observations.]

³[Not by Orcagna, but by Domenico di Michelino.]

⁴[Nothing appears to be known of this drawing.]

⁵[*Inf.* xxviii. 107: '*Capo ha cosa fatta.*']

Florentine Proverb. A thing done has a Head; the Finishing Stroke is the principal One, the Work is Nothing without it.

(*Life of Milton*, p. viii.)

[Milton's delight in Dante and Petrarch]

Milton was remarkable for his Knowledge in the *Italian* Tongue. . . . See his Own Letter to *Buonmatteo*, the 8th of his Latin Epistles. 'twas Written from *Florence*, in 1638. I will give a small Part of it.—for my Part I can say that my Lips are not only Moisten'd with those two Languages¹ but As much as my Age Allow'd, have drank as Large Cups of it as any One; Yet notwithstanding I come with Joy and Delight to your Dante and Petrarch: nor has even Attic Athens itself so held me upon the Shoar of her clear Ilyssus, nor that Dear Old Rome upon the Banks of Tyber, but that I often love to Visit your Arno, and the Hills of Fesole.²

(*Ibid.* p. xiii.)

[Raphael's sketch of Dante in his 'Parnassus']

In the *Parnassus*, (One of the Famous Pictures of *Raffaelle* in the *Vatican*) *Dante* is represented as having his Eye upon *Homer*; had *Milton* been put there, *Homer* and He ought to have been Embracing Each other.

(*Ibid.* p. cxlix.)

[Milton's indebtedness to Dante]

Suppose we conceive of the Angels as Material Substances, Spirits in an Inferior Sense, Matter the nearest approaching to Spirit, but still Matter, Fire . . . *Dante*, from whom *Milton* hath taken Much of his Notion of Angels,³ hath imagin'd His to be of This Nature, and seems to be Justified by *Heb.* i. 7.

(*Paradise Lost Explained*, p. 10.)

Darkness may be Seen as Smoak is: Nor is it difficult to explain how it may discover Things Visible. in Picture the Blacker the Ground is, the more Apparent are the Objects represented on it if Lighter than the Ground; the Livid Flames, Pale Spectres, Faint, Ghostlike, Frightful Apparitions, with Stone Eyes as *Spencer*, or Eyes of Brass⁴ as *Dante* has given to *Caron*, or as *Banquo's*

¹[Greek and Latin.]

²[For the original, see above, p. 124.]

³[In a contemporary hand, apparently that of the younger Richardson, is written on the margin of the copy (belonging to the London Library) from which these extracts are taken:—"or rather from *St. Denis* the *Arcopagite*: of the *Celestial Hierarchie*, from whom *Dante* had His Notions."]

⁴[*Inf.* iii. 109: 'Caron dimonio con occhi di bragia'—not 'eyes of brass,' as Richardson misrenders it, but 'eyes of glowing coal.']

Ghost in *Shakespear* . . . such Visages as these, and such Figures in all the Attitudes of Woe must be more Conspicuous in Proportion to the Darkness of the Place, supposing their Tincts are Inherent, and not owing to what is Foreign to them as Light is to us.

(*Ibid.* p. 14.)

—and from *Eternal Splendors flung.*

(i. 610.)

Splendors, not Glories, but Hierarchies. *Milton* also calls them Ardors. . . . Both which he had from *Dante*.¹

(*Ibid.* p. 41.)

with quick Fann
Winnows the Buxom Air.

(v. 269-70.)

Winnows—'Trattando l' aëre con l' eterne penne.'—*Dant. Purg.* 2.²

(*Ibid.* p. 216.)

To whom the Son with Calm Aspect and Clear
Lightning Divine, Ineffable, Serene,
made Answer.

(v. 733-5.)

The Thought is a most Sublimely Poetical One; it may possibly have been *Milton's* Own, but 'tis more Probable He took it from *Dante*, who had it Long before, and express'd it Admirably

Lampeggiò un Riso.³

Flash'd or Lighten'd a Smile.

(*Ibid.* p. 241.)

Veil'd in a Cloud of Fragrance, where shee stood,
Half Spy'd, so Thick the Roses Bushing round
about her Glow'd.

(ix. 425-7.)

Così dentro una nuvola di Fiori
Che da le Mani Angeliche Saliva,
E ricadeva giù, dentro e di fuori
Donna m' apparue.⁴

Dante says 'This, speaking of *Beatrice* when she came to him at his first Arrival in Heaven.⁵ a Lady (says he) appeared to Me within a Cloud of Flowers which rain'd on all sides from Angel hands.

(*Ibid.* pp. 412-13.)

¹['Splendori,' *Par.* v. 103; ix. 13; xxi. 32; etc. 'Ardori,' *Par.* xxii. 54.]

²[Note on margin, in contemporary handwriting.]

³[*Purg.* xxi. 114: 'Un lampeggiar di riso dimostrommi.']

⁴[*Purg.* xxx. 28-30, 32.] ⁵[Not in Heaven, but in the Terrestrial Paradise.]

GILES JACOB

(1686-1744)

[Giles Jacob, the son of a maltster, was born at Romsey in Hampshire in 1686, and died in 1744. Having, according to his own account, been bred to the law under an eminent attorney, he became a diligent compiler of law books, of which the best known was his *New Law Dictionary* (1729). In 1719-20 he published a *Poetical Register*, or *Lives and Characters of the English Dramatic Poets*, which earned him a place in the *Dunciad*, where Pope calls him the 'Scourge of Grammar' and 'Blunderbuss of Law.' This was followed by *An Historical Account of the Lives and Writings of Our most Considerable English Poets*, etc., in which Dante is incidentally mentioned in connexion with Chaucer.]

1720. AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE LIVES AND WRITINGS OF OUR MOST CONSIDERABLE ENGLISH POETS, WHETHER EPICK, LYRICK, ELEGIACK, EPIGRAMMATISTS, &c.

[Dante and Petrarch the refiners of the Italian language]

CHAUCER was one of the first Refiners of the English Language, which in his time was very rude and barren: And till the reign of King Henry the Eighth, there was scarce any Man regarded our Language but *Chaucer*, but by some of his Poetry it began then to raise it self, and to sound tolerably well: In the refining of our Tongue, he followed the Examples of *Dantes* and *Petrarch*, who had done the same to the *Italian* Language. . . .

(From *Life of Sir Geoffrey Chaucer*, p. 29.)

JOHN DURRANT BREVAL

(c. 1680-1738)

[John Durrant Brevall, miscellaneous writer, descended from a French refugee protestant family, was the son of a prebendary of Westminster, where he was born about 1680. He was educated at Westminster School and Trinity College, Cambridge (B.A. 1700; Fellow, 1702). After leaving the University Brevall served for a time in the army in Flanders, where he rose to the rank of captain. About 1720 he travelled on the continent as tutor to Lord Malpas, and he subsequently published an account of his travels under the title of *Remarks on Several Parts of Europe* (1726). In this work he gives an account of a visit to Pisa, where he went to see the *Torre di Fame* mentioned by Dante in his story of Count Ugolino. Brevall, who was also the author of numerous poems and pieces for the stage, which are referred to in the second book of the *Dunciad*, died at Paris in 1738.]

1726. REMARKS ON SEVERAL PARTS OF EUROPE, RELATING CHIEFLY TO THEIR ANTIQUITIES AND HISTORY. COLLECTED UPON THE SPOT IN SEVERAL TOURS SINCE THE YEAR 1723.

[The *Torre di Fame* at Pisa, and the Ugolino episode]

AT Pisa I was desirous to see the *Torre di Fame*, remarkable for the disastrous End of Count *Ugolin* and his four or five Sons, pathetically described by the great *Dante*, but found the Entrance of it walled up. . . . History scarce affords a severer Instance of Prelatical Revenge, than an whole Family immur'd in a Dungeon, and the Keys of it thrown into the River, to cut off all Possibility of Relief.¹ . . . There was brought over to *England* some years ago, by Mr. *Trent* a Painter, a noble Bas-relief, representing this Tragedy in the manner that *Dante* tells it, by *Michael Angelo*²; but I cannot learn into whose Hands it fell.

(Ed. 1738, vol. i. pp. 137-8.)

FRANÇOIS MARIE AROUET DE VOLTAIRE

(1694-1778)

[Voltaire (born in 1694 in Paris, where he died in 1778) was obliged in 1726, in consequence of a quarrel, to leave France and come to England, where he resided for three years. In London he made the acquaintance of the most distinguished personages of the day, including Walpole and Bolingbroke, Pope and Swift. After eighteen months' residence he had learned the language sufficiently well to enable him to write in English his famous *Essay on Epic Poetry*. This essay, which was published in London in 1727, and in Paris (in French) in 1728, provoked the scathing criticism of Rolli and Baretti, two Italians domiciled in England, on account of the ignorance of Italian literature displayed by Voltaire. His contemptuous references to Dante in subsequent works, which still further aroused the hostility of his critics, were without doubt very largely responsible for the low estimation in which Dante was held in France and in England during the eighteenth century. On account of their importance in this respect, and owing to the fact that they are frequently referred to by writers who are represented in this book, the passages from the works in question in which Voltaire expresses his opinion of Dante are printed (in smaller type) below.]³

1726. LETTRES SUR LES ANGLAIS.⁴

[*Hudibras* compared with Dante's poem]

LETTRE XXII. Sur M. Pope et quelques autres Poètes fameux. —Il y a un poëme anglais difficile à faire connaître aux étrangers; il s'appelle *Hudibras*. . . . Un homme qui aurait dans l'imagination la dixième partie de l'esprit comique, bon ou mauvais, qui règne dans cet ouvrage, serait encore très-plaisant; mais il se donnerait bien de garde de traduire *Hudibras*. Le moyen de faire rire les

¹[*Inf.* xxxiii.]

²[See above, p. 199; and below, p. 385 n.]

³[See an interesting article, *Voltaire et Dante*, by A. Farinelli (Berlin, 1906).]

⁴[Otherwise known as *Lettres Philosophiques*. These letters were written in French by Voltaire in London, during his visit to England in 1726. They were first printed in 1731 at Rouen. An abridged English translation appeared in 1733, from which the passage relating to Dante was omitted. A fuller English translation, containing the reference to Dante, was published in 1762 (see below, p. 327). A French edition was printed in London (with the imprint Basle) in 1734.]

lecteurs étrangers des ridicules déjà oubliés chez la nation même où ils ont été célèbres! On ne lit plus Dante dans l'Europe, parce que tout y est allusion à des faits ignorés: il en est de même d'*Hudibras*. La plupart des railleries de ce livre tombent sur la théologie et les théologiens du temps. Il faudrait à tout moment un commentaire. La plaisanterie expliquée cesse d'être plaisanterie, et un commentateur de bons mots n'est guère capable d'en dire.

(*Oeuvres Complètes de Voltaire*, éd. Moland,¹ 1879, vol. xxii. p. 474.)

1728. ESSAI SUR LA POÉSIE ÉPIQUE.²

[Poetry, as in the case of Dante and Petrarch in Italy, earlier cultivated than prose]

La poésie fut le premier art qui fut cultivé avec succès. Dante et Pétrarque³ écrivirent dans un temps où l'on n'avait pas encore un ouvrage de prose supportable: chose étrange que presque toutes les nations du monde aient eu des poètes avant que d'avoir aucune autre sorte d'écrivains! Homère fleurit chez les Grecs plus d'un siècle avant qu'il parût un historien. Les cantiques de Moïse sont le plus ancien monument des Hébreux. On a trouvé des chansons chez les Caraïbes, qui ignoraient tous les arts. Les Barbares des côtes de la mer Baltique avaient leurs fameuses rimes *runiques* dans les temps qu'ils ne savaient pas lire: ce qui prouve, en passant, que la poésie est plus naturelle aux hommes qu'on ne pense.

(*Oeuvres Complètes*, éd. Moland, 1877, vol. viii. p. 330.)

1753. ESSAI SUR LES MŒURS ET L'ESPRIT DES NATIONS ET SUR LES PRINCIPAUX FAITS DE L'HISTOIRE, DEPUIS CHARLEMAGNE JUSQU'À LOUIS XIII.⁴

[Dante's 'bizarre poem']

L'italien prit sa forme à la fin du XIII^e siècle, du temps du bon roi Robert, grand-père de la malheureuse Jeanne. Déjà le Dante, Florentin, avait illustré la langue toscane par son poème bizarre, mais brillant de beautés naturelles, intitulé *Comédie*; ouvrage dans lequel

¹[Garnier, Paris, 1877-1883 in 52 vols.]

²[This essay, originally intended as an introduction to the *Henriade*, was written in English by Voltaire in 1726 while he was in London, as he himself states at the end of the chapter on Milton in the edition of 1756 ('Lorsque j' étais à Londres, j'osai composer en anglais un petit Essai sur la poésie épique'). It was printed in London (by Samuel Jallason) in 1727, having, according to Spence (*Anecdotes*, ed. Singer, 1820, p. 374) been previously submitted to Dr. Edward Young for correction. A French translation, made by the Abbé Desfontaines, was published in Paris in 1728. The essay provoked considerable hostile criticism, among others from Rolli (*Remarks upon M. Voltaire's Essay*, etc., see below, pp. 214-16) and Baretti (*A Dissertation upon the Italian Poetry*, etc., see below, pp. 257 ff).]

³[This reference to Dante and Petrarch does not appear in the English original.]

⁴[Originally written in 1740. An English translation, by Thomas Nugent, was published in 1758 (see below, pp. 247-8).]

l'auteur s' éleva dans les détails au-dessus du mauvais goût de son siècle et de son sujet, et rempli de morceaux écrits aussi purement que s'ils étaient du temps de l'Arioste et du Tasse. On ne doit pas s'étonner que l'auteur, l'un des principaux de la faction *gibeline*, persécuté par Boniface VIII et par Charles de Valois, ait dans son poème exhalé sa douleur sur les querelles de l'empire et du sacerdoce. Qu'il soit permis d'insérer ici une faible traduction d'un des passages du Dante, concernant ces dissensions. Ces monuments de l'esprit humain délassent de la longue attention aux malheurs qui ont troublé la terre :

Jadis on vit, dans une paix profonde,
De deux soleils les flambeaux luire au monde,
Qui, sans se nuire, éclairant les humains,
Du vrai devoir enseignaient les chemins,
Et nous montraient de l'aigle impériale
Et de l'agneau les droits et l'intervalle.
Ce temps n'est plus, et nos cieus ont changé.
L'un des soleils, de vapeurs surchargé,
En s'échappant de sa sainte carrière,
Voulut de l'autre absorber la lumière.
La règle alors devint confusion,
Et l'humble agneau parut un fier lion,
Qui, tout brillant de la pourpre usurpé,
Voulut porter la houlette et l'épée.¹

(Chap. lxxxii. *Sciences et Beaux-Arts, aux XIII et XIV^e Siècles.*
— *Oeuvres Complètes*, éd. Moland, 1878, vol. xii. pp. 58-9).

[An alleged 'prophecy' of Dante]

Les Portugais, qui seuls avaient la gloire de reculer pour nous les bornes de la terre, passèrent l'équateur, et découvrirent le royaume de Congo : alors on aperçut un nouveau ciel et de nouvelles étoiles.

Les Européens virent, pour la première fois, le pôle austral et les quatre étoiles qui en sont les plus voisines. C'était une singularité bien surprenante que le fameux Dante eût parlé plus de cents ans auparavant de ces quatre étoiles. 'Je me tournai à main droite, dit-il dans le premier chant de son *Purgatoire*, et je considérai l'autre pôle : j'y vis quatre étoiles qui n'avaient jamais été connues que dans le premier âge du monde.' Cette prédiction semblait bien plus positive que celle de Sénèque le Tragique, qui dit, dans sa *Médée* 'qu'un jour l'Océan ne séparera plus les nations, qu'un nouveau Typhis découvrira un nouveau monde, et que Thulé ne sera plus la borne de la terre.'

Cette idée vague de Sénèque n'est qu'une espérance probable, fondée sur les progrès qu'on pouvait faire dans la navigation ; et la prophétie du Dante n'a réellement aucun rapport aux découvertes des Portugais

¹[A free translation, or rather paraphrase, of *Par.* xvi. 106-14. Voltaire repeats these lines in the letter to M. de * * *, of December, 1753, prefixed to his *Annales de l'Empire*.]

et des Espagnols. Plus cette prophétie est claire et moins elle est vraie. Ce n'est que par un hasard assez bizarre que le pôle austral et ces quatre étoiles se trouvent annoncés dans le Dante. Il ne parlait que dans un sens figuré : son poème n'est qu'une allégorie perpétuelle. Ce pôle chez lui est le paradis terrestre ; ces quatre étoiles, qui n'étaient connues que des premiers hommes, sont les quatre vertus cardinales, qui ont disparu avec les temps de l'innocence. Si on approfondissait ainsi la plupart des prédictions, dont tant de livres sont pleins, on trouverait qu'on n'a jamais rien prédit, et que la connaissance de l'avenir n'appartient qu'à Dieu. Mais si on avait eu besoin de cette prédiction du Dante pour établir quelque droit ou quelque opinion, comme on aurait fait valoir cette prophétie ! comme elle eût paru claire ! avec quel zèle on aurait opprimé ceux qui l'auraient expliquée raisonnablement !

(Chap. cxli. *Des Découvertes des Portugais.*—*Oeuvres Complètes*, éd. Moland, 1878, vol. xii. pp. 358-9.)

1756. ARTICLE SUR LE DANTE.¹

[The 'divine Dante' and his 'salmagundy' of a poem]

Vous voulez connaître le Dante. Les Italiens l'appellent *divin* ; mais c'est une divinité cachée : peu de gens entendent ses oracles ; il a des commentateurs, c'est peut-être encore une raison de plus pour n'être pas compris. Sa réputation s'affermira toujours, parce qu'on ne le lit guère. Il y a de lui une vingtaine de traits qu'on sait par cœur : cela suffit pour s'épargner la peine d'examiner le reste.

Ce divin Dante fut, dit-on, un homme assez malheureux. Ne croyez pas qu'il fut divin de son temps, ni qu'il fut prophète chez lui. Il est vrai qu'il fut prieur, non pas prieur de moines, mais prieur de Florence, c'est-à-dire l'un des sénateurs.

Il était né en 1260, à ce que disent ses compatriotes. Bayle, qui écrivait à Rotterdam, *currente calamo*, pour son libraire, environ quatre siècles entiers après le Dante, le fait naître en 1265, et je n'en estime Bayle ni plus ni moins pour s'être trompé de cinq ans :² la grande affaire est de ne se tromper ni en fait de goût ni en fait de raisonnements.

Les arts commençaient alors à naître dans la patrie du Dante. Florence était, comme Athènes, pleine d'esprit, de grandeur, de légèreté, d'inconstance et de factions. La faction blanche avait un grand crédit : elle se nommait ainsi du nom de la signora Bianca. Le parti opposé s'intitulait le *parti des noirs*, pour mieux se distinguer des *blancs*. Ces deux partis ne suffisaient pas aux Florentins. Ils avaient encore les *guelfes* et les *gibelins*. La plupart des blancs étaient *gibelins* du parti

¹[Voltaire's article on Dante first appeared in 1756, among his *Mélanges de Littérature, d'histoire et de philosophie*. It was translated into Italian and published in London in 1760 in *Opere scelte del sig. di Voltaire appartenenti alla Storia, alla Letteratura e alla Filosofia, aggiuntovi un discorso del sig. Barbeyrac* (Tom. iii. pp. 107-13). The article was afterwards inserted by Voltaire in his *Dictionnaire Philosophique*, the first edition of which was published in 1764. An edition was printed in London in 1765, and an English translation in 1786 (see below, pp. 423-4).]

²[Bayle was right ; it was Voltaire who was five years out.]

des empereurs, et les noirs penchaient pour les *guelfes* attachés aux papes.

Toutes ces factions aimaient la liberté, et faisaient pourtant ce qu'elles pouvaient pour la détruire. Le pape Boniface VIII voulut profiter de ces divisions pour anéantir le pouvoir des empereurs en Italie. Il déclara Charles de Valois, frère du roi de France Philippe le Bel, son vicaire en Toscane. Le vicaire vint bien armé, chassa les *blancs* et les *gibelins*, et se fit détester des *noirs* et des *guelfes*. Le Dante était *blanc* et *gibelin* ; il fut chassé des premiers et sa maison rasée. On peut juger de là s'il fut le reste de sa vie affectionné à la maison de France et aux papes ; on prétend pourtant qu'il alla faire un voyage à Paris, et que pour se désennuyer il se fit théologien, et disputa vigoureusement dans les écoles. On ajoute que l'empereur Henri VII ne fit rien pour lui, tout *gibelin* qu'il était ; qu'il alla chez Frédéric d'Aragon, roi de Sicile, et qu'il en revint aussi pauvre qu'il y était allé. Il fut réduit au marquis de Malaspina, et au grand-kan de Vérone. Le marquis et le grand-kan ne le dédommagèrent pas ; il mourut pauvre à Ravenne, à l'âge de cinquante-six ans. Ce fut dans ces divers lieux qu'il composa sa comédie de l'enfer, du purgatoire, et du paradis ; on a regardé ce salmiondis comme un beau poëme épique.

Il trouva d'abord à l'entrée de l'enfer un lion et une louve. Tout d'un coup Virgile se présente à lui pour l'encourager ; Virgile lui dit qu'il est né Lombard ; c'est précisément comme si Homère disait qu'il est né Turc. Virgile offre de faire au Dante les honneurs de l'enfer et du purgatoire, et de le mener jusqu'à la porte de Saint-Pierre ; mais il avoue qu'il ne pourra pas entrer avec lui. Cependant Caron les passe tous deux dans sa barque. Virgile lui raconte que, peu de temps après son arrivée en enfer, il y vit un être puissant qui vint chercher les âmes d'Abel, de Noé, d'Abraham, de Moïse, de David. En avançant chemin, ils découvrent dans l'enfer des demeures très-agréables : dans l'une sont Homère, Horace, Ovide, et Lucain ; dans une autre, on voit Électre, Hector, Énée, Lucrèce, Brutus, et le Turc Saladin ; dans une troisième, Socrate, Platon, Hippocrate, et l'Arabe Averroès.

Enfin paraît le véritable enfer, où Pluton juge les condamnés. Le voyageur y reconnaît quelques cardinaux, quelques papes, et beaucoup de Florentins. Tout cela est-il dans le style comique ? Non. Tout est-il dans le genre héroïque ? Non. Dans quel goût est donc ce poëme ? dans un goût bizarre.

Mais il y a des vers si heureux et si naïfs qu'ils n'ont point vieilli depuis quatre cents ans, et qu'ils ne vieilliront jamais. Un poëme d'ailleurs où l'on met des papes en enfer réveille beaucoup l'attention ; et les commentateurs épuisent toute la sagacité de leur esprit à déterminer au juste qui sont ceux que le Dante a damnés, et à ne se pas tromper dans une matière si grave.

On a fondé une chaire, une lecture pour expliquer cet auteur classique. Vous me demanderez comment l'Inquisition ne s'y oppose pas. Je vous répondrai que l'Inquisition entend raillerie en Italie ; elle sait bien que des plaisanteries en vers ne peuvent point faire de mal : vous

en allez juger par cette petite traduction très-libre d'un morceau du chant vingt-troisième ;¹ il s'agit d'un damné de la connaissance de l'auteur. Le damné parle ainsi :

Je m'appelais le comte de Guidon ;
 Je fus sur terre et soldat et poltron ;
 Puis m'enrôlai sous saint François d'Assise,
 Afin qu'un jour le bout de son cordon
 Me donnât place en la céleste Église ;
 Et j'y serais sans ce pape félon,
 Qui m'ordonna de servir sa feintise,
 Et me rendit aux griffes du démon.
 Voici le fait. Quand j'étais sur la terre,
 Vers Rimini je fis longtemps la guerre,
 Moins, je l'avoue, en héros qu'en fripon
 L'art de fourber me fit un grand renom.
 Mais quand mon chef eut porté poil grison,
 Temps de retraite où convient la sagesse,
 Le repentir vint ronger ma vieillesse,
 Et j'eus recours à la confession.
 O repentir tardif et peu durable !
 Le bon saint-père en ce temps guerroyait,
 Non le Soudan, non le Turc intraitable,
 Mais les chrétiens, qu'en vrai Turc il pillait.
 Or, sans respect pour tiare et tonsure,
 Pour saint François, son froc et sa ceinture :
 " Frère, dit-il, il me convient d'avoir
 Incessamment Préneste en mon pouvoir.
 Conseille-moi, cherche sous ton capuce
 Quelque beau tour, quelque gentille astuce,
 Pour ajouter en bref à mes États
 Ce qui me tente et ne m'appartient pas.
 J'ai les deux clefs du ciel en ma puissance.
 De Célestin la dévote imprudence
 S'en servit mal, et moi, je sais ouvrir
 Et refermer le ciel à mon plaisir.
 Si tu me sers, ce ciel est ton partage."
 Je le servis, et trop bien ; dont j'enrage.
 Il eut Préneste, et la mort me saisit.
 Lors devers moi saint François descendit,
 Comptant au ciel amener ma bonne âme ;
 Mais Belzébuth vint en poste, et lui dit :
 " Monsieur d'Assise, arrêtez : je réclame
 Ce conseiller du saint-père, il est mien ;
 Bon saint François, que chacun ait le sien."
 Lors, tout penaud, le bonhomme d'Assise
 M'abandonnait au grand diable d'enfer.
 Je lui criai : " Monsieur de Lucifer,

¹[Not the 23rd, but the 27th Canto of the *Inferno*.]

Je suis un saint, voyez ma robe grise ;
 Je fus absous par le chef de l'Eglise."
 —" J'aurai toujours, répondit le démon,
 Un grand respect pour l'absolution ;
 On est lavé de ses vieilles sottises,
 Pourvu qu' après autres ne soient commises.
 J'ai fait souvent cette distinction
 A tes pareils ; et grâce à l'Italie,
 Le diable sait de la théologie."
 Il dit, et rit : je ne répliquai rein
 A Belzébuth : il raisonnait trop bien.
 Lors il m'empoigne, et d'un bras roide et ferme
 Il appliqua sur mon triste épiderme
 Vingt coups de fouet, dont bien fort il me cuit :
 Que Dieu le rende à Boniface Huit !

(*Oeuvres Complètes*, éd. Moland, 1878, vol. xviii. pp. 312-15.)

1759. Décembre. LETTRE AU RÉVÉREND PÈRE BETTINELLI,¹ À VERONE.²

[Dante's poem a literary curiosity, which will never find readers]

Je fais grand cas du courage avec lequel vous avez osé dire que le Dante était un fou, et son ouvrage un monstre. J'aime encore mieux pourtant dans ce monstre une cinquantaine de vers supérieurs à son siècle que tous les vermisseaux appelés *sonetti*, qui naissent et meurent à milliers aujourd' hui dans l'Italie, de Milan jusqu'à Otrante.

Algarotti a donc abandonné le triumvirat³ comme Lépide : je crois que, dans le fond, il pense comme vous sur le Dante. Il est plaisant que, même sur ces bagatelles, un homme qui pense n'ose dire son sentiment qu'à l'oreille de son ami. Ce monde-ci est une pauvre mascarade. Je conçois à toute force comment on peut dissimuler ses opinions pour devenir cardinal ou pape ; mais je ne conçois guère qu'on se déguise sur le reste. Ce qui me fait aimer l'Angleterre, c'est qu'il n'y a d'hypocrite en aucun genre. J'ai transporté l'Angleterre chez moi, estimant d'ailleurs infiniment les Italiens, et surtout vous, monsieur,

¹[Francesco Saverio (Xavier) Bettinelli, Jesuit, born at Mantua in 1718, where he died at the age of 90 in 1808. In 1757 he published his *Lettere dieci di Virgilio agli Arcadi di Roma*, in which he studiously belittles and decries Dante. It is to this work that Voltaire alludes in the following letter.]

²[By the editors of Voltaire's correspondence this letter is assigned to March, 1761; its correct date is December, 1759 (see *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, xxviii. 220-1; and *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N.S. vii. 291). Voltaire first printed this letter in the *Commentaire historique sur les œuvres de l'auteur de l'Henriade*, published at Geneva in 1776, when the last two paragraphs referring to Marrini's (not Marini) edition of the *Commedia* (Paris, 1768) were added (see below, p. 211 note 1).]

³[In the same volume as his *Lettere di Virgilio* Bettinelli had printed *Versi scolti di tre eccellenti autori*, a selection of poems by himself, Francesco Algarotti (1712-1764), and Carlo Innocenzo Frugoni (1692-1768). Both Algarotti and Frugoni resented Bettinelli's attack upon Dante, which Algarotti publicly repudiated.]

dont le génie et le caractère sont faits pour plaire à toutes les nations, et qui mériteriez d'être aussi libre que moi.

Pour le polisson nommé Marini,¹ qui vient de faire imprimer le *Dante* à Paris, dans la collection des poètes italiens, c'est un marchand qui vient établir sa boutique, et qui vante sa marchandise ; il dit des injures à Bayle et à moi, et nous reproche comme un crime de préférer Virgile à son Dante. Ce pauvre homme a beau dire, le Dante pourra entrer dans les bibliothèques des curieux, mais il ne sera jamais lu. On me vole toujours un tome de l'Arioste, on ne m'a jamais volé un Dante.

Je vous prie de donner au diable il signor Marini et tout son enfer, avec la panthère que le Dante rencontre d'abord dans son chemin, sa lionne et sa louve. Demandez bien pardon à Virgile qu'un poète de son pays l'ait mis en si mauvaise compagnie. Ceux qui ont quelque étincelle de bon sens doivent rougir de cet étrange assemblage, en enfer, du Dante, de Virgile, de Saint Pierre, et de Madona Beatrice.² On trouve chez nous, dans le XVIII^e siècle, des gens qui s'efforcent d'admirer des imaginations aussi stupidement extravagantes et aussi barbares ; on a la brutalité de les opposer aux chefs-d'œuvre de génie, de sagesse et d'éloquence, que nous avons dans notre langue, etc. *O tempora ! O judicium !*

(*Oeuvres Complètes*, éd. Moland, 1881, vol. xli. pp. 251-2.)

1774. ARTICLE SUR CYRUS.³

[Alleged prophetic utterances of Seneca and Dante]

Plusieurs savants prétendent qu'il est métaphysiquement impossible de voir clairement l'avenir ; qu'il y a une contradiction formelle à voir ce qui n'est point ; que le futur n'existe pas, et par conséquent ne peut être vu ; que les fraudes en ce genre sont innombrables chez toutes les nations : qu'il faut enfin se défier de tout dans l'histoire ancienne. Ils ajoutent que s'il y a jamais eu une prédiction formelle, c'est celle de la découverte de l'Amérique dans Sénèque le Tragique (*Medée*, acte II. scène III.).

Venient annis

Saecula seris quibus Oceanus

Vincula rerum laxet, ut ingens

Pateat tellus, etc.

Les quatre étoiles du pôle antarctique sont annoncées encore plus

¹[The Abbate Marrini ; the edition in question was published by Marcel Prault, at Paris in 1768, with a Life of Dante by Marrini, and the two letters on Dante written to the Earl of Orford in 1758 by Martinelli in which he attacks Voltaire for his disparagement of Dante (see below, pp. 315-20). These last two paragraphs of Voltaire's letter were added when it was first printed in 1776 (see above, p. 210 note 2).]

²[It is hardly necessary to observe that neither St. Peter nor Beatrice figures in Dante's Hell, though their names are mentioned.]

³[This article was published for the first time in 1774, in the 4th edition of *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie*. It was afterwards incorporated in the *Dictionnaire Philosophique*. For an English translation, see below, p. 423.]

clairement dans le Dante. Cependant personne ne s'est avisé de prendre Sénèque et Alighieri Dante pour des devins.

(*Oeuvres Complètes*, éd. Moland, 1878, vol. xviii. pp. 310-11.)

1776. LETTRES CHINOISES, INDIENNES, ET TARTARES À M. PAUW PAR UN BÉNÉDICTIN.¹

[Martinelli on Dante.—Dante's 'hotch-potch']

Lettre XII. Sur le Dante, et sur un pauvre homme nommé Martinelli—J'entretenais mon ami Gervais de toutes ces choses curieuses, et je lui faisais lire les lettres que j'avais écrites à M. Pauw, à condition que M. Pauw me donnerait ensuite la permission de montrer les siennes à M. Gervais, lorsqu'il arriva deux savants d'Italie, à pied, qui venaient par la route de Nevers. L'un était M. Vincenzo Martinelli,² maître de langue, qui avait dédié une édition du *Dante* à milord Orford; l'autre était un bon violon.

Per tutti i santi! dit le signor Martinelli, on est bien barbare dans la ville de Nevers par où j'ai passé: on n'y fait que des colifichets de verre, et personne n'a voulu imprimer mon *Dante* et mes préfaces, qui sont autant de diamants.

Vous voilà bien à plaindre! lui dit M. Gervais; il y a quatre ans que je n'ai pu débiter, dans Romorantin, un exemplaire des vers d'un Empereur chinois; et vous, qui n'êtes qu'un pauvre Italien, vous osez trouver mauvais qu'on n'imprime pas votre *Dante* et vos préfaces à Nevers! Qu'est-ce donc que ce Dante?

C'est, dit Martinelli, le divin Dante, qui manquait de chausses au XIII^e siècle, comme moi au XVIII^e. J'ai prouvé que Bayle, qui était un ignorant sans esprit, n'avait dit que des sottises sur le Dante dans les dernières éditions de son grand dictionnaire, *notizie spurie, deformi*. J'ai relancé vigoureusement un autre *cioso*,³ homme de lettres, qui s'est avisé de donner à ses compatriotes français une idée des poètes italiens et anglais, en traduisant quelques morceaux librement et sottement en vers d'un style de Polichinelle,⁴ comme je le dis expressément. En un mot, je viens apprendre aux Français à vivre, à lire, et à écrire.

Le stupide orgueil d'un mercenaire, qui se croyait un homme considérable pour avoir imprimé le Dante, me causa d'abord une vive indignation. Mais j'eus bientôt quelque pitié du signor Martinelli; je me mêlai de la conversation, et je lui dis: Monsieur le maître de langues, vous ne me paraissez maître de goût ni de politesse. J'ai lu autrefois votre divin Dante: c'est un poème très-curieux en Italie pour

¹[Originally printed in London.]

²[Deux lettres de V. Martinelli au comte d'Orford sont imprimées à la suite d'une *Vie du Dante*, par l'Abbé Marini, dans l'édition du Dante imprimée chez Marcel Prault, 1768. Voltaire n'est pas ménagé dans ces deux lettres (*Beuchot*). For these letters, see below, pp. 315-20.]

³Quelques gens de lettres italiens, qui ne savent pas vivre, appellent un Français un *cioso* (*Voltaire*).

⁴Preface du Dante, par le signor Martinelli (*Voltaire*). [Martinelli is referring to Voltaire, who translated two passages from the *Divina Commedia* (see above, pp. 206, 209-10).]

son antiquité. Il est le premier qui ait eu des beautés et du succès dans une langue moderne. Il y a même dans cet énorme ouvrage une trentaine de vers qui ne dépareraient pas l'Arioste ; mais M. Gervais sera fort étonné quand il saura que ce poëme est un voyage en enfer, en purgatoire, et en paradis.

M. Gervais recula de deux pas, et trouva le chemin un peu long.

Sachez, dis-je à mon ami Gervais, que le Dante ayant perdu par la mort sa maîtresse Beatrice Portinari, rencontre un jour à la porte de l'enfer Virgile et cette Béatrice auprès d'une lionne et d'une louve. Il demande à Virgile qui il est ; Virgile lui répond que son père et sa mère sont de Lombardie, et qu'il le mènera dans l'enfer, dans le purgatoire, et au paradis, si le Dante veut le suivre. 'Je te suivrai, lui dit le Dante ; mène-moi où tu dis, et que je voie la porte de Saint Pierre.'

Che tu mi meni là dov' or dicesti,
Sì ch' i' vegga la porta di san Pietro.

(Dant. *Inf.* i.)

Beatrice est du voyage. Le Dante, qui avait été chassé de Florence par ses ennemis, ne manque pas de les voir en enfer, et de se moquer de leur damnation. C'est ce qui a rendu son ouvrage intéressant pour la Toscane. L'éloignement du temps a nui à la clarté, et on est même obligé d'expliquer aujourd'hui son Enfer comme un livre classique. Les personnages ne sont pas si attachants pour le reste de l'Europe. Je ne sais comment il est arrivé qu'Agamemnon fils d'Atrée, Achille aux pieds légers, le pieux Hector, le beau Pâris, ont toujours plus de réputation que le comte de Montefeltro, Guido da Polenta, et Paolo Lancilotto.

Pour embellir son enfer, l'auteur joint les anciens païens aux chrétiens de son temps. Cet assemblage et cette comparaison de nos damnés avec ceux de l'antiquité pourrait avoir quelque chose de piquant si cette bigarrure était amenée avec art, s'il était possible de mettre de la vraisemblance dans ce mélange bizarre de christianisme et de paganisme, et surtout si l'auteur avait su ourdir la trame d'une fable, et y introduire des héros intéressants, comme ont fait depuis l'Arioste et le Tasse. Mais Virgile doit s'être si étonné de se trouver entre Cerbère et Belzébuth, et devoir passer en revue une foule de gens inconnus, qu'il peut en être fatigué, et le lecteur encore davantage.

M. Gervais sentit la vérité de ce que je lui disais, et renvoya M. Martinelli avec ses commentaires. Nous nous avouâmes l'un à l'autre que ce qui peut convenir à une nation est souvent fort insipide pour le reste des hommes. Il faut même être très-réservé à reproduire les anciens ouvrages de son pays. On croit rendre service aux lettres en commentant Coquillart¹ et le roman de *la Rose*. C'est un travail aussi ingrat que bizarre de rechercher curieusement des cailloux dans de vieilles ruines, quand on a des palais modernes.

(*Oeuvres Complètes*, éd. Moland, 1879, vol. xxix. pp. 495-7.)

¹[Guillaume Coquillart, official de l'église de Reims, mort en 1590, est auteur de poésies dont la dernière édition est de 1723 (*Beuchot*).]

ANONYMOUS

1727. THE AMUSING INSTRUCTOR. BEING A COLLECTION OF FINE SAYINGS, SMART REPORTEES, &C. FROM THE MOST APPROV'D ITALIAN AUTHORS: WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

[Dante's 'thoughts as chaste as his language']

DANTE Brunetto Latini's disciple liv'd to the year 1331. Villani assures us, that no one before his time had writ with greater majesty, either in prose or verse. He was one of the first, who in these latter ages has had the glory of attempting to write heroic poems; and his success has been so great, that he is admired by the learned to this day. Salviati¹ tells us, that no one has excell'd him in works of that kind, so great is his propriety in the choice both of his words and expressions; notwithstanding that the uncommon subjects which he had chosen, such as purgatory, hell, and paradise, has frequently oblig'd him to make use of several uncommon words and expressions. But there is one circumstance in the works of that poet, that merits the highest regard, which is, that his thoughts are as chaste as his language.

(p. xxii.)

PAOLO ROLLI

(1687-1767)

[Paolo Rolli, Italian poet and man-of-letters, was born in Rome in 1687, where he was a pupil of Gravina. He first made his name as an *improvvisatore*. About 1720 he was brought to London by an English nobleman, who secured him a post as Italian tutor to the Royal Family. While in England, where he remained for about thirty years, Rolli published editions of several Italian poets, and a handsome reprint of the 'Ventisettana' *Decameron* (Thos. Edlin, 1725), besides a volume of his own collected poems (London, 1735), and an Italian translation of *Paradise Lost* (London, 1736).* Horace Walpole mentions him as the composer of several *libretti*, and as the author of an epitaph in Italian on Pope (who introduces him in the second book of the *Dunciad*), which he quotes in a letter to Mann (29 June, 1744). In 1728 Rolli published in London a small volume (of which a French translation was published in Paris in the same year) of *Remarks upon M. Voltaire's Essay on the Epick Poets of the European Nations*, in which he combats Voltaire's opinions as to Milton, and ridicules his ignorance of Italian literature, especially as regards the age of Dante. Rolli returned to Italy in 1747, and died at Rome in 1767.]

1728. REMARKS UPON M. VOLTAIRE'S ESSAY ON THE EPICK POETRY OF THE EUROPEAN NATIONS.²

¹[Leonardo Salviati, in his *Avvertimenti della Lingua sopra il Decamerone* (Venetia, 1584-6).]

²[Voltaire's *Essay* was written by him in English in 1726, and published in London in 1727. It was afterwards (in 1728) translated into French, with additions, by the Abbé Desfontaines (see above, p. 205).]

*[For some remarks on Dante in the *Vita di Milton* prefixed to this work, see *Appendix*, below, pp. 682-3.]

[Voltaire's ignorance of Italian literature]

M. VOLTAIRE, a very ingenious *French* Gentleman, has lately publish'd an Essay upon the Epick Poetry of the European Nations, from *Homer* down to *Milton*. . . . I have met in several Places of this new Treatise, with such wrong Notions of the *Italian* national Taste in Literature, and with so much false Wit in running down one of our best Epick Poems,¹ as well as in condemning many of the sublimest Places of the divine English Poem *Paradise Lost*, that I thought myself obliged both by the natural Duty of defending the general Learning and Taste of my Country, and by the Love of Truth, to vindicate those two noble Poems (one of which I have undertaken to translate²) from the Aspersions of this ingenious new Critick. . . . M. V. I am sure has read but three or four *Italian* Authors; he never was in *Italy*; he never perhaps conversed with any *Italian* of true Learning. . . .

Page 67. *The Italian Tongue was at the end of the fifteenth Century brought to the Perfection, in which it continues now, and in which it will remain as long as Tasso, in Poetry, and Machiavel in Prose, shall be the Standard of the Stile.*

Dante died in the Year MCCCXXI. *Petrarch* died in the Year MCCCLXXIV. *Boccaccio* in the Year MCCCLXXV. All three, the first, the best and the never-interrupted Standards of the Language and the Stile. M. V. shews himself very well acquainted with the Epocha of the *Italian* Letters, as well as with the Knowledge of our best Authors; for he thinks really that till *Machiavel* and *Tasso* there were not in *Italy* any as good, not to say better, Standards both in Prose and Verse. . . .

But what is become of *Ariosto* in this Essay? In Page 46 'tis said to survey all the Epick Writers in their respective Countries from *Homer* down to *Milton*. *Ariosto* call'd by all *Italy*, *Omero Ferrarese*, *divino Ariosto*, a Title given only to him and to *Dante*, the *Italian Terence* for his Comedies, the *Italian Horace* for his Satyrs, the *Italian Tibullus* for his Elegies. *Ariosto* was not worthy of M. V. his notice. He thinks, I suppose, that *Orlando Furioso* is not an Epick Poem, but a Romance. . . .

By what M. V. says, it seems that before *Tasso* there had not been in *Italy*, sublime Writers, both in Verse and Prose. Without mentioning *Dante*, *Petrarch* and *Boccaccio*; it wou'd be enough to let him know, that *Tasso* came after the Golden Age of the *Italian* Letters, which had so much flourish'd under the Protection of the for ever glorious Families of *Medicis* in *Florence* and *Rome*; of

¹[*Tasso's Gerusalemme Liberata.*]

²[*Rolli's translation of Paradise Lost* was published in London in 1736.]

Della Rovere in Urbin; of Este in Ferrara and of Farnese in Parma. . . .

Page 91 and 92. *Tasso is guilty of mingling often Pagan Ideas with Christian Mythology, &c.*

This Poetical Licence has been granted by Custom to all our great Epick Poets. *Dante, Ariosto, Tasso and Milton* have made use of it, and no Fault has been found with it. But why does not M. V. blame himself for having taken the same Licence? I'll quote many Passages of his Poem,¹ where he is guilty of this Fault.

(pp. 2 ff.)

EDWARD WRIGHT

(fl. 1720)

1730. SOME OBSERVATIONS MADE IN TRAVELLING THROUGH FRANCE, ITALY, &c. IN THE YEARS MDCCXX, MDCCXXI, AND MDCCXXII.²

[Picture of Dante in the cathedral of Florence—Dante a kleptomaniac]

FLORENCE.—In the church is likewise Dante's picture by Andrea Orgagna,³ walking in the fields, and reading: with this epigraph, in lines far unequal to those they speak of.

*Qui caelum cecinit, mediumq; imumq; tribunal,
Lustravitq; animo cuncta poeta suo,
Doctus adest Dantes, sua quem Florentia saepe
Sensit consiliis ac pietate patrem.
Nil potuit tanto mors saeva nocere poetae,
Quem vivum virtus, carmen, imago facit.*

Behold the poet, who in lofty verse
Heav'n, hell, and purgatory did rehearse;
The learned Dante! whose capacious soul
Survey'd the universe, and knew the whole.
To his own Florence he a father prov'd,
Honour'd for counsel, for religion lov'd.
Death could not hurt so great a bard as he,
Who lives in virtue, verse, and effigy.

This great man, we are told there,⁴ had a most unhappy itch of pilfering; not for lucre (for it was generally of mere trifles), but it was what he could not help; so that the friends whose houses he

¹[The *Henriade*, as an introduction to which the *Essay on Epic Poetry* was originally composed.]

²[A second edition of this work was published in 1764.]

³[Not by Orcagna, but by Domenico di Michelino.]

⁴[In Florence.]

frequented, would put in his way rags of cloth, bits of glass, and the like, to save things of more value (for he could not go away without something); and of such as these, at his death, a whole room full was found filled.

(Ed. 1764, p. 395.)

ANDREW MICHAEL RAMSAY

(1686-1743)

[Andrew Michael Ramsay, known in France as the Chevalier de Ramsay, was the son of a baker in Ayr, where he was born in 1686. He was educated at the University of Edinburgh. In 1710 he paid a visit to Fénelon, by whom he was persuaded to become a Roman Catholic. At his death in 1715 Fénelon left him all his papers, which Ramsay utilised for his *Vie de Fénelon*, published at the Hague in 1723. In 1724 he was appointed tutor to the Pretender's sons, Princes Charles Edward and Henry, at Rome, where he remained for about 15 months. In 1730 he came to England and was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. He died in France in 1743. Ramsay is best known as the author of *Les Voyages de Cyrus*, published in Paris in 1727, which was translated into English in 1730, and has been many times reprinted. Spence¹ took notes of his conversations with Ramsay in 1730 (probably during the stay of the latter in England), which include remarks upon Dante and other Italian authors.]

1730. REMARKS UPON ITALIAN POETS.²

[Dante, Petrarch, and Ariosto, unequal writers]

I HAVE read most of the Italian dramatic compositions of any note, but am no great admirer of their theatre; neither is that kind of reading the properest for getting an insight into the beauties of their delightful language. Boccaccio, Bembo, and Monsignor della Casa ought to be your particular study; but by all means avoid Bentivoglio, his language is altogether frenchified, by his residence at Brussels and Paris: and, though beautiful in its kind, yet far inferior to the others, who are all of the true Tuscan dialect. After the three above mentioned, Guicciardini's History, and then their poets, who are full of beauties, but mixed with a terrible contrast of *concetti* and epigrammatic points.—Dante, Petrarca, and Ariosto, themselves are full of surprisingly great and little things.

(*Spence's Anecdotes*, ed. Singer, 1820, p. 341.)

ANONYMOUS

1730. THE PRESENT STATE OF THE REPUBLIC OF LETTERS.—ART. IV.
A LETTER TO T. E. ESQ. IN ANSWER TO FATHER HARDOUIN'S DOUTES SUR L'AGE DU DANTE, PUBLISH'D IN THE MEMOIRES DE TREVOUX.

¹[See below, pp. 218-20.]

²[From notes of Ramsay's conversations, preserved by Spence, and printed in his *Anecdotes*.]

[Hardouin's scepticism with regard to Dante]

The celebrated Father *Hardouin*,¹ in the *Memoires de Trevoux* for August, 1727, has thought fit to degrade the *Author of the Poem of Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise*, into an obscure writer of the fifteenth century, who upon some very wicked design, which we are left to conjecture, publish'd that work under the name of *Dante*, a well-known Author, who flourish'd at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth. . . .²

I will not tire you with citing all the *Florentine* and *foreign Authors* who have mentioned *Dante*, (*the Author of the Triple Comedy*), in almost a continual chain, down from his time to ours. Nor will I insist upon the constant *Tradition* of his countrymen; tho' that seems to be *F. H.*'s favourite source of arguments.

Dante was a Scholar and a Poet, far above the times he liv'd in, (as *Boccace* and *Petrarch* were immediately after,) and I think I may say, he well deserves a place among the ancient fine writers: In which rank *F. H.* seems to consider him, by treating him in the same manner he has done *Caesar*, *Livy*, and the *Author of the divine Aeneid*.³

Yours etc.

N. A.

Dec. 20, 1728.

(Vol. v. pp. 57 ff.)

1731. THE PRESENT STATE OF THE REPUBLICK OF LETTERS.—ART. XLII. AN ESSAY ON POETRY AND PAINTING, WITH RELATION TO THE SACRED AND PROPHANE HISTORY. BY CHARLES LAMOTTE.

[Giotto and Dante]

PAINTING is quicker in its operation, and far more extensive than Poetry, it being a kind of universal Language. Painting is as much superior to Poetry, as the *Utile* is to the *Dulce*. Painters may borrow noble hints from the Poets, *Ghiotto* us'd to take hints from *Dante*; *Virgil* and other Poets, possibly, borrowed fine Thoughts from the Painters.

(Vol. vii. p. 423.)

JOSEPH SPENCE

(1699-1768)

[Joseph Spence was born at Kingsclere in Hampshire in 1699. He was educated at Eton and at Winchester, where he was elected a scholar in 1715. From Winchester he proceeded in 1717 to Magdalen Hall, Oxford, and in 1720 he became Fellow of New College. In 1728 he was elected Professor of Poetry, and was re-elected in 1733 for a second term of five years, but he does not appear to have delivered any lectures. In the winter of 1730 he accompanied Charles Sackville, Earl

¹[Jean Hardouin, Jesuit, born at Quimper in 1646; died in Paris in 1729.]

²[Here follows a long argument answering the points raised by Hardouin *sciatim*.]

³[Hardouin maintained that the *Aeneid* was written by a Benedictine monk in the thirteenth century.]

of Middlesex (afterwards second Duke of Dorset), on a tour through France and Italy, which lasted till July, 1733. The winter of 1732-3 was spent in Florence, where Spence made the acquaintance of the Italian physician, Dr. Antonio Cocchi, some of whose conversations, including criticisms of Dante, are recorded in the *Anecdotes*. In the autumn of 1739, in company with Henry Clinton, Earl of Lincoln (afterwards second Duke of Newcastle), he again visited Italy, and made a second stay at Florence. It was on this tour that, as he claims, he was the means of saving the life of Horace Walpole. At Reggio in 1741, on their way back from Rome, he and Lord Lincoln found Walpole lying dangerously ill of a quinsy. Spence at once sent to Florence for his friend Dr. Cocchi, in whose hands the patient speedily recovered. On his return home in 1742 Spence was presented to a College living in Buckinghamshire which he held till his death, and in the same year he was appointed Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford. In 1754 he was given a prebend at Durham. He died in 1768 at Byfleet, where he had resided since 1749 in a house presented to him by his former pupil, Lord Lincoln. Spence took notes of the conversations of Pope and his circle, and of the various celebrities he met abroad, which were first published in 1820 by S. W. Singer. References to Dante occur in several of these. The remarks of his friend, the Florentine physician, Dr. Antonio Cocchi (born 1695, died at Florence, 1758), who was intimate with Sir Horace Mann and is frequently mentioned in Horace Walpole's letters to Mann, are given below, as translated by Spence. Those of the Chevalier de Ramsay, noted during the visit of the latter to England in 1730, are given under Ramsay's own name (see above, p. 217).]

[1728-44.] ANECDOTES, OBSERVATIONS, AND CHARACTERS, OF BOOKS AND MEN, COLLECTED FROM THE CONVERSATION OF MR POPE, AND OTHER EMINENT PERSONS OF HIS TIME.

[Dr. Cocchi on Dante]

1732-3. **D**R. COCCHI at Florence. Dante wrote before we began to be at all refined; and of course, his celebrated poem is a sort of gothick work. He is very singular, and very beautiful in his similies; and more like Homer than any of our poets since. He was prodigiously learned for the times he lived in; and knew all that a man could then know. Homer, in his time, was unknown in Italy; and Petrarca boasts of being the first poet that had heard him explained. Indeed in Dante's time there was not above three or four people in all Italy that could read Greek: (one in particular at Viterbo, and two or three elsewhere). But though he had never seen Homer, he had conversed much with the works of Virgil.—His poem got the name of *Comedia* after his death. He somewhere calls Virgil's work *Tragedie*¹ (or sublime poetry); and in deference to him, called his own *Comedia* (or low): and hence was that word used afterwards, by mistake, for the title of his poem.²

(Ed. Singer, 1820, pp. 98-9.)

[The three greatest geniuses of Florence]

Dante, Galileo, and Machiavelli, are the three greatest geniuses that Florence has ever produced.

(*Ibid.* p. 99.)

¹[He makes Virgil speak of the *Aeneid* as 'l' alta mia Tragedia,' *Inf.* xx. 113.]

²[On the contrary, *Commedia* was Dante's own title for his poem, as is evident from *Inf.* xvi. 128; xxi. 2; and many passages in the Letter to Can Grande (*Epist.* x. §§ 3, 6, 10, 13).]

[The Spaniards have no poet as good as Dante, Ariosto, or Tasso]

The Spaniards were at the top of their poetry, under the reigns of Charles the Fifth and Philip the Second. They imitated the Italian poets, and would fain set up Garcilasso della Vega for their Petrarch.—Their poetry is generally bad, and even Lope de Vega's is wretched stuff.

Note by Spence. This sweeping censure of Spanish poetry is too flippant to pass entirely unnoticed.—Though Spain may not boast of any poet like Dante, Ariosto, or Tasso; yet is she not deficient in such as may rank with any of the minor *Rimatori* of Italy.

(*Ibid.* p. 110.)

PIERRE DESMAIZEAUX

(c. 1673-1745)

[Pierre Desmaizeaux, the son of a French Protestant minister, was brought to England in 1699 by the third Earl of Shaftesbury, to whom he had been recommended by Bayle. Through Shaftesbury he became known to Halifax and Addison, and through the interest of the latter he obtained a pension, 'like his talents, very moderate,' on the Irish establishment. He supplemented his means by literary work, much of which was little better than hack-work. As an author he enjoyed the double distinction of having one of his books burned in Dublin by the common hangman (1710), and of being elected a Fellow of the Royal Society (1720). Desmaizeaux, who died in 1745, was described by Warburton¹ as a 'verbose, tasteless Frenchman;' Isaac D'Israeli said of him, 'he was one of those French refugees, whom political madness or despair of intolerance had driven to our shores. The proscription of Louis XIV, which supplied us with our skilful workers in silk, also produced a race of the unemployed, who proved not to be as exquisite in the handicraft of bookmaking.'² In 1735 he published an English edition of Bayle's *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*,³ which contains a long notice of Dante, furnished with copious annotations and remarks, extracts from which are printed below. In the course of the notes Desmaizeaux translates (or rather, as a rule, mistranslates) several passages from the *Divina Commedia* into rhymed couplets, some of which are included in the notes here printed, while the remainder are printed separately at the end of the article (pp. 228-9).]

1735. THE DICTIONARY HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL OF MR. PETER BAYLE.⁴

[Dante's 'ridiculous falsehood' concerning Hugh Capet—Francis I and Dante]

CAPET (HUGH), King of *France*, the first of the third Race. Many things might be said upon this Subject; but I shall content myself with observing, that the Poet *Dante* published a ridiculous Falsehood, in saying that the Father of *Hugh*

¹[In a letter to Dr. Binch.]

²[*Curiosities of Literature*, ed. 1866, vol. iii, p. 14.]

³[First published in 1696-7. The first edition, however, does not contain the notice of Dante, which was first included in the second edition (1702).]

⁴['The Second Edition, carefully collated with the several Editions of the Original; in which many Passages are restored, and the whole greatly augmented, particularly with a Translation of the Quotations from eminent Writers in various Languages. . . By Mr. Des Maizeaux.']

Capet was a Butcher.^A *Francis I* is said to have fallen into a violent Passion, when he understood that *Dante* had expressed himself in that manner.^B

Note A—The refuting this Man would only be trespassing on the Reader's Time and Patience. It is sufficient to relate the usual Conjecture of Authors, who have mentioned this Matter; which is, that *Dante* published this Imposture on purpose to revenge himself for the treatment he had received from *Charles de Valois*, who was descended from *Hugh Capet*. Pope *Boniface* the VIIIth., being solicited by one of the Parties which divided the Common-wealth of *Florence*, prevailed with *Charles de Valois*, Brother to *Philip the Fair* of *France*, to go and compose the Confusions of that City. The Party, *Dante* had embraced, was, at that time, the weakest: He, with several others, was banished *Florence*, and his Estate confiscated. He revenged himself the best way he could, with his Pen, in defaming the Kings of *France*, who had favoured the contrary Faction, and, among other things, he attacked them on the Subject of their Extraction. He makes *Hugh Capet* confess that his Father was a Butcher, *figliuol fui d' un Beccaiio di Parigi* (In his *Purgatory*, Canto 20), and own himself the Root of a Plant which had done much Mischief to Christendom.

I fui radice de la mala pianta,
 Che la terra Christiana tutta aduggia,
 Si che buon frutto rado se ne schianta.¹

Those wicked Stems proceed from me their Root,
Which over Christendom redundant shoot,
And everywhere produce their deadly Fruit. }

A Canon of *Paris*, called *Balthasar Grangier*, dedicating his *French Translation*² of *Dante's Hell, Paradise, and Purgatory*, to *Henry* the IVth, tells that Prince, that the Word *Butcher* ought not to be taken in a literal Sense; 'For *Dante*, who during his Exile resided a long Time in *Paris*, could not be ignorant of our manner of speaking. When a Prince is a little more rigorous than ordinary in executing Justice upon Malefactors, we say he has made *une grande boucherie*.—A great piece of *Butchery*; and so our Poet calls *Hugh the Great*, Earl of *Paris*, Father of the foresaid *Hugh Capet*, the great Justiciary of his Time upon all Gentlemen, Criminals, and Rebels, the Butcher of *Paris*, as I prove more fully in the Annotations, and as some of our Chronologers, quoting this

¹[*Purg.* xx. 43-5.]

²[Printed in *Paris* in 3 vols. in 1596 and 1597.]

Passage, have rightly observed.' This Explication is altogether as ridiculous as *Dante's Fiction*. Without doubt, he took the Word *Butcher* literally. I am not certain whether any Lamponer led him the way, or he himself was the first Author of this silly Story; however, it is certain several have propagated it: So true is it that there is no Falsehood, how absurd soever, but will be handed down from Book to Book, and from Age to Age. 'Lie boldly, print all the Extravagances you can think of, *may one say to the paltriest News-writer in Europe*, and you will find Fools enough to copy from you: And if you are discountenanced at one time, Conjectures will happen, when some will find an interest in reviving your Credit.' *Papyrius Masso*¹ has a Passage in his Annals, which proves that other Authors were of the same opinion with *Dante*.—'Some Italian Writers have affirmed, either ignorantly or maliciously, that Hugh was meanly born. *Dante the Poet calls him the Son of a Butcher in Paris*. But this Author as *Volaterranus* rightly observes, in refuting this Opinion of his, had been expelled Florence by Charles de Valois, and so was highly incensed against Philip the Fair and the French. Although *Ricordanus* and *Villani* in their Annals of Tuscany affirm that the same thing has been published by a great many others.'

Note B—'This passage in *Dante* being read and explained to *Francis* the First of that Name, by *Lewis Alleman*,² an *Italian*, he was so provoked at the Imposture, that he commanded the Book to be taken away, and was even thinking of prohibiting the reading it throughout his Dominions.' *Pasquier*,³ after having said this, advances a Conjecture as insignificant as that before recited. 'To excuse this Author, says he (*Richerches*, lib. vi. cap. i), I would say, that, by the Word *Butcher*, he would be understood, that *Capet's* Father was a very valiant Soldier.—In the same manner I have read that *Oliver de Clisson* was called *Butcher*, by the *French*, because he gave no quarter to any of the *English*, but put every Man of them to the Sword.' He adds, that the Protestants called *Francis de Lorraine*, Duke of *Guise*, a *Butcher*. If *Pasquier* had considered what followed, and preceeded, this Passage of *Dante*, he would never have imagined, that this Poet intended to say *Capet* was the Son of a great and valiant Soldier; for this could never be thought a Reflexion, as it is plain *Dante* intended it, on *Hugh Capet*. Upon some occasions a simple Narrative would be sufficient. If *Pasquier* had been content to say, that *Francis the First* was angry at *Dante*, and that this Poet's whimsical Abuse, though he

¹[Jean Papire Masson (1544-1611), published his *Annales* in 1598.]

²[Luigi Alamanni (1495-1586).]

³[Etienne Pasquier (1529-1615) published his *Recherches sur la France* at Paris in 1560.]

writ it by the way, as minding, something else, served for a Foundation to other Authors, he had been justly commended. He quotes *Francis de Villon*, 'more conversant in Taverns and tippling Houses than in good Books,' who has said in some part of his Works,

Si feusse des hoirs de Capet
Qui fut extrait de boucherie.

*If I was the great Capet's Heir,
Who had a Butcher for his Sire.*

[Dante and his works]

Dante, one of the first Poets of *Italy*, was born at *Florence*, the Twenty seventh of *May*, in the year 1265. He was of a good Family, and carefully educated in polite Literature. Among other Masters, he had the famous *Brunetti*, who was one of the most learned Men of those times. He soon shewed the Inclination that Nature had given him for Poetry; and, as he fell in love as soon as his Age did permit it,^A he made many Verses in his Youth. He consecrated the First-fruits of his Muse to amorous Verses; but afterwards he undertook a more serious Work. He began it in *Latin Verse*, and ended it in *Italian Verse*. The Reason of that Change was, that he felt too much Slowness in the Motion of his Poetical Vein, when he made use of the ancient *Roman Language*. He did well to make use of his Mother-Tongue, since he excelled in the *Tuscan Poetry*. He would have been more happy if he had not meddled with anything else; for being an ambitious Man, and having been promoted to the highest Posts of the Republic, he sunk under the Ruins of the Faction which he embraced. The City of *Florence* being divided into two Factions, the one called the *White*, and the other the *Black*, found itself reduced to such a tumultuous Condition, that Pope *Boniface VIII* sent *Charles de Valois* (Brother to Philip the Fair, King of France) thither in the year 1301, to restore the public Tranquillity. No better way was found to pacify the City, than to drive the *White Faction* out of it. This is the Reason why our *Dante*, who had favoured it, was sent into Exile. . . . He did not bear that Disgrace with Resolution: his Resentment was very great: he endeavoured to revenge himself to the Prejudice of his Country; and would willingly have seen it involved in a bloody War. All his Endeavours to be recalled proved ineffectual; for he could never return thither: he died in his Exile, in the Month of *July* 1321. He had Strength enough to compose his Epitaph, in *Latin Verse*, a little before he expired.^B It must be remembered, that he applied himself diligently

to study, during the time of his Banishment, and that he wrote some Books with more Life and Spirit, than he could have done if he had enjoyed a more quiet Life. It is thought that the Indignation he conceived against his Country ^C gave a new Vigour to his Imagination and Pen. Some question what is said, that he went to study at *Paris* when he found himself exiled. The most considerable of his Works is the Poem intituled *The Comedy of Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise*. It has been commented upon by some Authors, and has furnished Matter of Dispute to several Critics. It contains some things, which those that favour the Popes are not pleased with, and which seem to signify that *Rome* is the Seat of Antichrist. The Court of *Rome* was very much displeas'd with another Book of *Dante*, and cried him down as an Heretic.^D I must not forget that this great Poet found some illustrious Patrons in his Misfortune: but he could not always preserve their Affection; ^E for, though he was a Man of few Words, yet on some Occasions he gave his Tongue a little too much Liberty. He left some Children. A remarkable thing is related concerning his Application in reading.^F

[Dante's two mistresses and three wives]

Note A—He fell in love as soon as his Age did permit it— Thus I thought I might translate these words of *Volaterran: amavit in adolescentia Beatricem*. This *Beatrice* was the Daughter of *Folco Portinari*. Some pretend that our Poet loved her very modestly, but that when she died he gave himself over to a lascivious Love. Others say, that the chaste Love he had for her, was the Reason why, after her Death, he turned a real thing into a Poetic Fancy, making *Beatrice* to be *Theology*. Those, who have read his Poem, know that *Beatrice* moralizes very much in it, and that she acts the Part of a grave Doctor. Read what follows, wherein you will find moreover, that she was only his second Mistress; but do not trust to that. 'It is observed that he had two Mistresses in his younger Years: the one was called *Gentucca*, with whom he fell in Love when he was in the City of *Lucca*; the other, *Beatrice Portinaria*, the Daughter of *Folco Portinaria*, whom he loved with an ardent, but chaste Affection. That Love often mixed itself with the sublime Conceptions of his Mind; which was the Reason why he went about to immortalize her by his Verses, wherein *Theology* is veiled under the fine Name of *Beatrice*. Desiring to follow *Virgil's* Steps in the Descent of his *Aeneas* into Hell, he introduces this Daughter of the *Empyrean* Heaven, coming to him and giving him that Prince of the Latin Poets as a Guide in such dark and uneasy ways.' (Bullart, Aca-

dem. des Sciences, Tom. ii. pag. 308.) It is certain that this *Gentucca* was not *Dante's* first Mistress; he did not love her till after his having been exiled, and during his abode at *Lucca* after his Banishment. (See his *Purgatorio*, Canto 24.) Note, that the Names of his Mistresses have been better preserved than those of his three Wives. *Papyrius Masso* confesses that he does not know the Names of those three Wives. *Uxores tres habuisse dicitur quarum incertum est nomen et mihi prorsus obscurum. . . .*

[Dante's visit to Venice—His epitaph]

Note B—He died at *Ravenna*, and it is thought that he died of Grief. He enjoyed an honourable Retreat with *Guy Polentan* Prince of *Ravenna*, when the Republic of *Venice* made Preparations for War against that Prince. The latter sent him to treat of a Peace at *Venice*. The *Venetians* behaved haughtily, and would neither receive nor hear *Dante*, so that he returned to *Ravenna*, his Journey having proved fruitless, and a little while after he fell into the Sickness of which he died, and Grief was thought to be the cause of it. *Papyrius Masso* speaks of that Embassy without saying anything of the ill Success of it: he insinuates, on the contrary, that *Dante* was well received; for, he pretends that they showed him the Arsenal, which *Dante* himself relates. ‘Lustravitque navalem apparatus urbis et armentarium sumptu atque opere visendum, ut primis statim verbis Cantici vigesimi primi inferorum indicat. He viewed the Naval Stores and Arsenal, famed for their Sumptuousness and Workmanship, as he owns in the beginning of his Twenty first Canto of Hell.’ There is nothing more false than this last Assertion: and it may be the other is not truer. As for the Epitaph, this is my Authority for it (*Pocciantius*,¹ *De Scriptoribus Florentinis*, pag. 45, 46).

‘Obiit, adeo mentis compos quod sex versus in extremo vitæ suæ edidit postmodum in proprio tumulo incisos: et sunt hi,

Jura monarchiæ, superos, phlegetonta, lacusque

Lustrando cecini, voluerunt fata quousque:

Sed quia pars cessit melioribus hospita castris,

Auctoremque suum petiit, felicior astris

Hic claudor Danthes patriis extorris ab oris,

Quem genuit parvi Florentia mater amoris.

—His Senses continued so strong to the last, that at the point of Death he composed six Verses, which were afterwards inscribed on his Tomb, and are these.

¹[Michele Poccianti, d. 1576.]

*Whilst Fate allow'd, I sung of Kings and Gods,
Of Lethe's Lake, and Pluto's dire abodes.
But now the better Part has wing'd it's Flight
To it's great Author, and the Realms of Light.
My Name was Dante; my Birth fair Florence gave,
But exil'd thence a Foreign Clime's my Grave.*

[Dante's strictures on the immorality of Florence]

Note C—Dante expresses also, in that Poem, his Indignation against the City of *Florence*, comparing it to a Nest of Thieves, and to a prostituted Woman, because they sold all Public Offices, and changed continually their Magistrates, their Coin, and their Customs, to bear the Inconveniencies of their Government with less Trouble. . . . He cries down *Florence* as a City, wherein Women give themselves over to Lewdness. He introduces Forese wondering in Purgatory, that his Widow should live chastly in the midst of so many lewd Women. I shall set down his Words according to *Grangier's* Translation:—

A Dieu tant plus est chere, et tant plus agréable
Ma vefve, que beaucoup au monde j'ay aymé,
Que plus seul a bien faire elle est par trop louïable.
Pour ce que le pays de Sardaigne estimé
Barbare, est bien plus chaste en ce qui est des femmes,
Que là où je la laisse au milieu des infames.

O frere bon et doux que veux tu que je dye ?
Desja le temps futur m'est au devant des yeux,
Qui suivra non de loin l' heure qui nous manie.
Lors l'on interdira pour adviser au mieux
En la chaire publicque aux Dames Florentines
De montrer leurs tetins, et leurs molles poitrines.

(Dante, Canto 23 of his Purgatory.)

*The widdow'd Charmer, who my Bed did share,
Merits by Virtue Heaven's peculiar Care;
Who chastly lives amidst a wanton Race,
Lewder than those Sardinia's Coasts embrace.
What shall I say? Hope rises in my Breast,
And to my Sight the future stands confess'd.
I see reform'd the Ladies of the Town,
And Pulpits preach each wanton Fashion down.¹*

[Dante's *De Monarchia*—His attack on the Papacy]

Note D—In his Book *De Monarchia*, Dante maintains, that the Authority of the Emperors ought not to depend on that of the

¹[*Purg.* xxiii. 91-102.]

Popes. This is his Heresy. . . . *Du Plessis Mornai* mentions several opinions of *Dante*, that are but little conformable to Popery (*Mystère d'Iniquité*, pag. 419, 420). 'He wrote a Treatise intitled *de Monarchia*, wherein he proves, that the Pope is not above the Emperor, and has no manner of Right over the Empire ; which is plainly against the *Clementine Pastoralis*, which asserts both : nay, he goes so far as to say, in his *Purgatory*,

Da hoggi mai che la Chiesa di Roma
Per confonder in se due reggimenti
Cade nel fango e se brutta e la soma.¹

*Rome, which two Governments erects in one,
Is by her own ambitious Pride undone.*

He confutes also the Donation of *Constantine*, which he maintains to be fictitious and insignificant, if it were true : and therefore he was looked upon by some as an Heretic. He says, *That the Decretists, Men that are ignorant of sound Divinity and Philosophy, affirm that the Traditions of the Church are the Foundation of Faith ; which is an execrable thing, since it cannot be questioned, that those who before the Traditions of the Church believed in Christ the Son of God, either to come, or already come to suffer for us, and have been fervent in Charity, are his Coheirs in Eternal Life.* He complains in his *Paradise*, that the Pope is become a Wolf instead of a Shepherd, and makes the Sheep run astray ; that for that Reason the Gospel and the Doctors are laid aside, and the Decretals are only minded ; that the Pope and Cardinals are only intent upon that, and go no more with their Thoughts to *Nazareth*, where the Angel *Gabriel* opened his Wings, but to the Vatican, and other choice places of *Rome*, which have been the Burying Ground to *St. Peter's* Followers, whose Doctrine they have buried at *Rome* ; that formerly War was made against the Church with the Sword, but that at present they do it by taking from her the Bread that God gives her, and which he denies nobody, to wit, the preaching of the Word. *But thou*, says he, speaking to the Pope, *who writest only to blot out, or by a Chancellor, think that Peter and Paul who died for the Lord's Vineyard which thou spoilest, are yet living ; but thou knowest neither the one nor the other.* He says in another place, That it is a shameful thing, that the Divine Scripture should be altogether laid aside, or wrested ; that they do not consider how much Blood was shed to plant it in the World ; how pleasant it is to him that reads it with Humility ; that, on the contrary one endeavours to set up his own Inventions, and the Gospel is silent. Vain Questions,

¹[*Purg.* xvi. 127-9.]

and fabulous Stories, eccho all the year round from the Pulpit, and the poor Sheep go away fed with Wind. I might quote several Passages out of this Poet against the Pope's Pardons and Indulgences, and other Abuses of the *Romish* Church, which he describes in such a manner, as plainly shews that he knew very well the Whore mentioned in the Revelations.' (Dante, del Paradiso, Cant. 9 and 29, and del Purgatorio, Cant. 23.) . . .¹

[Anecdote of Dante and Can Grande]

Note E—Dante had not the good Fortune to please his Patron at Verona. The Great *Can della Scala* gave him to understand, that he was weary of him, and told him one Day, It is a wonderful thing that such a one, who is a Fool, should please us all, and make himself beloved by everybody, which you, that are accounted a wise Man, cannot do. This is not to be wondered at, answered *Dante*; you would not admire such a thing, if you knew how much the Conformity of Characters is the source of Friendship. Everybody sees that this Answer was too shocking not to put the Prince of Verona quite out of Conceit with our Poet.

[Instance of Dante's application in reading]

Note F—Dante went one day to a Bookseller, whose Shop looked into the great Place of the City: His design was to see some public Games that were to be celebrated there; but having met with a Book that he had a mind to consult, he applied himself so earnestly to the reading of it, that, as he was going home, he protested and swore that he had neither heard nor seen anything of what had been done and said in the Celebration of the Games.

[Passages from the *Divina Commedia* translated by Desmaizeaux² in notes not included in the above extracts.]

[*Inferno* xv. 73-8]

Perish thy brutal Sons, a Dunghill-breed,
O *Fiezola*, nor mingle with the Seed
Of Romans who in *Florence* dwelt, when she
Became the Nest of so much Villany.

[*Inferno* xv. 79-87]

O! had the Gods in pity (I reply'd)
Heard *Dante's* ardent Wish, you had not dy'd:
The World had still enjoy'd it's Wonder and it's Pride. }

¹[The remainder of this note consists of a lengthy discussion as to Dante's orthodoxy.]

²[The original is prefixed by Desmaizeaux to the translation in each case.]

Paternal Likeness I behold in you,
 And all your Father rises to my view :
 Fixt in my Mem'ry lives your pious Care
 Which taught me first immortal Fame to share, }
 His Gratitude let *Dante's* Pen declare.

[*Inferno* xix. 106-11]

To you, o Pope, St. *John* apply'd his Words,
 When he beheld the Harlot on the Floods,
 Who, with seven heads and ten horns from her birth,
 Whores with the Kings and Monarchs of the Earth.

[*Paradiso* v. 73-8]

Ye Christians, learn more Constancy to know,
 Nor turn, like Feathers, with all winds that blow.
 Think not in every common Stream you may
 Wash the infectious Stains of Guilt away.
 The sacred Oracles will be your Guide :
 The Church her Pastor offers you beside :
 These to direct a Christians steps are given
 Along the thorny Way that leads to Heaven.

[*Paradiso* x. 133-8]

Here on the left, where now you turn your Eyes,
 Is the Great *Siggieri*, learn'd and wise,
 Who, Sick of Life and the World's empty Show
 Chid tardy Death, and thought he mov'd too slow.
 In Lectures, he deliver'd from the Chair
 Such wondrous Truths, as Envy pin'd to hear.

[*Paradiso* xvii. 70-5]

For Refuge to the *Lombard* King repair,
 Whose Arms an Eagle on a Ladder are.
 This Prince shall first your wand'ring Steps receive,
 And Favours, faster than you ask them, give.

THOMAS BLACKWELL

(1701-1757)

[Thomas Blackwell the younger, whose father was Professor of Divinity at Marischal College of the University of Aberdeen, and Principal (1717), was born in Aberdeen in 1701. He was educated at the Grammar School, and studied Greek and philosophy at the Marischal College, where he became Professor of Greek in 1723, and Principal in 1748. He died in Edinburgh in 1757. In 1735 Black-

well published anonymously *An Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer*, which attracted much attention, and was described by Gibbon as a 'fine effort of genius.' It was translated into French (Paris, 1799). In this work, which contains many references to Italian authors, Dante is ranked first among modern poets who have written of 'men and their passions.']

1735. AN ENQUIRY INTO THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF HOMER.¹

[The inferiority of Trissino to Dante and Ariosto]

TRISSINO thought it not impossible, with his Talents and Judgment, *To produce such a Poem in Italian, as Homer had done in Greek.* He set about it, and placed this great Model before his Eyes: He abandoned the use of Rhyme, followed the natural Run of Speech in his Verse; and endeavoured to adapt his Inventions to the State and Temper of his Age and Nation. . . . But after all, the *native Italian Manners* are lost; and the high Spirit and secret Force which bewitches a Reader, and dazzles his Eyes, that he can see no Faults in *Dante* and *Ariosto*, is here crush'd by Imitation.

(p. 32.)

[Dante's great poem produced in the midst of civil strife]

The abstract *Sciences* are generally the Product of *Leisure* and *Quiet*; but those that have respect to *Man*, and take their Aim from the human Heart, are best learned in Employment and Agitation. It was when *Greece* was ill-settled, when Violence prevailed in many Places, amidst the Confusion of the wandering Tribes, that *Homer* produced his immortal Poem: And it was when *Italy* was torn in Pieces, when the little States were leagued against each other; in a word, in the Heat of the Struggle and Bloodshed of the *Guelfe* and *Ghibelline* Parties, that *Dante* withdrew from his Country, and made the strongest Draught of Men and their Passions, that stands in the Records of modern Poetry.

(p. 65.)

THOMAS GRAY

(1716-1771)

[Thomas Gray, whose father was a 'money-scrivener' in London, was born in Cornhill in Dec. 1716. His mother, with the help of one of her sisters, kept a milliner's shop in the City, and by her exertions supported Gray at school and at college. One of his mother's brothers, Robert Antrobus, who lived at Burnham, Buckinghamshire, was a Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge; the other, William, was a master at Eton. About 1727 Gray was sent to Eton as an oppidan

¹ [Published anonymously.]

and pupil of his uncle William. Here he made the acquaintance among others of Horace Walpole. In October 1734 he was admitted as a pensioner at Peterhouse, Cambridge, Walpole going to King's College in the following year. Gray left the University without a degree in September 1738, apparently with the intention of studying law; in March of the next year, however, he started on the grand tour in company with Walpole, at the invitation of the latter. They reached Italy in November, and wintered in Florence. In April 1740 they went to Rome and Naples, whence they returned to Florence in July; here they resided, chiefly with Mann, the English minister, until the following April, when Gray, in consequence of a quarrel with Walpole, went alone to Venice, and returned home. In October 1742 Gray went into residence as a fellow-commoner at Peterhouse, and henceforward for the rest of his life, with a brief interval in London, he made Cambridge his headquarters. In this same year was written the *Ode on a distant Prospect of Eton College*, which was published anonymously by Dodsley in 1747. The *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*, which had been begun in 1742, was completed at Stoke Poges (where his mother was residing) in 1750, and published by Dodsley in February 1751. The *Progress of Poesy* (written in 1754) and *The Bard* (1755-7) were printed by Horace Walpole at Strawberry Hill and published by Dodsley in 1757. In 1756, in consequence of a practical joke, Gray migrated from Peterhouse to Pembroke. In 1757 he was offered and refused the Poet Laureateship. On the opening of the British Museum in 1759 he settled in London in Bloomsbury for the purpose of study, but he returned in 1761 to Cambridge, where he henceforth resided. In 1768 he was made Regius Professor of History and Modern Languages at Cambridge, but he did not lecture. In this capacity he appointed Agostino Isola (grandfather of Emma Isola, the adopted daughter of Charles and Mary Lamb) as Italian teacher (see below, pp. 358-9). In 1769 he made a tour in the Lakes, of which he has left an account in his Journal. He died in his rooms at Pembroke in July 1771, and was buried at Stoke Poges, in the same grave with his mother.

Gray was well read in Italian literature, and was especially attracted by Dante, with whose works he was (with the possible exception of Thomas Tyrwhitt, the editor of Chaucer) more intimately acquainted than any other Englishman of the eighteenth century. It was through his knowledge of Dante that one of the most valued of the Cambridge friends of his later years, Norton Nicholls, an undergraduate of Trinity Hall, was first brought to his notice, as Nicholls relates in his *Reminiscences of Gray* (see below, pp. 677-8). In his early Cambridge days, no doubt at the time when, as he writes to his friend, Richard West (in March, 1737), he was 'learning Italian like any dragon' with Hieronimo Piazza, the University teacher, Gray made a translation in blank verse of the Ugolino episode from the thirty-third canto of the *Inferno*, probably as an exercise. Mr. Gosse, who first printed the piece,¹ thinks it 'extremely fine,' and assigns it to Gray's best period. More sober critics rate it less highly.² As the work of a poet and scholar of Gray's reputation the performance is decidedly disappointing. That Gray himself had no great opinion of the piece may be gathered from the fact that he did not consider it worthy of publication. On Gray as a poet the influence of Dante is hardly discernible, save for the famous first line of the *Elegy*, which Gray himself acknowledged to have been suggested by a passage in the eighth canto of the *Purgatorio* (see below, p. 234).³ He was acquainted not only with the *Commedia*, but also with the *Canzoniere*, and with the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, which he quotes in his *Observations on English Metre*, and on the *Pseudo-Rhythmus*, a fact of special interest, as being the earliest evidence of any acquaintance with that treatise on the part of an English writer.

Very interesting evidence of Gray's close study of Dante, to which Norton Nicholls

¹[*Works of Thomas Gray* (ed. 1884), vol. i. pp. 157-60.]

²[See *Gray and Dante*, by the President of Magdalen College, Oxford (Dr. T. H. Warren), in the *Monthly Review*, June, 1901.]

³[Nathaniel Howard, in the notes to his translation of the *Inferno* (1807), finds reminiscences of Dante in the following passages from Gray's poems—in the *Descent of Odin*, the description of 'the dog of darkness' (cf. *Inf.* vi. 22 ff.); in the *Hymn to Adversity*, 'tyrants vainly groan' (cf. *Inf.* xii. 132); in the same, 'justice to herself severe' (cf. *Inf.* xxiv. 119).]

testifies in the *Reminiscences* already mentioned,¹ is furnished by the catalogue of his library, which was sold in 1851 by Messrs. Sotheby. Among the items are:—

Dante (Alighieri). Opere, con l' Esposizioni di C. Landino e di A. Vellutello, etc. Hog-skin, gilt leaves. fol. Venet. 1578.²

With an extract from De Bure relative to this edition, and an elaborate note on the word 'Comedia,' the 'Mysteries,' etc., with passages from 'Weever's Funeral Monuments' and 'Crescimbeni della Volgar Poesia,' all in Gray's Autograph (p. 6).

MS. Copy of Gray's translation from 'Dante, Canto 33, dell' Inferno:' the Episode of Ugolino.

In the handwriting of this transcript it is stated, 'It is uncertain when Mr. Gray translated the following story from Dante; but most probably very early, and when he was making himself master of the Italian language' (p. 10).

Milton (John). Poetical Works, 2 vols. Morocco, uncut. 12mo. Lond. 1730-33.

Interleaved throughout, the interleaving having thereon abundance of passages in MS. selected from . . . Homer, Theocritus, Thucydides, Diodorus Siculus, Plato, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Theodectes, Virgil, Horace, Lucretius, Cicero, Claudian, Statius, Dante, Petrarch, Chaucer, Gawin Douglas, Spenser, Shakspeare, Ben Jonson, etc. (p. 20).]

c. 1737-40. DANTE. CANTO 33, DELL' INFERNO.³

[The Ugolino episode]

FROM his dire Food the griesly Fellow raised
 His Gore-dyed Lips, which on the clotter'd Locks
 Of th' half devoured Head he wiped, and thus
 Began. Would'st thou revive the deep Despair,
 The Anguish, that unutter'd nathless wrings
 My inmost Heart? yet if the telling may
 Beget the Traitour's Infamy, whom thus
 I ceaseless gnaw insatiate; thou shalt see me
 At once give loose to Utterance, and to Tears.

¹[See above, p. 231; and below, pp. 677-8.]

²[This is the second of the three editions of the *Divina Commedia* containing the commentaries of Landino and Vellutello; the first was published in 1564, the third in 1596. These editions are known as *edizioni del naso* on account of the large-nosed portrait of Dante prefixed to each. Gray's copy of the 1578 edition fetched £6 15s. in 1845.]

³[First published in 1884, from a MS. in the handwriting of Mitford, in the possession of Lord Houghton. Gray's original MS. appears to have been sold in 1845 for £18, and has since been lost sight of. The following account of the sale of Gray's books and MSS. in 1845 appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1846:—On the 27th of Nov. a Sale commenced at Messrs. Evans's Auction Rooms, Bond Street, the lots of the third day exciting much literary interest, most of them being Books and Manuscripts of the Poet Gray. Many of the books had elaborate notes on the margins in Gray's . . . hand. . . . It would appear that Gray's Library, which he left together with his MSS. to his friend and executor Mr. Mason, was bequeathed by him to a relation of Mr. Stonehewer, Mr. Bright of Skeffington Hall, Leicestershire, and at his death, being family property, was brought to sale. . . .

The translation from Dante* is in blank verse, and contains only the story of Ugolino (c. 33). Mr. Mason in a note says, it was written by Mr. Gray when he was studying the Italian language. (Vol. i. pp. 29-33.)]

* Not previously mentioned.

I know not, who thou art ; nor on what Errand
 Sent hither : but a Florentine my Ear,
 Won by thy Tongue, declares thee. Know, thou seest
 In me Count Ugolino, and Ruggieri,
 Pisa's perfidious Prelate this : now hear
 My Wrongs, and from them judge of my Revenge.

That I did trust him, that I was betray'd
 By trusting, and by Treachery slain, it rekes not
 That I advise thee. That which yet remains
 To thee and all unknown (a horrid Tale)
 The Bitterness of Death, I shall unfold.
 Attend, and say if he have injured me.

Thro' a small crevice opening, what scant Light
 That grim and antique Tower admitted (since
 Of me the Tower of Famine hight, and known
 To many a Wretch) already 'gan the Dawn
 To send : the whilst I slumb'ring lay, and Sleep
 Prophetic of my Woes with direful Hand
 Oped the dark Veil of Fate. I saw methought
 Towards Pisa's Mount, that intercepts the View
 Of Lucca, chas'd by Hell-hounds gaunt and bloody
 A Wolf full-grown ; with fleet and equal Speed
 His young ones ran beside him. Lanfranc there
 And Sigismundo, and Gualandi rode
 Amain, my deadly Foes ! headed by this
 The deadliest. He their Chief, the foremost He
 Flash'd to pursue, and chear the eager Cry :
 Nor long endur'd the Chase : the panting Sire
 Of Strength bereft, his helpless offspring soon
 O'erta'en beheld, and in their trembling Flanks
 The hungry Pack their sharp-set Fangs embrued.

The Morn had scarce commenc'd, when I awoke :
 My Children (they were with me) Sleep as yet
 Gave not to know their Sum of Misery,
 But yet in low and uncompleted Sounds
 I heard 'em wail for Bread. Oh ! thou art cruel,
 Or Thou dost mourn to think, what my poor Heart
 Foresaw, foreknew : oh ! if thou weep not now,
 Where are thy Tears ? too soon they had aroused 'em
 Sad with the Fears of Sleep, and now the Hour
 Of timely Food approach'd ; when at the Gate
 Below I heard the dreadful Clash of Bars,
 And fast'ning Bolts : then on my Children's Eyes
 Speechless my Sight I fix'd, nor wept, for all
 Within was Stone : they wept, unhappy Boys !

They wept, and first my little dear Anselmo
 Cried, Father, why, why do you gaze so sternly?
 What would you have? yet wept I not, or answer'd
 All that whole Day, or the succeeding Night
 Till a new Sun arose with weakly gleam,
 And wan, such as mought Entrance find within
 That House of Woe. But oh! when I beheld
 My Sons, and in four Faces saw my own
 Despair reflected, either Hand I gnaw'd
 For Anguish, which they construed Hunger; straight
 Ariseing all they cried, far less shall be
 Our Suffering, Sir, if you resume your Gift;
 These miserable Limbs with Flesh you cloath'd;
 Take back, what once was yours. I swallow'd down
 My struggling Sorrow, not¹ to heighten theirs:
 That Day, and yet another, mute we sate,
 And motionless; oh Earth! could'st thou not gape
 Quick to devour me? yet a fourth Day came
 When Gaddo, at my Feet out-stretch'd, imploreing
 In vain my Help, expir'd: e'er the sixth Morn
 Had dawn'd, my other three before my Eyes
 Died one by one; I saw 'em fall; I heard
 Their doleful Cries; for three days more I grop'd
 About among their cold Remains (for then
 Hunger had reft my Eye-sight) often calling
 On their dear Names, that heard me now no more:
 The fourth, what Sorrow could not, Hunger did.
 He finish'd: Then with unrelenting Eye
 Askaunce he turn'd him, hasty to renew
 The hellish Feast, and rent his trembling Prey.²
 (*Works*, ed. Gosse, 1884, vol. i. pp. 157-60.)³

1750. ELEGY WRITTEN IN A COUNTRY CHURCH-YARD.⁴

The Curfew tolls the knell of parting day . . .⁵
 (l. 1.)

Note by Gray :—

Squilla di lontano
 Che paia 'l giorno pianger, che si muore.
 Dante, *Purg.* l. 8.⁶

¹ [Gosse reads *nor*.]

² [*Inf.* xxxiii. 1-77.]

³ [Reprinted by kind permission of Messrs. Macmillan & Co.]

⁴ [Begun in 1742, finished in 1750; first printed in 1751.]

⁵ [Norton Nicholls records in his *Reminiscences of Gray* (see below, pp. 677-8), that Gray told him that "he had at first written 'tolls the knell of *dying* day,' but changed it to *parting* to avoid the *concetto*."]

⁶ [*Purg.* viii. 5-6.]

1760-61. OBSERVATIONS ON ENGLISH METRE.¹

[Redundant syllables in Dante and Petrarch]

Note.—The same thing [viz. the arbitrary insertion and omission of initial and final letters] is observable in the MSS. and first editions of the Italian Poets. Even in Dante's and in Petrarch's time, as,

‘Nello stato primaio non si rinselva.’

Purgatorio C. 14, v. 66.

And,

‘Ecco Cin da Pistoia, Guitton d' Arezzo.’

Trionfo dell' Amore. Capit. 4, v. 32.

In both of which verses there is a syllable too much.

(*Works*, ed. Mathias, vol. ii. p. 5.)

[Origin of the decasyllabic measure]

Note.—We probably took it [our decasyllabic measure] from the Italians. Their heroic measure has indeed eleven syllables, because of the rhyme, which is double; but as our language requires single rhyme, the verse was reduced to ten syllables; the run of it is the same to the ear. The Italians borrowed it from the Provençals, there being verses extant still of this kind by Arnould Daniel, who died in 1189. . . . Dante judges it the best adopted of any metre to noble subjects. ‘Quorum omnium Endecasyllabum videtur esse superbius, tam temporis occupatione quam capacitate sententiae, constructionis, et vocabulorum, &c.—et omnes hoc Doctores perpendisse videntur, Cantiones illustres principiantes ab illo.’ (De *Vulgari Eloquentiâ*, l. ii. c. 5.)

(*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 10.)

[Terzetti, or terza rima]

Note.—This is the measure of Dante in his *Inferno*, &c. of Petrarch's *Trionfi*, &c. The invention has usually been ascribed to the former, but there is a Poem (called *Il Pataffio*) extant, written in this very measure by Ser Brunetto Latini,² who was Dante's master, and who died in 1294.

(*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 21.)

[Dante's opinion as to the canzone]

Note.—The *Canzone* is of very ancient date: the invention of it being ascribed to Girard de Borneil, of the School of Provence, who died in 1178.³ . . . Dante esteemed it the noblest species of poetry,

¹[First printed by T. J. Mathias in 1814 in his edition of the *Works of Gray*.]

²[It has been proved by internal evidence, since Gray wrote, that *Il Pataffio* cannot have been written by Brunetto, and that it is later than Dante.]

³[More probably about 1220.]

and adds, 'Quicquid de cacuminibus illustrium Caputum poetantium profluxit ad labia, in solis Cantionibus invenitur.' (De Vulg. Eloquent. l. ii. c. 3.) He said they used all measures from eleven syllables to three, but particularly recommends the former, mixed with that of seven, which Petrarch has observed and approved.¹

(*Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 23-4.)

1760-61. OBSERVATIONS ON THE PSEUDO-RHYTHMUS.²

[Dante on the origin of prose romances and vernacular poetry]

Note.—Dante, who was born in 1265, ascribes the origin of the old romances in prose to the French nation, and that of the *vulgare poesia* to the Provençale. 'Allegat ergo pro se lingua *Oil* (that is, the French) quod propter sui faciliorem et delectabiliorem vulgaritatem, quicquid redactum sive inventum est ad vulgare pro-saicum, suum est, videlicet biblia cum Trojanorum Romanorumque gestibus compilata, et Arturi Regis ambages pulcherrimae, et quam plurimae aliae historiae atque doctrinae. Pro se vero argumentatur alia, scilicet *Oc* (he means the Provençale) quod vulgares eloquentes in ea primitus poetati sunt, tanquam in perfectiori dulciorique loquelâ, ut puto,³ Petrus de Alvernâ, et alii antiquiores doctores. Tertia, quae Latinorum est, (that is, the Italian,) se duobus privilegiis attestatur praeesse: primo quidem, qui⁴ subtilius dulciusque poetati sunt *vulgariter*, hi familiares et domestici sui sunt, putâ Cinus Pistoënsis et amicus ejus (Dante himself): secundo, quia magis videntur inniti *grammaticae*, quae communis est. (He means the Latin or mother-tongue.)' (Dante De Vulgari Eloquentiâ, l. i. c. 10.)

(*Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 34-5.)

[Dante's view as to the origin of Italian poetry]

Note.—It was towards the end of this period, about ninety years after the Conquest, that the Provençal poetry began to flourish, and continued in the highest esteem above two hundred years. They wrote in rhyme, and were the inventors of a variety of measures. Dante, Petrarca, &c. in Italy; Helinand, William de Lorry, Jean de Mehun, Thibaud Count of Champagne, in France; and Chaucer in our own tongue, first caught their fire from these writers, and imitated their manner, style, and versification. . . . The Sicilians, about the end of the twelfth century, under the reign of Robert Guiscard the Norman, King of Naples, first began to

¹[Mathias notes: "Petrarch has used no other verses in his Canzoni but the Endecasillabi and the Settenarj."]

²[First printed by T. J. Mathias in 1814 in his edition of the *Works of Gray*.]

³[Read *puta*.]

⁴[Read *quod qui*.]

imitate the Provençal writers in their own tongue. . . . Dante observes, 'Videtur *Sicilianum Vulgare* sibi famam præ aliis asciscere; èo quòd, quicquid poëtantur Itali, *Sicilianum* vocatur.—Quòd (i.e. tempore illustrium herorum Frederici Caesaris et benegeniti ejus Manfredi,) quicquid excellentes Latinorum nitebantur, primitùs in tantorum coronatorum aulâ prodibat, et quia regale solium erat Sicilia, factum est, quicquid nostri predecessores *vulgariter* protulerunt, *Sicilianum* vocatur.'¹ (Dante de Vulg. Eloq. l. i. c. 12.)

(*Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 36-7.)

[On the origin of rhyme in Provençal and Italian]

What makes it still more probable that the ancient verses in Latin rhyme might give rise to the Provençal and Italian poetry is that mixture of different languages which appears in some old compositions, namely, the canzone of Rambald de Vacheres (before the year 1226) in five several tongues, the Provençal, Tuscan, French, Gascon, and Spanish; the strange rhymes of Ubaldino the Florentine; the canzone of Dante which begins,

Provenc. Ahi, faulx ris, que trai haves?²

Lat. Oculos meos! et quid tibi feci?

Ital. Che fatto m' hai così spietata fraude, &c.

and the great work, or *La Divina Comedia*,³ of the same poet.

(*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 43.)

1768. NOTES TO THE PROGRESS OF POESY.⁴

[The influence of Italy on English poetry]

Note on Stanza VI.—Progress of Poetry from Greece to Italy, and from Italy to England. Chaucer was not unacquainted with the writings of Dante or of Petrarch. The Earl of Surrey and Sir Tho. Wyatt had travelled in Italy,⁵ and formed their taste there; Spenser imitated the Italian writers; Milton improved on them: but this school expired soon after the Restoration, and a new one arose on the French model, which has subsisted ever since.

(*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 76.)

¹[Read *ut quicquid . . . vocetur.*]

²[Read *Ai fals ris! per qua traitz avetz.*]

³[Dante introduces eight Provençal lines (*Purg.* xxvi. 140-47) into the *Divina Commedia*, besides a number of Latin words and phrases, and even whole lines (e.g. *Inf.* xxxiv. 1; *Purg.* xxix. 3; xxx. 21; xxxiii. 10, 12; *Par.* vii. 1-3; xv. 28-30; etc.).]

⁴[The ode was written in 1754, first published in 1757; the notes were first added in 1768.]

⁵[This is incorrect so far as Surrey is concerned—he was never in Italy (see above, p. 32).]

1769. Oct. 3. JOURNAL IN THE LAKES.

[‘Guarda, e passa!’]

Soon after we came under *Gowder* crag, a hill more formidable to the eye and to the apprehension than that of *Lodoor*; the rocks a-top, deep-cloven perpendicularly by the rains, hanging loose and nodding forwards, seem just starting from their base in shivers; the whole way down, and the road on both sides is strewed with piles of the fragments strangely thrown across each other, and of a dreadful bulk. The place reminds one of those passes in the Alps, where the guides tell you to move on with speed, and say nothing, lest the agitation of the air should loosen the snows above, and bring down a mass, that would overwhelm a caravan. I took their counsel here and hastened on in silence.

Non ragionam¹ di lor; ma guarda, e passa!²

(*Works*, ed. Gosse, 1884, vol. i. p. 256.)

1770. April 15. LETTER TO THOMAS WARTON³ (from Pembroke Hall, Cambridge).

[Scheme for a history of English poetry]

Sir, our friend, Dr. Hurd,⁴ . . . long ago desired me, in your name, to communicate any fragments or sketches of a design, I once had, to give a History of English Poetry. . . . A sketch of the division or arrangement of the subject I venture to transcribe. . . .

Introduction. . . . On the School of Provence, which rose about the year 1100 and was soon followed by the French and Italians. Their heroic poetry, or romances in verse, allegories, fabliaux, syrviertes, comedies, farces, canzoni, sonnetts, ballades, madrigals, sestines, &c. Of their imitators, the French; and of the first Italian School, commonly called the Sicilian, about the year 1200, brought to perfection by Dante, Petrarch, Boccace, and others.

(*Ibid.* vol. iii. pp. 364, 366.)

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

1738. CATALOGUS IMPRESSORUM LIBRORUM BIBLIOTHECAE BODLEIANAE IN ACADEMIA OXONIENSI.

[This, the fourth, catalogue of printed books in the Bodleian Library was published (in two folio volumes) at Oxford. It was largely the work of Hearne, who had been Janitor and Under Librarian at the Bodleian, but the credit of it was given to Bowles, who printed about a third of it, and to Fysher, who completed and pub-

¹[Read *ragioniam*.]

²[*Inf.* iii. 51.]

³[See below, pp. 277 ff.]

⁴[Richard Hurd, D.D., Bishop of Worcester (1720-1808).]

lished it. In this catalogue the entries under Dante's name in Hyde's catalogue of 1674 have been revised and rearranged, but there are no accessions to the list of Dante's works registered in that year.

Joseph Bowles, born at Shaftesbury in 1694, was educated at Hart Hall, Oxford (matric. 1713), and St. Mary Hall (B.A. 1717), and was elected Fellow of Oriel in 1718. He was elected Bodley's Librarian in 1719, and died in 1729. Hearne, who describes Bowles as 'a whiffling, silly unfaithful coxcomb' and 'a conceited pragmatical impudent fellow,' speaks of this as 'the most scandalous election there ever was in Oxford.'

Robert Fysher was born at Grantham in 1699. He was educated at Christ Church, Oxford (matric. 1715, B.A. 1718), and was elected Fellow of Oriel in 1723. In 1729 he was elected Bodley's Librarian in succession to Bowles. He died in 1747.]

FRANCIS PECK

(1692-1743)

[Francis Peck, antiquary, was born at Stamford in Lincolnshire in 1692. He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated in 1709. On leaving Cambridge he took holy orders, and eventually (1738) became Prebendary of Lincoln. He died in 1743. For the last twenty years of his life Peck, who was elected Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1732, devoted himself to antiquarian pursuits, his researches being confined mainly to the seventeenth century. Among his most important works, were *Memoirs of the Life and Actions of Oliver Cromwell* (1740); and *New Memoirs of the Life and Poetical Works of Milton* (1740). He left various works unfinished in MS., which were subsequently utilised by other antiquaries. References to Dante occur in the notes to *Lycidas* in his work on Milton.]

1740. NEW MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE AND POETICAL WORKS OF MR. JOHN MILTON.

[Milton's indebtedness to Dante]

'THE hungry sheep look up and are not fed,
But swoln with wind—'

Dante (in his poem *del paradiso*, cant. 9 and 29) complains, 'that the pope himself of a shepherd is become a wolf;'¹ and again, 'that vain questions and fables echo from the pulpit all the year long, and the poor sheep come back fed with wind.'²

(*Explanatory and Critical Notes on Lycidas*, p. 170.)

WILLIAM GUTHRIE

(1708-1770)

[William Guthrie, miscellaneous writer, was born at Brechin in Forfarshire in 1708. He was educated at Aberdeen University, and in 1830 settled in London, where he made a reputation as a political writer. Among his numerous works was

¹[*Par.* ix. 132.]

²[*Par.* xxix. 104-7. Peck probably took these quotations from Desmaizeaux' translation of Bayle's article on Dante in his *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* (see above, pp. 227-8).]

a translation, published in 1743, of De Blainville's *Travels through Holland, Germany, etc.*, which contains an account of Dante's tomb at Ravenna. Guthrie, whom Dr. Johnson described as 'a man of parts,' died in London in 1770.]

1743. TRAVELS THROUGH HOLLAND, GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND OTHER PARTS OF EUROPE; BUT ESPECIALLY ITALY.¹ BY THE LATE MONSIEUR DE BLAINVILLE.²

[Dante's tomb at Ravenna]

1707. **M**ARCH. Ravenna. Tomb and Epitaph of the famous Poet *Dante*—Mr. *Misson*³ says that it was Cardinal Peter Bembo who repaired the Tomb of the famous *Dante the Poet*, and put the six following Verses upon it. Now the *Mercurius Italicus* asserts, and with a great deal of Reason, that this was done by the Noble *Bernard Bembo*, Podesta of Ravenna when that City belonged to the Venetians. *Dantis Aldigerii sepulchrum vile quondam et abjectum, Bernardus Bembus Praetor Ravennas, multò magnificentius aere suo refecit, nec falsò inscripsit:*

*Exiguâ tumuli Dantes hic sorte jacebas,*⁴ etc.

Anno Sal. 1482. VI Kal. Junii *Bernardus Bembus aere suo posuit.*

In Substance thus: '*Bernardo Bembo, Podesta of Ravenna, at his own Expence very much beautified the Tomb of the Poet Dante, which was till then mean and obscure, and caused the following Words to be engraved upon it: Bembo, inspired by the Muses of Italy, whose Favourite, Dante, you was, reared this marble Tomb over you, while your Burying-place remained unnoted, obscure and wretched, that you might appear with greater Splendor.*'

This Assertion is confirmed by *Merula* in his *Cosmography*:⁵ *Dantis Aldigerii sepulchrum marmoreum à Bernardo Bembo Veneto Ravennatum quondam Praetore excitatum.* To these Testimonies, add this plain Matter of Fact; that long before the Birth of Cardinal *Peter Bembo*, the *Venetians* were no more Masters of *Ravenna*. In fine, Mr. *Misson*, who gives us the foregoing Verses, commits another very great Mistake, by reading in the last line *haec coluere*, instead of *hae coluere*, which has a natural Connection with the *Musis Etruscis* of the preceding Verse.

(Vol. ii. pp. 175-6.)

¹[Translated by William Guthrie, 'from the Authors own Manuscript (Never yet Published).']

²['Sometime Secretary to the Embassy of the States-General at the Court of Spain.']

³[See above, p. 181.]

⁴[For this epitaph (printed in full by Guthrie), see above, under Fynes Moryson, p. 91.]

⁵[Paul Merula (1558-1607), author of *Cosmographiae Generalis Libri Tres, et Geographiae Particularis Libri Quatuor* (Leyden, 1605).]

MARK AKENSIDE

(1721-1770)

[Mark Akenside, who was the son of a butcher at Newcastle, was born in 1721. He was educated at Newcastle, and in 1739 was sent to Edinburgh to study theology, which, however, he abandoned after a year for medicine. He practised at Newcastle, Northampton, and Hampstead, and eventually in London, where he rose to eminence as a physician, being made a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1753, and physician to the Queen in 1761. After acquiring a large and fashionable practice he died in London in 1770. Akenside at an early age showed a bent for poetry, and contributed a poem of considerable merit to the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1737, when he was only sixteen. In the following year he began his best-known poem, *The Pleasures of Imagination*, which he took to London in 1743, where, on the advice of Pope, it was published by Dodsley in 1744. In the second book of this poem is a reference to Dante, who also figures in a very interesting *Balance of Poets*, published in *Dodsley's Museum* in December, 1746, the authorship of which is assigned to Akenside by his biographer, Charles Bucke (see below, p. 242 n. 2).]

1744. THE PLEASURES OF IMAGINATION.

[The fathers of Italian poetry]

WHEN shall the laurel and the vocal string
 Resume their honours? When shall we behold
 The tuneful tongue, the Promethéan hand
 Aspire to ancient praise? Alas! how faint,
 How slow the dawn of Beauty and of Truth
 Breaks the reluctant shades of gothic night
 Which yet involve the nations! Long they groan'd
 Beneath the furies of rapacious force;
 Oft as the gloomy north, with iron swarms
 Tempestuous pouring from her frozen caves,
 Blasted the Italian shore, and swept the works
 Of Liberty and Wisdom down the gulph
 Of all devouring night. As long immur'd
 In noontide darkness by the glimmering lamp,
 Each Muse and each fair Science pin'd away
 The sordid hours: while foul, barbarian hands
 Their mysteries profan'd, unstrung the lyre,
 And chain'd the soaring pinion down to earth.
 At last the Muses rose, and spurn'd their bonds,
 And, wildly warbling, scatter'd, as they flew,
 Their blooming wreaths from fair Valclusa's¹ bowers
 To Arno's² myrtle border and the shore
 Of soft Parthenopé.³

(Bk. ii. ll. 1-23.)

¹The famous retreat of Francisco Petrarca, the father of Italian poetry, and his mistress Laura, a lady of Avignon.

²The river which runs by Florence, the birth-place of Dante and Boccaccio.

³Or Naples, the birth-place of Sannazaro. The great Torquato Tasso was born at Sorrento in the kingdom of Naples.

1746. THE BALLANCE OF POETS.

[Dante's place among 'the greater names of poetry']

M. *De Piles*¹ is one of the most judicious Authors on the Art of Painting. He has added to his Treatise on that Subject, a very curious Paper, which he calls *The Ballance of the Painters*. . . . I have often wished to see a Ballance of this Kind, that might help to settle our comparative Esteem of the greater *Poets* in the several polite Languages. But as I have never seen nor heard of any such Design, I have here attempted it myself, according to the best Information which my private Taste could afford me. . . . I shall suppose twenty to be the Degree of absolute Perfection; and eighteen the highest that any Poet has attained. . . .

You see this general Method is here applied to a few, the greater Names of Poetry in most polite Languages. I have avoided to bring in any living Authors, because I know the Vanity and Emulation of the Poetical Tribe. . . .

The Ballance	Critical Ordonance	Pathetic Ordonance	Dramatic Expression	Incidental Expression	Taste	Colouring	Versification	Moral	Final Estimate
Ariosto	0	15	10	15	14	15	16	10	13
Boileau	18	16	12	14	17	14	13	16	12
Cervantes	17	17	15	17	12	16	—	16	14
Cornelle	15	16	16	16	16	14	12	16	14
Dante	12	15	8	17	12	15	14	14	13
Euripides	15	16	14	17	13	14	—	15	12
<i>Homer</i>	18	17	18	15	16	16	18	17	18
Horace	12	12	10	16	17	17	16	14	13
Lucretius	14	5	—	17	17	14	16	0	10
<i>Milton</i>	17	15	15	17	18	18	17	18	17
Moliere	15	17	17	17	15	16	—	16	14
Pindar	10	10	—	17	17	16	—	17	13
Pope	16	17	12	17	16	15	15	17	13
Racine	17	16	15	15	17	13	12	15	13
<i>Shakespear</i>	0	18	18	18	10	17	10	18	18
Sophocles	18	16	15	15	16	14	—	16	13
Spenser	8	15	10	16	17	17	17	17	14
Tasso	17	14	14	13	12	13	16	13	12
Terence	18	12	10	12	17	14	—	16	10
<i>Virgil</i>	17	16	10	17	18	17	17	17	16

(In *Dodsley's Museum*. No. XIX. Dec. 6, 1746. vol. ii. pp. 165-9.)²

¹[Roger de Piles (1635-1709), artist, and author of several works on painting.]

²[Signed 'Musiphron.' This paper is assigned to Akenside by his biographer, Charles Bucke, 'on the authority of Isaac Reed, Esq.' (*Life of Akenside*, p 93). From Akenside's table Bucke drew up 'summaries,' from which it results that for

BIBLIOTHECA HARLEIANA

1744-5. CATALOGUS BIBLIOTHECAE HARLEIANAE. VOLUMES III-V.

[The Harleian Library was formed by Robert Harley, first Earl of Oxford (1661-1724), and by his son Edward Harley, second Earl (1689-1741). The books (including about 50,000 printed books, 41,000 prints, and 350,000 pamphlets) were sold in 1742, after the death of the second Earl, to Thomas Osborne, the bookseller of Gray's Inn, for £13,000. The MSS., some 8,000 in number, were purchased by Parliament in 1753 for £10,000. Osborne—the same Osborne whom Johnson is reported to have knocked down in his shop with a folio, and of whom he said to Boswell, 'Sir, he was impertinent to me, and I beat him'—employed William Oldys the antiquary to superintend the compilation of the sale catalogue of the books, which was issued in five volumes in 1743-5, with an introduction by Johnson. The collection contained eight editions of the *Divina Commedia*, viz. Venice (Vendelin da Spira), 1477; Venice (Aldus), 1515; Venice (Giolito), 1536; Lyon (Rovillio), 1551; Venice (Sessa), 1564; Venice (Pietro da Fino),¹ 1568; Florence (Manzani), 1595; and an edition without place or date; also the Venice, 1696, edition of Trissino's translation of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*.]

CHARLES YORKE

(1722-1770)

[Hon. Charles Yorke, second son of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke (1690-1764), was born in London in 1722. He was educated at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, where he graduated M.A. in 1749. He was called to the bar in 1746; was M.P. for Reigate from 1747 to 1768, and for Cambridge University from 1768 to 1770; he was appointed Solicitor-General in 1756, and Attorney-General in 1762; in January, 1770, he was made Lord Chancellor, and died (rumour said by his own hand) three days after (Jan. 20). Yorke, who was a Fellow of the Royal Society and a Trustee of the British Museum, was an Italian scholar, and had some acquaintance with the subject matter, at any rate, of the *Divina Commedia*, as appears from his lines to his sister, Hon. Elizabeth Yorke, on her copying a portrait of Dante by Clovio. These lines, together with two other poetical pieces, were printed, shortly after his death, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January, 1770.]

c. 1745. ODE TO THE HON. MISS YORKE,² ON HER COPYING A PORTRAIT OF DANTE BY CLOVIO.

['Picture and Poetry ']

FAIR Artist! well thy pencil has essay'd
To lend a poet's fame thy friendly aid;
Great Dantè's image in thy lines we trace;
And, while the Muses' train thy colours grace,

Critical Ordonnance Dante is in Class VI (with Horace); for *Pathetic Ordonnance* in Class IV (with Ariosto, Spenser, and Milton); for *Dramatic Expression* in Class VIII (alone); for *Incidental Expression* in Class II (with Euripides, Pindar, Lucretius, Virgil, Milton, and Pope); for *Taste* in Class VI (with Tasso—Shakespeare being alone in Class VII); for *Colouring* in Class IV (with Ariosto and Pope); for *Versification* in Class V (alone); for *Moral* in Class V (with Horace); and in the *Final Estimate* in Class V (with Pindar, Sophocles, Horace, Ariosto, Racine, and Pope). (*Life*, pp. 100-3.)

¹[With the commentary of Bernardino Daniello da Lucca.]

²[Hon. Elizabeth Yorke (1725-1760); married (1747) Lord Anson, the circumnavigator.]

The Muse propitious on the draught shall smile,
Nor, envious leave unsung the gen'rous toil.

Picture and Poetry just kindred claim,
Their birth, their genius, and pursuits the same ;
Daughters of Phoebus and Minerva, they
From the same sources draw the heavenly ray.
Whatever earth, or air, or ocean breeds,
Whatever luxury or weakness needs ;
All forms of beauty Nature's scenes disclose,
All images inventive arts compose ;
What ruder passions tear the troubled breast,
What mild affections soothe the soul to rest,
Each thought to Fancy magic numbers raise,
Expressive picture to the sense conveys.
Hence in all times with social zeal conspire
Who blend the tints, and who attune the lyre.
See! in reviving Learning's infant dawn,
Ere yet its precepts from old ruins drawn,
Sham'd the mock ornaments of Gothic taste,
New Artists form'd, each Grecian bust replac'd ;
Ere Leo's voice awak'd the barbarous age,
Oppress'd by monkish law and Vandal rage :
See! Dantè, Petrarch, thro' the darkness strive,
And Giotto's¹ pencil bid their forms survive !
When now maturer growth fair Science knew,
Titian her favor'd sons ambitious drew ;
Not half so proud with princes to adorn
His tablets, as with wits less nobly born,
Ariosto, Aretine, yet better skill'd
On Letters and on Virtue Fame to build :
These in their turn instruct the willing song,
The painter's fading glories to prolong.
In later times, hear Waller's polish'd verse
The various beauties of Vandyck rehearse ;
And Dryden in sublimer strains impart
To Kneller praise more lasting than his art.

Friendships like these from time receive no law,
Contracted oft with those we never saw ;
In every art who court an endless fame
Through distant ages catch the sacred flame.
See Zeuxis, warm'd by Homer's rage divine.
With rapture read, and what he reads, design !

¹ Giotto was a scholar of Cimabua, and the first painter of any genius that appeared in Italy. He worked at Florence ; was the contemporary of Dantè and Petrarch, whose pictures he drew, and with whom he lived in friendship.

See Julio, bred on the Parnassian soil,
 With Virgil's grandeur dignify his toil !
 Clovio,¹ perhaps, like aid to Dantè ow'd ;
 Instant his figure on the canvass glow'd :
 To Dantè's fame the graceful colors flow,
 And wreaths of laurel bind his honor'd brow.

Thou too, whom Nature and the Muse inspire,
 Listening the poet's lore hast caught his fire ;
 With so much spirit every feature fraught,
 Clovio might own this imitated draught ;
 And Dantè, were he conscious of the praise,
 Would sing thy labors in immortal lays ;
 His melancholy air to gladness turn'd,
 Nor longer his unthankful Florence mourn'd :
 Fair Beatrice's² charms would lose their force,
 No more her steps o'er Heaven direct his course ;
 To thee the Bard would grant the nobler place
 And ask thy guidance through the paths of peace.

Oh ! could my eloquence, like his, persuade
 To leave the bounded walks by others made,
 Through Nature's wilds bid thy free genius rove,
 Copy the living race, a waving grove ;
 Or boldly rising with superior skill,
 The work with Heroes or with Poets fill ;
 Then might I claim, deserv'd, the laurel crown,
 My verse not quite neglected or unknown ;
 Then should the world thy glowing pencil see,
 Extend the friendship of its art to me.

(*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1770, vol. xl. p. 38.)³

¹ Julio Clovio [1498-1578] lived 200 years after Dantè. The portrait of Dantè, here mentioned, represents him in a melancholy posture in the foreground, looking back on Florence, from whence he was banished during the commotions in that state, in which he bore the highest offices. Clovio's great work is a book of drawings, to be seen at this day in the Florentine Gallery, the subjects of which are all taken from Dantè's poem on hell, purgatory, and heaven.

² Beatrice the mistress of Dantè in his youth, who died many years before him, and of whom he speaks with great affection. She is represented in the poem, as the guardian angel who leads him through heaven, as Virgil and Statius do their heroes through hell and purgatory.

³[The above *Ode* was reprinted in the *Annual Register* for 1770 (vol. ii. pp. 201-3), and again in 1789 in *Bell's Classical Arrangement of Fugitive Poetry*, among *Epistles Critical and Didactic* (vol. iii. pp. 153-6, *Epistle* xiii.)]

ANONYMOUS

1746. THE THREE FIRST STANZAS OF THE 24TH CANTO OF DANTE'S INFERNA¹ MADE INTO A SONG. IN IMITATION OF THE EARL OF SURRY'S STYLE.²

I

WHEN in the opening of the youthful Year,
Sol in *Aquarius* bathes his glistering Ray ;
 In early Morn the Fields all white appear,
 With hoary Frost is cover'd every Spray :
 And every Herb and every Grass is shent,
 All in the chill Imprisonment ypent.

II

The mean-clad Swain, forth issuing from his Cot,
 Looks sadly all around the whitening Waste ;
 And grieves that his poor Sheep, by Heaven forgot,
 Can find no Food, no tender Green to taste :
 He beats his Breast as one distract, or mad ;
 And home returns, with pensive Look and sad.

III

There silent grieves. Then once again looks out,
 And sees the Groves and Meads quite alter'd are.
 The Sun has cast his melting Rays about,
 And every Green appears more fresh and fair.
 Then Hope returns, and Joy unknits his Brows,
 And forth he leads his Flock the tender Grass to brouze.

IV

Thus when my Fair One views me with Disdain,
 My Heart is sunk within me, sad and dead ;
 My Spirits yield, and all my Soul's in Pain ;
 I sit and sigh, and hang my drooping Head :
 But if she smile, my Sadness melts away,
 Each gloomy Thought clears up, and I'm all blithe and gay.
 (In *Dodsley's Museum*. No. II. April 12, 1746. vol. i. p. 57.)

THOMAS NUGENT

(c. 1700-1772)

[Thomas Nugent, miscellaneous writer (who has been confounded with Dr. Johnson's friend and Burke's father-in-law, Dr. Christopher Nugent), was born in Ireland about 1700, but spent the greater part of his life in London. He was a fair scholar, especially in French and Italian, from which languages he translated several

¹[*Sic.*]

²[Printed in *The Museum: Or, the Literary and Historical Register*, published by R. Dodsley (3 vols. London, 1746-7).]

standard works, including Voltaire's *Essay on Universal History* (1758), Rousseau's *Emilius, or an Essay on Education* (1763), Grosley's *New Observations on Italy* (1769), and *The Life of Benvenuto Cellini* (1771). He also wrote an account of *The Grand Tour* (1749). Nugent was made an hon. LL.D of Aberdeen in 1765, and Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1767. He died in London in 1772. Nugent's translation of Benvenuto Cellini, which was the first English version of that work, was published, with a dedication to Sir Joshua Reynolds, the year before his death, and reprinted in 1812. In 1822 Thomas Roscoe published an English edition of Cellini, with 'now first translated' on the title-page, which is in fact an appropriation, without any acknowledgment, of Nugent's work, the two versions, except for the first few paragraphs of the first chapter, being almost identical word for word, including the verse translations.]

1749. THE GRAND TOUR. CONTAINING AN EXACT DESCRIPTION OF MOST OF THE CITIES, TOWNS, AND REMARKABLE PLACES OF EUROPE.

[Dante's tomb at Ravenna]

RAVENNA is a city of *Italy* in the ecclesiastic state, and capital of the province of *Romania*. . . . In the cloyster of the conventual *Franciscans* you may see the tomb of the poet *Dantes*, who died here in exile in 1321.

(Vol. iii. pp. 186, 189.)

1758. AN ESSAY ON UNIVERSAL HISTORY, THE MANNERS AND SPIRIT OF NATIONS FROM THE REIGN OF CHARLEMAIGN TO THE AGE OF LEWIS XIV. WRITTEN IN FRENCH¹ BY M. DE VOLTAIRE AND TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY MR. NUGENT.

[Dante and his 'whimsical poem']

The Italian language assumed its present form towards the end of the thirteenth century. . . . Already had Dante, the Florentine, illustrated the Tuscan language with that whimsical poem, intitled, *Comedia*; a work famous for natural beauties, and, in many parts, far superior to the corrupt taste of that age, being written with as much purity, as if the author had been contemporary with Ariosto and Tasso. It is not at all surprising, that Dante, being one of the chiefs of the Ghibelline faction, and having been persecuted by Boniface VIII, and Charles of Valois, should, in the course of that poem, have vented his complaints about the quarrels betwixt the priesthood and the empire. I shall take the liberty to insert here a passage of this poet, concerning those dissensions. These monuments of the human mind, are a kind of refreshment, after a long perusal of calamities with which the world has been afflicted.

Soleva Roma, che il buon mondo feo, etc.

Dante del Purgatorio, Can. 16.²

(Ed. 1759, vol. ii. p. 162.)

¹[In 1740; first published in 1753. For the original see above, pp. 205-6.]

²[Nugent here quotes *Purg.* xvi. 106-14 in the original. Voltaire gives a free translation of the passage.]

[Dante's alleged prophetic utterance concerning the Southern Cross]

Upon the discovery of the Kingdom of Congo, the Portuguese perceived a new heaven, and new stars. Then it was that the Europeans for the first time, saw the south pole, and the four adjoining stars. It is very extraordinary that Dante should have taken notice of these four stars, above a hundred years before. *I turned towards my right hand*, says he, in the first Canto of his Purgatory,¹ and *I viewed the other pole: there I perceived four stars, which were never known before, except in the first age of the world.* . . . Dante's prophecy has really no sort of relation to the discoveries of the Portuguese and Spaniards. The more this prophecy is clear the less it is true. It is by mere chance that the south pole and these four stars are predicted in Dante. He spoke only in a figurative sense; for his poem is one continual allegory. By this pole he means the terrestrial paradise; these four stars, unknown to all but those of the first age of the world, are the four cardinal virtues, which disappeared with the days of innocence.

(*Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 166.)

1769. NEW OBSERVATIONS ON ITALY AND ITS INHABITANTS. WRITTEN IN FRENCH BY TWO SWEDISH GENTLEMEN.² TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY THOS. NUGENT.

[Dante's tomb at Ravenna]

Ravenna.—Previously to our taking leave of Ravenna we must observe, that facing one of its finest streets, in a wall of which is fixed a fragment of Theodoric's superb tomb, is a small open temple, separated from the street only by some iron work; here lye the remains *del divino Dante*, who being banished his country, came and settled at Ravenna, where he died in 1341.³ This monument was erected to him by Bembo father of the famous Cardinal of that name, and proveditor at Ravenna for the Venetians: on it is Dante's effigy, with this epitaph, very well known indeed, but too honourable both to the magistrate who erected it, and the poet to whom it is erected, to be omitted here.

*Exigua tumuli Dantes hic sorte jacebas,*⁴ etc

It has likewise another epitaph in rhyming hexameters, of which the last two lines are these:

*Hic claudor Dantes patriis extorris ab oris,
Queem genuit pravi*⁵ *Florentia mater amoris*

¹[*Purg.* i. 22-4.]

²It is well known that these Observations are the production of the very learned and ingenious Mr. Grosley. [Pierre Jean Grosley (1718-1785).]

³[*Sic*, for 1321.]

⁴[For this epitaph, which Grosley prints in full, see above, under Fynes Moryson, p. 91.]

⁵[*Sic* for *parvi*; see above, p. 91.]

. . . Florence desirous of reconciling itself with the name of an illustrious citizen, whom, during his life it had persecuted, has several times applied for leave to bring away Dante's remains; but the people of Ravenna never could be brought to comply.

(Vol. i. pp. 212-14.)

[Dante's reference to the factions of Italy]

Ferrara—The disturbances and reciprocal expulsions related in the chronicle¹ were the fruits of the irreconcilable competition of two parties, between whom fortune seemed to have observed an alternative. Such was the condition of Ferrara for fifty years. It was concerning these factions with which, at the same time, almost all the cities in Italy were rent, that Dante says in his *Purgatory*

*Le città d' Italia tutte piene
Son di tiranni, ed un Marcel diventa
Ogni Villan che parteggiando viene.*²

(*Ibid.* p. 224.)

[Dante's celebration of the Fonte Branda]

Sienna—The large square, excavated in the figure of a shell, environed with but ordinary buildings, and too large for Sienna in its present depopulation, is remarkable only for its shape, and a spring with water enough to make a little sea of the square. This spring which issues from a side of the square, has been celebrated by Dante, book xxx of his *Hell*.

*Per Fonte Branda non darei la vista.*³

(Vol. ii. p. 269.)

[Quotation from Dante]

Florence—The statues, though left open to the people, are respected by them as sacred. . . . This respect is seen at Florence even in the peasants, and the very lowest people, and thus supplies the place of rails, which in other countries can scarce secure the public monuments from that delight in mischief, of which . . . education seldom gets the better. The Centaur, for instance, a piece which may be compared to the most valuable remains of antiquity, stands in the centre of no spacious square, and where, two or three days in a week, a market is kept. Passing through it one morning in market time, I asked a peasant why he did not make use of the pedestal of the statue to hook on it several small flat baskets of wares with which he seemed pretty much incumbered.

¹[A thirteenth century chronicle.]

²[*Purg.* vi. 124-6.]

³[*Inf.* xxx. 78; the fountain referred to by Dante is probably not that at Siena, but another of the same name near Romena in the Casentino.]

All his answer was a shrug, and a glance of strong contempt and indignation.

*Con quel sembiante
Che madre fà sopra figlio deliro.*¹

(Ibid. pp. 281-2.)

[Dante's portrait in the Duomo at Florence—the *Divina Commedia*]

Florence—One of the walls along the sides of the nave of the Cathedral exhibits the portraits of warriors, and that of Dante by Giotto² his cotemporary, whose talents occasioned that fine reflexion which the poet has introduced in the eleventh Canto of his *Purgatory*.

*O vana gloria dell' humane posse,*³ etc.

This portrait of Dante is an homage which the republic of Florence, by a public decree, paid to the memory of one whom it had banished, and who died in exile. The decree even ordered, that out of the public money should be erected to him, in the cathedral, *et in luogo honorato, un marmoreo, et artificiosamente sculto sepulchro con quelle statue e segni che lo potessero rendere ornatissimo*, i.e. 'and in some honourable place, a marble tomb, of a fine sculpture, and with statues and emblems, so as to render it a very ornamental piece.' This we are informed of by Landini in his *prolegomena* on Dante's poem, where he strongly urges the execution of the decree in every point.

To this poet Florence has paid a farther mark of respect, by instituting in its university a professorship, whose province is to explain his work, the public veneration for which seems to have been heightened by its antiquated style and obscure phrases.

This regard of the Florentine is the more estimable, as having prevailed over their personal reasons for resentment against a poem, which, in the author's intention, was a downright satire on the government and its principal members, and a *caricatura* of the manners of his compatriots of both sexes. This was doubtless his meaning in giving his poem the name of a *Comedy*; whereas he calls Virgil's *Aeneid* a *Tragedy*, though his argument be infinitely more tragical than that of the *Aeneid*.

Hell, of which he had composed the seven first cantos before his banishment, certainly contributed no less to it, than the haughtiness⁴ with which he rejected the public's choice of him for an embassy to Boniface VIII. It is highly probable, that this beginning of his work had transpired. He finished it in his exile, with the

¹ Dant. Parad. Cant. i. [ll. 101-2].

² [Not Giotto, but Domenico di Michelino.]

³ [Grosley quotes nine lines, *Purg.* xi. 91-9.]

⁴ *S' io vo*, answered he, *chi sta: s' io sto, chi va.*

addition of *Purgatory* and *Paradise*, which, from a necessity of employing himself, he added to his first plan, without departing from his original intention, which he carefully concealed under a multitude of theological and mystical questions.

(*Ibid.* pp. 293-7.)

[Dante and the Florentine dialect]

It is from an attachment to all the traditions of their ancestors, that the Florentines still retain the guttural pronunciation, changing C into an H strongly aspirated, and which was so peculiar to Florence, even in Dante's time, that he said the people in the other world knew him to be a Florentine by the rattling in his throat.

(*Ibid.* p. 313.)

[Dante and the Genoese]

Genoa.—The disfavoured and energetic portrait of the Genoese, with which Dante concludes the thirty-third canto of his *Hell*, is unquestionably owing to the frequent wars, the rivalry and commercial jealousy, which have ever subsisted between that people and his countrymen the Tuscans:

Ahi genovesi, uomini diversi,¹ etc.

(*Ibid.* pp. 346-7.)

1771. THE LIFE OF BENVENUTO CELLINI: A FLORENTINE ARTIST. . . .
WRITTEN BY HIMSELF IN THE TUSCAN LANGUAGE, AND TRANSLATED FROM
THE ORIGINAL.

[Cellini quotes Dante in his delirium]

One time, when I was in my right senses, an old man, of an hideous figure, came to my bedside, to haul me violently into a large bark; I thereupon called to my friend Felice, and desired him to approach, and drive away the old villain. Felice, who had a great friendship for me, ran towards the bed-side in tears, and cried out: Get thee gone, old traitor, who attemptest to bereave me of all that is dear to me in life. Signor Gaddi, who was then present, said: the poor man raves, and has but a few hours to live. Mathieu, the Frenchman, observed that I had read Dante, and in the violence of my disorder was raving from passages in that author; so he continued to say laughing, Get hence, old villain, and do not disturb the repose of our friend Benvenuto.

(Bk. ii. chap. 5, vol. i. p. 331.)

[Cellini's interpretation of *Inferno* vii. 1]

I made my appearance in the great hall of the Palais at Paris, in order to plead my own cause. . . . As the hall was of a prodigious

¹[Grosley quotes *Inf.* xxxiii. 151-7.]

extent, and filled with a great multitude of persons, particular care was taken that none should enter, but such as came about business ; so the door was kept locked, and the avenues were guarded by door-keepers : these men, in opposing those who were for forcing in, made sometimes such a noise, that the judge reprimanded them very severely. I stooped down several times to observe what passed ; the words which I heard the judge utter, upon seeing two gentlemen who wanted to hear the trial, and whom the porter was endeavouring to keep out, were these, be quiet, be quiet, Satan, get hence, and leave off disturbing us : the terms in French were, *paix, paix, Satan, allez, paix*. As I had by this time thoroughly learnt the French language, upon hearing these words, I recollected what Dante said, when he with his master Virgil entered the gates of hell :¹ for Dante and Giotto the painter were together in France,² and visited Paris with particular attention, where the court of justice may be considered as hell. Hence it is that Dante, who was likewise perfect master of the French, made use of that expression ; and I have often been surprised, that it was never understood in that sense ; so that I cannot help thinking, that the commentators on this author have often made him say things which he never so much as dreamed of.

(Bk. iii. chap. 8, vol. ii. pp. 111-13.)

ROBERT THYER

(1709-1781)

[Robert Thyer was the son of a silk-weaver at Manchester, where he was born in 1709. He was educated at the Manchester Grammar School and at Brasenose College, Oxford, where he obtained an exhibition in 1727, and graduated in 1730. In 1732 he was elected Librarian of the Chetham Library at Manchester, which office he held for more than thirty years. He was one of the scholars who supplied Thomas Newton, afterwards Bishop of Bristol, with notes for his edition of *Paradise Lost* (1749), from which it appears that he had some knowledge of Dante. In 1759 Thyer published *The Genuine Remains in Verse and Prose of Samuel Butler*, which was praised by Dr. Johnson. In this work he compares the fate of Butler with that of Dante.]

¹[The words (' Pape Satan, pape Satan aleppe ') were spoken not by Dante but by Pluto, not at the gate of hell but at the entrance to the fourth circle, of which Pluto is guardian (*Inf.* vii. 1).]

²[On this subject, see under Thomas Roscoe, vol. ii. p. 350.]

c. 1749. ANNOTATIONS ON MILTON.

[Dante imitated by Milton]

‘FAST we found, fast shut,
 The dismal gates, and barricadoed strong,
 But, long ere our approaching, heard within
 Noise, other than the sound of dance or song—
 Torment and loud lament, and furious rage.’
 (P. L. viii. 240-4.)

Imitated by Milton from *Inferno* iv. 7-9.¹

1759. GENUINE REMAINS IN VERSE AND PROSE OF SAMUEL BUTLER.

[The fate of Butler compared with that of Dante]

If we read the histories of those great men who enlightened or adorned mankind, and, at the same time perished like Butler by neglect, we shall find their misfortunes owing to the warmth of their friendships, or the violence of their disgust. Thus Dante, Theodore Gaza, and Cassander, were soured by their distresses at last into misanthropy. It was just so with Butler.²

THOMAS NEWTON

(1704-1782)

[Thomas Newton, afterwards Bishop of Bristol, was born in 1704 at Lichfield, where his father was a brandy merchant. From Lichfield Grammar School he went in 1717 to Westminster, whence he proceeded in 1723 to Trinity College, Cambridge, of which he subsequently became Fellow. He was ordained in 1729, and after holding various preferments was made Chaplain to George II (1756), Prebendary of Westminster (1757), and Bishop of Bristol (1761-1782); in 1768, while still Bishop of Bristol, he was made Dean of St. Paul's. He died in London in 1782, and was buried in St. Paul's. Besides an autobiography and numerous theological works Newton was the author of an edition of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, which was published in 1749, 'with notes of various authors,' among them being Robert Thyer (see above, p. 252). It is remarkable that though Ariosto, Boiardo, Guarini, Marino, and Tasso are frequently quoted in the notes of this edition, there is only a single reference to Dante.]

1749. PARADISE LOST. A POEM IN TWELVE BOOKS. THE [AUTHOR JOHN MILTON. WITH NOTES OF VARIOUS AUTHORS.

[Parallel between Milton and Dante]

AS, when from mountain-tops the dusky clouds
 Ascending, while the North-wind sleeps, o'erspread
 Heaven's cheerful face, the louring element
 Scowls o'er the darkened landskip snow or shower,
 If chance the radiant sun, with farewell sweet,

¹[Quoted by Cary.]²[Reference mislaid.]

Extend his evening beam, the fields revive,
 And birds their notes renew, and bleating herds
 Attest their joy, that hill and valley rings.

(Bk. ii. ll. 488-95)

See also a simile of the same kind in Dante's *Inferno* C. 24.¹

(Ed. 1757, vol. i. p. 126.)

WILLIAM LAUDER

(c. 1680-1771)

[William Lauder, who became notorious as a literary forger, was educated at Edinburgh University, where he graduated M.A. in 1695. He was a good classical scholar and student of modern Latin verse. After trying unsuccessfully for various appointments in Scotland he came to London with a view to maintaining himself by literary work. In 1747 he contributed a series of articles to the *Gentleman's Magazine* (vol. xvii) to prove that Milton in his *Paradise Lost* had largely plagiarised various modern Latin poems, and in 1750 he published these articles in an expanded form under the title of *An Essay on Milton's Use and Imitation of the Moderns in his Paradise Lost*, to which Dr. Johnson contributed a preface, and which was dedicated "To the Learned Universities of Oxford and Cambridge." But almost immediately it was proved by several scholars independently that Lauder had garbled nearly all his quotations, and had inserted in them extracts from Hog's Latin version of *Paradise Lost*. Dr. Johnson obtained from Lauder a confession of his fraud, and dictated an abject apology, which Lauder signed. After various attempts to rehabilitate himself, Lauder emigrated to Barbadoes, where he died in 1771. In the *Essay on Milton* Lauder mentions Dante as one of the authors from whom Milton borrowed.]

1750. AN ESSAY ON MILTON'S USE AND IMITATION OF THE MODERNS,
 IN HIS PARADISE LOST.

[Milton's indebtedness to Dante and Tasso]

DR. ZACHARY PEARCE, now bishop of Bangor, is of opinion that *Milton* took the first hint of his design of writing a tragedy, upon the subject of his poem, from an *Italian* tragedy, called, *Il Paradiso Perso*, still extant, and printed many years before he entered upon this work. . . . Mr. *Addison* also makes no scruple to acknowledge, that *Milton* frequently borrows hints from *Tasso*, as others affirm he has done from *Dante*. So that, considering the evidences of this doctrine, it perhaps may be asserted, without a falsehood, or any injustice to *Milton*, that he is not the original author of any one single thought in *Paradise Lost*; but has only digested into order the thoughts of others, and clothed them in an elegant *English* dress.

(pp. 154-5.)

¹[*Inf.* xxiv. 1-15.—See an anonymous translation of these lines in *Dodsley's Museum*, April 12, 1746 (above, p. 246).]

EARL OF CHESTERFIELD

(1694-1773)

[Philip Dormer Stanhope, fourth Earl of Chesterfield, politician, wit, and letter-writer, son of Philip Stanhope, third Earl, was born in London in 1694. He entered Parliament in 1715; succeeded to the peerage in 1726; was Ambassador at the Hague, 1728-32; Viceroy of Ireland, 1745-6; Secretary of State, 1746-8; retired from political life in 1748, and spent the remainder of his life in his own pursuits, chiefly in London, where he died in 1773. As an author Chesterfield is best known by his letters to his natural son, Philip Stanhope (1732-1768), which were published by the widow of the latter within a year of the writer's death (London, 1774). In one of these letters, written to his son at the age of eighteen, Chesterfield expresses a contemptuous opinion of Dante, curiously like that published by Voltaire six years later in his *Dictionnaire Philosophique*.]

1750. Feb. 8. O.S. LETTER TO PHILIP STANHOPE.

[Chesterfield's contempt for Dante]

YOU have, by this time, I hope and believe, made such a progress in the Italian language, that you can read it with ease; I mean the easy books in it: and indeed, in that, as well as in every other language, the easiest books are generally the best; for, whatever author is obscure and difficult in his own language, certainly does not think clearly. This is, in my opinion, the case of a celebrated Italian author; to whom the Italians, from the admiration they have of him, have given the epithet of *il divino*; I mean, *Dante*. Though I formerly knew Italian extremely well, I could never understand him; for which reason I had done with him, fully convinced that he was not worth the pains necessary to understand him.

(Letter cxxxii. ed. 1892, vol. i. p. 320.)

HARLEY MSS. AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM

1753. In this year the Countess of Oxford, widow of Edward Harley, Second Earl of Oxford (1689-1741), sold to the nation for £10,000, the MSS. collected by Robert Harley, first Earl of Oxford (1661-1724), and by his son, the second Earl. Among these MSS., which now form the Harleian collection in the British Museum, were five MSS. of the *Divina Commedia*, one of the fourteenth century (*Harl.* 3488), and four of the fifteenth (*Harl.* 3459, 3460, 3513, 3581).¹

¹[These MSS. were partially catalogued in 1759 (see below, p. 320); and again more fully in 1808 (see vol. ii. p. 65). For a description of them, see E. Moore, *Textual Criticism of the Divina Commedia*, pp. 591-2, 595-7, 599-600. For the editions of Dante among the printed books in the Harleian Library, sold to Thomas Osborne, the bookseller, and catalogued in 1743-5, see above, p. 243.]

HORACE MANN

(1701-1786)

[Horace Mann, created a Baronet in 1755, was the younger son of a merchant in London, where he was born in 1701. In 1737 he was appointed assistant to the English envoy at Florence, whom he succeeded in 1740 as minister, a post he retained for 46 years, until his death in 1786. Mann is best known as the correspondent of Horace Walpole, who visited him in Florence, in company with Gray, in 1740-1, and exchanged letters with him for more than 40 years. Selections only have been published of Mann's letters, in one of which he applies to the Florentines of his day the uncomplimentary epithets applied by Dante to their ancestors in the fourteenth century.]

1753. Dec. 6. LETTER TO HORACE WALPOLE (from Florence).

[Dante's abuse of the Florentines]

ALL here is so servilely dull that Richecourt¹ himself can I believe hardly have any pleasure in commanding the Florentines. Dante calls them 'Gente avara, insidiosa, e falsa,'² since which time they have acquired a just title to the additional epithet *vile*, which makes a principal ingredient in their character.

(*Mann and Manners at the Court of Florence*, vol. i. p. 354.)

GIUSEPPE MARC' ANTONIO BARETTI

(1719-1789)

[Giuseppe Baretti, who came of a good Italian family, was born in Turin in 1719. He spent his youth in Italy till 1751, when in consequence of a literary quarrel he came to London, where he started a school for teaching Italian. After a time he made the acquaintance of Dr. Johnson, by whom he was introduced to most of the distinguished men of letters and artists of the day in London, including Sir Joshua Reynolds, who subsequently painted his portrait. In 1753 he published his first work in English, *A Dissertation upon the Italian Poetry*, in which he attacked Voltaire for his strictures upon Italian writers in the *Essay upon the Epick Poetry* (see above, p. 205). This work is of special interest as containing translations by Baretti into prose of several passages from the *Divina Commedia*, among them being the famous Ugolino episode from *Inf.* xxxiii. In 1757 Baretti published his *Italian Library*, containing 'an account of the lives and works of the most valuable authors of Italy,' to which was prefixed a *History of the Italian Tongue*. In 1760 he issued the work which established his reputation as a scholar, his *Italian and English Dictionary*, which in a revised form still holds its own in England. In this same year Baretti returned to Italy, and remained abroad for six years. He came back to London in 1766, and two years later published his *Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy*, in answer to Samuel Sharp's *Letters from Italy* (see below, pp. 329-30), which led to his election as a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. In 1770

¹[Count Richecourt, imperial minister in Florence.]

²[A misquotation—Dante calls the Florentines 'Gente avara, invidiosa e superba,' *Inf.* xv. 68.]

he published an account of his *Journey from London to Genoa* (which was highly praised by Dr. Johnson), as well as an improved edition of his *Italian Dictionary*; and in 1772 he brought out *An Introduction to the most useful European Languages*, consisting of 'select passages from the most celebrated English, French, Italian, and Spanish authors, with translations.' From 1773 to 1776 he was domesticated in the family of Thrale the brewer, to whose eldest daughter he acted as Italian teacher. In 1777 he issued in London his *Discours sur Shakespeare et sur M. de Voltaire*, in which he renewed his attack on Voltaire's criticisms of Dante, and in 1778 he published a *Spanish and English Dictionary*, which, like the Italian one, has become a standard work. In 1782 Baretti received a small pension from the English Government. He died in London in his seventieth year in 1789. The various works published by Baretti in England on Italian literature no doubt did much to advance the study of Dante in this country in the eighteenth century. Before his death an English translation of the whole of the *Commedia* had been completed (though not published) by William Huggins (see below, pp. 307-8), and two translations of the *Inferno* had been published, one by Charles Rogers in 1782, the other by Henry Boyd in 1785 (see below, pp. 383 ff. and 410 ff.).]

1753. A DISSERTATION UPON THE ITALIAN POETRY, IN WHICH ARE INTERSPERSED SOME REMARKS ON MR. VOLTAIRE'S ESSAY ON THE EPIC POETS.

[An appreciation of Dante]

WHEN I read Monsieur *de Voltaire's* Essay on the Epic Poetry of all the European Nations from Homer down to Milton,¹ and found it filled with so many contemptuous Reflections on the Language and Works of the *Italians*, I thought the Author should rather have written it in his own Language, than have dishonoured that of *England*, by making it the Conveyance of his Impertinence. . . .

Now I will select one of our Epic Poets, who, hath been always read and admired amongst us, and will endeavour as well as I am able, to give the candid Reader an Idea of his Beauties, and show that he deserves neither that contemptuous Silence of Monsieur *de Voltaire* in his Essay,² nor the insolent Abuse the *French Writers* lavish in general on us. The Poet of whom I am going to speak is DANTE: among the *Italians* called, *il Padre della Lingua, e Poesia Toscana*, "The Father of *Tuscan* Language and Poetry."

All the Face of *Europe* was still overspread with *Gothic* Barbarism when the Inhabitants of *Florence* bought their Liberty of the Northern Emperor with Sums of Gold.

As soon as their Republick was settled, they turned their Minds to the Cultivation of Arts and Letters; assisting themselves with that little Learning that was then creeping among the *Sicilians* and *Provencials*, which consisted in a few Notions of Laws, and Poetry.

¹ London, printed by Samuel Fallason, 1727 [see above, p. 205].

² [In the original Essay in English Dante is not even mentioned, but a reference to him was inserted in the French version published in the following year.]

Accurso and *Brunetto Latini* early among their Citizens gave the first Blow to Ignorance. The *Muses* began to free themselves from their rusty Shackles in the schools of these two Men. Many other *Florentines* putting their helping Hand to the Work, brightened a little the Face of Reason; but *Dante* appeared,¹ and like a Morning-Sun, almost dispersed the Mists that hovered for so many Ages over the *Parnassean* Mountain.

This Man was of a very noble and rich Family of *Florence*, called *Alighieri*. He was of an haughty and inflexible disposition, and obtained very early, both in the Field and in the Magistracy, the most eminent Posts of the new Commonwealth, which in his Time was engaged in a War against most of its Neighbours.²

He was, while yet a Youth, one of the principal Leaders of the *Florentine* Troops, and not contented with commanding them, he exposed himself bravely in all Encounters with the Enemies like a common Soldier, and with his own Hand killed many of their Men. But seeing himself endowed with all the Literature of his Time, as well sacred as profane, very well skilled in *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Hebrew*;³ having Capacity enough to be Leader of his Countrymen, and a supreme Degree of Courage accompanied by uncommon Strength and Agility of Body, he not only despised his Fellow Citizens, and the most venerable Members of the Republick, but made little Account of any of his Contemporaries.

He one day in the Counsel (so the *Florentines* then called their Senate) gave a too lively Proof of his frequently expressed Contempt for others, and high Opinion of himself. It being debated amongst them whom they should send Ambassador to *Rome* on a very important Occasion, the Senators proposed *Dante* for that Employment. *E s'io vado, chi resta?* "And if I go, who stays?" said he. Then stay, answered they. *E s'io sto, chi va?* "And if I stay, who goes?" replied the Poet.

This insolent and contemptuous Behaviour soon alienated the Affection of his Countrymen from him, and although they acknowledged that his Merit was superior to many others, they hated, and persecuted him, and at last banished him their Territories.

Dante was obliged to fly and retire to *Ravenna*, where he was kindly received and entertained by the Counts *Polenta's* Lords of that City. There it was that he wrote many Things in *Latin*;

¹ *Dante* was born in *Florence* in the Year 1340—[corrected in the *Erratum* at end of book to 1265].

² See *Macchiavelli's* History of *Florence*.

³ [Dante may have known a few words of Greek, he certainly did not know Hebrew.]

but not intirely satisfied with his Performance in that Language, he undertook to write an Epic Poem in his own, which was at that time called in *Italy*, *Lingua Volgare*, "Vulgar Tongue."

The Argument that he chose was well adapted to his own Nature, and gave him an Opportunity of venting all that Rancour and Rage that boiled in his Bosom, and devoured him in Exile. *Hell*, *Purgatory*, and *Paradise*, were his Theme; so he had the Conveniency of throwing into the profoundest Parts of Hell many of his Fellow-Citizens, against whom he was enraged, as also many other Persons Antient or Contemporaries whom he disliked. Emperors, Kings, Popes, Cardinals, Noblemen, and Plebeyans, his vehement Pen respected none. Nay, having received some displeasure from the Lords *Polenta's* his Protectors and Benefactors, he plunged two of them as Adulterers in the Mansion of the Damned, and thus cast an indelible Blemish on the Honour of an illustrious Family, to which he had been obliged for his Safety, and for a quiet and splendid Retreat: And what is more remarkable (but for what reason is unknown) he immersed in Hell, and in the most infamous Part of it, *Brunetto Latini*, who had been his Preceptor, and instructed him in his tender Years with more than paternal Affection.

Those who found Grace, were only confined in Purgatory, which, according to our Catholic Notions, is a place of Redemption, and those that are fortunate enough to be sent there, are certain of arriving, soon or late, at Celestial Glory. But it is remarkable, that *Dante* took the Liberty to depart from the general Belief of the Church in which he was born and educated, since the first Person he meets in Purgatory is a Pagan, *Cato of Utica*.

In the third and last Part of his Poem, in which he paints Paradise, he exalts all his Friends, and all the famous Men and great Writers of Christian Antiquity his Favourites; but above all them one *Beatrice*, the Lady he was in love with, who he feigns to be his *Guide* from one Circle of Glory to another.

If I was desirous of finding some Resemblance between *Homer* and *Dante*, I might say, that his Poem is an Imitation of the *Odyssey*, since it is only the Travels of a Person over Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise, as the *Odyssey* is the Travel of *Ulysses* through many Seas and Lands poetically described. But this Resemblance, which has been carried very far by some *Italians*, hath always seemed to me very much strained. So I will content myself with only extracting some Passages from this *Tuscan* Poet to give an Idea of his poetical Genius without drawing, by vain Ostentation of Erudition, any Parallel between him and the Greek.

The Principal Hero in the Poem is *Dante* himself, if the *Shade*

of *Virgil* (who acts the same Part for him as *Mentor* does for *Telemachus*) may not dispute the first Place.

He begins his Poem with relating, that in the Strength of his Age he found himself in a horrid Forest among terrible Wild-Beasts, who, seeing him, came forward with open Mouths to devour him: To avoid them he fled over a desert Plain: There he met the Shade of *Virgil*, who conducted him to the Gate of *Tartarus*, over which these tremendous Words were written.

*Per me si va nella città dolente:*¹ etc.

Thus englished, "Through Me lies the Way to the doleful City. Through Me lies the Way to everlasting Woe. Through Me lies the Way to those doomed to Perdition. Eternal Justice, omnipotent Power, consummate Wisdom, and all-creating Love moved the Almighty to make Me. Me, except his Angels, the eldest of created Things. I am to all Eternity. Ye who enter here, quit Hope for ever."

Not far from the infernal Gate he comes to a Place where the Souls of indolent and slothful People are imprisoned, together with those Angels who kept themselves neutral in the War between the Omnipotent and his rebel Angels.

*Quivi sospiri, pianti, ed alti guai,*² etc.

"There Sighs, and Tears, and loud-resounding Woes filled the dark Air unblest with even a Star. There different Languages all horrid and confused, complaining Words, Accents of Rage, loud Screeks, and whispered Anguish, heightened with clashing Hands, form a harsh Tumult in the ever-darkened Air. Such is the Sound as when a Whirlwind's furious Blast drives the loose Sands in Clouds of whirling Dust. Those have no Hope of Death, and their dull Lives are spent in such a shameful Obscurity, that every other Fate they wish and envy. Lost in Oblivion, their whole Lives are Blanks. Eternal Mercy and Justice disdain them. Let us not speak of them, but look and pass."

From thence *Dante* and *Virgil* come to the infernal River, on the other Side of which are the dreary Habitations of the Wicked. On the Shore of the fatal Flood stands³ innumerable Souls waiting to be wafted to the opposite Side.

*Quell' anime, ch' eran lasse, e nude,*⁴ etc.

"Those shivering Souls moved slowly on. Pale were their Looks, and their trembling Teeth clashed against each other—Blaspheming God, execrating their Parents, their Country, their Fore-fathers, the Hour of their Birth, and the whole human Race. Then clustering

¹[Baretti quotes *Inf.* iii. 1-9.]

²[Baretti quotes *Inf.* iii. 22-3, 25-30, 46-51.]

³[*Sic.*]

⁴[Baretti quotes *Inf.* iii. 100-8.]

all in Crowds with horrid yells, they reach the cursed Shore, to which every Mortal is doomed who fears not God."

Virgil and *Dante* pass the River also, and enter the infernal Regions, in the Description of which the Poet exerts a wonderful Imagination. He divides Hell into many Places of Punishment, each of which contains a distinct Class of Sinners and Transgressors of the Laws of God. But his usual uncatholic Vein transports him into a Corner of it, where there is a Place designed for the Souls of the antient Sages, and Pagan Heroes, who were virtuous and pious when in the World. The Place, although it is in Hell, is nevertheless most delightful; and there he finds that *Brutus*, who delivered *Rome* from the Tyranny of the *Tarquins*, with *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Anaxagoras*, *Thales*, *Hippocrates*, *Tully*, *Lavinia*, *Lucretia*, *Portia*, and many other antient Men and Women, who dwell there in Happiness.

The *Episodes* of the Poem in this Part called Hell, are made up of several Stories related by the Damned, one of which I will transcribe.

Dante meets with a *Florentine* Count, named *Ugolino*, who is furiously gnawing the Scull of a human Body. He asks him the Cause of his canine Rage, and

La bocca sollevò dal fero pasto,¹ etc.

Thus englished: "Then the fell Wretch, taking his Mouth from the horrible repast, and wiping it with the Hairs of that Head, that with his Teeth he had all crashed behind, began. Must I then renew my black Despair, and speak what tears my Heart but in Reflection only? Yet, if my Words will fix eternal Infamy on the Memory of the Villain, whose Head I am gnawing thus, I shall speak and weep at once.—Know then, that I am the Count *Ugolino*, and this Scull that thou beholdest, was once the Archbishop *Ruggieri's*. Thou shalt judge if I have not reason for this fell Revenge. It is not necessary to tell thee in what manner he betrayed me even in the time that I placed the greatest Confidence in him. I will unfold only that which thou canst not know from others; the horrid Cruelty by which he made me perish."

The *Count* then succinctly relates when, and in what manner he was cast into a horrible Dungeon with his four Sons by the above-mentioned *Archbishop*, and thus goes on.

Quand' io fui desto innanzi la dimane,² etc.

Thus englished. "The next Day, when it was yet scarce light, I heard my Children weeping before their Sleep was well dissipated. They were in the same Place with me, and desired me to give them Bread. Ah, if thou weapest not at the Reflection of what I felt

¹[Baretti quotes *Inf.* xxxiii. 1-9, 13-21.]

²[Baretti quotes *Inf.* xxxiii. 37-78.]

that cruel Moment, thy Heart must be Proof to every Sentiment of Compassion. After having past the Night in wild tormenting Dreams we all awaked. The Hour approached when we expected to have something brought to us to eat. But instead of seeing any Food appear, I heard the Doors of that horrible Dungeon more closely barred. I beheld my little Children in Silence, and could not weep. My Heart was petrified. The little Wretches wept, and my dear *Anselm* said: Father, you look on us! What ails you! I could neither weep nor answer, and continued swallowed up in silent Agony all that Day and the following Night, even till the Dawn of Day. As soon as a glimmering Ray darted through the doleful Prison, that I could view again those four Faces, in which my own Image was imprest, I gnawed my Fist with Rage, and Grief. My Children believing I did this through Eagerness to eat, raising themselves up, said to me. Dear Father! our Torments would be less, if you would allay the Rage of your Hunger upon us. It is you who have clothed us with this miserable Flesh; now then, divest us of it! I restrained myself that I might not increase their Misery. We were mute that Day and the following. Ah cruel Earth, why did'st thou not swallow us at once! The fourth Day being come, *Gaddo* falling extended at my Feet, cried: My Father, why do not you help me! and died. The other three expired one after the other between the fifth and sixth Days, famished as thou seest me now. And I, being seized with Blindness, began to go groping upon them with my Hands and Feet. I continued calling them by their Names during three Days after they were dead. Then Hunger vanquished my Grief!—Saying this, with Eyes all fierce and wild, he took again that detested Scull between his Teeth, crashing it as a hungry Mastiff does his Prey.”

The Poet rap'd as in an enthusiastic Fit of Rage by the horrible Relation of *Ugolino*, closeth this Story with this most heavy Malediction on the City of *Pisa*, of which the barbarous *Ruggieri* was Archbishop.

Ahi Pisa, vituperio delle genti,¹ etc.

Thus englished. “Ah *Pisa*, Disgrace of the blest *Italian* Land! since thy Neighbours are slow in punishing thee, Oh may *Capraja* and *Gorgona*² move from their Foundations, and blocking up the River *Arno*, force back its Streams to overwhelm the cursed Race in thee!”

I have cited these few Passages of *Dante*, not only to give the *English* Reader, who is not acquainted with him in the Original, some Idea of his Poetry; but also to shew him that the *Italian*

¹[Baretti quotes *Inf.* xxxiii. 79-84.]

²*Capraja* and *Gorgona* are two little Islands at the Mouth of the River *Arno*, near which *Pisa* is situated.

is falsely accused of effeminacy by Mr. *Voltaire*, or rather by those from whom he has humbly copied this Opinion. The Verses I have transcribed are so little effeminate, that every one who hears them read by a Person who gives them their proper Emphasis, although they do not understand them, will be convinced by the Sound that they are as strong and sonorous as those in any other Language. And if the Reader would have a still greater Proof of the Strength of our Tongue, he needs only read the thirty-three first Lines of the sixth Canto of that Poem, which I do not quote, to avoid too great Length, or rather, because I believe it is impossible to translate them with Energy equal to the Original.

To sum up all I have to say on this Head, the Thirty-four Cantos of *Dante's Hell* are wrote with more virility of Thought and Vigour of Stile than any other Poem antient or modern; and in this Particular no Nation has produced its Equal, except the *Paradise Lost* of *Milton*. The most nervous Scenes of the *Great Corneille* himself (a Poet the least effeminate among the *French*) do not come near the Strength of *Dante*.

I shall not dwell long on those two Parts of the Poem, called *Purgatory*, and *Paradise*; but only say, that the Thoughts and Stile of *Purgatory* have neither too much Strength, nor too much Softness. It is one continued Picture of supportable Grief; and supportable, because it is mixed with Hope, according to the Idea the *Catholics* have of that Place. But there is no Poet in *Italy* (deservedly called the Mother of sweet Poets) so sweet, so harmonious, and so affecting as *Dante* in his Description of *Paradise*. Nor is this a *French* Exaggeration for which any Allowance is to be made: It is a certain Truth, that *Petrarca* himself, in the most pathetic Descriptions of his Passion for the beautiful *Laura*, does not equal the Sweetness of the *Hymns* which *Dante* makes the Angels and blessed Spirits sing in the third Part of his Poem. All the Images, all the Comparisons, all the Descriptions of this Part are as they ought to be; that is to say, the very reverse of those of his *Hell*, as his *Purgatory* judiciously partakes of both.

I shall not quote any of the Lines to prove the Truth of what I say, because I do not think it possible to give them the same Sweetness in a Translation as they have in the Original. All the World allows, that the Music of our Syllables cannot be transfused into another Language. But there have been so many Editions of this Poem in *Italy* and in other Countries, that it is not difficult to find it; and every Stranger may easily convince himself of what I say, by reading it himself, or if he does not understand *Italian*, making it only be read to him.

However, I will not neglect to take notice of two remarkable

Passages of this antient Poet, for the sake of a Relation they have to the modern System of Astronomy.

One of these Passages is in the first Canto of the *Purgatory*, to illustrate which, I shall transcribe Part of a Letter written from *Spain* in the Year 1500, by the famous *Amerigo Vespucci* of *Florence* to *Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici* after his Return from the Countries he had discovered, which were called *America* from his Name. These are *Vespucci's* Words in english.¹

“ We sailed so far under the Torrid Zone towards the East, that we found ourselves under the Equinoxial Line, having both the Poles at the Extremities of our Horizon. We passed the Line six Degrees, and quite lost the North-star. We could scarcely perceive the Stars of the lesser Bear. Desirous to be the Discoverer and Namer of the Pole-star in the other Hemisphere, I lost many times my Sleep in contemplating the Stars in the opposite Pole, to discover which of them had least Motion. Yet, notwithstanding the troublesome Nights I had, and the Instruments I used, that is to say the Quadrant and the Astrolabe, I could not perceive any Star that had less than ten Degrees of Motion. So that I had not the Satisfaction of naming any one. While I was busying myself in these Observations, I remembered a Passage in our Poet *Dante* in the first Canto of *Purgatory*, when feigning to ascend from this Hemisphere, he finds himself in the other, and describing the Antarctic Pole, says,

I turned to the Right-hand, and fixed my Eyes on the other Pole,
where I saw four Stars that no Person had ever seen but our
first Parents. The Sky smiled with their Lustre. Oh!
unhappy North that art deprived of beholding them! ²

In my Judgment, the Poet in these Verses intends by the *four Stars* to describe the Pole of the other Firmament. And I do not despair but *Dante's* Opinion will be found to be true; because I observed *four Stars* in the Form of an Almond, that had but little Motion. And if God gives me Life and Health I hope to return to that Hemisphere, and not come back without marking out the Pole.”

Although *Dante*, as appears by his Poem, knew as much of Astronomy as it was possible to know before the Appearance of *Galileo* and *Newton*, nevertheless I cannot help thinking it strange, that he should have any Certainty of the Constellation of the opposite Pole, at a time when we had but slight Notions either of the *circular*, or of the *oblate* Figure of this Globe, and were not quite sure in our Hemisphere of the Existence of an opposite one. But it is not without some reason that *Lorenzo Giacomini*,^a a

¹[Baretti also quotes the original.]

²[*Purg.* i. 22-7.]

learned *Tuscan*, in a *Dissertation* upon *Poetical Fury*, wondered that *Dante*, by mere Force of Enthusiasm, should have thus hit upon a Truth so remote from the Knowledge of his Time, as he has done in the above quoted Verses, that afforded Matter for Speculation to so great and singular a Man as *Vespucci*.

The other Passage is the following, in the 28th Canto of *Paradise*, where after having poetically said, that *the Globes form a Circle round the Throne of the Divinity, and are moved and ruled by the Dominations, Virtues, Principalities, Powers, Archangels and Angels divided into several Hyerarchies according to their Degrees of Dignity*, he adds,

Quest' Ordini di sù tutti rimirano,
E di giù vincon sì, che verso Dio
Tutti tirati sono, e tutti tirano.¹

Thus englished. "These Globes arranged in order divinely wonderful, all tend upwards by Attraction, and downward by their Gravity. They at once attract and are attracted towards God, the everlasting Sun."

The Abbot *Tagliazucchi*, a great Mathematician, and Professor of the *Greek* and *Tuscan* Languages in the University of *Turin*, who died two years ago, and of whom I had the good fortune to be many years a Pupil, endeavoured to prove in a *Dissertation* that he wrote on *the Manner of Educating Youth in the Belles Lettres*, that in this Triplet of *Dante* are clearly expressed Sir *Isaac Newton's* Notions of *Attraction*. I will leave the *English* Reader to judge if my honoured Preceptor was in the right in his Assertion.

If *Dante* is wonderful in painting the Passions, and making lively Representations of Objects, as in my Opinion may be plainly seen by the above-quoted Passages of his *Inferno*, he is still more so in the Justness of his Similes, which are the Nerves and Soul of Poetry. There no Poet is superior, or even equal to him.

Another of his peculiar Beauties I must take notice of; and that is, his having interspersed in his Poem several Words, Phrases, and whole Lines and Triplets in pure *Latin*. This he hath done with infinite Grace and Judgment, which might perhaps appear ridiculous in any other of the living Languages; but in *Italian*, and particularly in *Dante's* Poem it has a beautiful Effect, and adds great Force and Dignity to his Stile, not only because *Dante* knew well how to select those *Latin* Words and Phrases which have a Similitude of Sound with the *Tuscan*, but also because no other of the living Languages hath so much Affinity with the *Latin* tongue as ours hath. And it is observable also, that what *Latin*

¹[*Par.* xxviii. 127-9.]

he hath spread through his Poem, is all¹ taken from the Sacred Writings, in the Stile of which he hath always endeavoured to write.

I will not pretend to say that *Dante* has no Defects. He is justly taxed with Meanness of Stile in some few Places, and blamed with having made a medley of Names and Fables of the Heathen Mithology, with the Names and Stories most venerable and holy of the *Christian* Religion. But this Fault may be extenuated if we reflect, that he wrote in a Time when they had no other Models of good Poetry but the Works of the *Pagans*, with which he was so well acquainted, that he could not avoid to fill his Fancy with their Thoughts and Phrases. That Spirit of Method and Geometry that hath taken Possession, for more than an Age, of the Poetry of the principal *European* Nations, hath been the Consequence of rigid Observation and exact Criticism; and could not be found in the Time of *Dante*, as he was the *first* great Poet and great Writer. Before him *Italy* had not produced a Man worthy of Immortality by Works of Genius after the Fall of the Empire of our Predecessors.

To these Poetic Faults of *Dante* may be added a Moral One; that is, the having ridiculed and satirized, with as much Bitterness as *Luther* himself, the Priests and Friars, and generally all the Supporters of the Church in which he lived. Too many of our Poets who came after him followed his imprudent and dangerous example.

Voltaire, in his *Essay*, speaking of the *Paradise Lost*, says, that "*Milton*, as he was travelling through *Italy* in his Youth, saw at *Florence* a Comedy called *Adamo*, writ by one *Andreino* a Player, and dedicated to *Mary de Medicis*, Queen of *France*. The subject of the Play was the *Fall of Man*; the Actors God, the Devils, the Angels, Adam, Eve, the Serpent, Death, and the seven mortal Sins. That Topic so improper for a *Drama* (continues *Voltaire*) but so suitable to the absurd Genius of the *Italian* Stage, as it was at that time, was handled in a manner intirely conformable to the Extravagance of the Design. The Scene opens with a Chorus of Angels, and a Cherubin thus speaks for the rest. *Let the Rainbow be the Fiddle-stick of the Fiddle of the Heavens; let the Planets be the Notes of our Musick; let Time beat carefully the Measure, and the Winds make the Sharps, &c.* Thus the Play begins, and every Scene rises above the first in Profusion of Impertinence. *Milton* pierced through the Absurdity of that Performance to the hidden Majesty of the Subject, which being altogether unfit for the Stage, yet might be for the Genius of *Milton*, and for his only, the Foundation of an Epic Poem. He

¹[Not all—see *Par.* xv. 28-30 for instance.]

took from that ridiculous Trifle the first Hint of the noblest work which human Imagination hath ever attempted, and which he executed more than twenty years after." . . .

Suffer me to say, that to me it seems ridiculous, that such a Man as *Milton* could have raked among the Rubbish of *Andreino* (if such a Man ever existed) so bright a Jewel as the *Paradise Lost*. *Milton* understood the *Italian* Authors so well, and was so fond of *Dante* in particular, that he wrote some *Italian* Verses (yet extant) in the Stile of that Epic Poet : A thing not only extremely difficult for a Foreigner, but also for an *Italian*, since to understand *Dante* perfectly we are obliged to study him in the Schools and Universities with almost as much Labour as we do *Virgil*. If then *Milton* was so much Master of *Dante's* Stile that he could write Verses in his manner, and if the Thoughts and Images of both the Poems have a great Resemblance to each other, as the Reader may see by the Quotations I have given ; if the very Subjects and Titles are alike, is it not more reasonable and probable to say, that *Milton* took the *first Hint* of his *Paradise Lost* from a noble and famous Epic Poet, than from a mean ridiculous Comedian ?" . . .

I have said enough upon the Article of *Dante* to prove, notwithstanding the Assertion of Mr. *Voltaire*, and many others of his countrymen, that the *Italian* Poets are not so bad as they have been represented ; and if this Discourse of mine is favourably received, it will encourage me to resume the Subject, and treat of some other of our Epic Poets who in *Italy* are not thought inferior to *Dante* in their several Ways ; among whom are *Bojardo*, *Pulci*, and *Tasso*. But I shall enlarge particularly upon *Ariosto*, who, as I collect from the *French* and *English* Authors, is not yet well understood by Foreigners.

(pp. 1-76.)

1757. THE ITALIAN LIBRARY. CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THE LIVES AND WORKS OF THE MOST VALUABLE AUTHORS OF ITALY. WITH A PREFACE EXHIBITING THE CHANGES OF THE TUSCAN LANGUAGE, FROM THE BARBAROUS AGES TO THE PRESENT TIME.

[Of Dante]

Forty or fifty years after *Brunetto Latini*, one of his disciples did more towards the fixing the seat of our language in the city of Florence than all his predecessors together. This was *Dante Alighieri*, whose poem on hell, purgatory, and paradise, not only struck with wonder all his contemporaries, but was invariably the admiration of successive ages, and has rather increased, than diminished that reputation which it got at first. In his youth

Dante chiefly followed the trade of a soldier, and distinguished himself in many battles for his conduct, personal strength, and intrepidity. He was afterwards admitted to be one of the chief magistrates of his country, that was then not an inconsiderable commonwealth; but he had too much honesty and *Catonian* severity for the vicious time in which he lived; and, having expressed rather too much contempt for his fellow magistrates, made so many enemies amongst them, that, in spite of his superior talents for war and peace, he was banished his country, and forced to fly for protection to *Guido da Polenta*, lord of Ravenna, who proved a steady friend to the exiled poet to the last of his days.

Dante had writ a multitude of lyric verses before he left Florence, but it was in Ravenna that he conceived the thought of writing his great poem, of which I chuse to give three short specimens, one from each of the three parts of it.

From the first part, intituled Hell.

Canto VI.

Al tornar della mente, che si chiuse
Dinanzi a la pietà de' i due cognati,¹ etc.

From the second, intituled Purgatory.

Canto VIII.

Era già l' ora che volge 'l disio
Ai Navicanti, e intenerisce il core,² etc.

From the third part, intituled Paradise.

Canto XXXIII.

Vergine Madre, Figlia del tuo Figlio,
Umile ed alta più che Creatura,³ etc.

These three specimens, as well as the greatest part of *Dante's* work, are as well understood now as they were four hundred and fifty years ago: yet one meets here and there not only with obsolete words, but with verses quite unintelligible: at least many of them are so to me.

I have said above, that, in my opinion, the Tuscans in general, and the Florentines in particular, did not look early on their dialect as the best of Italy. This opinion of mine is confirmed by this poem, in which *Dante* made use of a multitude of Lombard, Neapolitan, and Venetian words, so that it seems he had a mind to

¹[Baretti here prints *Inf.* vi. 1-33.]

²[*Purg.* viii. 1-18.]

³[*Par.* xxxiii. 1-27.]

imitate the Grecian poets who, when occasion required, did not scruple to mix their different dialects into one, which has not been the practice of *Petrarca*, *Boccaccio*, *Pulci*, and the others that came after him. . . .

I must not omit to observe, that the corrupt Latin of the tenth and eleventh century was not quite expelled from Italy in *Dante's* time. Some of the studious still made some use of it, especially in writing; and our poet, that he might please every class of men, not only dropt in his performance a great quantity of Latin words, but had whole lines, and even *ternaries* quite Latin interspersed in it;¹ and amongst his lyric compositions, he has one of those that we call *Canzoni*, which is in three languages, that is, Provencial, Latin, and Florentine.² This is a proof that the two languages still continued to be cultivated in Italy.

I said that this poem charmed his contemporaries, and holds still as high a rank in the esteem of the Italians as any other production of poetical imagination: yet if a foreign critick should happen to peruse it, let me tell him, that he must not weigh a poem written so early in the scales of modern criticism, but make allowance amongst other things, for some strange mixtures of Pagan and Christian notions, and consider that our poet was not only a mortal man, like any other, and consequently subject to err; but that he writ before any body dreamt of those rules that have forced subsequent geniusses to confine even their mad flights within the boundaries of method, and the circumscriptions of reason.

(From *History of the Italian Tongue*, pp. x-xvi.)

[Dante and Petrarch compared]

Brunetto Latini and *Guittone d' Arezzo* had given our language a tolerable degree of grammar, *Dante Alighieri* a forcible and vigorous turn, and *Cino* of Pistoja had laboured much to make it sweet and harmonious.

But the man to whom the Italians have the greatest obligation for their fine language, was without doubt, *Francesco Petrarca*. . . . This is not a proper place to expatiate on *Petrarch's* different powers as a writer, that gained him the appellation of *Restorer of the Latin tongue*; therefore confining myself to the character of his Italian verses, I say that he fell short of *Dante* in point of vehemence of expression, strength of thinking, and variety of invention; but he greatly surpassed both him and all his poetical predecessors in propriety, exactness, and elegance. . . .

(*Ibid.* pp. xx-xxi.)

¹ *Dante* had begun his poem in Latin, but changed afterwards his scheme, and wrote it in Italian. *Infera regna canam* was the beginning of his first line.

²[*Canz.* xxi. in the Oxford *Dante*.]

[Italian prose in the age of Dante]

Petrarch's age had produced so many elegant poetical compositions that it deserved from successive ages to be called *il buon secolo della lingua*, the good century of the language; but our prose remained still uncultivated, and we still wanted a prose writer as excellent in his kind as *Dante* and *Petrarch* had been in theirs.

(From *History of the Italian Tongue*, p. xxv.)

[Ariosto ranked with Dante and Petrarch by the Florentines]

So numerous were the beauties found in *Ariosto's* poem, that the pen of criticism dared not at that time to point out even some faults that might have been discovered in it; and the Florentines, who, proud of their *Dante's*, *Petrarca's*, and *Boccaccio's*, stooped with difficulty to acknowledge that any body could write with Tuscan purity, presently granted that *Ariosto's* language was most elegant and inferior to no body's.

(*Ibid.* p. li.)

[Tasso preferred by Baretti to Dante]

Foreigners, and especially the French, generally coincide with the opinion of the smaller number of our criticks, and boldly give the preference to *Tasso*, whenever they compare him with *Ariosto*. But though I declare myself so warm an admirer of the *Jerusalem* as to prefer it to the epic performances of *Dante*, *Pulci*, and *Bojardo*, yet I wish that foreigners for the sake of their literary honour would proceed with a little more caution when they discourse on such a subject, and be less confident of their knowledge of our tongue and poetry; because though it is true that on some points *Tasso* is superior to his rival; yet if he has on the whole fewer faults, they must be persuaded that he has also fewer perfections.¹

(*Ibid.* pp. lxiii-lxiv.)

[Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio the fathers of the Italian tongue]

None of those poets or prosatori who have flourished since the literary reformation in Italy have deserved to be compared with *Dante*, *Petrarch*, *Boccaccio*, and the other fathers or improvers of our tongue.

(*Ibid.* p. lxxv.)

[Dante's ingratitude to Brunetto Latini]

Brunetto Latini was the famous master of *Dante*, who, in his poem, describing hell, ungratefully sinks poor *Brunetto* into the most disgraceful place of it, without letting us know, why?

(From *The Italian Library*, p. 35.)

¹[Elsewhere (p. liii) Baretti says of Ariosto: 'Let the English reader take my word for it, that *Ariosto* is the greatest poet that my poetical country ever produced.']

Poeti Epici. *Epick Poets.*

La Divina Commedia di Dante. *The Divine Comedy of Dante.* Per Joan Numeister, 1472, in folio; and in Mantua, per Giorgio e Paolo Tedeschi, 1472, in folio. One of these two editions was the first of this poem.

It would take up too much room to enumerate all the good editions of *Dante's* famous poem, but if I may recommend one to an Englishman it is that of Giambattista Pasquali, printed in Venice, in 3 volumes, octavo, with short notes. There is so much to be said about *Dante*, that I know not how to begin without running into too great a length for this place; therefore I refer the reader to an English dissertation on the Italian poetry, printed by R. Dodsley, in which I have given his character and a specimen of his poetry.¹ His commentators are Guido Terzago, Benvenuto Rambaldi,² Jacopo Lana, Cristoforo Landino, Bernardino Daniello, Alessandro Vellutello, Lodovico Dolce, and Bastiano de' Rossi. . . . The *Quadriregio* of *Frezzi*, in my opinion, is little inferior to *Dante* himself. . . . The *Italia Liberata dai Goti* of *Trissino* is in blank verse, which *Trissino* would fain have introduced instead of the *Terza Rima* of *Dante* or the *Ottava Rima* of *Boccaccio*; but few people did follow him, and judicious Italians shall never prefer his unharmonious metre to the other two. . . . An Englishman will have enough of our Epick poetry, if he does but make himself acquainted with *Dante*, *Bojardo*, *Pulci*, *Frezzi*, *Ariosto*, *Tasso*, *Lippi*, and *Tassoni*.

(From *The Italian Library*, pp. 57, 58, 60-1, 67.)

Poetici Lirici. *Lyrick Poets.*

Sonetti, e Canzoni, di diversi antichi Autori Toscani, in X Libri. *Sonnets and Songs, by several old Tuscan Authors*; that is by *Dante*, *Cino da Pistoja*, *Guido Cavalcanti*, another *Dante*, called *Dante da Majano*, *Guittone d' Arezzo*, and others. In Firenze, per gli Eredi di *Filippo Guinta*, 1527, in octavo.

(*Ibid.* p. 71.)

It is remarkable what *Cocato* says in the *Cronica dell' Origine di Piacenza*, that the stipend of *Filippo da Reggio*, for reading *Dante* in the university of *Piacenza* (now no more subsisting, but famous about the year 1400) was of five livres, six soldi, and eight denari a year, which is about a shilling and two-pence English money.

(*Ibid.* p. 174.)

¹[See above, pp. 257-67.]

²[*Sic*, for *Rambaldi*—the commentator commonly known as *Benvenuto da Imola*.]

Vita di Dante Alighieri, composta da Giovanni Boccaccio. In Roma, per Francesco Priscianese, 1544, in octavo.

One of the most valued things written by the famous *Boccaccio*.

Vite di Dante e del Petrarca, scritte da Lionardo Aretino. In Firenze, all' Insegna della Stella, 1672, in duodecimo.

A book as much valued as the above by *Boccaccio*.

(From *The Italian Library*, p. 190.)

L' Amoroſo Convivio di Dante. In Firenze, per Francesco Bonaccorsi, in 1490, in quarto.

This *Dante* is the famous *Alighieri*, not to be confounded with *Dante da Majano*, another poet of whom we have only a few lyric things left.

(*Ibid.* p. 259.)

Prose antiche di Dante, Petrarca, e Boccaccio, e di molti altri nobili e virtuosi ingegni. In Firenze, presso il Doni, 1547, in quarto.

Doni, who was both printer and collector of these letters, would have done better to entitle them *Lettere* instead of *Prose*.¹

(*Ibid.* p. 277.)

1760. DICTIONARY OF THE ENGLISH AND ITALIAN LANGUAGES. TO WHICH IS ADDED, AN ITALIAN AND ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

DANTÉSCO, *adj.*: [dello stile, e maniera di Dante poeta] *according to the manner and stile of Dante the poet.*

DANTÍSTA, *s.m.* a studious or imitator of Dante the poet.

(From the *Dictionary*, vol. i.)

Conjugation of the Auxiliary Verb AVERE
Indeterminate Preterite

Sing. Io ebbi.²

(From *Grammar of the Italian Tongue*, vol. ii. p. xviii.)

[Dante's use of endecasyllabic verses]

Our first versifiers frequently interspersed in their poems an endecasyllable by the moderns called *broken* (*scavezzo*), in which the strong accents fall on the fourth, the seventh, and the tenth.

. . . Dante was not averse to such verses, Petrarch seemed to avoid them carefully, Ariosto has used them sparingly, Berni in his *Orlando Innamorato* has a great many, but Tasso in his *Gerusa-*

¹[This volume contains two letters of Dante: an Italian version of his letter to the Emperor Henry VII; and the apocryphal letter (in Italian) to Guido da Polenta.]

²For *ebbi*, Dante said once *ei* [*Inf.* i. 28]. No body else ever did.

lemme has not a single one. Our versificators (poets we scarcely had one since Tasso) have abstained from using *broken verses* from the beginning of the last century; but I see them revived by some living authors. . . . These gentlemen are not averse to them in those compositions in which they chiefly aim at the style either of Dante in serious, or of Berni in burlesque and satirical poetry. . . .

Out of our endecasyllable, two verses are produced which we, perhaps improperly, call likewise endecasyllables. One of these is made by adding one syllable, the other by cutting off one. . . . None of these endecasyllables has any great harmony, especially the second, which never has been used by any writer of any name. We find it very scarcely scattered in Epick poetry by Dante, Petrarca, Pulci, Ariosto, and Berni, and, if I remember well, the severe Tasso never employed it once.

(From *Grammar of the Italian Tongue*, vol. ii. p. xxxiv.)

1768. AN ACCOUNT OF THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF ITALY.

[Dante's poem sung in the streets of Florence]

The Tuscans were smitten by the charms of poetry to a greater degree than any other people, as soon as their language began to be turned towards verse. One of our old novellists (Franco Sacchetti, if I remember well), says, that the common people of Florence used commonly to sing the poem of Dante about the streets, even during the life of that poet, whom we justly consider as our first writer of note.

(Vol. ii. chap. xxviii. p. 174.)

1770. A JOURNEY FROM LONDON TO GENOA, THROUGH ENGLAND, PORTUGAL, SPAIN, AND FRANCE.

[Hostility of Jesuits to literature]

It is a positive fact that in Italy the Jesuits have endeavoured to root out all literature. Before the institution of their order we had such a number of men eminent in various branches of science, from Dante¹ down to Galileo,² as few, if any of the modern nations can show. But as soon as the Jesuits got possession of our schools under the pretence of teaching our youth *gratis*, there was almost an end amongst us of historians, politicians, philosophers, and poets.

(Vol. i. pp. 289-90.)

[Baretti compares part of his journey with that of Dante]

My journey from *Lisbon* to *Mérida*, from *Mérida* to *Fraga*, and from *Fraga* to *Piera*, might in some measure be compared to Dante's poetical journey through *Hell*, *Purgatory*, and *Paradise*.

(Vol. iv. p. 54.)

¹ Dante was born in 1265.

² Galileo died in 1642.

1777. DISCOURS SUR SHAKESPEARE ET SUR MONSIEUR DE VOLTAIRE.¹

[Voltaire's criticism of Dante ridiculed]

Je parie que ce fut cet Algarotti² de fade mémoire, de qui vous apprîtes à mépriser Dante. . . . Il méprisoit Dante, qu'il n'entendoit guère plus que vous entendez Confucius, dont vous avez fait tant de fois l'éloge. . . . Mais à propos de ce Dante, que l'ignorant Algarotti méprisoit si fort, vous nous assurez, que³ *les Italiens ne le lisent plus*. Savez-vous que cela est dit avec un petit plus d'impudence que de vérité? Que font donc les Italiens de ces Editions au dela de la douzaine qu'ils en ont fait depuis le commencement de ce siècle? En voici une parmi mes Livres, faite *in Venezia* 1772, *presso Giambattista Pasquali*, en trois volumes de poche pour nôtre commodité. Croyez-vous que ce Pasquali auroit voulu la faire s'il n'eut pas été sûr d'avance d'en vendre les exemplaires? Vous le croyez bien bête, vous qui ne le connoissez pas; mais moi qui le connois, je puis vous dire que c'est un fin merle, de même que cet autre Imprimeur de Venise appelé Antonio Zatta, qui, quoiqu'il ne sache pas seulement signer son nom, a pourtant assez entendu ses intérêts, pour nous donner, en 1752,⁴ une autre Edition de Dante en Cinq Volumes in 4to, fort bien imprimée, et décorée de très belles estampes. Hélas, Monsieur de Voltaire!

Parlez-moi de Corneille, parlez-moi de Racine! Je vous en aurai grande obligation, parce que vous m'instruisez, ou me divertirez pour le moins. Mais ne vous éloignez pas un pas de chês-vous, et ne vous frottez jamais plus à Dante, ni au Pulci, ni à l'Arioste, ni au Tasse, ni à aucun autre Auteur Italien, je vous supplie pour l'amour de vous-même! Il est si aisé de découvrir les Imposteurs quand ils veulent se mêler de ce qu'ils n'entendent point! Savez-vous que vous extravaguez, même aux endroits où vous louez ces Auteurs-là? A l'égard de ce morceau de Dante, que vous avez prétendu traduire,⁵ savez-vous, qu'il est très-beau dans l'Original, et que votre prétendue traduction n'est qu' un libelle moitié ridicule et moitié infame contre la mémoire de ce grand homme? Libelle qui mérite d'être brulé sur la cime du Parnasse par la main du Bourreau des Muses? Si vous entendiez l'Italian, Poète comme vous êtes, vous seriez enthousiasmé de Dante tout comme moi, et comme tant d'autres de mes Compatriotes l'ont été depuis plus de quatre cens ans.

(pp. 139 ff.)

¹[A Londres et à Paris.]²[See Voltaire's letter to Bettinelli, above, pp. 210-11.]³Voyez encore les Lettres de Monsieur De Voltaire imprimées à la suite de son Commentaire historique. [Extracts from Voltaire's letters on this subject are given above pp. 210-11, 212-13.]⁴[Not 1752, but 1757-8.]⁵[See above, pp. 209-10.]

JOHN NORTHALL

(c. 1723-1759)

[John Northall, Captain in the Royal Regiment of Artillery, was present at the battle of Fontenoy (11 May, 1745); he travelled in Italy in 1752-3, when he visited the principal cities of Tuscany, besides Venice and Rome, where he made a lengthened stay. He died in 1759. A posthumous account of his Italian tour was published in 1766.]

[1753.] TRAVELS THROUGH ITALY. CONTAINING NEW AND CURIOUS OBSERVATIONS ON THAT COUNTRY.¹

[Alleged portrait of Dante by Perugino]

FLORENCE.—Fabrica degli Uffici. Second Chamber. In this room are some small paintings, particularly the following:

* * * *
Petrarch and Dante, by Peter Perugino.²

* * * *

(p. 52.)

[Statue of Dante at Poggio Imperiale]

Poggio Imperiale.—This villa is an Italian mile, or a thousand paces, out of the city of Florence, in a direct line from the Porta Romana. . . . There is a stately avenue leading to it, consisting of a double row of cypress and larch trees, with beautiful vineyards, convents, and villas, on each side. Near a fine piece of water, here are two very large statues of the rivers Arno and Arbia,³ pouring water out of their urns; and opposite to those are the statues of Homer, Virgil, Dante, and Petrarch.

(p. 77.)

[Picture of Dante in the Cathedral at Florence—Dante the Ennius of Florence]

Florence.—At the entrance of the church,⁴ on the right hand, are the busts of Brunaleschi and Giotto . . . The epitaph on Giotto is in Latin verse by Politianus. . . . He flourished in the time of Dante and Petrarch, and was in great esteem by them both. . . . There is also an equestrian picture on the wall of Sir John Hawkwood, an English knight. . . . It appears to be the work of Paul Uccelli: and near it is the picture of Dante Alighieri, walking in the fields before his house, with a book in his hand. This old poet is considered as the Ennius, or the Chaucer, of Florence; and that part

¹[Published posthumously in 1766.]

³[According to others, the Tiber.]

²[More probably by Vasari.]

⁴[The Cathedral.]

of the cathedral round which he used to take his meditative walk is distinguished with a white stone.¹

(pp. 87-8.)

BIBLIOTHECA MEADIANA

1754. BIBLIOTHECA MEADIANA, SIVE CATALOGUS LIBRORUM RICARDI MEAD, M.D.

[Richard Mead, the celebrated physician, who numbered among his patients Queen Anne, George I, Walpole, Pope Burnet, and Sir Isaac Newton, was born at Stepney in 1673, and died in his house in Great Ormond Street in 1754. His collection of books and MSS., which are alluded to by Pope in his fourth Epistle ('books for Mead and butterflies for Sloane'), was the largest formed in his time. Among the books were seven editions of the *Divina Commedia*, including three of the fifteenth century, viz. Foligno (Numeister) 1472 (*editio princeps*); Venice (Vendelin da Spira) 1477; Milan, 1478; and four of the sixteenth, viz. Venice (Aldus) 1502; Florence (Junta) 1506; Lyon (G. di Tournes) 1547; Venice (Sessa) 1578; the collection also contained the *editio princeps* of the *Convivio* (Florence, 1490). These books were probably acquired by Mead during a tour in Italy in 1695, when he visited Turin, Florence, and Padua.]

EARL OF CORK AND ORRERY

(1707-1762)

[John Boyle, fifth Earl of Cork and Orrery, son of Charles Boyle, fourth Earl of Orrery, whom he succeeded in 1731, was born in 1707; he died in 1762. He was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, where he was made D.C.L. in 1743. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1750. Lord Orrery, who was a friend of Swift, Pope, and Johnson, was the author of several works, including *Remarks on the Life and Writings of Jonathan Swift* (1751), a *Translation of the Letters of Pliny the Younger* (1751), and *Letters from Italy* (1773). In 1753 he succeeded his kinsman, Richard Boyle, as fifth Earl of Cork, thus uniting the peerages of Cork and Orrery. In September 1754 he left England for Italy, where he remained until the following year. While at Florence he presented to the Accademia della Crusca a copy of Dr. Johnson's *Dictionary*, which had just been published. He left a record of his travels in a series of letters, addressed to his chaplain, Rev. John Duncombe, by whom they were published, with a life of the author, in 1773 (second edition, 1774) under the title of *Letters from Italy, in the years 1754 and 1755*. It is significant of the taste of the times, that though, as his biographer puts it, the author was distinguished by a 'taste for literature and a thirst for knowledge,' he only once refers to Dante in the whole course of these letters.]

1754. Dec. 31. LETTER FROM FLORENCE.

[Dante, one of the formers of a new language]

THE *Italian* language seems adapted to flattery and high-flown thoughts. It has the honour to have arisen out of the ashes of the *Latin* tongue, which subsisted, and was generally spoken in *Italy*, impure indeed, till the time of St.

¹ [The so called 'Sasso di Dante.']

Bernard, and the Emperor *Frederic Barbarossa*. After the twelfth century, it was entirely lost in conversation, and remained only in public acts, and public prayers; and even in them, mixed, confounded, and scarce intelligible. Towards the middle of the thirteenth century, such base coin being of no currency, some ingenious men, particularly *Brunetti*, and afterwards his disciple *Dantè*, the three *Villani*, and others, began to form a new language, a more sweet-sounding, softer kind of *Latin*, which they appropriated to the use and benefit of their own country.

(*Letters from Italy*, Letter xi. ed. 1774, pp. 135-6.)

THOMAS WARTON

(1728-1790)

[Thomas Warton, younger son of Thomas Warton the elder, who was Professor of Poetry at Oxford from 1718 to 1728, was born at Basingstoke in 1728. He was educated by his father until he was 16, when he was sent, in 1744, to Trinity College, Oxford, of which he became Fellow in 1751. After taking his B.A. degree (1747) he was ordained, and entered straightway upon the duties of a college tutor at Trinity, a character he did not quit till the day of his death. Warton, who began to write verse at an early age, first made his poetical reputation by the publication in 1749 of *The Triumph of Isis*, a heroic poem in praise of Oxford. His serious studies were devoted to English literature, the first-fruits of which, *Observations on the Fairy Queen*, he published in 1754. This work was warmly praised by Dr. Johnson, with whom he formed a friendship which lasted till Johnson's death. When the latter visited Oxford in 1754 he was entertained by Warton, who in the next year obtained for him the degree of M.A. In 1757 Warton was elected to the professorship of Poetry at Oxford, which, like his father, he held for two successive terms of five years. In 1774 appeared the first volume of his *magnum opus*, the *History of English Poetry*, the second volume of which was issued in 1778, and the third in 1781, but which he never completed. In 1784 Warton's portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds (now in the common room at Trinity College, Oxford) was exhibited at the Royal Academy. In 1785 he was elected Camden Professor of History at Oxford, and shortly after he was appointed Poet Laureate in succession to Whitehead. In the same year (1785) he published the first volume of what a modern authority has described as the best existing critical edition of Milton's minor poems. The second volume was unfinished at the time of his death, which took place at Oxford in 1790. Warton makes frequent reference to Dante in his several works on English literature. In the third volume of his *History of English Poetry* he gives what he calls 'a general view' of the *Commedia*, from which he quotes numerous passages in the original; of some of these (e.g. the inscription over the Gate of Hell, and the Ugolino episode, which his brother Joseph Warton had translated before him) he gives a prose version. Warton's attitude towards Dante was that of his age—he talks in one place of Dante's 'disgusting fooleries,' in another of his 'sordid diction and imagery,' in another of his 'gross improprieties,' and he quotes with approval Voltaire's 'lively paraphrase' of *Inf.* xxvii. 67 ff., of which he says, 'Dante thus translated would have had many more readers than at present.']

1754. OBSERVATIONS ON THE FAIRY QUEEN OF SPENSER.

[Trissino's use of blank verse in place of *terza rima*]

TRISSINO, who flourished a few years after Ariosto, had taste and boldness enough to publish an epic poem, written in professed imitation of the *Iliad*. This was *L' Italia Liberata di Goti*, 1524. It is in blank verse, which the author would have introduced instead of the *Terza Rima* of Dante, or the *Ottava* of Boccace.

(Ed. 1807, vol. i. p. 3.)

[Dante and Homer]

The Siege of Thebes, and the Destruction of Troy, were the two favourite classical stories of the dark ages. . . . The story of Troy they first got from Dares Phrygius, and Dictys Cretensis; for Dante never had read Homer, and Boccace was the first who introduced him into Italy.¹

(Ibid. vol. i. pp. 239-40.)

[Influence of Petrarch and Dante on Gower and Chaucer]

The example of Gower and Chaucer, who sought to reform the roughness of their native tongue, by naturalizing many new words from the Latin, French, and Italian, and who introduced the seven-lined stanza, from Petrarch and Dante,² into our poetry, had little influence upon Langland, who chose rather to go back to the Saxon models, both for language and form of verse.

(Ibid. vol. ii. p. 249.)

[The inscription over the gate of Dante's Hell]

Note on Bk. iii. Cant. xi. St. liv. l. 8.—Dante's idea of an inscription on the brasen portal of hell, (*Inf. C. iii.*) was suggested by books of chivalry; in which the gate of an impregnable enchanted castle is often inscribed with words importing the danger, or wonders, to be found within. Thus, on one of the doors of this chamber in Spenser's necromantic palace of Busyrane, is written a threat to the champions who presumed to attempt to enter.³

¹[On this subject, see Paget Toynbee, *Homer in Dante and in Benvenuto da Imola in Dante Studies and Researches* (pp. 204 ff.).]

²[It need hardly be pointed out that Warton is in error in supposing that either Dante or Petrarch made use of the seven-lined stanza.]

³[This note of Warton's (afterwards embodied in his *History of English Poetry*, vol. iv. p. 63, ed. 1824) is not to be found in his *Observations*; it was printed by Todd, in his edition of Spenser (vol. v. pp. 103-4), from a manuscript note on the margin of the second folio edition of Spenser belonging to Thomas Warton, which was placed at Todd's disposal by Rev. John Warton, nephew of Thomas Warton, and son of Dr. Joseph Warton. (See Todd's *Preface* to his edition of Spenser, 1805).]

1774-81. THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY.¹

[Troubadours imitated by Dante and Petrarch]

Fouquet of Marseilles, and Anselme Fayditt . . . were among the poets patronised and entertained in England by Richard the First. They are both celebrated and sometimes imitated by Dante and Petrarch. . . . Petrarch says that Fayditt's tongue was shield, helmet, sword, and spear. He is likewise in Dante's Paradise.²

(Section iii. ed. 1824, vol. i. pp. 120-1.)

[Jean de Meun, Dante, and Chaucer]

Undoubtedly the Provençal bards contributed much to the progress of Italian literature. Raimond the fourth of Arragon, count of Provence, about the year 1220, a lover and a judge of letters, invited to his court the most celebrated of the songsters who professed to polish and adorn the Provençal language by various sorts of poetry. Charles the First, his son-in-law, and inheritor of his virtues and dignities, conquered Naples, and carried into Italy a taste for Provençal literature. At Florence especially this taste prevailed, where he reigned many years with great splendour, and where his successors resided. Soon afterwards the Roman court was removed to Provence.³ Hitherto the Latin language had only been in use. The Provençal writers established a common dialect: and their examples convinced other nations, that the modern languages were no less adapted to composition than those of antiquity.⁴ They introduced a love of reading, and diffused a general and popular taste for poetry, by writing in a language intelligible to the ladies and the people. . . . From these beginnings it were easy to trace the progress of poetry to its perfection, through John de Meun, in France, Dante in Italy, and Chaucer in England.

(Section iii. ed. 1824, vol. i. pp. 150-1.)

[Dante studied by Chaucer]

In Italy Chaucer was introduced to Petrarch, at the wedding of Violante, daughter of Galeazzo duke of Milan, with the duke of Clarence; and it is not improbable that Boccaccio was of the party. Although Chaucer had undoubtedly studied the works of these celebrated writers, and particularly of Dante, before this fortunate interview;⁵ yet it seems likely, that these excursions gave him a

¹[This work was published in three instalments—the first volume in 1774; the second in 1778; the third in 1781.]

²[Dante nowhere mentions Fayditt; it is Folquet whom he places in Paradise (*Par.* ix. 94).]

³Villani acquaints us, that Brunetti Latini, Dante's master, was the first who attempted to polish the Florentines by improving their taste and style.

⁴Dante designed at first that his *Inferno* should appear in Latin. But finding that he could not so effectually in that language impress his satirical strokes and political maxims on the laity, or illiterate, he altered his mind, and published that piece in Italian.

⁵[See, however, above, under Chaucer, introductory note, p. 1.]

new relish for their compositions, and enlarged his knowledge of the Italian fables.

(Section xii. ed. 1824 vol. ii. p. 177.)

[Dante's use of 'storiated']

Στορισματα means paintings, properly history-paintings, and ιστορειν, and ανιστορειν, is to *paint*, in barbarous Greek. There are various examples in the Byzantine writers. In middle Latinity *Historiographus* signifies literally a *Painter*. Perhaps our Historiographer Royal was originally the King's *Illuminator*. . . . In the middle Latin writers we have *depingere historialiter*, 'to paint with histories or figures.' . . . Dante uses the Italian word *historiato* in the same sense. Dante, *Purgat. Cant. x.*

Quivi era historiata l' alta gloria
Del Roman Prince.¹

(Section xii. ed. 1824, vol. ii. p. 189.)

[Chaucer's references to Dante]

In the *House of Fame* where Chaucer mentions Virgil's hell, he likewise refers to Claudian *De Raptu Proserpinae*, and Dante's *Inferno*, v. 450. There is a translation of a few lines from Dante, whom he calls 'the wise poet of Florence,' in the *Wife of Bath's Tale*, v. 1125. The story of Hugolin of Pisa, a subject which Sir Joshua Reynolds has lately painted in a capital style,² is translated from Dante, 'the grete poete of Italie that hight Dante,' in the *Monk's Tale*, v. 877. A sentence from Dante is cited in the *Legende of Good Women*, v. 330. In the *Freere's Tale*, Dante is compared with Virgil, v. 256.³

(Section xiv. ed. 1824, vol. ii. p. 226.)

[Dante and the Troubadours]

Boccaccio copied many of his best Tales from the troubadours. Several of Dante's fictions are derived from the same fountain. Dante has honoured some of them with a seat in his Paradise: and in his tract *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, has mentioned Thiebault King of Navarre as a pattern for writing poetry.⁴ With regard to Dante's capital work the *Inferno*, Raoul de Houdane, a Provençal bard about the year 1180, wrote a poem entitled, *Le Voye ou le Songe d' Enfer*.⁵ Both Boccaccio and Dante studied at Paris,

¹[*Purg.* x. 73-5.]

²[See below, p. 343.]

³[On Chaucer's indebtedness to Dante, see above, pp. 1-16.]

⁴And see *Commed. Infern. cant. xxii.* [The Thibaut referred to in the *V.E.* (i. 9, l. 26; ii. 5, l. 37; etc.) is the father of the one mentioned in the *Inferno*.]

⁵[Warton does not appreciate the difference between a Troubadour and a Trouveur—neither Thibaut nor Raoul was Provençal.]

where they much improved their taste by reading the songs of Thiebould King of Navarre, Gaces Brules, Chatelain de Coucy, and other antient French fabulists.

(Section xviii. ed. 1824, vol. ii. pp. 298-9.)

[Gower's mention of Dante]

Among the Italian poets, one is surprised Gower should not quote Petrarch: he mentions Dante only, who in the rubric is called 'a certain poet of Italy named Dante,' *quidam poeta Italiae qui DANTE vocabatur*.¹

(Section xix. ed. 1824, vol. ii. pp. 525-6.)

[Lydgate and Dante]

After a short education at Oxford, Lydgate travelled into France and Italy; and returned a complete master of the language and the literature of both countries.² He chiefly studied the Italian and French poets, particularly Dante, Boccaccio, and Alain Chartier.

(Section xxi. ed. 1824, vol. ii. p. 362.)

[Dante introduced by Lydgate in his *Falls of Princes*]

In Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, Dante, 'of Florence the laureate poete, demure of loke fullfilled with patience,' appears to Bochas; and commands him to write the tale of Gualter duke of Florence, whose days *for his tyranny, lechery, and covetyse, ended in mischefe*. Dante then vanishes, and only duke Gualter is left alone with the poet. In another place Dante's three books on heaven, purgatory, and hell, are particularly commended.³

(Section xxii. ed. 1824, vol. ii. p. 375.)

[Dante and the *Somnium Scipionis*]

In the *Assembly of Foules*, Chaucer supposes himself to fall asleep after reading the *Somnium Scipionis*, and that Scipio shewed him the beautiful vision which is the subject of that poem. Nor is it improbable, that, not only the form, but the first idea of Dante's *Inferno*, was suggested by this favourite apologue; which, in Chaucer's words, treats

Of heaven, and hell,

And yearth, and souls, that therein dwell.

Not to insist on Dante's subject, he uses the shade of Virgil for a mystagogue; as Tully supposes Scipio to have been shewn the other world by his ancestor Africanus.

(Section xxviii. ed. 1824, vol. iii. p. 53.)

¹[See above, pp. 16-17.]

²[This is an error—Lydgate was almost certainly ignorant of Italian, and consequently was unacquainted with Dante; see above, p. 18.]

³[See above, p. 19.]

[Dante and Arnaut Daniel]

Arnaut Daniel, a troubadour, highly celebrated by Dante¹ and Petrarch, about the year 1240 made a voyage into England . . . to the court of King Henry III.

(Section xxviii. ed. 1824, vol. iii. p. 69.)

[Dante and the Celestial Hierarchies]

Because the scriptures have mentioned several degrees of angels, Dionysius the Areopagite, and others, have divided them into nine orders; and those they have reduced into three hierarchies. This was a tempting subject for the refining genius of the school-divines: and accordingly we find in Thomas Aquinas a disquisition, *De ordinatione Angelorum secundum Hierarchias et Ordines*. Quaest. cviii. The system, which perhaps makes a better figure in poetry than in philosophy, has been adopted by many poets who did not outlive the influence of the old scholastic sophistry. See Dante, *Parad. C. xxviii.* [ll. 98 ff.].

(Section xxxii. ed. 1824, vol. iii. p. 130.)

[Sir David Lyndsay and Dante]

I have not at present either leisure or inclination, to enter into a minute enquiry, how far Sir David Lyndesay is indebted in his *Dreme to Tully's Dream of Scipio*, and the *Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven*, of Dante.²

(Section xxxii. ed. 1824, vol. iii. p. 134.)

[Martin Coccaie's 'parody' on the *Inferno*]

About the year 1512, Martin Coccaie of Mantua, whose true name was Theophilo Folengo, a Benedictine monk of Casino in Italy, wrote a poem entitled *Phantasiae Macaronicae*, divided into twenty-five parts. . . . The three last books, containing a description of hell, are a parody on part of Dante's *Inferno*.

(Section xxxiii. ed. 1824, vol. iii. p. 181.)

[Sackville and Dante]

About the year 1557, Sackville formed the plan of a poem, in which all the illustrious but unfortunate characters of the English history, from the Conquest to the end of the fourteenth century, were to pass in review before the poet, who descends like Dante into the infernal region, and is conducted by Sorrow. Although a descent into hell had been suggested by other poets, the application of such a fiction to the present design, is a conspicuous proof of genius and even of invention. Every personage was to recite his

¹[*Purg.* xxvi. 115-48.]

²[On Sir David Lyndsay, see above, pp. 26-8.]

own misfortunes in a separate soliloquy. But Sackville had leisure only to finish a poetical preface called an *Induction*,¹ and one legend, which is the life of Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham.

(Section xlviii. ed. 1824, vol. iv. p. 36.)

[A 'general view' of the *Commedia*]

Having examined at large Sackville's Descent into Hell . . . I shall employ the remainder of this Section in setting before my reader a general view of Dante's Italian poem, entitled *Commedia*, containing a description of Hell, Paradise, and Purgatory, and written about the year 1310. In the meantime, I presume that most of readers will recollect and apply the sixth Book of Virgil: to which, however, it may be necessary to refer occasionally.

Although I have before insinuated that Dante has in this poem used the ghost of Virgil for a mystagogue, in imitation of Tully, who in the *Somnium Scipionis* supposes Scipio to have been shewn the other world by his ancestor Africanus, yet at the same time in the invention of his introduction, he seems to have had an eye on the exordium of an old forgotten Florentine poem called *Tesoretto*, written in *Frottola*, or a short irregular measure, exhibiting a cyclopede of theoretic and practic philosophy, and composed by his preceptor Brunetto Latini about the year 1270. Brunetto supposes himself lost in a wood, at the foot of a mountain covered with animals, flowers, plants, and fruits of every species. . . . Dante, like his master Brunetto, is bewildered in an unfrequented forest. He attempts to climb a mountain, whose summit is illuminated by the rising sun. A furious leopard, pressed by hunger, and a lion, at whose aspect the *air is affrighted*, accompanied by a she-wolf, oppose his progress; and force him to fly precipitately into the profundities of a pathless valley, where, says the poet, *the sun was silent*.

Mi ripingeva dov e 'l² sol tace.

In the middle of a vast solitude he perceives a spectre, of whom he implores help and pity. The spectre hastens to his cries: it was the shade of Virgil, whom Beatrix, Dante's mistress, had sent, to give him courage, and to guide him into the regions of hell. Virgil begins a long discourse with Dante; and expostulates with him for chusing to wander through the rough obscurities of a barren and dreary vale, when the top of the neighbouring mountain afforded every delight. The conversation of Virgil, and the name of Beatrix, by degrees dissipate the fears of the poet, who explains his situation. He returns to himself, and compares this revival of

¹[See above, pp. 49-50.]

²[*Sic.*] *Inf.* Cant. i. The same bold metaphor occurs below, Cant. v.
E venni in luogo d' ogni luce muto.

strength and spirits to a flower smitten by the frost of a night, which again lifts its shrinking head, and expands its vivid colours, at the first gleamings of the morning-sun.

Qual' il¹ fioretti dal notturno gelo

Chinati et chiusi, etc.—²

Dante, under the conduct of Virgil, penetrates hell. But he does not on this occasion always avail himself of Virgil's descriptions and mythologies. At least the formation of Dante's imageries are of another school. He feigns his hell to be a prodigious and almost bottomless abyss, which from its aperture to its lowest depth preserves a rotund shape: or rather, an immense perpendicular cavern, which opening as it descends into different circles, forms so many distinct subterraneous regions. We are struck with horror at the commencement of this dreadful adventure.

The first object which the poet perceives is a gate of brass,³ over which were inscribed in characters of a dark hue, *dì colore oscuro*, these verses:—

Per me si v'è nella città dolente :

Per me si v'è nel eterno dolore :

Per me si v'è trà la perduta gente.

Giustizia moss e 'l mio alto fattore :

Fece me li divina potestate,

La somma Sapienzia, e 'l primo Amore.⁴

Dinanzi a me non fur cose create :

Se non eterne, el io duro eterno.

Lassate ogni speranza voi ch' entrate.⁵

Cant. iii. [ll. 1-9.]

That is, 'By me is the way to the woeful city. By me is the way to the eternal pains. By me is the way to the damned race. My mighty maker was divine Justice and Power, the Supreme Wisdom, and the First Love. Before me nothing was created. If not eternal, I shall eternally remain.'⁶ Put away all hope, ye that enter.'

¹[*Sic.*]

²Cant. ii. In another part of the *Inferno*, Virgil is angry with Dante, but is soon reconciled. Here the poet compares himself to a cottager in the early part of a promising spring, who looks out in the morning from his humble shed, and sees the fields covered with a severe and unexpected frost. But the sun soon melts the ground, and he drives his goats afield. Cant. xxiv. [ll. 1-15]. This poem abounds in comparisons. Not one of the worst is a comic one, in which a person looking sharply and eagerly, is compared to an old tailor threading a needle. *Inf.* Cant. xv. [ll. 19-21].

³[Dante does not say it was of brass.]

⁴He means the Platonic *Epos*. The Italian expositors will have it to be the Holy Ghost.

⁵[The errors of spelling, punctuation, etc., in Warton's quotations from the *Commedia* here and elsewhere are preserved as being characteristic. They also serve to throw light on his mistakes in translation.]

⁶[An extraordinary 'bull'!]

There is a severe solemnity in these abrupt and comprehensive sentences, and they are a striking preparation to the scenes that ensue. But the idea of such an inscription on the brazen portal of hell, was suggested to Dante by books of chivalry; in which the gate of an impregnable enchanted castle, is often inscribed with words importing the dangers or wonders to be found within. Over the door of every chamber in Spenser's necromantic palace of Busyrane, was written a threat to the champions who presumed to attempt to enter. This total exclusion of hope from hell, here so finely introduced and so forcibly expressed, was probably remembered by Milton, a disciple of Dante, where he describes

Regions of sorrow, dolefull shades, where peace
And rest can never dwell, *hope never comes*
That comes to all.

Par. L. i. 65.

I have not time to follow Dante regularly through his dialogues and adventures with the crouds of ghosts, antient and modern, which he meets in the course of this infernal journey. In these interviews, there is often much of the party and politics of his own times, and of allusion to recent facts. Nor have I leisure particularly to display our author's punishments and phantoms. I observe in general, that the ground-work of his hell is classical, yet with many Gothic and extravagant innovations. The burning lakes, the fosses, and fiery towers which surround the city of Dis, and the three Furies which wait at its entrance, are touched with new strokes.¹ The Gorgons, the Hydra, the Chimera, Cerberus, the serpent of Lerna, and the rest of Virgil's, or rather Homer's, infernal apparitions, are dilated with new touches of the terrible, and sometimes made ridiculous by the addition of comic or incongruous circumstances, yet without any intention of burlesque. Because Virgil had mentioned the Harpies in a single word only, in one of the loathsome groves which Dante passes, consisting of trees whose leaves are black, and whose knotted boughs are hard as iron, the Harpies build their nests.²

Non frondi verdi, ma di color fosco,
Non rami schietti, ma nodosi e' nvolti,
Non pomi v' eran, ma stecchi con toscò.

Cacus, whom Virgil had called *Semifer* in his seventh book, appears in the shape of a Centaur covered with curling snakes, and on whose neck is perched a dragon hovering with expanded wings.³ It is supposed that Dante took the idea of his *Inferno* from a

¹ See Cant. ix.

² Cant. xiii.

³ Cant. xxv.

magnificent nightly representation of hell, exhibited by the pope in honour of the bishop of Ostia on the river Arno at Florence, in the year 1304. This is mentioned by the Italian critics in extenuation of Dante's choice of so strange a subject. But why should we attempt to excuse any absurdity in the writings or manners of the middle ages? Dante chose this subject as a reader of Virgil and Homer.¹ The religious *Mystery* represented on the river Arno, however magnificent, was perhaps a spectacle purely orthodox, and perfectly conformable to the ideas of the church. And if we allow that it might hint the subject, with all its inconsistencies, it never could have furnished any considerable part of this wonderful compound of classical and romantic fancy, of pagan and christian theology, of real and fictitious history, of tragical and comic incidents, of familiar and heroic manners, and of satirical and sublime poetry. But the grossest improprieties of this poem discover an originality of invention, and its absurdities often border on sublimity. We are surprised that a poet should write one hundred cantos on hell, paradise and purgatory. But this prolixity is partly owing to the want of art and method; and is common to all early compositions, in which everything is related circumstantially and without rejection, and not in those general terms which are used by modern writers.

Dante has beautifully enlarged Virgil's short comparison of the souls lingering on the banks of Lethe, to the numerous leaves falling from the trees in Autumn.

Come d' Autumno si levan le foglie
 L' un appresso del' altra, infin che 'l ramo
 Vede a la terre tutte le sue spoglie;
 Similmente, il mal seme d' Adamo
 Getta si di quel lito ad una ad una
 Per cenni, com' augel per suo richiamo.²

Cant. iii. [ll. 112-17].

In the Fields inhabited by unhappy lovers he sees Semiramis, Achilles, Paris, and Tristan, or sir Tristram. One of the old Italian commentators on this poem says, that the last was an English knight born in *Cornovaglio*, or Cornwall, a city of England.³

Among many others of his friends, he sees Francisca the daughter of Guido di Polenta, in whose palace Dante died at Ravenna, and Paulo one of the sons of Malatesta lord of Rimini. This lady fell

¹ [Certainly not of Homer, Dante being ignorant of Greek, and there being no translation in his day.]

² [See above, p. 284 note 5.]

³ In the sixteenth Canto of the Paradiso, King Arthur's queen Geneura, who belongs to sir Tristram's romance, is mentioned [*Par.* xvi. 15].

in love with Paulo; the passion was mutual, and she was betrothed to him in marriage: but her family chose rather that she should be married to Lanciotto, Paulo's eldest brother. This match had the most fatal consequences. The injured lovers could not dissemble or stifle their affection: they were surprised, and both assassinated by Lanciotto. Dante finds the shades of these distinguished victims of an unfortunate attachment at a distance from the rest, in a region of his *Inferno* desolated by the most violent tempests. He accosts them both, and Francisca relates their history: yet the conversation is carried on with some difficulty, on account of the impetuosity of the storm which was raging.¹ Dante, who from many circumstances of his own amours, appears to have possessed the most refined sensibilities about the delicacies of love, inquires in what manner, when in the other world, they first communicated their passion to each other. Francisca answers, that they were one day sitting together, and reading the romance of *Lancelot*; where two lovers were represented in the same critical situation with themselves. Their changes of colour and countenance, while they were reading, often tacitly betrayed their yet undiscovered feelings. When they came to that passage in the romance, where the lovers, after many tender approaches, are gradually drawn by one uniform reciprocation of involuntary attraction to kiss each other, the book dropped from their hands. By a sudden impulse and an irresistible sympathy, they are tempted to do the same. Here was the commencement of their tragical history.

Noi leggiavam' un giorno per diletto
 Di *Lancelotto*, come amor le strinse;
 Soli eravamo, et senza alcun sospetto.
 Per più fiate gli occhi ci sospinse
 Quella lettura et scolorocce' il viso:
 Ma sol un punto fù qual che ci vinse.
 Quando legemmo il disiato riso
 Esser baciato dà cotanto amante
 Questi che mai da me no fia diviso
 La bocca mi basciò tutto tremante:
*Galeotto*² fu il libro, el chi lo scrisse.
 Quel giorno più non vi legemmo avante.³

Cant. v. [ll. 127-38].

But this picture, in which nature, sentiment, and the graces are

¹[On the contrary, Dante expressly makes Francesca say: 'parleremo a vui, Mentrechè il vento, come fa, ci tace.' *Inf.* v. 95-6.]

²He is one of the knights of the Round Table, and is commonly called Sir *Galhaad* in *Arthur's* romance. [By no means Galahad, but Gallehaut, a very different person.]

³[See above, p. 284 note 5.]

concerned, I have to contrast with scenes of a very different nature. Salvator Rosa has here borrowed the pencil of Correggio. Dante's beauties are not of the soft and gentle kind.

Through many a dark and dreary vale
They pass'd, and many a region dolorous,
O'er many a frozen, many a fiery Alp.

Milton, Par. L. ii. 618.

A hurricane suddenly rising on the banks of the river Styx is thus described.

Et gia venia sù per le torbid onde
Un fracasso d' un suon pien di spavento,
Per cui tremavan amendue le sponde ;
Non altrimenti fatto che d' un vento
Impetuoso per gli avversi ardori
Che fier la salva senz' alcun rattento
Gli rami schianta i abatte, et porta i fiori,
Dinanzi polveroso v`a superbo,
Et fa fuggir le fiere et gli pastori.¹

Cant. ix. [ll. 64-72].

Dante and his mystagogue meet the monster Geryon. He has the face of a man with a mild and benign aspect, but his human form ends in a serpent with a voluminous tail of immense length, terminated by a sting, which he brandishes like a scorpion. His hands are rough with bristles and scales. His breast, back, and sides have all the rich colours displayed in the textures of Tartary and Turkey, or in the labours of Arachne. To speak in Spenser's language, he is

A dragon, horrible and bright.

Fair. Qu. I. ix. 52.

No monster of romance is more savage or superb.

Lo dosso, e 'l petto, ad amenduo le coste,
Dipinte avea di nodi, e di rotelle,
Con più color sommesse e sopraposte
Non fur ma' in drappo Tartari ne Turchi,
Ne fur tar tale per Aragne imposta.¹

Cant. xvii. [ll. 14-18].

The conformation of this heterogeneous beast, as a fabulous hell is the subject, perhaps immediately gave rise to one of the *formidable shapes* which sate on either side of the gates of hell in Milton. Although the fiction is founded in the classics.

¹[See above, p. 284 note 5.]

The one seem'd woman to the waste and fair,
 But ended foul in many a scaly fold
 Voluminous and vast, a serpent arm'd
 With mortal sting.

Par. L. ii. 649.

Virgil, seeming to acknowledge him as an old acquaintance, mounts on the back of Geryon.¹ At the same time Dante mounts, whom Virgil places before, 'that you may not,' says he, 'be exposed to the monster's venomous sting.' Virgil then commands Geryon not to move too rapidly, 'for, consider, what a new burthen you carry!'

Gerion muoviti omai,
 Le ruote large, e lo scender sia poco :
 Pensa la nuova soma che tu hai.

Cant. xvii. [ll. 97-9].

In this manner they travel in the air through Tartarus: and from the back of the monster Geryon, Dante looks down on the burning lake of Phlegethon. This imagery is at once great and ridiculous. But much later Italian poets have fallen into the same strange mixture. In this horrid situation says Dante,

I sentia già dalla man destra il gorgo
 Far sotto noi un orribile stroscio :
 Perche con gli occhi in giù la testa sporsi
 Allor fu io più timido allo scoscio
 Perioch i vidi fuochi, e sente pianti,
 Ond' io tremando tutto mi rancosco.²

Cant. xvii. [ll. 118-23].

This airy journey is copied from the flight of Icarus and Phaeton, and at length produced the Ippogrifo of Ariosto. Nor is it quite improbable, that Milton, although he has greatly improved and dignified the idea, might have caught from hence his fiction of Satan soaring over the infernal abyss. At length Geryon, having circuted the air like a falcon towering without prey, deposits his burthen and vanishes.³

¹ Dante says, that he lay on the banks of a river like a Beaver, the *Castor*. But this foolish comparison is affectedly introduced by our author for a display of his natural knowledge from Pliny, or rather from the *Tesoro* of his master Brunetto.

²[See above, p. 284 note 5.]

³In the thirty-fourth Canto, Dante and Virgil return to light on the back of Lucifer, who (like Milton's Satan, ii. 927) is described as having wings like sails,
 Vele di mar non vid' io mai est celi [read *cotali*].

And again,

Quando l' ale furo aperte assai.

This Canto begins with a Latin line,

Vexilla regis prodeunt inferni.

While they are wandering along the banks of Phlegethon, as the twilight of evening approaches, Dante suddenly hears the sound of a horn more loud than thunder, or the horn of Orlando.

Ma io senti sonare alto corno :—
Non sono si terribilmente Orlando.

Cant. xxxi. [ll. 12, 18].

Dante describes through the gloom, what he thinks to be many high and vast towers, *molte alti torri*. These are the giants who warred against heaven, standing in a row, half concealed within and half extant without an immense abyss or pit.

Gli orribili giganti, cui minaccia
Giove del cielo ancora quando tuona.

Cant. xxxi. [ll. 44-5].

But Virgil informs Dante that he is deceived by appearances, and that these are not towers but the giants.

Sappi, che non son torri ma giganti
E son nel pezzo intorno della ripa
D' all umbilico in giuso, tutti quanti.¹

Cant. xxxi. [ll. 31-3].

One of them cries out to Dante with horrible voice. Another, Ephialtes, is cloathed in iron² and bound with huge chains. Dante wishes to see Briareus: he is answered, that he lies in an interior cavern biting his chain.² Immediately Ephialtes arose from another cavern, and shook himself like an earthquake.

Non fu tremuoto già tanto rubesto,
Che schotesse una torri così forte,
Come Fialte a scuotersi fu presto.¹

Cant. xxxi. [ll. 106-8].

Dante views the horn which had sounded so vehemently hanging by a leathern thong from the neck of one of the giants. Antaeus, whose body stands ten ells high from the pit, is commanded by Virgil to advance. They both mount on his shoulders,² and are thus carried about Cocytus. The giant, says the poet, moved off with us like the mast of a ship.³ One cannot help observing

¹[See above, p. 284 note 5.]

²[Dante does not say so.]

³Dante says, if I understand the passage right, that the face of one of the giants resembled the Cupola, shaped like a pine-apple, of saint Peter's church at Rome—Come la pina di san Pietro a Roma. Cant. xxxi. [It is hardly necessary to point out that Warton has quite misunderstood this passage.]

what has been indeed already hinted, how judiciously Milton, in a similar argument, has retained the just beauties, and avoided the childish or ludicrous excesses of these bold inventions. At the same time we may remark, how Dante has sometimes heightened, and sometimes diminished by improper additions or misrepresentations, the legitimate descriptions of Virgil.

One of the torments of the Damned in Dante's *Inferno*, is the punishment of being eternally confined in lakes of ice.

Eran l' ombre dolenti nell ghiaccia

Mettendo i denti in nota di cicogna.¹

Cant. xxxii. [ll. 35-6].

The ice is described to be like that of the Danube or Tanais. This species of infernal torment, which is neither directly warranted by scripture, nor suggested in the systems of the Platonic fabulists, and which has been adopted both by Shakespeare and Milton, has its origin in the legendary hell of the monks. The hint seems to have been taken from an obscure text in the Book of *Job*, dilated by Saint Jerom, and the early commentators.² The torments of hell, in which the punishment by cold is painted at large, had formed a visionary romance, under the name of Saint Patrick's Purgatory or Cave, long before Dante wrote. The venerable Bede, who lived in the seventh century, has framed a future mansion of existence for departed souls with this mode of torture. In the hands of Dante it has assumed many fantastic and grotesque circumstances, which make us laugh and shudder at the same time.

In another department, Dante represents some of his criminals rolling themselves in human ordure. If his subject led him to such a description, he might at least have used decent expressions. But his diction is not here less sordid than his imagery. I am almost afraid to transcribe this gross passage, even in the disguise of the old Tuscan phraseology.

Quindi giù nel fosso

Vidi gente attuffata in uno sterco

Che dagli uman privati para mosso ;

Et mentre che laggiu con l' occhio cerco :

Vidi un, co 'l capo si da merda lordo

Che non *parea s' era laico, o cerco.*¹

Cant. xviii. [ll. 112-17].

The humour of the last line does not make amends for the nastiness of the image. It is not to be supposed, that a man of strong sense and genius, whose understanding had been cultivated by a

¹[See above, p. 284 note 5.]

²*Job* xxiv. 19.

most exact education, and who had passed his life in the courts of sovereign princes, would have indulged himself in these disgusting fooleries, had he been at all apprehensive that his readers would have been disgusted. But rude and early poets describe everything. They follow the public manners: and if they are either obscene or indelicate, it should be remembered that they wrote before obscenity or indelicacy became offensive.

Some of the guilty are made objects of contempt by a transformation into beastly or ridiculous shapes. This was from the fable of Circe. In others, the human figure is rendered ridiculous by distortion. There is one set of criminals whose faces are turned round towards their backs.

E 'l piante de gli occhi
Le natiche bagnava per lo fesso.¹

Cant. xx. [ll. 23-4].

But Dante has displayed more true poetry in describing a real event than in the best of his fictions. This is in the story of Ugolino, count of Pisa, the subject of the very capital picture of Reynolds.² The poet, wandering through the depths of hell, sees two of the Damned gnawing the skulls of each other,³ which was their daily food. He inquires the meaning of this dreadful repast.

La bocca sollevò dal fiero pasto
Quel peccator, forbendola a capelli
Del capo ch' egli havea di retro guasto.⁴

Cant. xxxiii. [ll. 1-3].

Ugolino quitting his companion's half devoured skull, begins his tale to this effect. 'We are Ugolin, count of Pisa, and archbishop Ruggieri. Trusting in the perfidious counsels of Ruggieri, I was brought to a miserable death. I was committed with four of my children to the dungeon of hunger. The time came when we expected food to be brought. Instead of which, I heard the gates of the horrible tower more closely barred. I looked at my children, and could not speak.

L' hora s' appressava
Che 'l cibo ne soleva essere adotto ;
E per suo sogno ciascun dubitava :
Ed io senti chiavar l' uscio di sotto
A l' *orribile torre*, ond 'io guardai
Nel viso à miei figliuoli, senza far metta.¹

¹[See above, p. 284 note 5.]

²[The picture exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1773 (see below, p. 343).]

³[A somewhat remarkable feat!]

⁴They are both in the lake of ice. [See above, p. 284 note 5.]

I could not complain. I was petrified. My children cried: and my little Anselm, *Anselmuccio mio*, said, *Father, you look on us, what is the matter?*

Tu guardi sì, padre, che hai?

I could neither weep, nor answer, all that day and the following night. When the scanty rays of the sun began to glimmer through the dolourous prison,

Com' un poco di raggio si fù messo

Nel doloroso carcere,

and I could again see those four countenances on which my own image was stamped, I gnawed both my hands for grief. My children supposing I did this through a desire to eat, lifting themselves suddenly up, exclaimed, *O father, our grief would be less, if you would eat us!*

Ambo le mani per dolor mi morsi :

E quei pensando ch' io 'l fessi per voglia

Di manicar, di subito levorsi

Et disser, *Padre, assai ci fia men doglia*

Se tu mangi di noi!

I restrained myself that I might not make them more miserable. We were all silent, that day and the following. Ah cruel earth, why didst thou not swallow us up at once!

Quel dì, et l' altro, stemmo tutta muti.

Ahi! dura terra, perche non l' apristi? ¹

The fourth day being come, Gaddo falling all along at my feet, cried out, *My father, why do not you help me*, and died. The other three expired, one after the other, between the fifth and sixth days, famished as you see me now. And I being seized with blindness began to crawl over them, *souva ciascuno*, on hands and feet; and for three days after they were dead, continued calling them by their names. At length, famine finished my torments. Having said this, the poet adds, 'with distorted eyes he again fixed his teeth on the mangled skull.'

It is not improbable, that the shades of unfortunate men, who, described under peculiar situations and with their proper attributes, are introduced relating at large their histories in hell to Dante, might have given the hint to Boccace's book *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*, On the Misfortunes of Illustrious Personages, the original model of the *Mirrou of Magistrates*.

Dante's *Purgatory* is not on the whole less fantastic than his *Hell*. As his hell was a vast perpendicular cavity in the earth, he supposes *Purgatory* to be a cylindric mass elevated to a prodigious height. At intervals are recesses projecting² from the outside of

¹[See above, p. 284 note 5.]

²['Projecting recesses' are a curiosity.]

the cylinder. In these recesses, some higher and some lower, the wicked expiate their crimes, according to the proportion of their guilt. From one department they pass to another by steps of stone exceedingly steep. On the top of the whole, or summit of Purgatory, is a platform adorned with trees and vegetables of every kind. This is the Terrestrial Paradise, which has been transported hither we know not how, and which forms an avenue to the Paradise Celestial. It is extraordinary that some of the Gothic painters should not have given us this subject.

Dante describes not disagreeably the first region which he traverses on leaving hell. The heavens are tinged with sapphire, and the star of love, or the sun,¹ makes all the orient laugh. He sees a venerable sage approach. This is Cato of Utica, who, astonished to see a living man in the mansion of ghosts, questions Dante and Virgil about the business which brought them hither. Virgil answers: and Cato advises Virgil to wash Dante's face, which was soiled with the smoke of hell, and to cover his head with one of the reeds which grew on the borders of the neighbouring river.² Virgil takes his advice; and having gathered one reed, sees another spring up in its place. This is the golden bough of the *Eneid*, *uno avulso non deficit alter*. The shades also, as in Virgil, crowd to be ferried over Styx: but an angel performs the office of Charon, admitting some into the boat, and rejecting others. This confusion of fable and religion destroys the graces of the one and the majesty of the other.

Through adventures and scenes more strange and wild than any in the Pilgrim's Progress, we at length arrive at the twenty-first Canto. A concussion of the earth announces the deliverance of a soul from Purgatory. This is the soul of Statius, the favourite poet of the dark ages. Although a very improper companion for Virgil, he immediately joins our adventurers, and accompanies them in their progress. It is difficult to discover what pagan or christian idea regulates Dante's dispensation of rewards and punishments. Statius passes from Purgatory to Paradise, Cato remains in the place of expiation, and Virgil is condemned to eternal torments.³

Dante meets his old acquaintance Forese, a debauchee of Florencé. On finishing the conversation, Forese asks Dante when he shall have the pleasure of seeing him again. This question in Purgatory is diverting enough. Dante answers with much serious gravity, 'I know not the time of death: but it cannot be too near. Look

¹[Not the sun, but Venus.]

²[A very inaccurate version of Dante's account.]

³[Not 'torments'—see *Inf.* iv. 40-2; and *Purg.* vii. 28-9, where Virgil describes his place in hell as 'loco non tristo da martiri, ma di tenebre solo.']

back on the troubles in which my country is involved !'¹ The dispute between the pontificate and the empire, appears to have been the predominant topic of Dante's mind. This circumstance has filled Dante's poem with strokes of satire. Every reader of Voltaire must remember that lively writer's paraphrase from the *Inferno*, of the story of count Guido, in which are these inimitable lines.² A Franciscan friar abandoned to Beelzebub thus exclaims :

‘ Monsieur de Lucifer !

Je suis un Saint ; voyes ma robe grise :
 Je fus absous par le Chef de l'Eglise.
 J'aurai, toujours, repondit le Démon,
 Un grand respect pour l'Absolution ;
 On est lavé de ses vieilles sotises,
 Pourvu qu'après autres ne soient commises.
 J'ai fait souvent cette distinction
 A tes pareils : et, grâce à l'Italie,
 Le Diable sait la Théologie.
 Il dit et rit. Je ne repliquai rien
 A Belzebut, il raisonnoit trop bien.
 Lors il n'empoigne, et d'un bras roide et ferme
 Il appliqua sur mon triste épiderme
 Vingt coups de fouet, dont bien fort il me cuit :
 Que Dieu le rend à Boniface huit.'

Dante thus translated would have had many more readers than at present. I take this opportunity of remarking, that our author's perpetual reference to recent facts and characters is in imitation of Virgil, yet with this very material difference: The persons recognised in Virgil's sixth book, for instance the chiefs of the Trojan war, are the contemporaries of the hero not of the poet. The truth is, Dante's poem is a satirical history of his own times.

Dante sees some of the ghosts of Purgatory advancing forward, more meagre and emaciated than the rest. He asks how this could happen in a place where all live alike without nourishment. Virgil quotes the example of Meleager, who wasted with a firebrand, on the gradual extinction of which his life depended. He also produces the comparison of a mirror reflecting a figure. These obscure explications do not satisfy the doubts of Dante. Statius, for his better instruction, explains how a child grows in the womb of the mother, how it is enlarged, and by degrees receives life and intellect. The drift of our author is apparent in these profound illustrations. He means to shew his skill in a sort of metaphysical anatomy. We see something of this in the *Tesoretto* of Brunetto. Unintelligible

¹ Cant. xxiv. [ll. 75 ff.].

²[In the article on Dante in the *Dictionnaire Philosophique* (1764). (See above, pp. 209-10).]

solutions of a similar sort, drawn from a frivolous and mysterious philosophy, mark the writers of Dante's age.

The *Paradise* of Dante, the third part of this poem, resembles his *Purgatory*. Its fictions, and its allegories which suffer by being explained, are all conceived in the same chimerical spirit. The poet successively views the glory of the saints, of angels, of the holy Virgin, and at last of God himself.

Heaven as well as hell, among the monks, had its legendary description; which it was heresy to disbelieve, and which was formed on perversions or misinterpretations of scripture. Our author's vision ends with the Deity, and we know not by what miraculous assistance he returns to earth.

It must be allowed, that the scenes of Virgil's sixth book have many fine strokes of the terrible. But Dante's colouring is of a more gloomy temperature. There is a sombrous cast in his imagination: and he has given new shades of horror to the classical hell. We may say of Dante, that

Hell
Grows *darker* at his frown.

Par. L. ii. 720.

The sensations of fear impressed by the Roman poet are less harassing to the repose of the mind: they have a more equable and placid effect. The terror of Virgil's tremendous objects is diminished by correctness of composition and elegance of style. We are reconciled to his Gorgons and Hydras, by the grace of expression, and the charms of versification.

In the mean time, it may seem a matter of surprise, that the Italian poets of the thirteenth century, who restored, admired, and studied the classics, did not imitate their beauties. But while they possessed the genuine models of antiquity, their unnatural and eccentric habits of mind and manners, their attachments to system, their scholastic theology, superstition, ideal love, and above all their chivalry, had corrupted every true principle of life and literature, and consequently prevented the progress of taste and propriety. . . . The early Italian poets disfigured, instead of adorning their works, by attempting to imitate the classics. The charms which we so much admire in Dante, do not belong to the Greeks and Romans. They are derived from another origin, and must be traced back to a different stock. Nor is it at the same time less surprising, that the later Italian poets, in more enlightened times, should have paid so respectful a compliment to Dante as to acknowledge no other model, and with his excellencies, to transcribe and perpetuate all his extravagancies.

(Section xlix. ed. 1824, vol. iv. pp. 60-78.)

[Palingenius and Dante]

Barnaby Googe's *Zodiac* of Palingenius¹ was a favourite performance. . . . He seems chiefly to have excelled in rendering the descriptive and flowery passages. . . . There is some poetic imagination in *Sagittarius*, or the ninth book, where a divine mystagogue opens to the poet's eyes an unknown region of infernal kings and inhabitants. But this is an imitation of Dante.

(Section lix. ed. 1824, vol. iv. pp. 278, 282-3.)

[Chaucer and Dante—Thomas' Italian Dictionary]

The reader recollects Boccace's *Theseid* and *Troilus*, many of his Tales, and large passages from Petrarch and Dante, translated by Chaucer. But the golden mine of Italian fiction opened by Chaucer, was soon closed and forgotten. I must however premise, that the Italian language now [in the sixteenth century] began to grow fashionable, that it was explained in lexicons and grammars, written in English, and with a view to the illustration of the three principal Italian poets. So early as 1550, were published, 'Principal rules of the Italian grammar, with a dictionarie for the better understanding of Boccace, Petrarche, and Dante, gathered into this tongue by William Thomas.'² It is dedicated to sir Thomas Chaloner, an accomplished scholar. The third edition of this book is dated in 1567.

(Section lx. ed. 1824, vol. iv. p. 293.)

1785. POEMS UPON SEVERAL OCCASIONS, ENGLISH, ITALIAN, AND LATIN, WITH TRANSLATIONS, BY JOHN MILTON, VIZ. LYCIDAS, L'ALLEGRO, IL PENSEROSO, ARCADES, COMUS, ODES, SONNETS, MISCELLANIES, ENGLISH PSALMS, ELEGIARUM LIBER, EPIGRAMMATUM LIBER, SYLVARUM LIBER. WITH NOTES, CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY, AND OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS.

[The two keys in Dante and Milton]

Two massy keys he bore of metals twain,
(The golden opes, the iron shuts amain)—
(*Lycidas*, ll. 110-11.)

Saint Peter's two keys in the Gospel, seem to have supplied modern poetry with the allegoric machinery of two keys, which are variously used. In Dante's *Inferno*, the ghost of a courtier of the emperor Frederick tells Virgil, that he had possessed two keys,

¹ *Zodiacus Vitae*, written in Latin hexameters by Marcello Palingeni, an Italian, about the year 1531.

² It was written at Padua in 1548. Thomas, a bachelor in civil law at Oxford and a clergyman, is said to have been rewarded by Edward the Sixth with several preferments. [See above, pp. 38-40.]

with which he locked and unlocked his master's heart, C. xiii. And hence perhaps the two keys, although with a different application, which Nature, in Gray's Ode on the *Power of Poetry*,¹ presents to the infant Shakspeare. See also Dante, *ibid.* C. xxvii.

(p. 19.)

[Christ called 'Giove' by Dante]

Full little thought they then,
That the mighty Pan,
Was kindly come to live with them below.—
(*Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity*, ll. 88-90.)

We should recollect, that Christ is styled a shepherd in the sacred writings. Mr. Bowle² observes, that Dante calls him Jupiter, *Purgat.* C. vi. v. 118.

'O sommo Giove,
Che fosti 'n terra per noi crucifisso.'

(p. 273.)

[Dante's description of Homer applied to Milton]

And from thy wardrobe bring thy chiefest treasure,
Not those new-fangled toys, and trimming slight
Which takes our late fantasticks with delight—
(*At a Vacation Exercise*, ll. 18-20.)

This is an address to his native language. And perhaps he here alludes to Lilly's *Euphuës*, a book full of affected phraseology, which pretended to reform or refine the English language; and whose effects, although it was published some years before, still remained. The ladies and the courtiers were all instructed in this new style; and it was esteemed a mark of ignorance or unpoliteness not to understand *Euphuism*. He proceeds,

But cull those richest robes and gay'st attire,
Which deepest spirits and choicest wits desire.

From a youth of nineteen, these are striking expressions of a consciousness of superiour genius, and of an ambition to rise above the level of the fashionable rhymers. At so early an age, Milton began to conceive a contempt for the poetry in vogue; and this he seems to have retained to the last. In the *Tractate on Education*, recommending to his pupils the study of good criticks, he adds, 'This would make them soon perceive what despicable creatures our common rimers and play writers be: and shew what religious, what

¹[An error for the *Progress of Poetry*; the reference is to Stanza vii. l. 9.]²[See below, p. 372 ff.]

glorious and magnificent use might be made of poetry.' p. 110. edit. 1673. Milton's own writings are the most illustrious proof of this. For he was, as Dante says of Homer, *Infern. C. iv. 93*,

'E la bella schola
Di quel signor dell' *altissimo Canto*.'

(p. 313.)

[Dante and the *canzone*]

It is from Petrarch, that Milton mixes the *Canzone* with the *Sonetto*. Dante regarded the *Canzone* as the most perfect species of lyric composition, *Della Volg. Eloqu. c. iv.* But, for the *Canzone*, he allows more laxity than for the Sonnet. He says, when the Song is written on a grave or tragick subject, it is denominated *Canzone*, and when on a comic, *cantilena*, as diminutive.¹

(p. 334.)

[Milton's Italian sonnets]

Milton had a natural severity of mind. For love-verses, his Italian Sonnets have a remarkable air of gravity and dignity. They are free from the metaphysics of Petrarch, and are more in the manner of Dante. Yet he calls his seventh Sonnet, in a Letter printed from the Cambridge manuscript by Birch, a composition in the *Petrarchian stanza*.

(p. 338.)

[Dante and Casella]

Dante shall give Fame leave to set thee higher
Than his Casella, whom he woo'd to sing—
Met in the milder shades of Purgatory—
(*Sonnet to H. Laves*, ll. 12-14.)

Dante, on his arrival in Purgatory, sees a vessel approaching the shore, freighted with souls under the conduct of an angel, to be cleansed from their sins and made fit for Paradise. When they are disembarked, the poet recognises in the crowd his old friend Casella the musician. The interview is strikingly imagined, and, in the course of an affectionate dialogue, the poet requests a soothing air; and Casella sings, with the most ravishing sweetness, Dante's second *Canzone*. *Convit. p. 116, vol. iv. P. i. Ven. 1758. 4to.* It begins,

'Amor, che nella mente mi ragiona.'

See Dante's *Purgator. C. ii. v. 111.* The Italian commentators on the passage say, that Casella, Dante's friend, was a musician of

¹[The passage referred to by Warton occurs at the end of Chap. 8 of Book ii.; see also Chaps. 3 and 4 of the same Book.]

distinguish'd excellence. He must have died a little before the year 1300. In the Vatican library is a Ballatella, or Madrigal, inscribed *Lemmo da Pistoja, e Casella diede il suono*. That is, Lemmo da Pistoja wrote the words, which were set to musick by Casella. Num. 3214. f. 149. Crescimbeni mentions an ancient manuscript Ballatella, with Dante's words and his friend Schochetti's musick. Inscribed *Parole di Dante, e Suono di Schochetti*. 1st. *Volg. Poes.* p. 409. From many parts of his writings, Dante appears to have been a judge and a lover of musick. This is not the only circumstance in which Milton resembled Dante. By *milder shades*, our author means, shades comparatively much less horrible than those which Dante describes in the *Inferno*.
(pp. 348-9.)

[Milton's delight in Dante and Petrarch]

novus Italus &c.—

(*Ad Patrem*, l. 83.)

Milton tells Benedetto Buonmatteo, who was writing an Italian grammar, in a Latin Letter¹ dated at Florence 1638, that although he had indulged in copious draughts of Roman and Grecian literature, yet that he came with a fresh eagerness and delight to the luxuries of Dante and Petrarch, and the rest of the Italian poets; and that Athens with its pellucid Ilissus, and Rome with its banks of the Tiber, could not detain him from the Arno of Florence, and the hills of Fesole.

(p. 539.)

JOSEPH WARTON

(1722-1800)

[Joseph Warton, elder son of Thomas Warton the elder (Professor of Poetry at Oxford, 1718-1728), and brother of Thomas Warton the younger, was born at Dunsfold in Surrey in 1722. He was educated at the Grammar School at Basingstoke, of which his father was headmaster, and at Winchester, where he was elected scholar in 1735. In 1740 he went to Oriel College, Oxford, where he graduated in 1744, in which year he was ordained. After holding two livings, in 1755 Warton was appointed second master of Winchester, of which he became headmaster in 1766. On his resignation in 1793, he retired to his living of Wickham in Hampshire, where he died in 1800. He was made Prebendary of St. Paul's in 1782, and of Winchester (by Pitt) in 1788. Among Warton's friends were Dr. Johnson, Burke, Garrick, and Sir Joshua Reynolds, who painted his portrait (now in the University Gallery at Oxford). His chief literary work was *An Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope*, that 'very pleasing book,' as Dr. Johnson styled it,—of which the first volume was published

¹[For the original of this letter, see above, p. 124.]

in 1756, and the second, after an interval of twenty-five years, in 1782, a new edition of the first volume being issued at the same time. He also published an edition of Pope's works, in nine volumes, in 1797. Warton mentions and quotes Dante several times in his *Essay on Pope*; in this work he gives a prose translation of the Ugolino episode (as Baretti¹ had done before him, and as his brother² did after him) of which he says, 'I cannot recollect any passage, in any writer whatever, so truly pathetic;' and to make sure that none of the pathos shall be missed, he prints 'the more moving passages' in italics.]

1756. AN ESSAY ON THE GENIUS AND WRITINGS OF POPE. VOLUME I.

[Ariosto's satires more read than Dante]

FOR one person who can adequately relish and enjoy a work of imagination, twenty are to be found who can taste, and judge of, observations on familiar life, and the manners of the age. The Satires of Ariosto are more read than the Orlando Furioso, or even Dante. . . .

(Ed. 1806, vol. i. p. iii.)

['That wonderful original, Dante!']

The voluminous Lopez de Vega, is commonly, but perhaps incredibly, reported by the Spaniards, to have composed verses when he was five years old; and Torquato Tasso, the second or third of the Italian poets, (for that wonderful original, Dante, is the first,) is said to have recited poems and orations of his own writing when he was seven.

(*Ibid.* pp. 76-7.)

[Dante plundered by Bembo, Tasso, and others]

The works of Cardinal Bembo, and of Casa, of Annibal Caro, and Tasso himself, are full of entire lines taken from Dante and Petrarch.

(*Ibid.* p. 90 *note.*)

[Dante lived under a despotic government]

Neither Dante, Ariosto, nor Tasso, flourished in free governments; and it seems chimerical to assert, that Milton would never have written his *Paradise Lost*, if he had not seen monarchy destroyed, and the state thrown into disorder.

(*Ibid.* p. 173.)

[Dante's 'sublime and original poem']

Dante wrote his sublime³ and original poem, which is a kind of satirical epic, and which abounds in images and sentiments almost

¹[See above, pp. 261-2.]

²[See above, pp. 292-3.]

³See particularly the beginning of the third canto of the *Inferno*, as also the beginning of the sixth, particularly the inscription over the gate of Hell:

Per me si va nella città dolente;
Per me si va nell'eterno dolor, &c.
Lasciate ogni speranza, voi, che entrate.

Whence Milton,

—Hope never comes,

That comes to all—

worthy of Homer, but whose works he had never seen, about the year 1310. Giotto, the disciple of Cimabue, the friend of Dante, and subject of his praises,¹ was employed, about the same time, by Benedict XI.

(Ed. 1806, vol. i. pp. 182-3.)

[The story of Count Ugolino]

Events that have actually happened, are, after all, the properest subjects for poetry. . . . If we briefly cast our eyes over the most interesting and affecting stories, ancient or modern, we shall find that they are such, as, however adorned, and a little diversified, are yet grounded on true history, and on real matters of fact. Such, for instance, among the ancients, are the stories of Joseph, of Oedipus, the Trojan war and its consequences, of Virginia and the Horatii; such, among the moderns, are the stories of King Lear, the Cid, Romeo and Juliet, and Oroonoko. . . .

I shall only add to these, a tale literally true, which the admirable DANTE has introduced in his *Inferno*, and which is not sufficiently known: I cannot recollect any passage, in any writer whatever, so truly pathetic. Ugolino, a Florentine² Count, is giving the description of his being imprisoned with his children by the Archbishop Ruggieri. 'The hour approached when we expected to have something brought us to eat. But, instead of seeing any food appear,³ *I heard the doors of that horrible dungeon more closely barred.* I beheld my little children *in silence*, and could not weep. My heart was petrified! The little wretches wept; and my dear Anselm said, *Tu guardi sì, padre: che hai? Father, you look on us! what ails you?* I could neither weep nor answer, and continued swallowed up in silent agony all that day, and the following night, even till the dawn of day. As soon as a glimmering ray darted through the doleful prison, that I could view *again those four faces, in which my own image was impressed, I gnawed both my hands, with grief and rage.* My children believing I did this through eagerness to eat, raising themselves suddenly up, said to me, *My father! our torments would be less, if you would allay the rage of your hunger upon us.* I restrained myself, that I might not encrease their misery. *We*

¹[*Purg.* xi. 94-6.]

²[Ugolino was a Pisan, not a Florentine.]

³It was thought not improper to distinguish the more moving passages by Italics. Sir Joshua Reynolds, whose mind is stored with great and exalted ideas, has lately shewn by a picture on this subject, how qualified he is to preside at a Royal Academy, and that he has talents that ought not to be confined to portrait painting. [The latter part of this note must have been added in the edition of 1782, since Reynolds' picture of Ugolino was first exhibited in 1773, seventeen years after the publication of the first edition of this volume (1756) (see below, p. 343.)]

were all mute that day, and the following. Quel di, e l' altro, stemmo tutti muti. The fourth day being come,¹ Gaddo, falling extended at my feet, cried, *Padre mio, che non m' ajuti!* My father, why do you not help me? and died. The other three expired one after the other, between the fifth and sixth day, famished, as thou seest me now! And I, being seized with blindness, began to go groping upon them with my hands and feet; and continued calling them by their names three days after they were dead. *E tre di li chiamai poiche fur morti: then hunger vanquished my grief!*²

If this inimitable description had been found in Homer, the Greek tragedies, or Virgil, how many commentaries and panegyrics would it have given rise to? What shall we say, or think, of the genius able to produce it? Perhaps the Inferno of Dante, is the next composition to the Iliad, in point of originality and sublimity. And with regard to the Pathetic, let this tale stand a testimony of his abilities: for my own part, I truly believe it was never carried to a greater height. It is remarkable, that Chaucer appears to have been particularly struck with this tale in Dante, having highly commended this, 'grete poete of Italie,' for this narration; with a summary of which he concludes the Monke's Tale.²

(Ed. 1806, vol. i. pp. 249-53.)

[Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Dante]

It was to the *Italians* we owed any thing that could be called poetry: from whom Chaucer . . . copied largely, as *they* are said to have done from the Bards of Provence; and to which Italians he is perpetually owing his obligations, particularly to Boccace and Petrarch. But Petrarch had great advantages, which Chaucer wanted, not only in the friendship and advice of Boccace, but still more in having found such a predecessor as Dante. In the year 1359, Boccace sent to Petrarch a copy of Dante, whom he called his father, written with his own hand. And it is remarkable, that

¹ Mr. Richardson was the first that gave an English translation in blank verse of this passage of Dante, in his book, entitled a Discourse on the Dignity of the Science of a Connoisseur. London 1719, page 30. [See above, pp. 197-9.]

² Milton was particularly fond of this writer. The following passage is curious, and has not been taken notice of by the late writers of his life: Ego certè istis utrisque linguis non extremis tantummodò labris madidus; sed siquis alius, quantum per annos licuit, poculis majoribus prolutus, possum tamen nonnunquam ad illum DANTEM, et Petrarcham, aliosque vestros complusculos, libenter et cupidè comessatum ire. Nec me tam ipsae Athenae Atticae cum illo suo pellucido Ilisso, nec illa vetus Roma suâ Tiberis ripâ retinere valuerunt, quin saepe Arnum vestrum, et Faesulanos illos Colles invisere amem.' Milton. Epistol. Epist. viii. B. Bommathaeo Florentino. Michael Angelo, from a similarity of genius was fond of Dante. Both were great masters in the *Terrible*. M. Angelo made a Bas-relief on this subject, which I have seen. [See above, p. 199.]

he accompanied his present with an apology for sending this poem to Petrarch, who, it seems, was jealous of Dante, and in the answer speaks coldly of his merits.¹

(Ed. 1806, vol. i. pp. 332-3.)

[Antonio da Tempo]

Muratori, in his 1. book, *Della Perfetta Poesia*, p. 18, relates, that a very few years after the death of Dante, 1321, a most curious work on the Italian poetry was written by a M. A. di Tempo, of which he had seen a manuscript in the great library at Milan, of the year 1332, and of which this is the title: *Incipit Summa Artis Ritmici vulgaris dictaminis*.²

(*Ibid.* pp. 333-4.)

[Sudden transitions in Dante]

On the revival of literature, the first writers seemed not to have observed any *selection* in their thoughts and images. Dante, Petrarch, Boccace, Ariosto, make very sudden transitions from the sublime to the ridiculous. Chaucer, in his *Temple of Mars*, among many pathetic pictures, has brought in a strange line,

The coke is scalded for all his long ladell.³

(*Ibid.* p. 393.)

1782. AN ESSAY ON THE GENIUS AND WRITINGS OF POPE. VOLUME II.

[Sacchetti's anecdotes of Dante]

Boccace collected many of the common tales of his country, and delivered them in the purest stile, enlivened with interesting circumstances. Sacchetti published tales before him,⁴ in which are many anecdotes of Dante and his contemporaries.

(Ed. 1806, vol. ii. pp. 1-2.)

[Dante not patronised by the government of his day]

Poets have a high spirit of liberty and independence: They neither seek or expect rewards. Mecaenases do *not* create geniuses. Neither Spenser or Milton, or Dante or Tasso, or Corneille, were patronised by the governments under which they lived. And Horace, and

¹[Warton gives as his authority for this circumstance "the third volume, page 507, of the very entertaining *Memoirs of the Life of Petrarch*"—that is, the *Mémoires pour la vie de François Pétrarque*, by the Abbé de Sade (published in 1764 in 3 vols. 4to), to which he refers by name in his note on *Palamon and Arcite*, in the edition of Dryden with his notes (published in 1811), where he repeats the above statement.]

²[An edition of this treatise was published at Bologna in 1869 (in the *Collezione di Opere inedite o rare*) under the editorship of Giusto Grion.]

³[*Knights Tale*, l. 1162.]

⁴[This is an error—Boccaccio (1313-1375) was the predecessor of Sacchetti (1335-1400).]

Virgil, and Boileau, were *formed* before they had an opportunity of flattering Augustus and Lewis XIV.

(Ed. 1806, vol. ii. p. 206.)

[Manetti's description of Dante]

The portrait of Dante is thus given, in the curious and entertaining history of his life by Jannot. Manettus, a celebrated writer of the fifteenth century, but not published till 1746, at Florence.¹ Dante, he says, was of a becoming and middle stature, had a long face, very large eyes, an aquiline nose, broad cheeks, an under-lip that projected a little, a dark complexion, a beard and hair long, black, and curling.²

(*Ibid.* pp. 221-2.)

[Dante and Brunetto Latini]

'Tis dangerous to disoblige a great poet or painter. Dante placed his master *Brunetto* in his *Inferno*.³ . . . And *Michael Angelo* placed the Pope's master of the ceremonies, *Biaggio*, in hell, in his Last Judgment.

(*Ibid.* p. 371 note.)

1797. THE WORKS OF ALEXANDER POPE, ESQ. WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.⁴

[Dante's place in a history of English Poetry]

Pope is said to have planned, at different times, *three* Works that he did not finish. *One* was, a Translation of Passages of Greek Poets of different *Ages*, as Specimens of their different *Manners*. *Another*, was the History of the Rise and Progress of Poetry in England, which he divided into six different Schools: 1. The School of Provence; 2. of Chaucer; 3. of Petrarch; 4. of Dante, 5. of Spencer, and Translators from Italian; 6. of Donne. The *other* and third Work, was no less than an *Epic* Poem, the subject of which was *Brutus*, grandson of *Aeneas*.

(Vol. i. p. lxiii.)

GEORGE COLMAN AND BONNELL THORNTON

(1732-1794)

(1724-1768)

[George Colman the elder, the well-known dramatist, was born in Florence (where his father was British envoy) in 1732. He was educated at Westminster,

¹[The lives of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, written in Latin, by Giannozzo Manetti (1396-1459), were printed at Florence in 1747.]

²[Manetti's description of Dante is taken almost verbatim from that of Boccaccio in his *Vita di Dante*.]

³[*Inf.* xv. 30.]

⁴[In nine volumes.]

and at Christ Church, Oxford, where he graduated in 1755, and in the same year he was called to the bar. He soon abandoned the bar for literature, and in 1760 his first dramatic attempt was produced at Drury Lane. Altogether he was responsible for some thirty dramatic pieces, besides translations from Terence and Horace, and miscellaneous essays. Colman, who was manager of Covent Garden Theatre from 1767 to 1774, and of the Haymarket from 1777 to 1789, died insane in 1794. In January 1754, while still at Oxford, Colman in conjunction with his friend Bonnell Thornton, brought out *The Connoisseur*, which was continued for 140 numbers until September 1756. In No. 120, in a paper on 'taste,' Dante is mentioned as the author of 'tasteful compositions,' in company with Homer, Virgil, Tasso, and Ariosto.

Bonnell Thornton, Colman's literary partner, was born in 1724 in London, his father being an apothecary. In 1739 he was elected a scholar of Westminster, whence he went to Christ Church, Oxford, in 1743. He was intended for the medical profession, and took the degree of M.B. at Oxford in 1754, but he preferred literature to which he had devoted himself while still at Oxford. In 1754 he formed a literary alliance with George Colman the elder, the first-fruits of which was *The Connoisseur* mentioned above. Thornton died in London in 1768. One of his most successful productions was a burlesque *Ode on Saint Cecilia's Day*, which was set to music by Dr. Burney, and performed at Ranelagh, and which 'much diverted' Dr. Johnson.]

1756. May 13. THE CONNOISSEUR. NO. 120.

[The 'tasteful compositions' of Tasso, Dante, and Ariosto]

TASTE is at present the darling idol of the polite world, and the world of letters; and indeed seems to be considered as the quintessence of almost all the arts and sciences. . . . Should I attempt to define it in the style of a Connoisseur, I must run over the names of all the famous poets, painters, and sculptors, ancient and modern; and after having pompously harangued on the excellencies of Apelles, Phidias, Praxitelles, Angelo, Rubens, Poussin, and Dominichino, with a word or two on all tasteful compositions, such as those of Homer, Virgil, Tasso, Dante, and Ariosto. I should leave the reader in wonder of my profound erudition, and as little informed as before.

WILLIAM HUGGINS

(1696-1761)

[William Huggins, translator of Ariosto and Dante, was born in 1696; he was the son of John Huggins, Warden of the Fleet Prison, who is described by Granger in a letter to Ducarel as 'that cruel Keeper of the Fleet Prison, who was punished for the ill-treatment of his prisoners' (see below, p. 341). Huggins went in 1712 to Magdalen College, Oxford, of which he became a Fellow in 1722. He originally intended to take holy orders, but in 1721 he accepted an appointment as wardrobe-keeper at Hampton Court. About 1750 he went to reside at Headly Park, Hampshire, where he died in 1761. In 1755 a translation of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, of the bulk of which he was the author, was published in two volumes, with a dedication to George II, signed by Temple Henry Croker, who with others had translated six or seven of the cantos for Huggins. In consequence apparently of an attempt on the part of Croker to claim the whole translation as his own, Huggins in 1757 issued the translation afresh with his own name on the title-page, and with

the addition of a prolegomenon and annotations; and in 1759 he published separately a translation under his own name of Cantos 21-22, 25-27, 33, 40, and 37,—presumably those which in the original issue had been translated by other hands than his own. Presentation copies of these volumes from Huggins are in the library of Magdalen College, to which he also presented a valuable portrait (painted by Wright in 1672) of Prince Rupert. In 1756 Huggins published anonymously *The Observer Observ'd*, in which he combated certain opinions concerning Ariosto, which Thomas Warton had printed in his *Observations on the Fairy Queen*. Of this dispute Dr. Johnson remarked, 'It appears to me, that Huggins has ball without powder, and Warton powder without ball.' At his death Huggins left in MS. a complete translation of the *Divina Commedia*, with directions that it should be published. He also had his portrait painted and engraved by Hogarth (whose friend and patron he was), with the bust of Ariosto in the background on one side, and a tablet with the names of the three Cantiche of the *Commedia* on the other, which was to serve as a frontispiece to his Dante. The translation, however, was never published, and consequently Huggins has been deprived of the credit of being the first to make a complete English translation of the *Divina Commedia*,—a distinction which is commonly claimed for Henry Boyd, whose version was not published till more than forty years after Huggins' death. A specimen of Huggins' version, which was printed anonymously in the *British Magazine* for 1760, is given below. In the *Monthly Magazine* for Nov., 1801, and April, 1803, enquiries were made as to the fate of this translation, but without result. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for June, 1805, reference is made to a proposal for a translation of Dante, which was to be issued by Henry Payne, the bookseller of Paternoster Row, and a specimen of which, from the third canto of the *Inferno*, was annexed to the prospectus. This was not improbably the translation left by Huggins. (See below, p. 671.) According to William Stewart Rose (in the introduction to his translation of the *Orlando Furioso*) Huggins 'was passionately devoted to music, and was said to be a great proficient in it, and to have been the person who figures in Hogarth's picture as the Enraged Musician.' Rose adds that he knows 'no better reason for Huggins' translation of Ariosto, than his having made a journey to Italy,' which may perhaps account also for his translation of Dante.]

1757. ORLANDO FURIOSO, BY LUDOVICO ARIOSTO. TRANSLATED FROM THE ITALIAN, BY WILLIAM HUGGINS, ESQ.¹

[Rolli on Ariosto and Dante]

THE ingenious Mr. Rolli says, in his Tract printed 1728; *Remarks on Voltaire's Essay on Epic Poetry*,² wherein Milton and the Italian Poets are not a little mal-treated, p. 27. 'There never was so long a Poem as Orlando Furioso of Ariosto; but I never yet heard of anybody, that read it, even in translations, who did not regret that it was no longer.' And in p. 32 the author further says, 'But what is become of Ariosto? etc. Ariosto, called by all Italy, *Omero Ferrarese—Divino Ariosto*, a title given only to him and Dante.'

(Vol. ii. *Prolegomenon*, p. 2.)

[Dante's devils borrowed by Ariosto]

'Credo fusse un Alchino o un Farfarello'

(Canto vii. St. 50.)

¹[This same translation had been issued in 1755, without Huggins' name on the title-page. The *Prolegomenon* and *Annotations* were added in this second issue (see above, preliminary notice).]

²[See above, pp. 214-16.]

Alchino and Farfarello, are the names of devils, in Dante; but would have an ill effect here: therefore general terms are substituted
(Vol. ii. *Annotations*, p. 12.)

1760. THE BRITISH MAGAZINE, OR MONTHLY REPOSITORY FOR GENTLEMEN AND LADIES.

Dante Il Purgatorio
Canto XI

O Padre Nostro, che ne' cieli stai, &c.¹

Sicut meus mos
As literally as possible.

Our Father blest, who art in Heav'n above
Not circumscrib'd; but thro' consummate love,
Which to those primal essences you bear,
Thy name be hallowed; thy power rare,
By ev'ry creature: as it is but meet,
All thanks be render'd to thy effluence sweet:
Advance to us the peace of thy wish'd reign,
As, of ourselves, to that we can't attain,
If it comes not, with all our skill humane.

As, in the heav'ns, thy angels of their will
Make sacrifice, and sing Hosanna still,
So, may, on earth, mankind thy law fulfil.

Our daily manna give to us this day,
Without it, thro' this wild and thorny way,
Who strives to travel, will more backward stray.

And, like as are those wrongs, which we receive,
In others pardon, so thy pardon give
Benignant: nor survey our merit small,
And feeble virtue, so propense to fall,
Suffer not our old enemy to tempt;
But, from his punctures keep us still exempt.

*Amen.*²

(Vol. i. No. 5, p. 266.)

JOHN UPTON

(1707-1760)

[John Upton, second son of James Upton, sometime assistant master at Eton, was born at Taunton in 1707. He matriculated at Merton College, Oxford, in 1724,

¹[The first seven *terzine* of *Purg.* xi. are here printed in the original.]

²[This translation is printed anonymously; it is assigned to Huggins by the writer of his biography in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.]

and was elected a Fellow of Exeter College in 1728. He held several preferments, and in 1737 was made Prebendary of Rochester. He died at Taunton in 1760. In 1758 Upton published an edition of the *Faerie Queene*, with notes, in which he pointed out a number of parallels between Spenser and Dante. That there is occasional similarity of expression between the two poets is undeniable, but that Spenser consciously imitated Dante, as Upton supposed, is very doubtful. (See above, p. 81.) However, Upton's notes show, at any rate, that he himself had read the *Divina Commedia* with some attention.]

1758. SPENSER'S FAERIE QUEENE. A NEW EDITION WITH A GLOSSARY, AND NOTES EXPLANATORY AND CRITICAL.

[Parallels between Spenser and Dante]

A LIBERTY Spenser takes which would be quite unpardonable, if not authorised by the old poets; and that is of altering a letter.

But temperance, said he, with golden *squire*
Betwixt them both can measure out a meane,
Nether to meet in pleasures whott *desire*—

(Bk. ii. Cant. i. St. 58.)

Squire is for *square*. So Dante uses *lome* for *lume*.

Non fiere gli occhi suoi lo dolce *lome*?

Inferno, C. x. [l. 69].

(*Preface*, vol. i. p. xxxvii.)

Spenser calls Q. Eliz. 'the argument of his stile' (Introd. St. iv.): so in other passages and in Bk. 3. Cant. 4. St. 3.

As thee, O queen, the matter of my song.

which seems expressed after Dante. Parad. Canto i. [l. 12].

Sarà hora materia del mi' canto.

(Vol. ii. p. 334.)

Whose loftie trees, yclad with sommer's pride,
Did spred so broad, that heaven's light did hide,
Not perceable with power of any starr.

(Bk. i. Cant. i. St. 7.)

. . . Our knight is got into a wood, where he amuses himself till he loses his way. . . More of the allegory I shall speak of hereafter: but I must not forget that Dante opens his poem with this very same allegory,

Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita

Mi ritrovai per una selva oscura,

Che la diretta via era smarrita.

Inferno, Canto i. [ll. 1-3].

(Vol. ii. pp. 338-9.)

Much can they praise the trees so straight and hy.

(Bk. i. Cant. i. St. 8.)

. . . Methinks in this poetical description of various trees, Spenser is superior to all the poets who have indulged their luxuriant fancy in such descriptions . . . what are these trees and labyrinths, but the various amusements and errors of human life? So Horace and Dante apply the similitude.

(Vol. ii. p. 339.)

This is the wandering wood, this Errour's den :

A monster vile.

(Bk. i. Cant. i. St. 13.)

. . . It is very plain to me that Spenser had Dante in view. . . . Fraud, says Boccace, . . . is the daughter of Erebus and Night. . . . Her form and shape Dante thus describes : Her face is a human face ; but the rest of her body is serpentine ; she is variously spotted all over, and her tail is pointed with the sting of a scorpion : she swims in the waters of Cocytus, so as to be careful to hide all her body, and show nothing but her face.

Ecco la fiera con la coda aguzza—

Et quella sozza imagine di froda

Sen' venne ; e arrivò la testa e 'l busto ;

Ma 'n su la riva non trasse la coda.

La faccia sua era faccia d' huom giusto,

Tanto benigna havea di fuor la pelle ;

E d' un serpento tutto l' altro fusto.

(Inferno, Canto xvii. [ll. 1-12].)

(Vol. ii. pp. 341-2.)

Yet was in boughs and many knots upwound,

Pointed with mortal sting.

(Bk. i. Cant. i. St. 15.)

. . . So Dante in his description of the same monster,

Nel vano tutta sua coda guizzava

Torcendo 'n su la venenosa forca,

Ch' à guisa di scorpion la punta armava.

[Inferno, C. xvii. 25-7.]

(Vol. ii. p. 342.)

And turning fierce her speckled taile advaunst.

(Bk. i. Cant. i. St. 17.)

. . . So this monster is described by Dante,
Lo dosso, e 'l petto, et amendue le coste
Dipinte avea di nodi et di rotelle.

Inferno, C. xvii. [ll. 14-15].

(Vol. ii. p. 343.)

But when his [the Nile's] later spring gins to avale.

(Bk. i. Cant. i. St. 21.)

. . . Spenser uses Dante's expression,
Vengon di là, ove 'l Nilo s' avvalla.

Infern. C. xxxiv. [l. 45].

(Vol. ii. p. 344.)

The God obeyde, and calling forth straightway
A diverse dream out of his prison darke.

(Bk. i. Cant. i. St. 44.)

A dream that would occasion diversity and distraction: or from
the *Ital. Sogno diverso*, a frightful, hideous dreame.

Cerbero fiera crudele e diversa.

Dante, Infern. C. vi. [l. 13].

(Vol. ii. p. 351.)

He pluckt a bough; out of whose rifte there came
Small drops of gory bloud, that trickled down the same.

(Bk. i. Cant. ii. St. 30.)

I believe that the reader need not be put in mind, that this
wonderful tale (so well adapted to the genius of romance) is taken
from Virgil. . . . Compare Dante Inferno, Canto xiii. [ll. 28 ff.].

(Vol. ii. p. 359.)

Her neather partes, mishapen, monstruous,
Were hidd in water, that I could not see.

(Bk. i. Cant. ii. St. 41.)

So Fraud, of which Duessa is a type, is imaged by Dante
swimming in the river Styx, and concealing her mishapen, mon-
strous, neather parts. [Inferno C. xvii. 19 ff.]

(Vol. ii. p. 360.)

His bleeding hart is in the venger's hand.

(Bk. i. Cant. iii. St. 20.)

i.e. His bleeding heart is in the paws of the lion, which re-
venged her cause. . . . I might mention . . . Dante, *Inferno* C.
vi. [l. 17] in his description of Cerberus,

E 'l ventre largo, e unghiate le mani.

(Vol. ii. p. 364.)

There never creature past
That backe returned without heavenly grace.

(Bk. i. Cant. v. St. 31.)

The Sibyl informs Aeneas that the descent into hell was easy,
but to reascend was the difficulty: twas true however that a few
had this privilege, a few of *heavenly grace* . . . We must not
lose sight of the scripture throughout this whole first book: for our
knight is the Christian hero, and Una Christian truth: if the poet
mixes any heathen mythology, 'tis no more than what other poets
have likewise done, who have professedly written on christian sub-
jects, such as Dante among the Italians, and our divine epic poet,
Milton.

(Vol. ii. 380.)

The House of endlesse Paine—

(Bk. i. Cant. v. St. 33.)

Dante calls it 'doloroso hospitio,' *Inferno* C. v. [l. 16], and men-
tions the following inscription over the gates of hell, C. iii [ll. 1-3].

Per me si va nella città dolente :

Per me si va nell' eterno dolore :

Per me si va tra la perduta gente.

. . . The entrance into this House of Paine, is guarded by a
three-headed monstrous dog, which Night appeases. How does
Night appease Cerberus? Like the Sibyl in Virgil? . . . Or like
Virgil in Dante?

E 'l duca mio distese le sue spanne,

Prese la terra, e con piene le pugna,

La gittò dentro alle bramose canne.

[*Inf. C. vi. 25-7.*]

(Vol. ii. p. 380.)

But very uncouth sight—

For as he forward mov'd—

So backward still was turned his wrinckled face.

(Bk. i. Cant. viii. St. 31.)

This picture seems plainly taken from the following description of the punishment which is allotted in hell to soothsayers, and augurs, etc.

Com' el viso mi scese in lor più basso,
 Mirabilmente apparve esser travolto
 Ciascun dal mento al principio del casso :
 Che dalle reni era tornato 'l volto,
 E indietro venir li convenia,
 Perchè 'l veder dinanzi era lor tolto.

Dante, *Infern.* C. xx. [ll. 10-15].

This punishment in Dante is proper for these hypocrites, who professed seeing *forward*, they now see only *backward*.

(Vol. ii. pp. 396-7.)

O let me not, quoth he, then turne againe
 Backe to the world, whose joyes so fruitlesse are.
 (Bk. i. Cant. x. St. 63.)

Compare . . . Dante *Parad.* C. xxii. [ll. 134-5].

E vidi questo globo
 Tal, ch' io sorrisi del suo vil sembiante.
 (Vol. ii. p. 411.)

His flaggy wings . . . were like two sails.
 (Bk. i. Cant. xi. St. 10.)

. . . So Dante, *Infern.* Canto xxxiv. [ll. 46-50].

Sotto ciascun uscivan duo grand' ali,
 Quanto si conveniva a tant' uccello ;
 Vele di mar non vid' io mai cotali :
 Non aven penne, ma di vispistrello
 Era lor modo.
 (Vol. ii. p. 414.)

Singing before th' eternall majesty
 In their trinall triplicities on hye.
 (Bk. i. Cant. xii. St. 39.)

The scripture mentions several orders and degrees of angels : from whom Dionysius the Areopagite, and others, have distributed them into nine orders, and these orders they have reduced to three hierarchies. . . . This is the *trinall triplicities*, of Spenser; *tre volte squadre*, of Tasso; the *triple degrees*, of Milton. See Thom. Aquinas. Quaest. cviii. *De ordinatione Angelorum*

secundum Hierarchias et Ordines. And Dante Parad. Canto xxviii.

(Vol. ii. p. 426.)

The waves thereof so slow and sluggish were,
Engrost with mud, which did them fowle agrise,
That every weighty thing they did upbeare.

(Bk. ii. Cant. vi. St. 46.)

It seems to me that Spenser had in view the lake Asphaltus, or Asphaltites, commonly called the Dead Sea, when he wrote this description of the Idle Lake. . . . Dante likewise, Infern. Cant. viii. [l. 31] hence imaged that dead and sluggish lake which he names *la morta gora*.

(Vol. ii. p. 459.)

But a faint shadow of uncertein light.

(Bk. ii. Cant. vii. St. 29.)

. . . Come suol la sera
Guardar l' un l' altro sotto nuova luna.

Dante, Infern. xv. [l. 19].

(Vol. ii. p. 463.)

Not such as earth out of her fruitful womb
Throwes forth to men . . .
But direful deadly black both leafe and bloom.

(Bk. ii. Cant. vii. St. 51.)

'Tis not unlikely that Spenser imaged the *direful deadly and black fruits*, which this infernal garden bears, from a like garden, which Dante describes, Infern. C. xiii.

Non frondi verdi, ma di color fosco,
Non rami schietti, ma nodosi e 'nvolti,
Non pomi v' eran, ma stecchi con toscò.

(Vol. ii. p. 465.)

As thee, O queene, the matter of my song.

(Bk. iii. Cant. iv. St. 3.)

. . . Sarà hora materia del mio canto.

Dante Parad. Canto i. [l. 12].

(Vol. ii. p. 539.)

As withered weed through cruell winter's tine,
 That feels the warmth of sunny beames reflection,
 Lifts up his head that did before decline,
 And gins to spread his leafe before the fair sunshine.
 (Bk. iv. Cant. xii. St. 34.)

. . . Dante Inferno, Canto ii. [ll. 127-9].

Quali i fioretti dal notturno cielo,
 Chinati e chiusi, poi che 'l sol gl' imbianca
 Si drizzan tutti aperti in loro stelo.
 (Vol. ii. p. 610.)

VINCENZIO MARTINELLI

(fl. 1750)

[Vincenzio Martinelli, an Italian teacher in London, printed in 1758, in *Lettere Familiari e Critiche* (Londra, presso Giovanni Nourse), two letters in Italian addressed to the third Earl of Orford (nephew of Horace Walpole), on the subject of Dante, in the course of which he attacks Voltaire for his contemptuous remarks about the *Divina Commedia* in his article on Dante, published originally in 1756 in his *Mélanges de Littérature*, and afterwards (1764) incorporated in his *Dictionnaire Philosophique*. Martinelli says in his *Istoria Critica della Vita Civile* (1764) that it was Voltaire's remarks upon Dante and the burlesque translation in his *Essay on Epic Poetry*, which he resented ('Monsieur Voltaire nel suo Trattato sopra il Poema Epico, stampato in Londra in lingua inglese, parla con sommo disprezzo di questo Poema di Dante, e ne traduce un passo burlescamente; ma l'autore di questa Istoria, in due sue lettere al co. di Orford, pettina ferreamente il giudizio temerario di Monsieur Voltaire su questo autore, e dimostra la sua ignoranza fino del titolo del Poema di Dante; avendo preso quella sua Comedia come implicante soggetto di buffoneria'); but this is a slip on his part, since Voltaire did not give any translation from Dante in that Essay (see above, p. 205). These two letters of Martinelli's were reprinted in the edition of Dante published in Paris by Marcel Prault in 1768, and provoked a reply from Voltaire, in the shape of a letter (No. xii of his *Lettres Chinoises*, published in 1776) 'Sur le Dante et sur un pauvre homme nommé Martinelli' (see above, pp. 212-13).]

1758. LETTERE FAMILIARI E CRITICHE.¹

[Martinelli on Dante and the *Divina Commedia*]

LETTERA al Signor Conte d' Orford,² sopra Dante.—Il comando, che V. E. mi da perchè io la faccia un dettaglio della condizione di Dante, e in che principalmente consista il merito del suo Poema, è un principio di quel lodevolissimo metodo in cui mancano quasi tutti gl' insegnanti d'ogni Lingua, e specialmente della Latina, quale è quello d'informar prima lo studente del carattere e delle circostanze dell' Autore, de i motivi ch' egli ebbe

¹[Imprint, Londra, presso Giovanni Nourse.]

²[George Walpole, 3rd Earl of Orford (1730-1791), nephew of Horace Walpole, who succeeded him as 4th Earl. Martinelli dates his letter from London.]

di scrivere le cose che scrisse, e quindi in grosso del contenuto di esse, e dove consiste principalmente il loro valore. . . .

Venghiamo a Dante. Nacque Dante in Firenze di una famiglia principalissima in quella Republica. Erano allora i Fiorentini divisi in due partiti, Guelfi e Ghibellini. I Guelfi tenevano della parte del Papa, i Ghibellini di quella dell' Imperatore. Dante era del partito de i Ghibellini, i quali, essendo prevalsi da i Guelfi, Dante fu tra i mandati in esilio. Quindi vagando in varie parti d' Italia, Cane della Scala, Signore di Verona, lo tenne un tempo presso di sè, dipoi il Signor da Polenta, Principe di Ravenna, lo ricoverò, e finalmente gli diè sepoltura. Verso l' età di trent' anni, prima d'andare in esilio compose Dante parte del suo Poema, l'altra parte terminò essendo in esilio. Dante diede al suo Poema il titolo di Comedia per aver' in esso descritta la vita privata, siccome col titolo di Tragedia chiamò quello della Eneade per aver quivi Virgilio cantati eroici avvenimenti. . . . Divise Dante il suo Poema in tre parti, Inferno, Purgatorio, e Paradiso, figurando un suo viaggio in ognuna di queste tre regioni, condotto per le prime due da Virgilio, per la terza da Beatrice, che fu una sua innamorata, passata già tra i Beati, della famiglia de i Portinari. La sua discesa in Inferno è in gran parte una imitazione di quella d' Enea, ma la divisione ingegnossissima di questa prima ragione, non meno che delle altre due è parto tutto della fantasia immaginosissima di questo Autore. In quei luoghi di pene, di purgazione, e di beatitudine, pone Dante quelle Persone che le storie ci anno additate, secondo le azioni loro meritevoli di occupare quei luoghi che Dante assegna loro. È però da avvertire che Dante siccome abbiamo detto era del partito de i Ghibellini, e non potendosi vendicare altrimenti de i Guelfi suoi nemici, che lo avevano condannato all' esilio, ei condanna molti di loro all' Inferno.

Tre sono i sistemi, che imprende il Poeta a spiegare in questo Poema, il Teologico, il Filosofico, e l' Astronomico, quali correvano come più ricevuti nei tempi che egli viveva. Agguaglia Dante in questo Poema, quanto alla cognizione delle arti d'ogni sorte, qualunque de gli anteriori, ma in profondità di sapere, e in forza d' immaginazione supera ognuno. Egli oltre a questo prova d'aver superato qualunque altro Poeta anco in ingegno, poichè laddove Omero e Virgilio cantarono in lingua di già adulte, e che allora si parlavano nella maggior perfezione, essendo la lingua Italiana ancor bambina, Dante fù obbligato di creare la maggior parte di quella, colla quale formò il suo Poema, ciò che fece con tanta felicità, che laddove dicevano di Virgilio che cavava oro e stercore *Ennii*, oro finissimo sono ancora dopo quattro secoli i versi di Dante. . . .

Concluderò adunque con dire che Dante a dati i primi momenti al bello, e al sublime della lingua Italiana, e ne è ancora riguardato

come il principale sostegno, ed ornamento. Di Dante non si può dire come generalmente si dice di ogni altro Poeta, che non sono ne i loro Poemi bellezze o invenzioni, le quali in Omero non sieno, perchè Omero resuscitò al mondo Letterario in Italia in tempo che Dante era morto. Le sue similitudini in grandissima parte sono bellissime e sforzo unicamente del suo ingegno, le sue descrizioni vivaci all' ultimo segno e sommamente originali, e il suo sublime risulta dall' altezza e insieme profonda verità di pensieri spiegati con parole le più comuni, ed è questo quel sublime, che Longino sopra ogni altro commenda. La critica ordinaria, che i superficiali della Letteratura Italiana fanno dello stile di Dante, è di duro e d'oscuro. Oscurità più o meno si trova in tutti gli Autori antichi, che non si possono intendere, se prima il lettore non si erudisce de i fatti che essi trattano, i quali posti in chiaro l'oscurità cessa subito. Quanto a una certa durezza particolarmente nel libro dell' Inferno Dante ve l'usava con arte maestrevolissima, non essendo decente il trattare di Demonj, di peccatori, e d' atrocità di pene, con uno stilo molle e delicato. V. E. colla lettura di pochi canti mediante la perspicacia del suo ingegno troverà questa che i falsi critici chiamano durezza essere veramente eleganza e maestà di parlare propria massimamente di questo Poeta, e in mezzo a quel tanto lugubre, quando il soggetto lo porta, troverà anco un tenero Tibulliano, ma più efficace e più interessante il lettore nella passione che rappresenta. Un' esempio solo basterà alla penetrazione di V. E. per darle un' idea del rimanente. Trova Dante alla fine del canto V. dell' Inferno, nel luogo ove sono puniti i carnali, Francesca, figliuola di Guido da Polenta, Signor di Ravenna, maritata a Lancilotto, uomo deforme di corpo, figliuolo di Malatesta, Signor di Rimini, insieme con Paolo, avventurissimo Cavaliere, fratello di Lancilotto, e da esso uccisi ambi due in adulterio. Dante fa dire a Francesca chi ella fosse, e quale il fallo che la condusse in quel luogo.

Siede la terra, dove nata fui, etc.¹

V. E. adunque non si lasci ingannare dal discorso vano, arbitrario e falso, che a pubblicato toccante questo venerabilissimo Autore, *Monsieur Voltaire*, i cui errori, e forse anco non picciola invidia alla gran fama di sì grand' uomo, io penso di porle in chiaro con altra mia, a fine di dilegualle qualunque erronea opinione le potesse aver fatta concepire di questo veramente divino Autore la inetta critica o piuttosto insipida maldicenza che *Voltaire* in quella sua mal connessa lettera ebbe la semplicità di dare alle stampe. . . .

(pp. 216 ff.)

¹[Martinelli here quotes *Inf.* v. 97-142 in the original, which he accompanies with notes.]

[Martinelli on Voltaire's criticisms of Dante]

Lettera al medesimo, sullo stesso soggetto.¹—Monsieur *Voltaire* per non lasciare niuna delle Provincie della letteratura intentata a voluto abbracciare anco quella della Critica. I Poeti Italiani sono stati uno de i principali articoli, su i quali, scostandosi da quello che di loro anno pensato i più sapienti e i più giudiziosi d' ogni nazione, si è a suo modo largamente diffuso. Dante che gl' Italiani anno sempre, da che ei comparve alla luce, riguardato come il padre più venerabile della loro lingua, e il fonte d' ogni sapienza, alle mani di questo Minosse de i Poeti più celebri è divenuto un oggetto di ridicolo, un Autore di bassissima sfera. Entra *Voltaire* in questa Arena con una perfetta ignoranza del significato del titolo. Dante intitolò il suo Poema Comedia, e chiamò Tragedia l' Eneade, siccome mi diedi l' onore di dire a V.E. nella mia precedente. . . . Ebrio di questo maiuscolo errore *Voltaire* procede a porre in ridicolo il Poeta per non trovare nel suo Poema quel burlesco che egli puerilmente suppone doversi di necessità contenere in un Poema che porti il titolo di Comedia. Passa quindi colla più allegra franchezza del mondo a ridersi degli Italiani per aver posto Dante nel rango de gli Epici. . . . Dice che la reputazione di Dante procede da una ventina di tratti che vanno per le bocche di molti, ma che nel resto nessun lo legge, proseguendo colla più solenne contraddizione a osservare, che i Fiorentini eressero una Cattedra apposta per un Professore che lo spiegasse pubblicamente. Giovan Batista Pasquali nella sua edizione che ne fece in Venezia l' anno 1751 col commento del P. Venturi Gesuita, che è il più breve e il più giudizioso di tutti gli anteriori, nota cinquanta sette edizioni di Dante oltre la sua. Lascio considerare a V.E. se d'un libro che non si legge sia possibile che i librari smaltiscano tante edizioni. Per fare un pasticcio richissimo di spropositi entra il nostro Critico a parlare de i partiti che erano a tempo di Dante in Firenze, e dice che non bastando a i Fiorentini le lor fazioni di Bianchi e Neri vollono anco quella de i Guelfi e Ghibellini. . . . Ma Mr. *Voltaire* non a letto le cose che riguardano Dante che sul Dizionario di Bayle, o d'altri, le notizie de i quali sono la maggior parte spurie, deformi,² non avendo avuto gli Autori di esse ne comodo ne tempo da leggere i libri originali da i quali per chi vuol dire il vero è necessario cavarle. Dice anche come Dante essendo in esilio andò in Francia, e passò alcun tempo presso Federico d' Aragona Re di Sicilia. Ma Leonardo Aretino Istoricissimo, e che più accuratamente d' ogni altro ne scrisse la vita, e notò ogni sua peregrinazione, non fa la minima menzione di queste due. . . . Per rendere la sua Istoriotta

¹[Dated from London.]

²[These words are quoted by Voltaire in his *Lettre Chinoise* XII, on Dante and Martinelli (see above, p. 212).]

di Dante completa in via di spropositi dice che Dante compose il suo Poema essendo in esilio. Leonardo Aretino nella Vita di Dante dice così: *Questa sua principale opera cominciò Dante avanti la cacciata sua, e dipoi in esilio la finì.* E circa lo essere questo Poema stato sempre letto da pochi, come gratuitamente *Voltaire* asserisce, chiunque si darà la pena di leggere le Novelle 114 e 115 della prima parte di Franco Sacchetti troverà come non solo si leggeva il Poema di Dante mentre ei visse, ma troverà ancora che quella parte la quale egli compose prima di lasciar la patria era saputa a mente e cantata per le strade dalla plebe più infima, mentre nelle suddette novelle sono mentovati due casi, dove un Manescalco, e un Contadino che detto libro di Dante cantavano pubblicamente storpiandone, come il volgo far d' ogni cosa, la dizione, Dante non potendo tener la collera li battè tutti due, vituperando gli e riprendendo gli acerrimamente perche il suo Poema in sifatta maniera guastassero. Non contento il gentilissimo nostro Critico di pubblicare tutte le falsità notate di sopra toccante questo veramente meraviglioso Poeta, a voluto coronar l'Opera, fermo stante nel male accorto pensiero, che Dante, accausa dello avere al suo Poema dato il titolo di Comedia, avesse inteso di trattare il suo soggetto burlescamente, con tradurre un pezzo del Canto XXVII. dell' Inferno, dove l'Autore introduce il Conte Guido da Montefeltro a narrare le colpe per le quali è condannato, senza punto seguire la verità del senso, e in uno stile pulcinellesco, dove l' originale a in molti luoghi grandissima proprietà e maestà di pensieri non meno che di espressioni. Per non tediare V. Ecc^{za} con troppo lunga diceria mi contenterò di riportare un sol passo dell' originale di esso Canto, e quindi la versione che *Voltaire* ne a fatta.

Mentre ch' io forma fui d' ossa e di polpe,

Che la madre mi diè, l' opere mie

Non furon leonine, ma di volpe.

Gli accorgimenti e le coperte vie

I' seppi tutte, e sì menai lor arte,

Ch' al fine della terra il suono uscìe.

Quando i' mi vidi giunto in quella parte

Di mia età, dove ciascun dovrebbe

Calar le vele, e raccoglièr le sarte,

Ciò che pria mi piaceva allor m' increbbe,

E pentuto e confesso mi rendei;

Ahi miser lasso, e giovato sarebbe.

Or senta per amor del Cielo V. E. la stupida traduzione che *Voltaire* fa di questo passo,

Quand j'étois sur la terre,

Vers Rimini je fis longtemps la guerre

Moins, je l' avoue, en Héros qu'en fripon

*L'art de fourber me fit un grand renom,
 Mais quand mon chef eut porté poil grison,
 Tems de retraite où convient la sagesse,
 Le repentir vint ronger ma vieillesse,
 Et j'eu recours à la confession
 Oh repentir tardif et peu durable !¹*

Da quanto è esposto fin qui a V. E. toccante l' Istoria e il giudizio che *Voltaire* a francamente publicato di Dante Ella vede che conto debba farsi di una tal Critica, dove cominciando dal titolo e procedendo al fine del rimanente non si trova una sillaba di verità. . . .

(pp. 227 ff.)

HARLEIAN MSS. AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM

1759. CATALOGUE OF THE HARLEIAN COLLECTION OF MSS. PURCHASED BY THE AUTHORITY OF PARLIAMENT, FOR THE USE OF THE PUBLICK; AND PRESERVED IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.²

[MSS. of Dante in the Harleian Collection]

No. 3459, and 3460. Alghieri Dantis, de Inferno, Purgatorio, et Paradiso, Poemata. XV.

No. 3488. Alghieri Dante, Comedia dell' Inferno, et del' Paradiso:³ con l' espositione. XV.

No. 3513. Alghieri Dante, Comedia dell' Inferno, del Purgatorio, et del Paradiso. . . . Libro della vita di Dante. XV.

No. 3581. Alghieri Dante, Comedia dell' Inferno, del Purgatorio, et del Paradiso. XV.

(Vol. ii.)

OLIVER GOLDSMITH

(1728-1774)

[Oliver Goldsmith was born at Pallas, co. Longford, in November, 1728. He entered Trinity College, Dublin (where he was a contemporary of Burke) as a sizar in 1744, and graduated B.A. in 1749. In 1752 he went to Edinburgh to study medicine, and in the next year he went to Leyden. In 1755 he travelled through France, Germany, and Switzerland, to Italy, where he is supposed to have visited Venice. He returned to England in 1756, and became an usher in a school at Peckham; in 1757 he wrote for the *Monthly Review*, and in 1759 he published his

¹[See above, pp. 209-10.]

²[These MSS. were purchased in 1753 (see above, p. 255). This catalogue, in two vols. fol., was compiled by H. Wanley (1672-1726, librarian to the first and second Earls of Oxford), D. Casley, and W. Hocker. A second, more detailed and complete, catalogue was printed in 1808 (see vol. ii. p. 65).]

³[Read *Purgatorio*.]

Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning in Europe, which brought him the acquaintance of Percy, afterwards Bishop of Dromore. In 1760 he began to write for Newbery, 'the philanthropic bookseller,' in whose *Public Ledger* first appeared (1761) the *Chinese Letters*, which were republished in 1762 as *The Citizen of the World*. In 1761 Goldsmith made the acquaintance of Dr. Johnson, who praised his *Traveller* (1764), and found him a publisher for the *Vicar of Wakefield* (1766). He published *The Deserted Village* in 1770. His two comedies *The Good Natured Man*, and *She Stoops to Conquer*, were produced at Covent Garden respectively in 1768 and 1773. Goldsmith died in London in April, 1774, and was buried in the Temple. A monument, with a medallion by Nollekens, and an epitaph by Dr. Johnson, was erected in Westminster Abbey at the expense of Dr. Johnson's Club, of which Goldsmith was one of the original nine members. Goldsmith seems to have had some general knowledge of the *Divina Commedia*, as appears from an interesting estimate of Dante's place in literature, which occurs in the *Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning in Europe*. It is stated by Richard Cumberland in his *Memoirs*, that the subject of the famous picture of Ugolino exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1773 was suggested to Sir Joshua Reynolds by Goldsmith. James Northcote, in his *Memoirs of Sir Joshua Reynolds* states that the suggestion was due either to Goldsmith or to Burke, he was 'not certain which' (see vol. ii. pp. 134-6).]

1759. AN ENQUIRY INTO THE PRESENT STATE OF POLITE LEARNING IN EUROPE.

[Dante the first modern poet]

DANTE, the poet of Italy, who wrote in the thirteenth century, was the first who attempted to bring learning from the cloister to the community, and paint human nature in a language adapted to modern manners. He addressed a barbarous people in a method suited to their apprehensions; united Purgatory and the river Styx, St. Peter and Virgil, Heaven and Hell, together, and shows a strange mixture of good sense and absurdity. The truth is, he owes most of his reputation to the obscurity of the times in which he lived. As in the land of Benin, a man may pass for a prodigy of parts who can read, so in an age of barbarity a small degree of excellence ensures success. But it was great merit in him to have lifted up the standard of nature, in spite of all the opposition and persecution he received from contemporary criticism. To this standard every succeeding genius resorted; the germ of every art and science began to unfold; and to imitate nature was found to be the surest way of imitating antiquity. In a century or two after, modern Italy might justly boast of rivalling ancient Rome; equal in some branches of polite learning, and not far surpassed in others.

(Chap. iii.)

LORD LYTTELTON

(1709-1773)

[George Lyttelton, 'the good Lord Lyttelton,' first Baron, eldest son of Sir Thomas Lyttelton, Bart., of Hagley, Worcestershire, was born in 1709. He was

educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, where he matriculated in 1726, but he did not take a degree. He was absent from England on the 'grand tour,' from 1728 to 1731. In 1735 he was elected M.P. for Okehampton, which constituency he represented until 1756, when he was created Baron Lyttelton. He was a Lord of the Treasury from 1744 to 1754, and Chancellor of the Exchequer for a few months in 1756. He died at Hagley in 1773. Lyttelton, who was a friend of Pope, and a liberal patron of literature, was himself the author of various works in prose and verse, the best known of which are the *Dialogues of the Dead*, which ran through three editions in the year of publication (1760), and a *History of the Life of Henry II.* (1767-71). In the *Dialogues of the Dead* he puts into the mouth of Pope the stock objection against Dante that he has mixed up Christian and Pagan theology in the *Divina Commedia*.]

1760. DIALOGUES OF THE DEAD. NO. XIV. BOILEAU—POPE.

[Christian and Pagan theology confounded by Dante, Ariosto, Camoens, and Spenser]

BOILEAU. There is a writer of *heroick poetry*, who lived before Milton, and whom some of your countrymen place in the highest class of your poets, though he is little known in France. I see him sometimes in company with Homer and Virgil, but oftener with Tasso, Ariosto, and Dante.

Pope. I understand you mean *Spenser*. There is a force and beauty in some of his *images* and *descriptions*, equal to any in those writers you have seen him converse with. But he had not the art of properly *shading* his pictures. . . .

Boileau. Is not Spenser likewise blameable, for confounding the Christian with the Pagan theology, in some parts of his poem?

Pope. Yes; he had that fault in common with Dante, with Ariosto, and with Camoëns.

(*Works*, ed. 1776, vol. ii. pp. 201-2.)

ANONYMOUS

1761. A NEW AND GENERAL BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY; CONTAINING AN HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL ACCOUNT OF THE LIVES AND WRITINGS OF THE MOST EMINENT PERSONS IN EVERY NATION.

[The article on Dante in the above work is taken almost entirely from Desmaizeaux' translation of the article in Bayle's *Dictionary*, extracts from which are given above (see pp. 220-9). The compiler gives an original translation of the epitaph on Dante's tomb at Ravenna:—

'Of monarch's rights, of Heaven's blest abodes,
Of Phlegethon, and Hell's infernal lakes,
I sung, while fate allowed: but since my soul
To better climes, and her great author's fled,
Here Dante lies: fair Florence gave me birth;
But banish'd thence, a distant land a grave'—

and also a prose translation of *Purg.* xvi. 127-9.]

CHARLES BURNEY

(1726-1814)

[Charles Burney, whose father was a portrait-painter, was born at Shrewsbury in 1726. He was educated at Chester, and about 1741 went to study music under his half brother, James, who was organist at Shrewsbury. From 1744 to 1747 he was a pupil of Arne the composer in London. In 1751, being obliged to leave London on account of his health, he accepted the post of organist at King's Lynn, which he held until 1760, when he returned to London. In 1769 Burney took the degree of Doctor of Music at Oxford, and in the next year he travelled through France, Switzerland, and Italy, to collect materials for his *History of Music*, an account of his tour being published on his return under the title of *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* (1771). In 1772 he made a tour in Belgium, Holland, Germany, and Austria, of which he published an account in 1773, in which year he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1776 he published the first volume of his *History of Music*, of which the second volume appeared in 1782, and the third and fourth in 1789. In 1783 Burke gave him the post of organist at Chelsea Hospital, which he held until his death in 1814, which took place at Chelsea, where he was buried. His portrait, in his doctor's robes, was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and is now at Oxford. Dr. Burney, as his daughter Madame d'Arblay (Fanny Burney) records in her *Memoirs of Dr. Burney* (1832), was a student of Dante, and after the death of his first wife in 1761 made a prose translation of the *Inferno*, which has not been preserved. In the second volume of his *History of Music* (1782), he quotes and translates in heroic couplets the episode of Casella from the second canto of the *Purgatorio*. Dr. Burney's library, which was sold by Leigh & Sotheby in June, 1814, contained the following Dante items, viz., (No. 487) Boyd's translation of the *Inferno* (Dublin, 1785); (No. 488) Penrose's *Sketch of the Lives and Writings of Dante and Petrarch* (1790); and (No. 626) the Venice (Giolitto), 1536, edition of the *Divina Commedia*.]

1761. **I**T is recorded by Madame d'Arblay (Frances Burney), in her *Memoirs of Dr. Burney*, that after the death of his first wife in 1761, her father, to distract his grief, made a prose translation of the *Inferno*. This translation, which has never been printed, was still in existence in 1832, when Madame d'Arblay published the *Memoirs*.¹

1771. THE PRESENT STATE OF MUSIC IN FRANCE AND ITALY.

[Motto on title-page]

Ei cantarono² allor sì dolcemente
 Che la dolcezza ancor dentro mi suona.³
 Dante, Purg. Canto 2do.

[Dante's references to the organ and lute, and to Casella]

Florence.—This city has been longer in possession of music, if the

¹[See vol. ii, pp. 546 ff.]²[Substituted by Dr. Burney for 'Cominciò egli' of the original (*Purg.* ii. 113-14).]³[Madame d'Arblay, in her *Memoirs of Dr. Burney* (vol. i. p. 226) says: 'The motto was thus translated, though not printed by Dr. Burney:—

They sung their strains in notes so sweet and clear
 The sound still vibrates on my ravished ear.]

poets and historians may be credited, than any other in Europe. Dante, who was a Florentine, born in 1265, speaks of the organ¹ and lute² as instruments well known in his time; and has taken an opportunity to celebrate the talents of his friend Casella, the musician, in the second canto of his *Purgatorio*.

(Ed. 1773, p. 239.)

[Michael Angelo's Last Judgment as terrible as Dante's *Inferno*.]

Rome.—In the Sistine chapel, at the altar piece is wonderfully painted the last judgment: it is the greatest work of Michael Angelo, and perhaps of man. Nothing can be conceived more astonishing and dreadful than the ideas and figures which his dark imagination has produced; neither the *Inferno* of Dante, nor the hell of Milton, can furnish anything more terrible.

(pp. 378-9.)

1782. HISTORY OF MUSIC, FROM THE EARLIEST AGES TO THE PRESENT PERIOD.³ VOLUME II.

[Dante and Casella]

Dante was born in 1265 and died in 1321. In the Vatican Library⁴ a Ballatella, or Madrigal, of Lemmo da Pistoja, who flourished about the year 1300, is preserved, upon which there is the following memorandum: *Lemmo da Pistoja; e Casella diede il Suono*. Implying that the words by Lemmo were set to music by Casella; which agrees very well with the time when Dante feigns to have met him in Purgatory. The Poet tells us that he began to write his *Inferno* in 1300, when he was thirty-five years of age.⁵

There is something in the description of this imaginary rencontre so simple and affectionate, that I cannot help wishing to convey an idea of it to the English reader:

Al viso mio s' affissar quelle
Anime fortunate tutte e quante, &c.⁶

On me when first these spirits fix their eyes,
They all regard me with a wild surprise,
Almost forgetting that their sins require
The purging remedy of penal fire:
When one of these advanc'd with eager pace,

¹[*Purg.* ix. 144; *Par.* xvii. 44.]

²[*Inf.* xxx. 49.]

³[In four volumes, of which vol. i. was published in 1776, vol. ii. in 1782, vols. iii., iv. in 1789.]

⁴No. 3214, p. 149.

⁵Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita.

⁶[Burney here prints, very incorrectly, *Purg.* ii. 73-92, 106-117.]

And open arms, as me he would embrace ;
 At sight of which I felt myself impell'd
 To imitate each gesture I beheld.
 But vain, alas ! was every effort made,
 My disappointed arms embrace a shade :
 Thrice did vacuity my grasp elude,
 Yet still the friendly phantom I pursued.
 My wild astonishment with smiling grace
 The spectre saw, and chid my fruitless chace.
 The voice and form, now known, my fear suspend,
 O stay, cried I, one moment with thy friend !
 No suit of thine is vain, the vision said,
 I lov'd thee living, and I love thee dead.
 But whence this haste?—not long allowed to stay,
 Back to the world thy Dante takes his way.
 Yet let this fleeting hour one boon obtain
 If no new laws thy tuneful pow'rs restrain,
 Some song predominant o'er grief and woe
 As once thou sung'st above, now sing below ;
 So shall my soul releas'd from dire dismay,
 O'ercome the horrors of this dreadful way.
 Casella kindly deign'd his voice to raise,
 And sung how *Love the human bosom sways*,¹
 In strains so exquisitely sweet and clear,
 The sound still vibrates on my ravish'd ear ;
 The shadowy troops, extatic, listening round
 Forgot the past and future in the sound.

(Vol. ii. pp. 322 ff.)

ELLIS FARNEWORTH

(d. 1763)

[Ellis Farnsworth, the son of a Derbyshire clergyman of the same name, was educated at Eton and Jesus College, Cambridge (M.A. 1738). In 1758 he became vicar of Rosterne in Cheshire, and in 1762 rector of Carsington in Derbyshire, where he died in 1763. Farnsworth published translations of several historical and biographical works from the Italian and French, among them the complete works of Machiavelli, of which the first edition (2 vols. 4to) was published in 1762, and a second edition (4 vols. 8vo) in 1775. In rendering a passage from Dante quoted by Machiavelli in his *Discourses upon Livy* Farnsworth displays his ignorance by speaking of Dante's 'Canto upon Monarchy.' Bowyer the printer states that Farnsworth was 'obliged to hawk his Machiavel round the town,' when it was first published, but it eventually was much sought after and commanded a high price.]

¹ *Amor che nella mente mi ragiona*.—This is the first line of one of Dante's own odes, as he tells us himself; *Convito*, Canzone ii.

1762. THE WORKS OF NICHOLAS MACHIAVEL. TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINALS.—POLITICAL DISCOURSES UPON THE FIRST DECAD OF LIVY.

[Dante's saying as to the rarity of hereditary virtue]

WHEN there is no fear of God, the State must either fall to destruction, or be supported by the reverence shewn to a good Prince; which indeed may sustain it for a while, and supply the want of Religion in his Subjects. But as human life is short, the Government must of course sink into decay, when the virtue that upheld and informed it is extinct. Hence it comes to pass, that States which depend upon the spirit of one man alone, are generally short-lived: for when he dies, his virtues dies¹ with him, and seldom revives in his successor, as Dante has justly observed.

Rade volte discende per li rami
L' umana probitate, e questo vuole
Quel che la dà, perche da lui si chiami.²

The Virtue of the Sire
Seldom to heirs descends,
With him it oft begins,
And with him often ends;
Though wonderful to us,
Such is the will of Heaven,
That we may ask of him,
By whom alone 'tis given.

(Book i. Chap. xi. ed. 1775, vol. iii. pp. 51-2.)

[Dante's saying as to the foolishness of the people]

The populace are often so far deceived with a false appearance of good, as to solicit their own ruin and bring infinite dangers and difficulties upon the Commonwealth, if they are not undeceived by some person whom they reverence and confide in, and convinced by him that they are in the wrong. But when it happens that they have been formerly deceived either by persons, or in the appearance of things, and cannot repose that confidence in any one, then ruin must of necessity ensue. So true is what Dante tells us in his Canto upon Monarchy.³

Il popolo molte volte grida
Viva la sua morte, et muoia la sua vita.

Strange caprice! oft the senseless multitude
Chuse death instead of life, and ill for good.
(Book i. Chap. liii. ed. 1775, vol. iii. p. 169.)

¹[*Sic.*]

²[*Purg.*, vii. 121-3.]

³[Not ' in his Canto upon Monarchy' (!) but in *Convivio* i. 11, ll. 53-4.]

ANONYMOUS

1762. THE WORKS OF M. DE VOLTAIRE. TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.¹—VOL. XIII. MISCELLANIES IN HISTORY, LITERATURE, AND PHILOSOPHY.—ON THE POEM CALLED HUDIBRAS.

[Why Butler's *Hudibras* and Dante's *Commedia* can never be popular]

A MAN whose imagination was capable of containing a tenth part of the *vis comica*, true or false, that predominates through every part of *Hudibras*, would still be extremely diverting; but at the same time he would do well to have a care how he attempts to translate *Hudibras*: for how is it possible to excite laughter in readers who are foreigners, by means of the follies of persons long since forgotten in the very nation where they were once so famous? Dante is now no longer read in Europe, because his work is perpetually alluding to facts utterly unknown. The case is exactly the same with *Hudibras*. Most of the ridicule in this work falls on the theology and divines of his own time. A commentary is therefore wanted to every line. Humour that stands in need of being explained, from that moment ceases to be such; and it is very rare to find an explainer of the wit of others, have any of his own.²

(p. 169.)

ANONYMOUS

1764. ANNUAL REGISTER. REMARKS ON SIMPLICITY IN WRITING.

[The simplicity of Dante's style the chief cause of his pre-eminence]

THE Roman writers rise towards perfection according to that measure of simplicity which they mingle in all their works. . . . Who will deny that Lucretius, Horace, Virgil, Livy, Terence, Tully, are at once the simplest and best of Roman writers? . . . It is this one circumstance that hath raised the venerable Dante, the father of modern poetry, above the succeeding poets of his country, who could never long maintain the local and temporary honours bestowed upon them; but have fallen under that just neglect, which time will ever decree to those who desert a just simplicity for the florid colourings of style, contrasted phrases, affected conceits, the mere trappings of composition and Gothic

¹[With Notes, Historical and Critical. By T. Smollett, M.D., T. Francklin, M.A. and others.]

²[Voltaire's remarks upon *Hudibras* occur in No. xxii. of his celebrated *Lettres sur les Anglais* (otherwise known as *Lettres Philosophiques*), which were written in French in London in 1726. An abridged English translation was published in 1733, from which the above passage was omitted. For the original see above, pp. 204-5.]

minutiae. It is this hath given to Boileau the most lasting wreath in France, and to Shakespear and Milton in England.

(In *Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. vii. p. 186.)

ANONYMOUS

1764. ANNUAL REGISTER. AN ESSAY ON PAINTING.

[Michael Angelo and Dante]

MICHAEL ANGELO, notwithstanding the depth and boldness of his own fancy, is not ashamed, in some of his compositions, to *dantize* as Phidias and Apelles may be said formerly to have *homerized*. Concerning this we have a singular anecdote in the annotations with which Monsignor Bottari . . . has illustrated the life of Michael Angelo. It is as follows:—

We may see how much he studied Dante, by a copy of this author (the first edition with the comment of Landino¹) in his possession. On the margins, which were left very broad, Bonarotti had drawn with a pen everything contained in the poems of Dante, and among the rest, an infinite number of most excellent naked figures, in the most striking attitudes. This book got into the hands of Antonio Montauti of Florence, an intimate friend of the celebrated Abbate Antonio Maria Salvini . . . Montauti was by profession a statuary, and a very able one; and set the greatest esteem upon this volume. But having ordered, on his departure from Florence to fill the place of surveyor to the church of St. Peter's at Rome, that all his marbles, bronzes, books, &c. should be sent after him by sea, under the care of one of his pupils, the vessel in which they were, perished, unfortunately, in a storm, between Leghorn and Civita Vecchia, and along with her Montauti's pupil and all his effects, among the rest this inestimable volume, which alone would have done honour to the library of the greatest monarch.

(In *An Account of Books Published in 1764*, vol. vii. p. 272.)

ARCHIBALD MACLAINE

(1722-1804)

[Archibald Maclaine, who was the son of a presbyterian minister of good Scottish family, was born at Monaghan in Ireland, in 1722. He was educated at Glasgow, and in 1747 became pastor of the English church at the Hague, where he remained

¹[Published in Florence in 1481.]

till 1796. He then settled at Bath, where he died in 1804. His younger brother was the notorious 'gentleman highway man,' James MacLaine (or Maclean), who in 1749 robbed Horace Walpole in Hyde Park, and was hanged at Tyburn in 1750. Archibald MacLaine published in 1765 a translation, with notes, of the *Institutiones Historiae Ecclesiasticae* (1726) of Johann Lorenz von Mosheim (c. 1694-1755), of which a second edition appeared in 1768, and a sixth in 1825.]

1765. MOSHEIM'S ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

[Contribution of Dante and Petrarch to the revival of learning]

CENT. XIV.—The Greek language, which hitherto had been much neglected, was now revived, and taught with general applause. . . . Nor were there wanting some extraordinary geniuses, who, by their zeal and application, contributed to the restoration of the ancient and genuine eloquence of the Latins, among whom the excellent and justly renowned *Petrarch* held the first place, and *Dante Alighieri* the second.¹ Full of this worthy design, they both acted as if they had received an extraordinary commission to promote the reign of true taste and the progress of polite learning; and their success was answerable to the generous ambition that animated their efforts; for they had many followers and admirers, not only among their countrymen, but also among the French and Germans.

(Cent. xiv. Part ii. Chap. i. ed. 1768, vol. iii. pp. 144-5.)

SAMUEL SHARP

(c. 1700-1778)

[Samuel Sharp, surgeon and author, was born in Jamaica about 1700. In 1724 he was bound apprentice to the famous surgeon, William Cheselden, for seven years, part of which time he spent in France, where he made the acquaintance of Voltaire. In 1733 he was elected surgeon to Guy's Hospital, and soon acquired an extensive practice. In 1749 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and a member of the Paris Royal Society. He resigned his appointment at Guy's Hospital in 1757 on the ground of ill-health, but continued to practice until 1765, when he set out on a tour through Italy. On his return he published his *Letters from Italy* (1766), which were approved by Dr. Johnson, who read them twice and considered that there was 'a great deal of matter in them.' Some of Sharp's statements about Italy aroused the wrath of Baretti, who in 1768 published a counterblast in his *Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy* (see above, p. 256), to which Sharp replied. Sharp, who also published two works on the practice of surgery, died in 1778.]

¹Of the celebrated poet *Dante*, several have treated, particularly his translator *Benevenuto* of *Imola*, from whence *Muratorius* has borrowed large extracts in his *Antiquit. Ital. mediæ ævi*. [Benvenuto da Imola did not translate Dante; he wrote a Latin commentary on the *Divina Commedia*.]

1766. LETTERS FROM ITALY, DESCRIBING THE CUSTOMS AND MANNERS OF THAT COUNTRY, IN THE YEARS 1765, AND 1766.

[The harsh pronunciation of the Tuscans remarked upon by Dante]

THROUGH all *Tuscany* the inhabitants have a guttural pronunciation, which prevails, too, even amongst their gentry, and, sometimes, to a gross degree. . . . It is curious to observe how many ages the same virtue or the same vice continues to be local. *Dante* complains of this very defect, as general, in his time,¹ and which, probably, had subsisted from time immemorial amongst the people of *Tuscany*.

(*Letter* xlvii, from Florence, 2 May 1766, p. 247.)

OWEN RUFFHEAD

(1723-1769)

[Owen Ruffhead, whose father was baker to George I, was born in Piccadilly in 1723. Having been well educated with the proceeds of a lottery prize drawn by his father, he entered the Middle Temple and was called to the bar in 1747. He obtained a good practice, and engaged in political writing, besides devoting himself to a laborious edition of the *Statutes at large from Magna Charta to 1763*, which was published in nine folio volumes in 1762-5. About 1767 Bishop Warburton requested him to arrange and prepare for publication his materials for a critical life of Pope, which resulted in Ruffhead's *Life of Pope, with a Critical Essay on his Writings and Genius*. Of this work, which was published in 1769, the year of Ruffhead's death, Dr. Johnson observed that the author 'knew nothing of Pope, and nothing of poetry.' Ruffhead prints an interesting outline by Pope of the various schools of English poetry, in which the fourth place is given to the 'School of Dante.']

1769. THE LIFE OF ALEXANDER POPE, ESQ. COMPILED FROM ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS; WITH A CRITICAL ESSAY ON HIS WRITINGS AND GENIUS.

[The school of Dante in English poetry]

IT may be worth observing, that Mr. Pope once had a purpose to pen a discourse on the rise and progress of English poetry, as it came from the Provincial poets, and had classed the English poets, according to their several schools and successions, as appears from the list underneath.

Aera I.

Rymer, 2d part, pag. 65, 66, 67, 77. Petrarch 78. Catal. of Provençals [Poets.]

- | | | |
|-----------------------|---|--|
| 1. School of Provence | { | Chaucer's Visions, Romaunt of the Rose.
Pierce Plowman, Tales from Boccace.
Gower. |
| 2. School of Chaucer | { | Lydgate,
T. Occleve,
Walt. de Mapes,
Skelton |

¹[In the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (i. 13), where he speaks of the 'turpiloquium' of the Tuscans.]

3. School of Petrarch { E. of Surrey,
Sir Thomas Wyatt,
Sir Philip Sydney,
G. Gascoyn, Translator of Ariosto's Com.
4. School of Dante { Mirror of Magistrates,
Lord Buckhurst's Induction, Gorboduck,
—Original of good Tragedy,—Seneca
[his Model]
- (pp. 424-5).

MATTHEW PILKINGTON

(c. 1700-1784)

[Matthew Pilkington, author of the *Dictionary of Painters*, was born in Dublin about 1700. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, where he entered as a scholar in 1721, and graduated B.A. in 1722. Shortly afterwards he was appointed vicar of Donabate and Portrahan, co. Dublin, where he resided until his death about 1784. In 1770 Pilkington published his celebrated *Dictionary of Painters*, the first of its kind in England, which has been many times reprinted and enlarged. Incidental references to Dante occur in several of the articles in this work.]

1770. THE GENTLEMAN'S AND CONNOISSEUR'S DICTIONARY OF PAINTERS; CONTAINING A COMPLETE COLLECTION AND ACCOUNT OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED ARTISTS WHO HAVE FLOURISHED IN THE ART OF PAINTING AT ROME, VENICE, NAPLES, FLORENCE, AND OTHER CITIES OF ITALY; IN HOLLAND, FLANDERS, ENGLAND, GERMANY AND FRANCE, FROM THE YEAR 1250, WHEN THE ART OF PAINTING WAS REVIVED BY CIMABUE, TO THE YEAR 1767.

[Botticelli's illustrations of the *Divina Commedia*]

BOTICELLO, SANDRO, called FILIPEPI. He was born at Florence, in 1437, and being the disciple of Filippo Lippi, he imitated that master, both in his design and colouring. . . . It was customary with him to introduce a number of figures in all the subjects he designed, disposing them with tolerable judgment and propriety. . . . Baccio Baldini engraved a series of plates for the edition of Dante, with Landino's commentary,¹ from the designs of Boticello; and this was long regarded as the first book in which engravings from metal plates were introduced.

(Ed. 1824, vol. i. p. 105.)

¹[Published at Florence in 1481—the first Florentine edition of the *Divina Commedia*. A description of the plates in this edition is given by Ottley in his *History of Engraving* (1816), vol. i. pp. 415-25 (see vol. ii. pp. 231-2). For an account of these and other drawings made by Botticelli to illustrate the *Commedia*, see Lippmann's *Drawings by Sandro Botticelli for Dante's Divina Commedia* (London, 1896).]

[Bronzini's portrait of Dante]

BRONZINI, AGNOLO. He was born at Florence, in 1511, and was the disciple of Pantormo, with whom he continued several years, till he so effectually acquired his style and manner, that the works of the one were frequently mistaken for those of the other. . . . Among his paintings at Florence, a Nativity is mentioned as an incomparable performance. . . . Bronzini also painted portraits, and among others which he produced, were those of Andrea Doria, Dante, Boccaccio and Petrarch; he likewise painted the portraits of the illustrious persons of the house of Medici.

(Ed. 1824, vol. i. pp. 120-1.)

[Michael Angelo and Dante]

BUONARROTI, MICHEL ANGELO. . . . In the early part of his life, he not only applied to sculpture and painting, but to every branch of knowledge connected with the arts. Among the authors he studied and delighted in most, were Dante and Petrarch, whose poems it is said he had by heart, and many of his own sonnets shew how closely he imitated the bard of Vacluse.

(*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 134.)

[A Dante commentator on Cimabue]

CIMABUE, GIOVANNI. . . . An old commentator¹ on Dante tells us, that Cimabue was so solicitous to render his paintings perfect, that if he perceived any defect in his work when it was finished, or, if one was discovered by others, though the fault might have been occasioned by the badness of the materials, or by an injudicious method of applying them, he defaced the whole of it.

(*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 205.)

[Giotto and Dante]

GIOTTO DI BONDINI. This celebrated artist was born in 1276, at Vespignano, a village near Florence. . . . He was invited to Padua, where he painted a new built chapel very curiously; thence he went to Verona, and next to Ferrara; from whence, on the invitation of Dante, he removed to Ravenna, where, among other performances he drew that poet's portrait.² . . . His death happened in 1336: and the city of Florence erected a marble statue over his tomb. He enjoyed the esteem and friendship of most of the greatest men of the age, and among the rest, of Dante and Petrarch.

(*Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 388-9.)

¹[The author of the so-called *Ottimo Comento*; the passage is printed by Vasari.]

²[The portrait of Dante painted by Giotto was painted in Florence when the poet was a young man.]

[Sir Joshua Reynolds' picture of Ugolino]

REYNOLDS, SIR JOSHUA. . . . In 1773, he finished his fine piece of Count Ugolino,¹ which was bought by the Duke of Dorset for four hundred guineas, and is now at the family seat in Kent.² Of this piece the late Dr. Joseph Warton³ observes, 'Sir Joshua Reynolds, whose mind is stored with great and exalted ideas, has lately shown, by his picture of Count Ugolino, how qualified he is to preside at a Royal Academy, and that he has talents which ought not to be confined to portrait painting.'

(Ed. 1824, vol. ii. p. 237.)

EARL OF CARLISLE

(1748-1825)

[Frederick Howard, only son of Henry, fourth Earl of Carlisle, was born in 1748, and succeeded his father as fifth Earl in 1758. He was educated at Eton, where he was a contemporary of Charles James Fox, and at King's College, Cambridge, which he entered in 1764. On leaving Cambridge he made a tour on the Continent in company with Fox, whose passion for gambling he shared as a young man, to the serious detriment of his estate. Having turned his attention to politics, in 1777 he was appointed Treasurer of the Household; in the next year he was sent by Lord North on what proved an unsuccessful mission to America, and soon after his return he was made President of the Board of Trade (1779); from 1780 to 1782 he was Viceroy of Ireland; he was Lord Privy Seal for a few months in the Coalition Ministry in 1783, and was made K.G. in 1793. He continued to take part in politics until 1815, when he retired into private life. He died at Castle Howard in 1825. Lord Carlisle is perhaps best known to fame as the kinsman and guardian of Lord Byron, who dedicated to him the second edition of his *Hours of Idleness*, and afterwards savagely lampooned him in *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* :—

No muse will cheer, with renovating smile,
The paralytic puling of Carlisle.
The puny schoolboy and his early lay
Men pardon, if his follies pass away;
But who forgives the senior's ceaseless verse,
Whose hairs grow hoary as his rhymes grow worse?

Lord Carlisle, the productions of whose muse, whatever Byron may have thought of them, earned the praise of two such differently constituted critics as Dr. Johnson⁴ and Horace Walpole,⁵ printed privately in 1772, together with an *Ode on the Death of Gray*, and two other pieces, a translation of the Ugolino episode from *Inferno* xxxiii. These poems were published in a slim 4to volume of 17 pages in 1773, of which a second edition was issued in the same year, a third, with alterations, in 1800, a fourth in 1801, and a fifth in 1812. The translation from Dante was reprinted also among the poetical pieces in the *Annual Register* for 1773 (pp. 230-2). It is not improbable that the subject of this translation was suggested to Lord Carlisle by Sir Joshua Reynolds' picture of Ugolino, which was eventually exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1773 (see below, p. 343). He refers to this picture in his lines

¹[See below, p. 343.]

²[At Knole Park, where it was seen by John Wesley in 1790 (see below, pp. 454-5).]

³[See above, p. 302, note.]

⁴[See Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, Globe ed. 1899, pp. 570, 619-20.]

⁵[See his letter to Mason of 25 May 1772, quoted below, p. 339.]

addressed to Sir Joshua (who three times painted his portrait) on his resignation of the Presidency of the Academy in 1790. Lord Carlisle seems to have been more or less of a student of Dante, as appears from the other references printed below.]

1772. TRANSLATION FROM DANTE, CANTO XXXIII.

[The Ugolino episode]

DANTE, being conducted by *Virgil* into the infernal Regions, sees a person devouring a human skull, and struck by so horrid a sight, inquires into his History, and receives this account.

Now from the fell repast, and horrid food,
 The Sinner ¹ rose, but first (the clotted blood
 With hair depending from the mangled head)
 His jaws he wiped, and thus he wildly said :
 Ah! wilt thou then recall this scene of woe,
 And teach again my scalding tears to flow? ²
 Thou know'st not how tremendous is the tale,
 My brain will madden, and my utterance fail.
 But could my words bring horror and despair
 To Him whose bloody skull you see me tear,
 Then should the voice of sweet revenge ne'er sleep, ³
 For ever would I talk, and talking weep.
 Mark'd for destruction, I in luckless hour
 Drew my first breath on the Etruscan shore,
 And Ugolino was the name I bore. }
 This skull contain'd an haughty Prelate's brain,
 Cruel Rugeiro's; why his blood I drain,
 Why to my rage he's yielded here below,
 Stranger, 'twill cost thee many a tear to know.
 Thou know'st perhaps how trusting to this slave
 I and my children found an early grave.
 This thou may'st know, the Dead alone can tell }
 The Dead, the tenants of avenging hell,
 How hard our fate, by what inhuman arts we fell. }
 Through the small opening of the prison's height

¹ Count Ugolino, a Nobleman of Pisa, entered into a conspiracy with the Archbishop Rugieri, of the Ubaldini family, to depose the Governor of Pisa; in which enterprise having succeeded, Ugolino assumed the government of the city; but the Archbishop, jealous of his power, incited the people against him; and gaining the assistance of the three powerful families of the Gulandi, Lanfranchi, and Sismondi, marched with the enraged multitude to attack the house of the unfortunate Ugolino, and making him their prisoner, confined him in a tower, with his four sons: at length, refusing them food, and casting the key of the dungeon into the river Arno, he left them in this horrible situation to be starved to death.

²[Ed. 1800: 'And teach my scalding tears again to flow.']

³[Ed. 1800: 'Then should the voice of vengeance never sleep.']

One moon had almost spent its waning¹ light.
 It was when Sleep had charm'd my cares to rest,²
 And wearied Grief lay dozing in my breast :
 Futurity's dark veil was drawn aside,
 I in my dream the troubled prospect eyed.³
 On those high hills, it seem'd, (those hills which hide
 Pisa from Lucca,) that, by Sismond's side,
 Guland and Landfranc, with discordant cry,
 Rouse from its den a wolf and young, who fly
 Before their famish'd dogs ; I saw the sire
 And little trembling young ones faint and tire,⁴
 Saw them become the eager blood-hounds prey,
 Who soon with savage rage their haunches flay.
 I first awoke, and view'd my slumbering boys,
 Poor hapless product of my nuptial joys,
 Scar'd with *their* dreams, toss o'er their stony bed,
 And starting scream with frightful noise for bread.

Hard is thy heart, no tears those eyes can know,
 If they refuse for pangs like mine to flow.
 My Children wake ; for now the hour drew near
 When we were wont our scanty food to share.
 A thousand fears our trembling bosoms fill,
 Each from his dream foreboding some new ill.
 With horrid jar we heard the prison door
 Close on us all, never to open more.⁵
 My senses fail, absorb'd in dumb amaze,
 Deprived of motion on my boys I gaze :
 Benumb'd with fear, and harden'd into stone,
 I could not weep, nor heave one easing groan.
 My Children moan, my youngest trembling cried,
 'What ails my Father?' still my tongue denied
 To move ; they cling to me in wild affright :
 That mournful day, and the succeeding night,
 We all the dreadful horrid silence kept :
 Fearful to ask, with silent grief they wept.

Now in the gloomy cell a ray of light
 New horrors added by dispelling night.
 When looking on my boys, in frantic fit
 Of maddening grief, my senseless hands I bit.
 Alas ! for hunger they mistake my rage,

¹[Ed. 1800: 'waneing.']

²[Ed. 1800: "'Twas when short sleep had lull'd my pangs to rest.']

³[Ed. 1800: 'Futurity aside her curtain drew, And thus, the troubled vision rose to view.']

⁴[Ed. 1800: 'pant and tire.']

⁵[Ed. 1800: 'Close on us all, alas ! to ope no more.']

‘Let us,’ they cried, ‘our Father’s pains assuage:
 ’Twas he, our Sire who call’d us into day,
 Clad with this painful flesh our mortal clay,
 That flesh he gave he sure may take away.’— }
 But why should I prolong the horrid tale?
 Dismay and silent woe again prevail.
 No more that day we spoke!—Why in thy womb
 Then, cruel Earth, did we not meet our doom?
 Now the fourth morning rose; my eldest child
 Fell at his Father’s feet; in accent wild,
 Struggling with pain, with his last fleeting breath,
 ‘Help me, my Sire,’ he cried, and sunk in death.
 I saw the others follow one by one,
 Heard their last scream, and their expiring groan.
 And now arose the last concluding day;
 As o’er each corse I grop’d my stumbling way,
 I call’d my Boys, though now they were no more,
 Yet still I call’d, till sinking on the floor,
 Pale Hunger did what Grief refus’d to do—
 For ever clos’d this scene of pain and woe.¹
 (*Poems, . . . by the Earl of Carlisle, 1773, pp. 13-17.*)

1775. NOV. LETTER TO GEORGE SELWYN² (from Castle Howard).

[As to his study of Dante]

If you were witness to what point my studies and reading tended, you would find that Dante had but little to do with them. I believe I have looked in no other poet than Virgil for this last six months.

(Printed in *George Selwyn and his Contemporaries*, by J. H. Jesse, ed. 1882, vol. iii. p. 119.)

1790. TO SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS, ON HIS RESIGNATION OF THE PRESIDENT’S CHAIR OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY.³

[Sir Joshua’s picture of Ugolino]

Turn we to Thee, whose nobler art
 Rivets the eye and penetrates the heart;
 To Thee whom nature, in thy earliest youth,
 Fed with the honey of eternal truth;

¹[Ed. 1800: ‘Pale hunger did what grief essay’d in vain,—

For ever seal’d my eyes, and closed the scene of pain.’]

²[George Augustus Selwyn (1719-1791). For a letter of his to Lord Carlisle see below, p. 381.]

³[Sir Joshua Reynolds resigned the Presidency and membership of the Royal Academy, 23 Feb. 1790. He afterwards (16 March) resumed them at the request of the Academy.]

Then, by her fondling art, in happy hour,
 Enticed to Learning's more sequester'd bower.
 There, all thy life of honours first was plann'd,
 While Nature preach'd, and Science held thy hand.
 When, but for these, condemn'd, perchance, to trace
 The tiresome vacuum of each senseless face,
 Thou, in thy living tints, hadst ne'er combined
 All grace of form, and energy of mind.
 How, but for these, should we have, trembling fled,
 The guilty tossings of a Beaufort's bed ;¹
 Or let the fountain of our sorrows flow
 At sight of famish'd Ugolino's woe ?²
 (*Tragedies and Poems of Frederick Earl of Carlisle*,³ ed. 1801,
 p. 282.)

1800. THE FATHER'S REVENGE, A TRAGEDY.

Prologue⁴

[The dawn of Italian literature—Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio]

In ancient times, when Edward's conquering son,
 O'er prostrate France his glorious course had run ;
 'Midst clashing arms, and 'midst the din of war,
 Meek Science follow'd not the Victor's car.
 Though Gower and Chaucer knelt before her shrine,
 And woo'd, on British ground, the tuneful Nine,
 Yet she, to climes congenial to her soul,
 Fled from our chilling blasts, and northern pole.
 'Twas there she waved her universal wand,
 And led, o'er classic fields, her learned band ;
 There, as a model to this distant age
 With language pure adorn'd Boccaccio's page.
 While all around us here was cold and dark,
 While chieftain dunces set their peasant mark,
 The Muse was stringing Dante's sounding shell,

¹[His picture of the deathbed of Cardinal Beaufort, painted for Alderman Boydell, and exhibited at his Shakespeare Gallery in Pall Mall in 1790. (See Letter of Horace Walpole to Lord Hailes, 21 Sept. 1790, ed. Toynbee, vol. xiv. pp. 291-2.)]

²[His picture of Ugolino in the Tower of Famine at Pisa, from Dante, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1773 (see below, p. 343).]

³[These 'beautiful and genteel lines,' as Horace Walpole calls them in a letter to Lord Carlisle (10 April 1790, ed. Toynbee, vol. xiv. p. 249), had been printed and issued separately in 1790.]

⁴[*The Father's Revenge* was first published in 1783, but without the *Prologue*, which was first added in the edition of 1800; the poem was reprinted in 1801, and again in 1812.]

Bade him, inspired, of things sublime to tell,
 And, to his proud demand, expanded heaven and hell ;
 O'er the soft lute taught Petrarch's hand to move,
 And give his years to sweetest song, and love.

(ll. 1-19.)

HORACE WALPOLE

(1717-1797)

[Horace Walpole, youngest son of Sir Robert Walpole, was born in Arlington Street in 1717. In 1727 he went to Eton (where he was a contemporary of Thomas Gray); he left Eton in 1734, and in the following year went to King's College, Cambridge, where he remained until 1739. In March, 1739, Walpole started on the grand tour in company with Gray, and resided for more than a year at Florence under the roof of the British Minister, Horace Mann, with whom he subsequently corresponded for 45 years. He returned to England in September, 1741, having been elected M.P. for Callington in Cornwall in the previous May. He sat for Callington till 1753, and afterwards for Castle Rising (1754-7) and King's Lynn (1757-67). In 1747 Walpole settled at Strawberry Hill, near Twickenham, where in 1757 he established his famous printing-press, the first issue of which was the *Odes* of Gray. Here he printed several of his own works, including *Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors* (1758), and *Anecdotes of Painting in England* (1762-71). In 1765 he paid the first of a series of visits to Paris where he made the acquaintance of Madame du Deffand, with whom he corresponded regularly until her death at the age of 83 in 1780. In 1791 Horace Walpole succeeded to the Earldom of Orford, on the death of his nephew, the third Earl. In 1787 he had made the acquaintance of Mary and Agnes Berry, to whom he remained devotedly attached until his death, which took place in his house in Berkeley Square in 1797. Besides the works above mentioned, Walpole wrote *Memoirs of the Reigns of George II and George III* (published after his death), *The Castle of Otranto* (1764), *Historic Doubts on Richard III* (1768), and a tragedy, *The Mysterious Mother* (1768); but his chief title to fame are his letters of which considerably over three thousand are printed in the latest edition (by Mrs. Paget Toynbee, 1903-5). Walpole several times mentions Dante, who was just becoming fashionable in polite society; but he confesses he could not admire him. It is probable that though he knew Italian Walpole did not read Dante in the original, but derived such knowledge as he had of the *Divina Commedia* (of which he does not appear to have possessed a copy) from English or French translations. John Pinkerton, in his *Walpoleana*, published in 1799, records the following remark of his:—'Dante is a difficult author. I wish we had a complete translation in prose, with the original on the opposite page, like the French one of the *Inferno*, printed at Paris in 1776.' (The translation in question was by Moutonnet de Clairfons, *La Divine Comédie de Dante Alighieri, L' Enfer: Traduction Française, Accompagnée du Texte, de Notes historiques, critiques, et de la Vie du Poëte*. A Florence, et se trouve à Paris. M.DCC.LXXXVI.) Cary refers to this remark of Walpole's in the preface to the first instalment of his translation of the *Inferno* (1805):—'An edition of Dante, with a literal prose translation, was considered a *desideratum* by the late Earl of Orford, who probably would have met with as little difficulty in the original as most of his learned contemporaries; and the sentiments of that Nobleman, in however little value they may deservedly be held on subjects of far higher importance, yet in matters of taste at least were of no mean authority.']

1772. May 25. LETTER TO THE REV. WILLIAM MASON.

[Lord Carlisle's translation of the Ugolino episode]

LORD CARLISLE has written and printed some copies of an Ode on Gray's death. There is a real spirit of poetry in it, but no invention; for it is only a description of Gray's descriptions. There are also two epitaphs on Lady Carlisle's dog, not bad, and a translation from Dante of the story of Count Ugolino, which I like least of the four pieces.¹

(*Letters*, ed. Toynbee, vol. viii. p. 170.)

1780. ADVERTISEMENT TO THE FOURTH VOLUME OF ANECDOTES OF PAINTING IN ENGLAND.²

[Sir Joshua Reynolds' picture of Ugolino]

How painting has rekindled from its embers, the works of many living artists demonstrate. The prints after the works of Sir Joshua Reynolds have spread his fame to Italy, where they have not at present a single painter that can pretend to rival an imagination so fertile, that the attitudes of his portraits are as various as those of history. In what age were paternal despair and the horrors of death pronounced with more expressive accents than in his picture of Count Ugolino?³

(Ed. 1888, vol. i. p. xvii.)

1782. June 25. LETTER TO THE REV. WILLIAM MASON.

[Of the absurdity of epic poetry and of Dante in particular]

Epic poetry is the art of being as long as possible in telling an uninteresting story; and an Epic poem is a mixture of History without truth, and of Romance without imagination. We are well off when from that *mésalliance* there spring some bastards called Episodes, that are lucky enough to resemble their romantic mother, more than their solemn father. So far from Epic poetry being at the head of composition, I am persuaded that the reason why so exceedingly few have succeeded is from the absurdity of the species. When nothing has been impossible to genius in every other walk, why has everybody failed in this but the inventor, Homer? You will stare, but what are the rest? Virgil, with every beauty of expression and harmony that can be conceived, has accomplished but an insipid imitation. His Hero is a nullity, like Mellefont⁴ and the virtuous characters of every comedy, and some

¹[This translation, though privately printed in 1772, was not published until the following year (see above, pp. 334-6).]

²[The fourth volume was privately printed in 1771, but was not published (with this advertisement) until 1780.]

³[Exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1773. Against this picture in his copy of the Catalogue Walpole has written 'most admirable' (see below, p. 343).]

⁴[A character in Congreve's *Double-Dealer*.]

of his incidents, as the Harpies and the ships turned to Nymphs, as silly as Mother Goose's tales. Milton, all imagination, and a thousand times more sublime and spirited, has produced a monster. Lucan, who often says more in half a line than Virgil in a whole book, was lost in bombast if he talked for thirty lines together. Claudian and Statius had all his fustian with none of his quintessence. Camoens had more true grandeur than they, but with grosser faults. Dante was extravagant, absurd, disgusting, in short a Methodist parson in Bedlam.¹ Ariosto was a more agreeable Amadis de Gaul, and Spenser, John Bunyan in rhyme. Tasso wearies one with the insuperable crime of stanza and by a thousand puerilities that are the very opposite of that dull dignity which is demanded for Epic; and Voltaire, who retained his good sense in heroics, lost his spirit and fire in them. In short, Epic poetry is like what it first celebrated, the heroes of a world that knew nothing better than courage and conquest. It is not suited to an improved and polished state of things. It has continued to degenerate from the founder of the family, and happily expired in the last bastard of the race, Ossian.

(*Letters*, ed. Toynbee, vol. xii. pp. 273-4.)

1784. Sept. 7. LETTER TO THE EARL OF STRAFFORD.

[Walpole's lack of appreciation of Dante]

It was cruel to behold such expanse of corn everywhere, and yet see it all turned to a water-souchy. If I could admire Dante, —which, asking Mr. Hayley's² pardon, I do not,—I would have written an olio of Jews and Pagans, and sent Ceres to reproach Master Noah with breaking his promise of the world never being drowned again.

(*Ibid.*, vol. xiii. pp. 186-7.)

JAMES GRANGER

(1723-1776)

[James Granger, a native of Dorsetshire, was born in 1723. He matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1743, but left the University without taking a degree. Having been ordained, he was presented by the Dean and Chapter of Windsor to the living of Shiplake, in Oxfordshire, where he died in 1776. Granger is best known as the author of a *Biographical History of England*, published in 1769, with a de-

¹[This opinion of Walpole's was perhaps based upon the translation of the *Inferno* by Charles Rogers, which appeared in this year (see below, pp. 382 ff.).]

²[Hayley had published in 1782 a rendering, in *terza rima*, of the first three cantos of the *Inferno*, which was printed, together with introductory remarks, among the notes to the third Epistle of his *Essay on Epic Poetry* (see below, pp. 359 ff.).]

dication to Horace Walpole, which was furnished with blank leaves for the reception of engraved portraits and other illustrations of the text, whence arose the fashion of 'grangerizing' books, to the great destruction of numberless valuable illustrated works. Granger made a collection of some 14,000 engraved portraits, which were sold in 1778. In a letter to Dr. Ducarel, Librarian at Lambeth, he mentions an interesting print of William Huggins (1696-1761), the translator of Ariosto and Dante, after a painting by Hogarth.]

1772. Dec. 20. LETTER TO DR. DUCAREL¹ (from Shiplake).

[Hogarth's portrait of Huggins, the translator of Dante]

J. GRANGER presents his best respects to Dr. Ducarel. . . . He begs Dr. Ducarel's acceptance of the Print of Mr. Huggins, from a private Plate, and never sold in the shops. It is after a Painting by Hogarth. Huggins, who did a good Translation of Dante, had it engraved, to prefix to that Work, which was never printed. He was son of that cruel Keeper of the Fleet prison, who was punished for the ill-treatment of his prisoners.²

(*Nichols's Illustrations of Literature*, vol. iii. p. 601.)

SAMUEL JOHNSON

(1709-1784)

[Samuel Johnson was born in September, 1709, at Lichfield, where his father was a bookseller. He was educated at Lichfield school, and at Stourbridge; and in 1728 he was entered as a commoner at Pembroke College, Oxford. At the end of 1729 he returned to Lichfield, where his father died in 1731. To earn his living Johnson became usher in the grammar school at Market Bosworth (1732), and subsequently he assisted the publisher of the 'Birmingham Journal.' In 1735 he married the widow of Henry Porter, a Birmingham mercer, and on the strength of her fortune he set up a school at Edial, near Lichfield, where David Garrick was one of his pupils. The school proved a failure, and in March, 1737, Johnson set out from Lichfield for London in company with Garrick. He found employment on the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' and thenceforth devoted himself to literary work in London. His *magnum opus* 'A Dictionary of the English Language,' begun in 1747, was published in 1755, in which year he received the degree M.A. from the University of Oxford. *Rasselas*, his most popular work, written to defray the expenses of his mother's illness and funeral, appeared in 1759. In 1762 he received a pension of £300 from Lord Bute. In the next year he first made the acquaintance of Boswell, with whom in 1773 he made his journey to the Hebrides. In 1775 he received the degree of LL.D. from Oxford, and in the same year he accompanied the Thrales (whose friendship he had made in 1764) on a visit to Paris. After the death of Thrale in 1781, whose executor he was, he quarrelled with Mrs. Thrale, on account of her predilection for Piozzi, whom she married in 1784, six months before Johnson's death, which took place in December, 1784. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, and a monument was erected in St. Paul's in the following year. Johnson's portrait was four times painted by his friend Sir Joshua Reynolds, who with Burke and Goldsmith, was among the original members of the Club, founded by Johnson in 1764, other members of which among Johnson's intimate friends were Garrick, Joseph and Thomas Warton, and Dr. Burney.

¹[Andrew Coltee Ducarel, D.C.L. (1713-1785), Librarian at Lambeth (1757).]

²[See above, pp. 306 ff.]

Johnson mentions Dante but once in the whole range of his works, viz. in the life of Gray, in his *Lives of the English Poets* (vols. i.-iv. 1779; vols. v.-x. 1781), and this only at second-hand from Gray himself. In the life of Milton, where one would have expected some reference to the influence of Dante, he merely observes that 'Milton being well versed in the Italian poets, appeared to have borrowed often from them,' and notes that his style was affected by 'his familiarity with the Tuscan poets'. Boswell records Johnson's comparison of the opening of the *Pilgrim's Progress* with that of the *Divina Commedia*.]

1773. Under this year Boswell, in his *Life of Johnson*, records Johnson's remarks on the similarity between the openings of the *Pilgrim's Progress* and of the *Divina Commedia*.¹

1781. LIVES OF THE MOST EMINENT ENGLISH POETS, VOLS. V.-X.
LIFE OF GRAY.

[Gray's 'Progress of Poesy']

THE third stanza sounds big with *Delphi*, and *Egean*, and *Iliissus* and *Meander*, and *hallowed fountain* and *solemn sound*; but in all Gray's odes there is a kind of cumbersome splendour which we wish away. His position is at last false: in the time of Dante and Petrarch from whom he derives our first school of poetry, Italy was overrun by *tyrant power* and *coward vice*, nor was our state much better when we first borrowed the Italian arts.²

(Ed. 1896, vol. iii. p. 277.)

SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS

(1723-1792)

[Joshua Reynolds was the seventh child of the Rev. Samuel Reynolds, master of the Grammar School at Plympton in Devonshire, where he was born in July, 1723. He early showed a taste for portraiture, and in 1740 he was apprenticed for four years to Thomas Hudson, the portrait-painter, in London. He was engaged in painting portraits in London and Plymouth between 1743 and 1749, in which year he was taken by Commodore Keppel to the Mediterranean. He returned to England in 1752, having spent two years at Rome, besides studying at Florence, Venice, and elsewhere, and settled in London, where he soon became the leading portrait-painter, earning an income of £6,000 a year, and counting among his sitters members of the royal family and all the rank and fashion and leading men of the day. In 1764, in conjunction with Dr. Johnson, he founded what came to be known as the Literary Club, the original members of which included Burke and Goldsmith. On the foundation of the Royal Academy in 1768 he was chosen President, and in April of the next year was knighted by George III, a few days before the opening of the first exhibition. In 1773 he received the degree of D.C.L. at Oxford, and in the same year was chosen Mayor of Plymouth. In 1775 he was elected a member of the Florentine Academy, to which he sent his portrait in the following year. In 1789 Reynolds'

¹[See below, p. 463.]

²[For Gray's note on this stanza, in which he describes the 'Progress of Poetry from Greece to Italy, and from Italy to England,' see above, p. 237.]

sight began to fail, and within a year he was obliged to give up painting. In Feb. 1790, the Academy having rejected a proposal of his, he resigned the Presidency and his membership, but was induced to resume them a few weeks later. In September, 1791, his health broke down, and he died in the following February at his house in London. He was buried in St. Paul's, his body having previously lain in state at the Academy.

Reynolds was an accomplished Italian scholar (his portrait painted for the Florentine Academy in 1776 was accompanied by 'a long and graceful letter in Italian,' and many of the jottings in his note-books are in Italian) and doubtless had some acquaintance with the *Divina Commedia*. for in 1773 he exhibited at the Royal Academy a picture of Count Ugolino in the Tower of Famine at Pisa. It is stated in an article on Mills' *Travels of Theodore Ducas* in the *Quarterly Review* for Jan. 1823, that 'Dante was brought into fashion in England' by this picture. At any rate it was probably Reynolds' picture which prompted Lord Carlisle to translate the Ugolino episode, his version of which was published in this same year. Lord Carlisle alludes to the picture in his lines addressed to Sir Joshua on his resignation of the Presidency of the Academy in 1790 (see above, pp. 336-7). James Northcote, who in his *Memoirs of Sir Joshua Reynolds* (1813), gives an interesting account of the painting of the picture, says that the subject was suggested to Reynolds either by Burke or Goldsmith (see vol. ii. pp. 134-6). William Cotton, in *Sir Joshua Reynolds and his Works* (1859), says: 'It is generally supposed that the head of Count Ugolino was painted from White, the paviour; but Horace Walpole says it was a study from an old beggar man. . . . Miss Gwatkin¹ informs me that she always understood the head of Ugolino was painted from a beggar' (pp. 118-19). Horace Walpole's statement occurs in his copy of the Academy Catalogue for 1771, in which, against 'No. 259. An old man (half length),'² he has written, 'This was an old beggar, who had so fine a head, that Sir Joshua chose him for the father in his picture from Dante; and he painted him several times, as did others in imitation of Reynolds.'³ This picture of Ugolino, which excited great admiration and interest⁴ was bought from Reynolds for 400 guineas by the Duke of Dorset, in whose collection at Knole Park it was seen by Wesley in 1790 (see below, pp. 454-5). It was engraved in mezzotint by John Dixon in 1774.]

1773. **I**N this year Reynolds exhibited at the Royal Academy a picture with the following title:—

Count Hugolino and his children in the dungeon, as described by *Dante*, in the thirty-third canto of the *Inferno*.

'Io non piangeva, sì dentro impetraì:
Piangevan Elli, ed Anselmuccio mio
Disse: Tu guardi sì, Padre! Che hai?
Però non lagrimai, nè rispos' io
Tutto quel giorno, nè la notte appresso.'⁵

(*Catalogue of the Exhibition of the Royal Academy, 1773.*
No. 243.)

¹[Reynolds' great-niece.]

²[Engraved by J. R. Smith in 1777 as 'The banish'd Lord.']

³[Cotton, *Sir Joshua Reynolds and his Works*, p. 115. For another reference by Walpole to 'Reynolds' beggar-man,' see letter to Mason, 7 May 1775, ed. Toynbee, vol. ix. p. 195.]

⁴[For various references to it, see *Index*, s.v. Ugolino.]

⁵[*Inf.* xxxiii. 49-53. Against this entry Horace Walpole, in his copy of the Catalogue, wrote 'most admirable' (see Cotton, *Sir Joshua Reynolds and his Works*, p. 118).]

c. 1780. TWO DIALOGUES BY SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS IN IMITATION OF DR. JOHNSON'S STYLE OF CONVERSATION.

[Sir Joshua Reynolds and Count Ugolino]

Johnson. Garrick, Sir, died of a disorder of which you or any other may die, without being killed by too much sensibility.¹

Gibbon. But you will allow, however, that this sensibility, those fine feelings, made him the great actor he was.

Johnson. This is all cant, fit only for kitchen wenches and chamber maids: Garrick's trade was to represent passion, not to feel it. Ask Reynolds whether he felt the distress of Count Ugolino when he drew it.

Gibbon. But surely he feels the passion at the moment he is representing it.

Johnson. About as much as Punch feels.

(*Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ed. G. Birkbeck Hill, 1897, vol. ii. pp. 248-9.)

BIBLIOTHECA ASKEVIANA

1775. BIBLIOTHECA ASKEVIANA. SIVE CATALOGUS LIBRORUM RARISSIMORUM ANTONII ASKEW, M.D.

[Anthony Askew, physician, classical scholar, and book-collector (born at Kendal, 1722; died at Hampstead, 1774) was educated at Sedbergh and Emmanuel College, Cambridge. He graduated M.D. in 1750, and practised first at Cambridge and afterwards in London, where he became physician to St. Bartholomew's and Christ's Hospitals. Before commencing practice he had travelled widely on the Continent, visiting Italy, Athens, Constantinople, Hungary, etc. In the course of his travels he laid the foundation of an extensive collection of valuable books and MSS., chiefly classical, which was sold the year after his death for nearly £4,000. The collection contained a valuable MS. of the *Divina Commedia*, which was bought by Lord Shelburne (afterwards Marquis of Lansdowne) for £7 7s., and ultimately (1807) passed with the rest of the Lansdowne MSS. to the British Museum (*Lansd.* 839); there were also three printed editions of the *Commedia*, viz. Venice (Aldus), 1502; Venice (Aldus), 1515; and Venice (Marcolini),² 1544.]

THOMAS TYRWHITT

(1730-1786)

[Thomas Tyrwhitt, eldest son of Robert Tyrwhitt, Rector of St. James's, Westminster (afterwards Archdeacon of London and Canon of Windsor) was born in 1730. He went to Eton in 1741, and thence in 1747 to Queen's College, Oxford, where he graduated in 1750. In 1755 he was elected to a Fellowship at Merton College, and in the same year he was called to the bar at the Middle Temple, but he did not practise. In 1756 he was appointed deputy Secretary at War, and in 1762, Clerk of the House of Commons, which post he held until 1768. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1771, and a Trustee of the British Museum in 1784. He died in London in 1786. Tyrwhitt was a man of great learning,

¹[Garrick died in 1779 of gout and stone.]

²[With the commentary of Vellutello.]

being well versed in English as well as in Greek and Roman literatures, and acquainted, it was said, with almost every European tongue. He published editions of several classical works, as well as of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (issued anonymously in 1775-8, and reprinted in 1798 and often since); and he was chiefly instrumental in exposing Chatterton's Rowley forgeries. In his edition of the *Canterbury Tales* he frequently quotes Dante, not only the *Divina Commedia*, but also the *Canzoniere*, the *Vita Nuova*, and the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, thus showing a knowledge of Dante's works which is rivalled by that of Gray alone among his contemporaries.]

1775-8. THE CANTERBURY TALES OF CHAUCER. TO WHICH ARE ADDED AN ESSAY ON HIS LANGUAGE AND VERSIFICATION, AND AN INTRODUCTORY DISCOURSE TOGETHER WITH NOTES AND A GLOSSARY.¹

[Use of the heroic metre by Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio]

BY far the most considerable part of Chaucer's works is written in that kind of Metre which we now call the Heroic, either in Distichs or in Stanzas; and as I have not been able to discover any instance of this metre being used by any English poet before him, I am much inclined to suppose that he was the first introducer of it into our language. It had long been practised in France, in the Northern as well as the Southern provinces; and in Italy, within the last fifty years before Chaucer wrote, it had been cultivated with the greatest assiduity and success, in preference to every other metre, by Dante, Petrarch, and Boccace.

(*An Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer*, § ix. ed. 1798, vol. i. pp. 50-1.)

[Boccaccio's statement that Dante and other poets wrote of love when well advanced in years]

The Action of the Decameron being supposed in 1348, the year of the great pestilence, it is probable that Boccace did not set about his work till after that period. . . . It should seem from the introduction to the Fourth Day, that a part (containing perhaps the three first Days) was published separately; for in that Introduction he takes pains to answer the censures, which had been passed upon him by several persons, who had read his Novels. One of the censures is, 'that it did not become *his age* to write for the amusement of women, &c.' In his answer he seems to allow the fact, that he was rather an old fellow, but endeavours to justify himself by the examples of 'Guido Cavalcanti et Dante Alighieri *gia vecchi* et Messer Cino da Pistoia *vecchissimo*.'²

(*Introductory Discourse to the Canterbury Tales*, § 1 note, ed. 1798, vol. i. p. 71.)

¹[The first edition was issued anonymously.]

²[For an English translation of this passage, see above, p. 114.]

[Boccaccio's *Teseide* written to supply a deficiency remarked by Dante]

I cannot help suspecting that Salvini, who has inveighed with great bitterness against the corruptions of the printed *Theseida*, had only examined the edition printed at Venice, in 1528; for I observe that a Stanza which he has quoted (from some Ms. as I suppose) is not near so correct as it is in the edition of 1475. As this Stanza contains Boccace's own account of the intention of his Poem, I shall transcribe it here from that edition. It is the beginning of his conclusion.

Poi che le Muse nude cominciare
 Nel conspetto de gli omeni ad andare,
 Già fur de quelli che [gia] le exercitaro
 Con bello stilo in *honesto* parlare,
 E altri in *amoroso* lo operaro ;
 Ma tu, o libro, primo al lor cantare
 Di *Marte* fai gli affanni sostenuti,
 Nel vulgar latino mai piu non veduti.

This plainly alludes to a passage in Dante, de *Vulgari Eloquentia*, l. ii. c. ii. where, after having pointed out the three great subjects of Poetry, viz. *Arma, Amorem, et Rectitudinem*, (War, Love, and Morality,) and enumerated the illustrious writers upon each, he adds: *Arma vero nullum Italum adhuc invenio poetasse*. Boccace therefore apparently prides himself upon having supplied the defect remarked by Dante, and upon being the first who taught the Italian Muses to sing of *Arms*.

Besides other variations for the worse, the fifth line in Salvini's copy is written thus :

Ed altri in *dolci modi* l' operaro—

by which means the allusion to Dante is rendered incomplete.

(*Introductory Discourse to the Canterbury Tales*, § ix. note, ed. 1798, vol. i. pp. 81-2.)

[Dante's description of the several kinds of pilgrims]

'Than longen folk to gon on pilgrimages,
 And palmeres for to seken strange strondes. . . .'

(*Prologue to the Canterbury Tales*, l. 13.)

The different sorts of Pilgrims are thus distinguished by Dante, *Vita nuova*, p. 80. *Chiamansi Palmieri, inquanto vanno oltra mare, laonde molte volte recano la palma*;—*Peregrini, inquanto vanno alla casa di Galizia*;—*Romei, inquanto vanno a Roma*.¹ But he speaks as an Italian. Chaucer seems to consider all Pilgrims to foreign parts as Palmers.

(Ed. 1798, vol. ii. p. 393.)

¹[V. N. § 41, ll. 44 ff. Tyrwhitt quotes from Giambatista Pasquali's Venetian edition of 1741.]

[Chaucer's version of *Purgatorio*, vii. 121-3]

'Ful selde up riseth by his branches smale
Prowesse of man, for God of his goodnesse
Wol that we claime of him our gentillesse.'

(*Wif of Bathes Tale*, ll. 272-4.)

Dante, *Purg.* vii. 121.

Rade volte risurge per li rami
L'humana probitate: et questo vuole
Quei che la da, perche da se si chiami.

(Ed. 1798, vol. ii. p. 450.)

[Dante's use of words for the sake of rime]

'as ye han do *mo*'—

(*Clerkes Tale*, l. 983.)

For, *me.* This is one of the most licentious corruptions of Orthography, that I remember to have observed in Chaucer. All that can be said in excuse of him is, that the old Poets of other countries have not been more scrupulous. Quadrio¹ has a long chapter, L. ii. Dist. iv. cap. iv. upon the Licences taken by the Italian Poets, and especially Dante, the most licentious, as he says, of them all, *for the sake of Rime.*

(*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 456.)

[Dante's use of *Latino* for a bird's song]

'She understood wel every thing
That any foule may in his leden sain,
And coude answe're him in his leden again.'

(*Squieres Tale*, ll. 426-8.)

'Leden': *language*, Sax. a corruption of *Latin*. Dante uses *Latino* in the same sense. *Canz.* l.

E cantino gli augelli
Ciascuno in suo latino.²

(*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 465.)

[Chaucer's version of the Ugolino episode]

'Hugelin of Pise'—

(*Monkes Tale*, ll. 417 ff.)³

Chaucer himself has referred us to Dante for the original of this tragedy. See *Inferno* c. xxxiii.

(*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 498.)

¹[Francesco Saverio Quadrio (1695-1756); his work was entitled *Storia e Ragione di ogni Poesia* (Bologna, 1739).]

²[This poem is not now accepted as by Dante.]

³[See above, pp. 11-12.]

[Dante's description of envy]

LAVENDER, *n.* Fr. A washerwoman, or laundress. L.W. 358.
In the passage of Dante, which is here quoted, *Envy* is called,

La meretrice, che mai dall' ospizio
Di Cesare non torse gli occhi putti,
Morte comune, e delle corte vizio. Inf. xiii. 64.

(*Glossary*, ed. 1798, vol. ii. p. 587.)

[Dante's reference to the story of Lancelot and Guenevere]

LAUNCELOT DU LAKE. 15218. An eminent knight of the round-table, whose adventures were the subject of a *Romance* begun by *Chrestien de Troyes*, one of the oldest of the *Romance-poets*, and finished by *Godefroid de Leigni*. See Fauchet. L. ii. c. 10, 11. They have been repeatedly printed in French prose, and make a considerable part of the compilation called '*Mort d' Arthur*.' His accomplishments as a courtier and a man of gallantry, have been alluded to before, ver. 10601. Signor Volpi, in his notes upon Dante, *Inf.* v. 128, has most unaccountably represented *Lancilotto*, as *innamorato di Ginevra, moglie del Re Marco*. If there be any faith in *history*, Ginevra was the wife of King Arthur. The story in Dante, which is the occasion of Signor Volpi's note, is a curious one. It is alluded to by Petrarch, *Trionfo d' Amore*, iii. 82.

Vedi Ginevra, Isotta, e l' altre amanti,
E la coppia d' Arimino.—"

(*Glossary*, ed. 1798, vol. ii. pp. 587-8.)

WILLIAM JULIUS MICKLE

(1735-1788)

[Mickle, the translator of Camoens, was born in 1735 at Langholm in Dumfriesshire, where his father was parish minister. At the age of fifteen he became a clerk in an Edinburgh brewery belonging to his father, and on his father's death in 1757 he inherited the business, but, owing to mismanagement, it failed and in 1763 Mickle abandoned it and settled in London. He now devoted himself to literature, and published various poetical pieces. He has been credited with the authorship of the Scottish song, 'There's na'e luck about the hoose.' In 1765 he was appointed corrector to the Clarendon Press at Oxford, where he remained until 1771, when he retired in order to complete his translation of the *Lusiad*, of which he had previously printed specimens in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and elsewhere. The work was published in London in 1775, and reprinted in 1778, and again in 1798, and often since. Mickle, who made £1,000 by this translation, in 1779 sailed as secretary to Commodore Johnstone with his squadron to Portugal, where he was elected a member of the Royal Portuguese Academy. He died at Forest Hill, near Oxford, in 1788. In his notes and essays on the *Lusiad* Mickle several times mentions and quotes Dante.]

1775. THE LUSIAD: OR THE DISCOVERY OF INDIA: AN EPIC POEM.
TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PORTUGUESE OF LUIS DE CAMOËNS.

[Are the poems of Dante and Ariosto epics?]

THE term epopeia is derived from the Greek, *ἔπος*, *discourse*, and hence the epic may be rendered the narrative poem. In the full latitude of this definition, some Italian critics have contended, that the poems of Dante and Ariosto were epic. But these consist of various detached actions, which do not constitute one whole. In this manner Telemachus and the Faerie Queene are also epic poems. A definition more restricted, however, a definition descriptive of the noblest species of poetry, has been given by Aristotle, and the greatest critics have followed him in appropriating to this species the term of epopeia, or epic. The subject of the epopeia, according to the great father of criticism, must be one. One action must be invariably pursued, and heightened through different stages, till the catastrophe close it in so complete a manner, that any further addition would only inform the reader of what he already perceives.

(*Dissertation on the Lusiad, and Observations upon Epic Poetry*,
ed. 1810, pp. 607-9.)

[Grossness in Dante and Ariosto]

Venus, to reward her heroes, raises a Paradaical island in the sea. Voltaire, in his English essay,¹ has said, that no nation but the Portuguese and Italians could be pleased with this fiction. In the French he has suppressed this sentence, but has compared it to a Dutch brothel allowed for the sailors. Yet this idea is as false as it is gross. Every thing in the island of Love resembles the statue of Venus de Medicis. The description is warm indeed, but it is chaste as the first loves of Adam and Eve in Milton; and entirely free from that grossness often to be found in Dante, Ariosto, Spenser, and in Milton himself.

(*Ibid.* p. 611.)

[The mixture of pagan and scriptural personages in the *Divina Commedia*]

In the age of Camoëns, Bacchus was esteemed a real demon: and celestial Venus was considered as the name by which the Ethnics expressed the divine love. But if the cold hyper-critic will still blame our author for his allegory, let it be repeated, that of all Christian poets, Camoëns is the least reprehensible. The

¹[Voltaire's *Essay on the Epick Poetry*, written in English, was published in London in 1727. It was translated into French by the Abbé Desfontaines, and published in Paris in 1728 (see above, p. 205).]

Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise of Dante, form one continued un-allegorical texture of Pagan and Scriptural names, descriptions, and ideas. Ariosto is continually in the same fault.

(*Dissertation on the Lusiad, and Observations upon Epic Poetry*, ed. 1810, p. 615.)

[Dante's simile of the frogs]

‘The hoarse tenants of the sylvan lake . . .
All, sudden plunging, leave the margin green,
And but their heads above the pool are seen.’
(Bk. ii. ll. 202, 206-7.)

The simile of the frogs Camoëns seems to have copied from Dante, *Inf. cant. 9.*

Come le rane innanzi a la nemica
Biscia per l' acqua si dileguan' tutte
Fin che a la terra ciascuna s' abbicca.¹

And *cant. 22.*

E come a l' orlo de l' acqua d' un fosso
Stan' il ranocchi pur col muso fuori
Sì che celano i piedi, e l' altro grosso.²

(p. 644.)

[Dante and the Southern Cross]

‘Full to the south a shining cross appears.’
(Bk. v. l. 133.)

The constellation of the southern pole was called the Cross by the Portuguese sailors, from the appearance of that figure formed by seven stars, four of which are particularly luminous. Dante, who wrote before the discovery of the southern hemisphere, has these remarkable lines in the first canto of his *Purgatorio* :

I' mi volsi a man destra, e posi mente
All' altro polo, e vidi quattro stelle
Non viste mai, fuor ch' alla prima gente.³

Voltaire somewhere⁴ observes, that this looked like a prophecy, when, in the succeeding age, these four stars were known to be near the antarctic pole. Dante, however, spoke allegorically of the four cardinal virtues.

(pp. 679-80.)

¹[*Inf. ix. 76-8.*]

²[*Inf. xxii. 25-7.*]

³[*Purg. i. 22-4.*]

⁴[In *Essai sur les Moeurs* (1753), and again in the article on Cyrus in the *Dictionnaire Philosophique*, what was originally published in 1774, in *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie* (see above, pp. 206-7).]

[Dante's apostrophe to degenerate Italy]

'O Italy, how fallen, how low, how lost!'

(Bk. vii. l. 39.)

It has long been the policy of the court of Spain, to encourage the luxury and effeminate dissipation of the Neapolitan nobility; and those of modern Venice resemble their warlike ancestors only in name. That Italy can boast many individuals of a different character, will by no means overthrow these general observations founded on the testimony of the most authentic writers. Our poet is besides, justifiable, in his censures, for he only follows the severe reflections of the greatest of the Italian poets. It were easy to give fifty instances; two or three however shall suffice. Dante in his sixth Canto, del Purg.

Ahi, serva Italia, di dolore ostello,
Nave senza nocchiero in gran tempesta,
Non donna di provincie, ma bordello—¹

'Ah, slavish Italy, the inn of dolour, a ship without a pilot in a horrid tempest, not the mistress of provinces, but a brothel.' . . .

(p. 700.)

SUSANNAH DOBSON

(d. 1795)

[Susannah Dobson, whose maiden name was Dawson, was the wife of Matthew Dobson, a physician of Liverpool, who died at Bath in 1784. She is mentioned in the *Diary* of Madame d'Arblay (under the year 1780), from which it appears that it was she who imparted to Miss Lawes, 'that good and odd old maid' the secret of the authorship of *Evelina*. 'Mrs. Dobson, I daresay,' writes Fanny Burney, 'is not a new name to you; she has made an abridged translation of 'Petrarch's life,' and of the 'History of the Troubadours.' She has long been trying to make acquaintance with Mrs. Thrale, but Mrs. Thrale not liking her advances, has always shrunk from them; however, I find she has prevailed with Miss Lawes to let her be one of her party when the visit is returned' (ed. 1891, vol. i. p. 246). Her *Life of Petrarch*, translated from the *Mémoires pour la vie de François Pétrarque*, by the Abbé de Sade (published in 3 vols. 4to, in 1764), was issued in 1775; it was reprinted in 1777, and reached a sixth edition in 1805. In 1779 she published an abridged translation of Sainte-Palaye's *Histoire Littéraire des Troubadours* (Paris, 1774), of which a second edition appeared in 1807. She died in London in 1795.]

1775. THE LIFE OF PETRARCH. COLLECTED FROM MEMOIRES POUR LA VIE DE PETRARCH.

[Dante's 'whimsical poem']

BRUNETTO LATINI taught rhetoric, eloquence, and philosophy. Dante, his disciple, profited by his lessons, and composed that whimsical poem, called the *Commedia*, full of sublime ideas, cutting strokes of satire, and natural beauties,

¹[*Purg.* vi. 76-8.]

which make it read to this day with admiration, notwithstanding many defects chargeable on the age in which it was written.

(Vol. i. p. xii.)

[Dante's letter to the Italian Cardinals]

Dante, whom we may consider as the forerunner of Petrarch, wrote on the occasion of the death of Clement V, a fine letter¹ to the dispersed Cardinals; in which he exhorts them to re-unite immediately, to stop this anarchy so fatal to the church, and to bring back the holy See to Rome.

(Vol. i. pp. 10-11.)

[Dante's ignorance of Greek]

The Greek language was never totally lost in Italy, but at the time I am speaking of, there were hardly six persons who were acquainted with the rudiments of it; and though Dante in his famous poem, cites several Greek authors; Manneti and Philepho assure us that he was ignorant of that language.

(Vol. i. p. 204.)

[Petrarch on Dante]

Soon after his arrival at Florence [1359], Boccace sent Petrarch a fine copy of Dante's poem, which he had taken the pains to copy, and he apologises for the praises he gives him, by saying he was his first master, the first light which illuminated his mind. It was generally thought Petrarch was jealous of Dante, because he had no copy of his works. Petrarch was concerned that Boccace should adopt this opinion, and wrote to him as follows.

“The praises you have given to Dante are well founded, worthy both of him and you, and much more flattering than those applauses of the vulgar, which disturb the peace of his manes.

“If we owe much to the fathers of our body, how much more are we indebted to those who have formed our mind. I unite with you in praising this great poet, whose style is vulgar, but whose sentiments are noble and beautiful. I am only displeas'd that you know me so little, by whom I wish to be perfectly known; of all the plagues of the soul, I am the least assaulted by envy. My father was strictly united with Dante, and the same ill fortune pursued them: neither injustice, exile, nor poverty, neither the love of his wife or children, could take this poet from his studies, though they required silence and repose: for this I can never enough admire him. I see many reasons for loving, but none for hating or despising him. His genius, sentiment, and humour, excellent in

¹ [Epist. viii.]

their kind, place him very far above contempt. I feared when young to read writers in the same language, lest by hazard I should copy their sentiments or manner. I have always avoided with care every hint of imitation, and if it has happened, it has been by accident; this was the reason I did not read Dante then, though I admire him sincerely now; and was I envious it must be of the living, for death is the tomb of envy, as well as of hatred. All that I can be reproached for is, that I have said, he succeeded best in the vulgar tongue, both in verse and prose; that he rises higher and pleases most in this, you will agree with me; and what author is there who has succeeded equally in every style? This was not even granted to Cicero, Virgil, Sallust or Plato, when eloquence now dead was at its height. It is sufficient for a man to excel in one species of writing. I had this upon my mind, and I am consoled now that I have expressed it to you."

(Vol. ii. pp. 364-7.)

1779. THE LITERARY HISTORY OF THE TROUBADOURS. FROM THE FRENCH OF MR. DE SAINT-PALAYE.

[Provençal poetry extinguished by the superiority of the Italian in the time of Dante and Petrarch]

Nothing was more honourable to the Troubadours, than to have the Italians for their disciples; and who not only equalled, but surpassed their masters.—At the end of the thirteenth century, Dante raised the Italian language to perfection; and from that time it took the lead of the Provençal. Petrarch then appeared; love inspired his muse, and he poured forth, in the very country of the Troubadours, such eloquent and melodious numbers, that their language, their poetry, and their name, almost entirely disappeared in Europe.

The languages of other countries would have improved as rapidly as the Italian, had they been cultivated with equal care, and by men of equal genius with Dante, Petrarch, and Boccace. Unfortunately, however, from the want of such, other nations were long inferior to Italy in works of genius and of taste.

(Ed. 1807, *Preface*, p. xv.)

[Bertrand de Born placed by Dante in Hell]

Having done all the mischief he could in his life, Bertrand de Born piously finished his course among the monks of Citeaux, which did not, however, prevent Dante from placing him in his *Inferno*,¹ for having divided the head and the members; he means the arming the young King of England against his father, Henry II. There,

¹[*Inf.* xxviii. 118 ff.]

according to the Italian poet, he is condemned to carry his own head, in the shape of a lanthorn, after its being separated from his body.

(p. 68.)

[Dante's references to Arnaut Daniel and Giraut de Borneil]

Arnaud Daniel was born in the twelfth century, in the castle of Ribeyrac, in Perigord, of poor, but noble parents. His taste was not for study, but he was passionately fond of rhiming. Dante, in his treatise on the Eloquence of the Vulgar Tongue, after having marked the principal ends of poetry, which he calls honest, useful, and agreeable, adds, that the agreeable was the portion of Arnaut, and that he excelled particularly in singing the praise of love: ¹ and, in his twenty-sixth canto of the *Inferno*,² he says, that this poet modelled his language in the most superior manner; that his tender verse, and his romantic prose, surpassed everything that had appeared before of the same kind. Giraud de Borneil was one of the most celebrated Troubadours on record. . . . Dante makes mention of him more than once; and, in his *Inferno*,³ he places him much below Arnaut Daniel.

(pp. 95-6, 99-101.)

[Dante's account of Raymond Berenger and the Pilgrim ('Romeo')]

Raimond Berenger V. of the house of Barcelona, was the last count of Provence. He cultivated the Provençal poetry, and patronised the Provençal poets. . . . He was accused of ingratitude, and called the Inconstant Catalanian from the following circumstance, given by the commentators of Dante, who, in his sixth canto of *Paradise*, reproaches the count with this part of his life.⁴

A gentleman of an ancient house, but a stranger in Provence, returning from a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella, arrived at the castle of the count of Provence; and, charmed with his generous behaviour, attached himself to his service. In this situation he showed so much understanding and wisdom, that this prince confided to him the administration of his finances. The labours, and economy of the new minister, tripled the revenue of his state; insomuch, that Berenger was not only able to support a brilliant court, but gloriously to maintain war against the count of Toulouse, who had fourteen counts for his vassals. By his counsel, also, Berenger married his four daughters to four great princes, Lewis

¹[*V.E.* ii. 2, ll. 72-83.]

²[Not *Inferno*, but *Purgatorio* xxvi. 115 ff.]

³[Not *Inferno*, but *Purgatorio* xxvi. 118-20; cf. *V.E.* i. 9, l. 23; ii. 2, ll. 81, 88; ii. 5, l. 25; ii. 6, l. 54.]

⁴[*Par.* vi. 127 ff.]

IX, King of France; Henry III, King of England; Richard, the brother of Henry; and to Charles of Anjou.¹ This completed the faithful services of the amiable pilgrim. But he escaped not the calumny of envious and wicked courtiers; they engaged the prince to require his accounts, and to dismiss him.² The minister delivered them up; and, having proved his virtue and integrity, he added these words:—

‘My lord, I have served you many years. I have put your finances into such an order, that, from a small revenue, you have acquired a large estate. The malice of your barons has engaged you to repay my cares with ingratitude. I was a poor pilgrim when I came to your court. I have lived honestly and reputably in it, on the wages you have given me. Restore to me my mule, my wallet, and my staff, and I will return in the same manner as I came.’³

The count, touched with his address, would have retained the pilgrim; but he resisted all his solicitations. He departed, and was never more heard of.

(pp. 135-6.)

SIR JOHN HAWKINS

(1719-1789)

[Sir John Hawkins, author of a *History of Music*, and of a *Life of Dr. Johnson*, was born in London in 1719. He was the son of a carpenter, but abandoned his father's business for the law, in which he acquired a considerable practice as attorney. Hawkins was appointed magistrate for Middlesex in 1761, and was knighted in 1772. He died in London in 1789, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. Hawkins was one of the original members of Dr. Johnson's Club, founded in 1763. In his *History of Music* (published in five folio volumes in 1776; the same year as the first volume of Dr. Burney's work on the same subject), which was undertaken at the suggestion of Horace Walpole, who ordered Italian books for him through Sir Horace Mann, Hawkins makes one or two references to Dante, apparently at second-hand from his Italian authorities.]

1776. A GENERAL HISTORY OF THE SCIENCE AND PRACTICE OF MUSIC.

[Debt of Dante and Petrarch to the Provençal poets]

THE Provençal poets were not only the inventors and composers of metrical romances, songs, ballads and rhymes, to so great a number, and of such a kind as to raise an emulation in most countries of Europe to imitate them; but, if we may credit the Italian writers, the best poets of Italy, namely

¹[*Par.* vi. 133-5.]

²[*Par.* vi. 136-8.]

³[*Par.* vi. 139.]

Petrarch and Dante, owed much of their excellence to their imitation of the Provençals.

(Vol. ii. Bk. i. Chap. 4, p. 47.)

[Dante's reference to the story of Raymond Berenger and Romeo]

Few of the many authors who have taken occasion to mention this remarkable story, have forbore to blame Raimondo for his ingratitude to a man who had merited not only his protection, but the highest marks of his favour. The poet Dante has censured him for it, and borne his testimony to the deserts of the person thus injured by him, by placing him in paradise; and considering how easy it was to have done it, it is almost a wonder that he did not place his master in a less delightful situation.

The passage in Dante is as follows :

E dentro à la presente Margarita¹ etc.

Paradiso, canto vi.

(*Ibid.* Chap. 6, pp. 77-8.)

LADY MILLER

(1741-1781)

[Anna Riggs, afterwards Lady Miller, was the daughter of a Commissioner of Customs in London. In 1765 she married John Miller, a member of a poor Irish family, who had served as a lieutenant in Elliot's light horse through the Seven Years' War. With his wife's fortune, which she inherited from her grandfather, Miller built a costly residence at Batheaston, near Bath, and laid out a garden (described by Horace Walpole in a letter to George Montagu, 22 Oct. 1766). In 1770-1 he and his wife made the tour of Italy, an account of which the latter published anonymously in 1776 in three volumes, under the title of *Letters from Italy*. In 1778 Miller was created a baronet, and thenceforth until her death (at the Bristol Hot Wells in 1781) Lady Miller presided over a literary salon at Batheaston. Her assemblies, to which all visitors to Bath of taste and fashion were invited, attracted considerable notice, and are mentioned (not always with respect) by various contemporary writers, including Horace Walpole and Fanny Burney. It is significant of the growing interest in Dante that Lady Miller thinks it worth while in her *Letters from Italy* to record the MSS. of the *Divina Commedia* seen by her on her travels.]

1776. LETTERS FROM ITALY, DESCRIBING THE MANNERS, CUSTOMS, ANTIQUITIES, PAINTINGS, &c. OF THAT COUNTRY, IN THE YEARS 1770 AND 1771.

[MS. of Dante at Modena]

IN the Library are many curious Manuscripts; it is said, to the number of fifteen hundred. They showed us the following; a Greek Testament of the eighth century; the Miscellanea of Theodore, a Greek manuscript of the fifteenth century; a Dante

¹[Hawkins here quotes *Par.* vi. 127-42.]

of the fourteenth, with miniature paintings, wretchedly done on the top of each page, descriptive of the story there set forth. . . .

(*Letter xxiii*, from Modena, 25 Nov. 1770, vol. i. p. 446.)

[MS. of Dante in the Vatican Library]

They told us the presses in the Vatican Library contained seventy thousand printed volumes and forty thousand manuscripts. . . . Several manuscripts, with curious and high-finished miniatures. Amongst these is a beautiful manuscript of Tasso, and a Dante, with miniatures at the top of each page descriptive of the subjects.

(*Letter xliii*, from Rome, 25 April, 1771, vol. iii. pp. 71-2.)

JAMES BEATTIE

(1735-1803)

[James Beattie, author of the *Minstrel*, whose father was a shopkeeper and small farmer, was born at Laurencekirk, Kincardine, in 1735. In 1749 he went to the Marischal College at Aberdeen, where he studied Greek under Thomas Blackwell. After taking his degree (1753) he became schoolmaster and parish clerk at Fordoun, near his birthplace, where he began to contribute poems to the *Scots Magazine*. In 1760, after holding a mastership at the Aberdeen Grammar School for two years, he was appointed Professor of Moral Philosophy and Logic at Marischal College, a chair which he filled for more than 30 years. In 1761 he published his first volume, *Original Poems and Translations*, consisting in part of his poetical contributions to the *Scots Magazine*. In 1765 he made the acquaintance of Gray at Glamis Castle, which led to a lasting friendship between the two. In 1770 he published his celebrated *Essay on Truth*, and in the next year he issued anonymously the first book of his best known poem, the *Minstrel*, of which the second book was issued in 1774. In 1771 Beattie went to London where he made the acquaintance of Dr. Johnson, Garrick, and other celebrities of the day. On a second visit to London in 1773 he was presented to George III, and received a pension of £200 a year. On the same occasion he received the degree of LL.D. at Oxford, and shortly afterwards his portrait was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds, who made him a present of it. In this portrait, which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1774, Reynolds represented Beattie with his *Essay on Truth* in his hand, and an angel driving away figures of Sophistry (in the likeness of Voltaire), Scepticism, and Folly. This aroused the wrath of Goldsmith, who asked Reynolds how 'he could degrade so high a genius as Voltaire before so mean a writer as Beattie.' Beattie, who published several more philosophical works in the last twenty years of his life, died at Aberdeen in 1803. He several times mentions Dante in his essays, and shows that he had a more just appreciation of the *Divina Commedia* than the majority of his literary contemporaries.]

1778. ESSAYS: ON POETRY AND MUSIC, AS THEY AFFECT THE MIND; ON LAUGHTER, AND LUDICROUS COMPOSITION; ON THE UTILITY OF CLASSICAL LEARNING.

[The popular belief in Italy that Dante visited Hell]

IN the fourteenth century, the common people of Italy believed, that the poet Dante actually went down to hell; that the *Inferno* was a true account of what he saw there; and that his sallow complexion, and stunted beard, (which seemed by its

growth and colour to have been too near the fire), were the consequence of his passing so much of his time in that hot and smoky region.

(*An Essay on Poetry and Music*,¹ p. 40 n.)

1783. DISSERTATIONS MORAL AND CRITICAL.

[Dante's *Inferno* popularly believed to be the record of an actual visit to Hell]

The credulity of mankind in those dark ages is now matter of astonishment. As late as the thirteenth century, when modern literature had made some progress, Dante, a famous Italian poet, published a work in verse, which he called *Inferno*; wherein he gave a description of the infernal regions, which he says, in the poem, that he passed through, in company with Virgil: and this poem the common people of that time took for a real history, and seriously believed that Dante went down to hell from time to time.

(*On Fable and Romance*, p. 520.)

[Estimate of Dante's *Divina Commedia*]

A book, or a poem, in a living language, was in the Middle Ages an extraordinary appearance. . . . This was first attempted with success in Italy; where several men of great genius happened about this time to arise, whose practise and authority fixed the Italian tongue in a state not very different from its present. Among these were Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, who all flourished in the end of the thirteenth century, or in the beginning of the fourteenth—Dante distinguished himself in poetry: and wrote his *Inferno*, *Paradiso*, and *Purgatorio*, in a bold, but extravagant style of fable: intermixing satire with his poetical descriptions and allegories; whereof many are highly finished, and in particular passages enforced with singular energy and simplicity of expression.

(*Ibid.* p. 558.)

AGOSTINO ISOLA

(fl. 1765)

[Agostino Isola, an Italian refugee, was appointed Italian teacher at Cambridge in 1768 by Gray, who had just been nominated by the Duke of Grafton to the professorship of history and modern languages. In 1786 Isola published at Cambridge an edition of Tasso in two volumes; and in 1789 an edition of Ariosto in four volumes; and about this time he gave Italian lessons to Wordsworth. Isola was the grandfather of Emma Isola (her father being Charles Isola, one of the esquire bedells of the University of Cambridge), who in 1824 was adopted by Charles and Mary Lamb. In 1833, the year before Lamb's death, Emma Isola (who survived until

¹[Written in the year 1762.]

1891) married Edward Moxon, the publisher. It is instructive to note, as an indication of the taste of the period, that in the volume of *Pieces selected from the Italian Poets*, with English translations, which was edited by Isola in 1778, not one is from Dante. No less than twenty-six, on the other hand, are from Metastasio, the remainder being from Guarini (one), Tasso (two), Tassoni (two), Petrarch (three), Ariosto (five), and one anonymous.]

1778. PIECES SELECTED FROM THE ITALIAN POETS, BY AGOSTINO ISOLA (TEACHER OF THE ITALIAN LANGUAGE), AND TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH VERSE BY SOME GENTLEMEN OF THE UNIVERSITY.¹

[A line of Dante applied to Gray]

TRANSLATION from the Pastor Fido of Guarino.—This scene of Guarino in his Pastor fido, having been honoured with a translation in latin verses by that most famous Poet Mr. Gray

Ornamento, e splendor del secol nostro;²
and whose fame

—durerà quanto 'l moto lontana:³
may deservedly find a place in this Collection.

(pp. 70-1.)

1786. THE GERUSALEMME LIBERATA OF TASSO, WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES ON THE SYNTAX IN OBSCURE PASSAGES, AND REFERENCES TO THE AUTHOR'S IMITATIONS OF THE ANCIENT CLASSICS: TO WHICH IS PREFIXED, A COMPENDIOUS ANALYSIS OF ITALIAN METRE.

[Dante's use of 'versi tronchi']

There are sometimes intermixed with Heroics, Verses of *ten* Syllables (called Tronchi) having the Pause upon the *tenth*. Dante has a few.

'Abraham Patriarca e David Re . . .
E con Rachele per cui tanto fe.'⁴

(*Compendious Analysis of Italian Metre*, vol. i. p. iv.)

WILLIAM HAYLEY

(1745-1820)

[William Hayley, of whom Southey said that everything about him was good, except his poetry, was born at Chichester in 1745. He went to Eton in 1757, and in

¹[Printed and published at Cambridge.]

²Ariosto Orlando Furioso.

³Dante inferno [ii. 60].

⁴[*Inf.* iv. 58, 60. There are at least thirty other instances in the *Divina Commedia*.]

1763 entered Trinity Hall, Cambridge, which he left in 1767 without taking a degree. While at Cambridge he studied Spanish, and probably Italian, under Agostino Isola (see above, pp. 358-9). In 1766 Hayley was admitted to the Middle Temple, but he occupied himself for the most part in the composition of poems and plays. His most successful poem, *The Triumphs of Temper*, was published in 1781, and speedily ran through numerous editions. It was in reference to this poem, and to *The Triumphs of Music* (published in 1804), that Byron wrote of Hayley in *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* :—

‘ His style in youth or age is still the same,
For ever feeble and for ever tame.’

Besides his numerous poems and plays Hayley, who was offered and declined the laureateship on the death of Warton (1790), wrote lives of Milton (1794), and of his friends Cowper (1803) and Romney (1809). He died at Felpham near Chichester in 1820.

In the history of Dante in English literature Hayley holds an important place as a pioneer. In the notes to the third Epistle of his *Essay on Epic Poetry* (1782) he printed a translation, in *terza rima*, of the first three cantos of the *Inferno*, together with a sketch of Dante's life. This was the first published¹ English translation of any considerable portion of the *Commedia*, beyond a mere episode, and the first attempt in English to translate Dante in the metre of the original. Hayley's attempt, which is by no means without merit, met with no encouragement, and he consequently abandoned a half-formed project of translating the whole of the poem. His opinion of Dante is expressed in a couple of lines of the Epistle mentioned above—

‘ The patient Reader, to thy merits just,
With transport glows, and shudders with disgust.’

In his *Essay on Painting* (1778) he speaks of ‘ the terrific gloom of Dante's song ; ’ and he pays Dante the doubtful compliment of parodying or imitating several passages from the *Inferno*, including the famous inscription over the Gate of Hell (*Inf.* iii. 1-11), in his *Triumphs of Temper*.]

1778. AN ESSAY ON PAINTING : IN TWO EPISTLES TO MR. ROMNEY.

[Salvator Rosa and Dante]

U NTRODDEN paths of art *Salvator* tried,
And daring Fancy was his favourite guide.
O'er his wild rocks, at her command, he throws
A savage grandeur, and sublime repose ;
Or gives th' historic scene a charm as strong
As the terrific gloom of *Dante's* song.
(*Epist.* i. ll. 405-10.)

[Sir Joshua Reynolds' picture of Ugolino]

Thy² Hand enforces what thy Precept taught,
And gives new lessons of exalted thought ;
Thy nervous Pencil on the canvass throws
The tragic story of sublimest woes :

¹[As has already been noted, William Huggins made a complete translation of the *Commedia*, and Dr. Burney translated the *Inferno*; but neither of these was ever printed (see above, pp. 307, 323).]

²[He is addressing Sir Joshua Reynolds.]

The wretched Sons, whom Grief and Famine tear,
 The Parent petrified with blank Despair,
 Thy *Ugolino* gives the heart to thrill¹
 With Pity's tender throbs, and Horror's icy chill.
(*Epist.* ii. ll. 145-52.)

1781. THE TRIUMPHS OF TEMPER ; A POEM IN SIX CANTOS.

[Motto on title-page]

O voi ch' avete gl' intelletti sani
 Mirate la dottrina, che si asconde
 Sotto' il velame degli versi strani.
DANTE, *Inferno*, Canto 9.²

[Hayley's aspiration to combine the poetical gifts of Ariosto, Dante, and Pope]

There is another point, in which I have also attempted to give this Poem an air of novelty: I mean, the manner of connecting the real and the visionary scenes, which compose it; by shifting these in alternate Cantos, I hoped to make familiar Incident and allegorical Picture afford a strong relief to each other, and keep the attention of the Reader alive, by an appearance particularly diversified. I wished, indeed (but I fear most ineffectually) for powers to unite some touches of the sportive Ariosto, and the more serious sublime painting of Dante, with some portion of the enchanting elegance, the refined imagination, and the moral graces of Pope.

(*Preface*, p. x.)

[The entrance to 'Spleen's terrific dome' compared to the gate of Dante's Hell]

'Thro' me ye pass to Spleen's terrific dome:³
 Thro' me, to Discontent's eternal home:
 Thro' me, to those, who sadden'd human life,

¹ As the subject of this admirable picture is taken from a poet so little known to the English reader as Dante, it may not perhaps be impertinent to say, that in Richardson's *Discourse on the Science of a Connoisseur*, there is a translation of the story in English blank verse.* A young and noble author, now living, has obliged the world with a translation of it in rhyme.† As to the picture,‡ no artist could express more happily the wild and sublime spirit of the poet from whom he drew.

²[ll. 61-3.]

³ Per me si va nella città dolente,
 Per me si va nell' eterno dolore,
 Per me si va tra la perduta gente,
 * * * * *

Lasciate ogni speranza, voi ch' entrate.
 Queste parole di colore oscuro
 Vid' io scritte al sommo d' una porta.

DANTE, *Inferno* 3 [ll. 1-3, 9-11].

* [See above, pp. 197 ff.]

† [The Earl of Carlisle (see above, pp. 334 ff.).]

‡ [See above, p. 343.]

By sullen humour, or vexatious strife ;
 And here, thro' scenes of endless vapours hurl'd,
 Are punish'd in the forms, they plagued the world ;
 Justly they feel no joy, who none bestow,
 All ye who enter, every hope forego !
 O'er an arch'd cavern, rough with horrid stone,
 On which a feeble light, by flashes, shone,
 These characters, that chill'd her soul with dread,
Serena, fixt in silent wonder, read.

(*Canto* iii. ll. 53-64.)

[Imitation of *Inferno* iii. 22 ff.]

Forth from the portal lamentable cries
 Of wailing infants, without number, rise.
 Compassion to this poor and piteous flock
 Led the soft maid still nearer to the rock.
 The pining band within she now espied,
 And, touch'd with tender indignation, cried,
 'How could these little forms, of life so brief,
 Deserve this dire abode of lasting grief?'
 —'Well may thy gentle heart be sore concern'd
 At sight so moving,' the mild Sprite return'd :
 'Thou seest in those, whose wailings wound thy ears,
 The puny progeny of modern peers. . . .'

(*Canto* iii. ll. 67-78.)

[Imitation of *Inferno* iii. 82 ff.]

Of rude construction, and in roughest plight,
 A boat now issued to *Serena's* sight ;
 An empty boat, that slowly to the shore
 Advanc'd, without the aid of sail or oar ;¹
 Self-mov'd it seem'd, but soon the Nymph beheld
 A grizly figure, who the stern impell'd.
 Wading behind, the horrid Form appear'd ;
 Above the water his strong arm he rear'd,
 And cross the creeping flood the crazy vessel steer'd. }
 . . . 'This Spectre boasts
 The chief dominion of these dreary coasts :
 To him, thy Pilot, without dread consign,
 And place thy body in his bark supine ! . . .
 Nor let this pilot raise thy groundless dread,
 This sullen Charon of the froward dead. . . .'

(*Canto* iii. ll. 139 ff.)

¹ [Cf. *Purg.* ii. 32.]

[Serena's fears compared to those of Dante in Hell]

Far stronger fears her resolution melt,
 Than those, which erst the Bard of Florence felt,
 When, by the honour'd shade of Virgil led
 Thro' all the dreary circles of the dead,
 Hell's fiercest Demons threaten'd to divide
 The living Poet from his shadowy Guide;
 And bade him, friendless, and alone, return
 Thro' the dire horrors of the dark sojourn.¹

(Canto iii. ll. 180-7.)

1782. AN ESSAY ON EPIC POETRY; IN FIVE EPISTLES TO THE REV.
 MR. MASON. WITH NOTES.

[Virgil's farewell words to Dante]

My serious desire is to examine and refute the prejudices which have produced, as I apprehend, the neglect of the Heroic Muse: I wish to kindle in our Poets a warmer sense of national honour, with ambition to excel in the noblest province of poesy. If my essay should excite that generous enthusiasm in the breast of any young poetic genius, so far from wishing to confine him by any arbitrary dictates of my own imagination, I should rather say to him, in the words of Dante's Virgil,

Non aspettar mio dir più, nè mio cenno.

Liberò, dritto, sano è tuo arbitrio,

E fallo fora non fare a suo senno.²

(Epistle i. Note vii. p. 137.)

[Dante and the *Divina Commedia*]

At length, fair Italy, luxuriant land,
 Where Art's rich flowers in earliest bloom expand,
 Thy daring DANTE his wild Vision sung,³
 And raised to Epic pomp his native Tongue.
 Down Arno's stream his new-form'd music floats,
 The proud vale echoing with his Tuscan notes.
 See the bold Bard now sink and now ascend,
 Wherever Thought can pierce or Life extend;
 In his wide circuit from Hell's drear abyss,
 Thro' purifying scenes to realms of perfect bliss,
 He seems begirt with all that airy throng,

¹[*Inf.* viii. 82 ff.]

²[*Purg.* xxvii. 139-41.]

³[In the form of a note on this line Hayley here gives a sketch of Dante's biography, a portion of which is printed below, pp. 364-5.]

Who brighten or debase the Poet's song.
 Sublimest Fancy now directs his march
 To opening worlds, through that infernal arch
 O'er whose rough summit awful words are read,
 That freeze each entering soul with hopeless dread.¹
 Now at her bidding his strong numbers flow,
 And rend the heart at Ugolino's woe;²
 While Nature's glory-giving tear bedews
 A tale unrivall'd by the Grecian Muse.
 Now to those notes that milder grief inspire,
 Pathetic Tenderness attunes his lyre,
 Which, soft as murmurs of the plaintive dove,
 Tells the sad issue of illicit love.³
 But all the worse companions of his way
 Soon into different sounds his ductile voice betray :
 Satiric Fury now appears his guide,
 Thro' thorny Paths of Enmity and Pride ;
 Now quaint Conceit his wand'ring steps misleads
 Thro' all the hideous forms that Folly breeds ;
 Now Priestly Dullness the lost Bard enshrouds
 In cold confusion and scholastic clouds.
 Unequal Spirit! in thy various strain,
 With all their influence Light and Darkness reign ;
 In thy strange Verse and wayward Theme alike
 New forms of Beauty and Disorder strike ;
 Extremes of Harmony and Discord dwell,
 The Seraph's music and the Demon's yell!
 The patient Reader, to thy merit just,
 With transport glows, and shudders with disgust.
 Thy Failings sprung from thy disastrous time ;
 Thy stronger Beauties from a soul sublime,
 Whose vigor burst, like the volcano's flame,
 From central darkness to the sphere of fame.
(Epist. iii. 79-122.)

[Imitation of Dante's sonnet to Guido Cavalcanti]

Though Dante is described as much inclined to melancholy, and his genius particularly delighted in the gloomy and sublime, yet in his early period of life he seems to have possessed all the lighter graces of sprightly composition, as appears from the following airy and sportive sonnet :

¹ [Inf. iii. 1 ff.]

² [Inf. xxxiii. 1 ff.]

³ [Inf. v. 97 ff.]

A GUIDO CAVALCANTI¹

Guido, vorrei, che tu, e Lappo, ed io,
 Fossimo presi per incantamento,
 E messi ad un vassel, ch' ad ogni vento
 Per mare andasse a voler vostro e mio ;
 Sicché fortuna, od altro tempo rio,
 Non ci potesse dare impedimento :
 Anzi vivendo sempre in noi talento²
 Di stare insieme crescesse 'l disio.
 E monna Vanna, e monna Bice poi,
 Con quella su il numer delle trenta,³
 Con noi ponesse il buono incantatore ;
 E quivi ragionar sempre d' amore :
 E ciascuna di lor fosse contenta,
 Siccome io credo che sariamo noi.

IMITATION

Henry ! I wish that you, and Charles, and I,
 By some sweet spell within a bark were plac'd,
 A gallant bark with magic virtue grac'd,
 Swift at our will with every wind to fly :
 So that no changes of the shifting sky,
 No stormy terrors of the watery waste,
 Might bar our course, but heighten still our taste
 Of sprightly joy, and of our social tie :
 Then, that my Lucy, Lucy fair and free,
 With those soft nymphs on whom your souls are bent,
 The kind magician might to us convey,
 To talk of love throughout the live-long day ;
 And that each fair might be as well content
 As I in truth believe our hearts would be.

These lively verses were evidently written before the Poet lost the object of his earliest attachment, as she is mentioned by the name of Bice. . . .⁴

(*Epistle iii. Note iv. pp. 170-1.*)

[Hayley's introduction to his translation of the first three cantos of the *Inferno* in triple rhyme]

The critical dissertations that have been written on Dante are almost as numerous as those to which Homer has given birth : the Italian, like the Grecian Bard, has been the subject of the highest

¹[*Son. xxxii, in the Dante Oxford.*]

²[*Read in un talento.*]

³[*Read quella ch' è sul numero del trenta.*]

⁴[Here follows a discussion, mainly taken from Boccaccio, as to the date of the composition of the *Divina Commedia.*]

panegyric, and of the grossest invective. Voltaire has spoken of him with that precipitate vivacity, which so frequently led that lively Frenchman to insult the reputation of the noblest writers. . . . In one of his entertaining letters, he says to an Italian Abbé, 'Je fais grand cas du courage, avec lequel vous avez osé dire que Dante étoit un fou, et son ouvrage un monstre. . . . Le Dante pourra entrer dans les bibliothèques des curieux, mais il ne sera jamais lu.'¹ But more temperate and candid Critics have not been wanting, to display the merits of this original Poet. Mr. Warton has introduced into his last volume on English Poetry, a judicious and spirited summary of Dante's performance.² We have several versions of the celebrated story of Ugolino;³ but I believe no entire Canto of Dante has hitherto appeared in our language,⁴ though his whole work has been translated into French, Spanish, and Latin verse. The three Cantos which follow⁵ were translated a few years ago, to oblige a particular friend. The Author has since been solicited to execute an entire translation of Dante: but the extreme inequality of this Poet would render such a work a very laborious undertaking; and it appears very doubtful how far such a version would interest our country. Perhaps the reception of these Cantos may discover to the translator the sentiments of the public. At all events, he flatters himself that the ensuing portion of a celebrated poem may afford some pleasure from its novelty, as he has endeavoured to give the English reader an idea of Dante's peculiar manner, by adopting his triple rhyme; and he does not recollect that this mode of versification has ever appeared before in our language:⁶ it has obliged him, of course, to make the number of translated lines correspond exactly with those of the original. The difficulties attending this metre will sufficiently shew themselves, and obtain some degree of indulgence from the intelligent and candid reader.

(*Epistle iii. Note iv. pp. 172-3.*)

¹[In his letter to Bettinelli, Dec. 1759 (see above, pp. 210-11).]

²[See above, pp. 283 ff.]

³[By Jonathan Richardson (1719), Baretti (1753), Joseph Warton (1756), Lord Carlisle (1772), and Thomas Warton (1781)—see above, pp. 197-9, 261-2, 292-3, 302-3, 334-6; the episode had also been translated by Gray (c. 1737-40), but Hayley probably did not know of this version, as it was not published in his lifetime (see above, pp. 232-4).]

⁴[This proves that Hayley's version was written before the publication of Charles Rogers' translation of the *Inferno*, which appeared in this same year (1782); (see below, pp. 382 ff. .)]

⁵[Only Canto ii. is given here.]

⁶[Hayley was evidently ignorant of the fact that both Wyatt and Surrey wrote English poems in *terza rima*, and that Milton rendered the second Psalm in the same metre. Gray notes these facts in his *Observations on English Metre*, first published in 1814, but written in 1760-1, twenty years before the date at which Hayley was writing. Gray might have added that Chaucer and Drummond also wrote in *terza rima*.]

THE INFERNO OF DANTE¹

Canto II

The day was sinking, and the dusky air
 On all the animals of earth bestow'd
 Rest from their labours. I alone prepare
 To meet new toil, both from my dreary road,
 And pious wish to paint in worthy phrase
 The Unerring Mind, and his divine abode.
 O Sacred Muses! now my genius raise!
 O Memory, who writest what I saw,
 From hence shall spring thy ever-during praise!
 Kind Poet (I began, with trembling awe)
 Mark if my soul be equal to this aim!
 Nor into scenes too hard my weakness draw!
 Thy Song declares, the Chief of pious fame
 Appear'd among the blest, retaining still
 His mortal senses and material frame;
 Yet, if the great Opposer of all ill
 Shew'd grace to him, as knowing what and who
 Should from him rise, and mighty things fulfil,
 Most worthy he appear'd, in Reason's view,
 That Heaven should chuse him as the Roman Sire,
 Scourge of that empire which so widely grew,
 Mark'd in its growth by the angelic choir
 To be the seat where Sanctity should rest,
 And Peter's heirs yet raise dominion higher.
 From his dark journey, in thy Song exprest,
 He learn'd mysterious things; from whence arose
 Rome's early grandeur and the Papal vest.
 To Paul, while living, heaven's high powers disclose
 Their secret bliss, that he may thence receive
 Strength in that faith from which salvation flows.
 But how may I this high exploit atchieve?
 I'm not Aeneas, nor the holy Paul:
 Of this unworthy I myself believe:
 If then I follow at thy friendly call,
 Midway perchance my trembling soul may sink:
 Wise as thou art, thou may'st foresee my fall.
 Now as a man who, shudd'ring on the brink
 Of some great venture, sudden shifts his mind,
 And feels his spirit from the peril shrink;
 So, in this scene of doubt and darkness join'd,
 Wavering I wasted thought in wild affright,
 And the first ardour of my soul resign'd.

¹[Hayley prints the Italian original on the opposite page.]

If thy faint words I understand aright,
 (Reply'd the mighty and magnanimous shade)
 Those mists of fear have dimm'd thy mental sight,
 Which oft the seat of human sense invade,
 And make blind mortals from high deeds recoil,
 By Terror's airy phantasies betray'd :
 But, that such fears thy soul no more may soil,
 I'll tell thee whence I came ; at whose request ;
 When first I pitied thy uncertain toil.
 From the suspended host in which I rest,
 A lovely Spirit call'd me, fair as light ;
 Eager I waited on her high behest ;
 While eyes beyond the solar radiance bright,
 And with the sweetness of an angel's tongue,
 Thus her soft words my willing aid invite :
 O ever gentle shade, from Mantua sprung !
 Whose fame unfading on the earth shall last
 As long as earth in ambient air is hung ;
 My friend, whose love all base desire surpast,
 In yon drear desert finds his passage barr'd,
 And compass'd round with terrors stands aghast ;
 And much I fear, beset with dangers hard,
 He may be lost beyond all friendly reach,
 And I from heaven descend too late a guard.
 But go ! and with thy soft soul-soothing speech,
 And all the aid thy wisdom may inspire,
 The ways of safety to this wanderer teach !
 My name is Beatrice : the heavenly quire
 For this I left, tho' ever left with pain ;
 But love suggested what I now desire.
 When I the presence of my lord regain,
 On thee my praises with delight shall dwell.
 So spake this angel, in her heavenly strain.
 Bright Fair, (I cry'd) who didst on earth excel
 All that e'er shone beneath the lunar sphere,
 And every mind to virtuous love impel !
 Had I e'en now perform'd the task I hear,
 That swift performance I should think too slow :
 Nor needs there more ; your gracious will is clear :
 Yet how you venture, I would gladly know,
 From those pure realms, to which again you fly,
 So near the center of eternal woe.
 What you require (she said, in kind reply)
 I briefly will explain : how thus I dare,
 Unconscious of alarm, these depths to try.

From these things only springs our fearful care,
 By which our hapless friends may suffer ill ;
 But not from other ; for no fear is there.
 Such am I form'd, by Heaven's most gracious will,
 That torture cannot touch my purer frame,
 E'en where fierce fires his flaming region fill.
 A gentle spirit (Lucia is her name)
 In heaven laments the hardships of my friend,
 For whom I ask your aid : to me she came,
 And kindly bade me to his woes attend :
 Behold (she said) thy servant in distress !
 And I his safety to thy care commend.
 Lucia, the friend of all whom ills oppress,
 Me, where I sate with pensive Rachel, sought,
 In heavenly contemplation's deep recess :
 In mercy's name (she cry'd) thus lost in thought,
 Seest thou not him who held thy charms so dear,
 Whom Love to rise above the vulgar taught ?
 And dost thou not his lamentation hear,
 Nor see the horror, which his strength impairs,
 On yon wide torrent, with no haven near ?
 Never was mind, intent on worldly cares,
 So eager wealth to gain, or loss to shun,
 As, when acquainted with these deadly snares,
 I flew from the blest confines of the sun,
 Trusting that eloquence, which to thy name
 And to thy followers such praise has won.
 She having thus explain'd her gracious aim,
 Turn'd her bright eyes, which tears of pity fill :
 And hence more swift to thy relief I came ;
 And, pleas'd to execute her heavenly will,
 I sav'd thee from the fury of that Beast,
 Which barr'd thy journey up the brighter hill.
 Why then, O why has all thy ardour ceas'd ?
 And whence this faintness in thy feeble mind ?
 Why has its noble energy decreas'd,
 When these pure Spirits, for thy good combin'd,
 Watch o'er thy safety in their heavenly seat,
 And I reveal the favour thou shalt find ?—
 As tender flowers, reviv'd by solar heat,
 That thro' the chilling night have sunk deprest
 Rise and unfold, the welcome ray to meet ;
 So rose my spirit, of new life possess'd ;
 And, my warm heart on high achievements bent,
 I thus my animating guide address :

Gracious that Spirit who thy succour sent!
 And friendly thou, who freely hast display'd
 Thy zeal to execute her 'kind' intent!
 Thy soothing words have to my soul convey'd
 Such keen desire to those bright realms to soar,
 I scorn the terror that my step delay'd.
 Now lead!—thy pleasure I dispute no more.
 My lord, my master thou! and thou my guard!—
 I ended here; and, while he march'd before,
 The gloomy road I enter'd, deep and hard.
 (Epistle iii. Note iv. pp. 183-91.)

DAINES BARRINGTON

(1727-1800)

[Hon. Daines Barrington, fourth son of the first Viscount Barrington, was born in 1727. Having been called to the bar, at the age of twenty-four he was appointed Marshal of the High Court of Admiralty. In 1757 he was made Justice of the Counties of Merioneth, Carnarvon, and Anglesey; in 1764 he became Recorder of Bristol; and from 1778 to 1785 he was second Justice of Chester. In 1785 he abandoned professional work and devoted himself to the study of antiquities and natural history. He became Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries, and was one of the correspondents of Gilbert White whom he is said to have encouraged to write his famous *Natural History of Selborne*. He died in 1800, and was buried in the Temple Church. In one of his antiquarian papers Barrington has an interesting note on Dante's mention of striking clocks.]

1779. OBSERVATIONS ON THE EARLIEST INTRODUCTION OF CLOCKS.
 IN A LETTER TO THE HONOURABLE MR. JUSTICE BLACKSTONE.

[Dante's mention of striking clocks]

DANTE seems to be the first author who has introduced the mention of an *orologio*, which struck the hour (and consequently cannot be a dial), in the following lines:

'Indi come horologio che *ne chiami*,
 Nel hora che la sposa d' Idio surge,
 A mattinar lo sposo, perche l' ami.'

Dante, Paradiso, C. x.¹

Now Dante was born in 1265, and died in 1321, aged 57; therefore striking clocks could not have been very uncommon in Italy at the latter end of 13th century, or the very beginning of the 14th. But the use of clocks was not confined to Italy at this period; for we had one of these artists in England precisely about

¹[Par. x. 139-41.]

the same time, who furnished the famous clock-house near Westminster-hall, with a clock to be heard by the courts of law,¹ out of a fine imposed on the Chief Justice of the King's Bench in the 16th year of Edward I, or A.D. 1288.²

(*Annual Register*, vol. xxii. pp. 133-4.)

JAMES HARRIS

(1709-1780)

[James Harris, father of the first Earl of Malmesbury, was born at Salisbury in 1709. He went to Wadham College, Oxford, in 1726, and later read law at Lincoln's Inn, but he never practised. He was an ardent student of the classics and especially of Aristotle. In 1761 he became M.P. for Christchurch, which he represented until his death in 1780. He served successively as Lord of the Admiralty (1763), Lord of the Treasury (1763), and Secretary and Comptroller to Queen Charlotte (1774). Harris' most famous work, *Hermes, or a Philosophical Inquiry concerning Universal Grammar*, was published in 1751. It was in reference to this book that Dr. Johnson said, 'Harris is a prig, and a bad prig. I looked into his book, and thought he did not understand his own system.'³ Harris several times mentions Dante in his survey of the history of literature in his *Philological Inquiries*, published in the year of his death.]

1780. PHILOLOGICAL INQUIRIES.

[Provençal the forerunner of the Italian of Dante and Petrarch]

ABOUT the beginning of the eleventh century, and for a century or two after, flourished the Tribe of Troubadours, or Provençal Poets, who chiefly lived in the Courts of those Princes, that had Sovereignties in or near Provence, where the *Provençal Language* was spoken. 'Twas in this Language they wrote, a Language, which, tho' obsolete now, was then esteemed the best in Europe, being prior to the *Italian* of Dante and Petrarch.

(Part iii. Chap. ix., in *Works*, vol. ii. pp. 511-12, ed. 1801.)

[Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio excelled both in sentiment and in diction]

Thro' the Southern parts of *France* the Troubadours (already mentioned) composed Sonnets in the *Provençal Tongue*. Soon after them *Dante*, *Petrarch*, and *Boccaccio* wrote Poems in *Italian*; and soon after these, *Chaucer*, flourished in *England*. From *Chaucer*, thro' *Rowley*,⁴ we pass to Lords *Surry* and

¹[Barrington omits to mention the celebrated Glastonbury clock, now in Wells Cathedral, which the late Dean Plumtre fondly thought Dante might have seen.]

² See Selden in his Pref. to Hengham.

³[Boswell's *Johnson*, Globe ed. 1899, p. 449.]

⁴[The 'Rowley Poems,' fabricated by Chatterton, had been published in 1777.]

Dorset; from them to *Spencer*, *Shakspeare*, and *Johnson*: after whom came *Milton*, *Waller*, *Dryden*, *Pope*, and a succession of Geniuses, down to the present time. The three Italian Poets, we have mentioned, were capital in their kind, being not only strong and powerful in *Sentiment*, but what is more surprising, elegant in their *Diction* at a time, when *the Languages of England and France*, were barbarous and unpolished. This in *English* is evident from our Countryman, *Chaucer*, who, even to an *English* Reader appears so uncouth, and who yet wrote later than the latest of these three.

(Part iii. Chap. xi., in *Works*, vol. ii. pp. 542-3, ed. 1801.)

JOHN BOWLE

(1725-1788)

[John Bowle, known to his friends as 'Don Bowle,'—'the learned and ingenious publisher of *Don Quixote*,' as Thomas Warton describes him,—was born in 1725; he was educated at Oriel College, Oxford (M.A. 1750); and died at Idmiston, Wiltshire (of which he was vicar) in 1788, on his sixty-third birthday. He was a scholar of wide learning, being well acquainted not only with the Greek and Latin classics, but also with French, Spanish, and Italian. His title to fame is his monumental edition of *Don Quixote* (text, commentary, and index), which was published in 1781 in six 4to volumes. Bowle possessed a large and valuable library; among his books were six editions of the *Divina Commedia*, one with the commentary of Landino (see below, p. 373 n. 4) from which he quotes in the notes on Milton printed below; and a copy of the very rare *editio princeps* of the Latin text of Dante's *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (Paris, 1577). His annotations on Milton were not published by Bowle himself, but were printed 'from his interleaved copy of Milton,' by Thomas Warton in his editions of the minor poems of Milton (1785, 1791); and by H. J. Todd in his edition of Milton (1801-1826).]

c. 1780. ANNOTATIONS ON MILTON.

[Dante and the Franciscan Guido da Montefeltro]

AND they, who to be sure of Paradise,
Dying, put on the weeds of Dominick,
Or in Franciscan think to pass disguised.
(*P. L.* iii. 478-80.)

These verses allude to a ridiculous opinion, that obtained in the dark ages of Popery; that, at the time of death, to be clothed in a friar's habit, was an infallible road to heaven. . . . Buchanan, in his *Franciscanus*, exposes this fact in a pleasing satire. And Dante places, in his *Inferno*, the Conte da Montre feltro, notwithstanding his *having taken the habit of a Franciscan*.¹

(Quoted by Todd.)

¹[*Inf.* xxvii. 67-8.]

[Landino's comment on Dante's devils]

‘Horror and doubt distract
His troubled thoughts, and from the bottom stir
The Hell within him ; for within him Hell
He brings. . . .
Which way I fly is Hell ; myself am Hell.’

(P. L. iv. 17-21, 75.)

Landino, in his comment on the thirty-fourth canto of Dante's *Inferno*, speaking of the Devils, says ‘*Sempre portano seco il suo inferno.*’¹

(Quoted by Todd.)

[Dante and Casella]

‘The Angel ended, and in Adam's ear
So charming left his voice, that he awhile
Thought him still speaking, still stood fix'd to hear.’

(P. L. viii. 1-3.)

There is a beautiful passage in Dante, where the poet ‘meets in the milder shades of Purgatory’ his friend Casella the musician, whom “he woos to sing ;” and the request being complied with, the ravishing effect of his song is thus described, *Infern.* c. ii. 113.

‘Cominciò egli allor, sì dolcemente,
Che la dolcezza ancor dentro mi suona.’²

(Quoted by Todd.)

[Dante's use of *inchinare*]

‘Adam bow'd low ; he, Kingly, from his state
Inclin'd not.’

(P. L. xi. 249-50.)

This expression is perfectly Italian. Thus Virgil, in the ninth canto of Dante's *Inferno*, beckons to the poet, who is himself the hero of his own poem, to make himself easy, and to *incline* to the Angel, st. 29.

‘*quei fe segno
Che stessi queto, et inchinassi ad esso.*’³

Landino's comment on this passage will serve as well for Milton as for Dante. ‘*Chi inchina,*’ says he, ‘*fa riverentia ; et significa lo' nchinare cedere al superiore, et esser pronto a sottometersi,*’ &c. p. 75.⁴

(Quoted by Todd.)

¹[The passage occurs in Landino's comment on *Inf.* xxxiv. 16 ff.]

²[Not from the *Inferno*, but from *Purg.* ii. 113-14.]

³[*Inf.* ix. 86-7.]

⁴[The reference is to the Venice edition of the *Divina Commedia* of 1536, with the Commentary of Landino, of which Bowle possessed a copy (see below, p. 374).]

[Christ called 'Giove' by Dante]

'Full little thought they then,
That the mighty Pan
Was kindly come to live with them below.'
(*Hymn on the Morning of Christ's Nativity*, 88-90.)

Christ is called a Shepherd in the sacred writings: Dante calls him Jupiter. *Purgat.* c. vi. 118.

'O sommo Giove,
Che fosti 'n terra per nos¹ crucifisso.'
(*Quoted by Warlon.*)

1790. CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY OF THE REV. JOHN BOWLE.

[Bowe's library contained eight Dante items—one of great rarity, viz. the *editio princeps* of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (Paris, 1577), (priced at 3s. 1) It included six editions of the *Commedia*, viz. Venice (Aldus), 1515 (5s.); Venice (Giolitto), 1536 (9s.), the edition from which Bowle quotes in his notes on Milton (see above, p. 373); Lyon (Rovillio), 1552 (12s.); Venice (Pietro da Fino), 1568, with the commentary of Daniello (9s.); Vicenza (Leni), 1613, one of the rare seventeenth century editions (2s. 6d.); and Padua (Comino), 1727 (12s.); also the Latin translation by Carlo d' Aquino, Naples, 1728 (21s.).]

MARTIN SHERLOCK

(c. 1750-1797)

[Martin Sherlock, a native of Kilkenny, was born about 1750. In 1763 he entered Trinity College, Dublin, which he left without a degree. About 1777 he became Chaplain to the Earl of Bristol, Bishop of Derry, in whose suite probably he visited the Continent, where he travelled extensively both in Central Europe and Italy. His letters, written during his travels, which were published in French at Geneva in 1779 under the title of *Lettres d'un Voyageur Anglois*, were translated into English by John Duncombe, with notes, and published in London in 1780. A second series was issued in French in 1780 and in English in 1781, in which year Sherlock published in English a volume of essays, entitled *Letters on Several Subjects*. He was appointed Vicar of Castlecomer and Kilglass in 1782, and Archdeacon of Killala in 1788. He died in Ireland in 1797. Sherlock expresses himself very freely in condemnation of Dante (perhaps under the influence of Voltaire, whom he visited at Ferney).]

1780. LETTERS FROM AN ENGLISH TRAVELLER.² TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH ORIGINAL PRINTED AT GENEVA AND PARIS. WITH NOTES.³

[Metastasio compared with Dante]

WHEN one examines Metastasio's works well, and compares them with the Gothic productions of Dante, with the absurdities of Ariosto, with the extravagances of Marini, and with the puerilities of Tasso, one is astonished at the decision of the Italians: they prefer Tasso, to Metastasio, and

¹[Read *noi*.]

²Martin Sherlock, Esq.

³[The translation and notes are by John Duncombe (1729-1786) (see below, pp. 378 ff.)]

Ariosto to Tasso. . . . I hope you do not imagine that I deny that Dante had an astonishing genius, and that he had some passages of the highest sublime.

(Letter x, from Vienna, pp. 62-3.)

[Sherlock's condemnation of Dante]

I frequented the men of letters here, as I do everywhere, particularly the poets. It is incredible, that with such poets as the Italians have, they should be so much behind other nations in their poetical knowledge: they have an obstinate blindness in favour of their poets, of which I do not think they will ever be cured. The *Bolge* of Dante, and the extravagances of Ariosto, are the objects of their idolatry; and, in spite of reason and common sense, they prefer those absurdities to the finest productions of all other nations. Dante, according to them, is the first of all men; and Ariosto, whom they own to be inferior to Dante, is infinitely above Homer. After having read the *Divina Commedia* and the *Orlando Furioso*, I began to give my opinion of them according to the ideas established in my country,¹ in France, and in all places where there are men of taste. I spoke the language of reason, the Italian poets were not used to it; they declared war against me: I quitted their society, and I thought I should do service to poetry, by publishing a book in Italian,² in which I endeavoured to show young poets the principles on which they ought to compose: I told them that nature and truth were the only basis of poetry. . . . I allowed that Horace, Longinus, and Boileau, would have been charmed with the beauties of Dante and Ariosto, taken from nature, and founded on truth; but that they would have condemned the whole of those two poems, as being contrary to reason, good sense, and consequently to good taste, and, as models, dangerous to an extreme for young poets.

(Letter xx, from Rome, pp. 128-9.)

[Sherlock's strictures upon Dante approved]

To the most learned Signor Sherlock.

On Pindus' summit who allays the storms,
The empty reasoning, of melodious bards?
Who on the rocks of taste thus nobly warms
The frozen ashes, wont to claim rewards?

¹ *Translator's note.* It is by no means so decided a point as this author ventures to assert, that Dante and Ariosto are not ranked among the first of poets even 'in this country;' and if in some well-known passages the former has equalled any poet of any age, his abilities must be allowed equal to his best lines.

² *Consiglio ad un giovane Poeta.* [Published at Naples in 1779. Portions of the work were translated into French (Paris, 1780); and thence into English (London, 1786).]

'Tis thou, sage Sherlock, who hast taught our youth
 Of magic and romance to spurn the flights,
 Triumphant long o'er Nature and o'er Truth
 In the mad follies of advent'rous knights :
 Thou Dante's secret horrors canst disperse,
 Crown'd in Ausonia by the sons of verse,
 Too weak and credulous, with wreathes divine :
 Whence turning to the Latian shore, we see
 Horace, Boileau, made more renown'd by these ;
 A new Longinus, Italy, is thine.

The Abbé Antonio Scarpelli,

Under-keeper of the Arcadia in Rome.

(p. 133.)

[Shakespeare and Dante compared—Dante's poem 'the worst that there is in any language']

Nature never produced a poet equal to Shakspeare ; Homer approaches the nearest to him, but at a great distance : you smile ; but a moment ago, say you, I condemned the Italians for the extravagance of their prejudices in favour of Dante ; and now I am guilty of the same crime, and from the same cause, an excess of national self-love. I did not presume to condemn Dante on my own ideas : much less do I presume to exalt Shakspeare on my own judgement : I would not admit the Italians as judges of Dante, nor the English as judges of Shakspeare ; I summon them both to the tribunal of Longinus, Horace, and Boileau ; and I would have each of them hold the rank which shall be granted him by the united decision of those critics. . . .

The enlightened Italians will own, allowing all the merit of Dante, that his poem is the worst that there is in any language : when we think of the age in which he lived, the poet must be deemed a prodigy ; when we read his poem at present, it must be considered as a mass of various kinds of knowledge gothickly heaped together, without order and without design. Take away from the *Divine Comedy* five or six beautiful passages, and four or five hundred fine verses, what remains is only a tissue of barbarisms, absurdities, and horrors.

And had not Shakspeare faults ? He had many and great ones : he wrote ten volumes of plays, he wrote for the stage, and he was obliged to flatter the taste of his age, which was bad.—Therefore the merit of Shakspeare and that of Dante are equal ; they both had sublime beauties and great faults.—There is only this difference, that the grand passages of the Italian poet are reducible to the narration of Count Ugolino, the history of Francesca di Rimini, the description of the arsenal of Venice, and two

or three more ; and that the grand passages of Shakspeare are innumerable ; that in Dante we shall find, in three pages, four beautiful lines ; and that in Shakspeare we shall find, in four pages, six lines that are not beautiful. . . .

Ubi plura nitent in carmine—

as in Shakspeare,

Non ego paucis offendar maculis ;
In a work where many beauties shine,
I will not cavil at a few mistakes ;

And by the bye,

Ubi pauca nitent in carmine,—

as in Dante, I will not suffer myself to be dazzled by some shreds of purple.

(*Letter xxi, from Rome, pp. 134 ff.*)

[Instance of the use of the letter 'r' in Dante]

The Poets of every nation avail themselves of the consonant R as often as they can, when they have anything to express that is harsh, blustering, terrible, discordant, or grating to the ear ; as . . .

Ov' udirai le disperate strida . . .¹

Ahi dura terra, perchè non t' apristi . . .²

Le Dante.

(*Ed. 1802, vol. i. p. 224.*)

1781. NEW LETTERS FROM AN ENGLISH TRAVELLER. WRITTEN ORIGINALLY IN FRENCH.³ AND NOW TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY THE AUTHOR.

[Dante one of the boasts of Tuscany]

Padua produced Livy ; Venice, Titian ; and Ferrara, Ariosto. Tuscany boasts of Dante, of Petrarch, and of Michael Angelo.
(p. 16.)

[Dante's testimony to the greatness of Homer]

If the admiration of Virgil for this Father of Poetry, proved by a continual imitation, makes no effect on these critics ; if the judgment of Horace makes none :

Non si priores Maeonius tenet

Sedes Homerus ;⁴

if they despise the suffrage of Dante :

¹[*Inf. i. 115.*]

²[*Inf. xxxiii. 66.*]

³[The French edition was published in 1780.]

⁴[*Carm. iv. 9, 6.*]

Quegli è Omero Poeta sovrano . . .

Signor dell' altissimo canto,

*Che sovra gli altri, come Aquila voila;*¹

if they are insensible to the enthusiasm of Longinus for him . . . if, I say, the testimonies of philosophers, of poets, and of critics, such as Plato, Pope, Boileau, Horace, Longinus, Dante, and Virgil, do not persuade them, we have only to weep with Heraclitus for the weakness of mankind, or laugh with the philosopher of Abdera at their foolish and ridiculous pride.

(pp. 89-92.)

1781. ORIGINAL LETTERS ON SEVERAL SUBJECTS.

[What Longinus would have thought of the *Divina Commedia*]

Ye admirers of Dante and Ariosto read Longinus not. Longinus the Homer of critics, is all good sense; he will break your idols . . . he who would have condemned to the flames that 'monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens,' the *Divina Comedia*, would have read some of its verses with transport. On perusing the Canto of Count Ugolino,² the sentimental soul of Longinus would have exclaimed 'Homer has nothing so sublime!'

(Ed. 1802, p. 224.)

[Shakespeare compared with Dante and Machiavelli]

To say that Shakespeare had the imagination of Dante, and the depth of Machiavel, would be a weak encomium: he had them, and more.

(*Ibid.* p. 227.)

JOHN DUNCOMBE

(1729-1786)

[John Duncombe, born in London in 1729, was educated at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (M.A. 1752), of which he became a Fellow. He was appointed chaplain to Lord Cork and Orrery, who addressed to him his *Letters from Italy* (1754-55), which were published by Duncombe with a life of the author in 1773 (see above, pp. 276-7). In 1757 Duncombe was presented to the livings of St. Andrew and St. Mary Bredman, Canterbury, where he subsequently held various other appointments. He died at Canterbury in 1786. Duncombe published poems and archæological works, besides a translation (1780), with notes, of Sherlock's *Lettres d' un Voyageur Anglois*, in which he combats certain opinions of the writer concerning Dante (see above, pp. 374-7). In a posthumous article in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (published in July, 1786) Duncombe gives an interesting criticism of Hayley's attempt to translate Dante in the metre of the original.]

¹[*Inf.* iv. 88, 95-6.]

²This shocking but picturesque subject now speaks to all nations in the universal language of Sir Joshua Reynolds. [Sir Joshua's picture was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1773 (see above, p. 343).]

1780. **I**N this year Duncombe published an English translation of Martin Sherlock's *Lettres d'un Voyageur Anglois* (Geneva, 1779), with notes, in one of which he disputes Sherlock's statement that Dante was held in low estimation in England (see above, p. 375 note 1).

1786. July. GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE. REVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF THE CALIPH VATHEK.¹

[Remarks upon Hayley's translation of *Inferno* i.-iii.]

. . . The punishment of the votaries of Eblis is thus described :—

'At almost the same instant, the same voice announced to the Caliph, Nouronihar, the five Princes, and the Princess, the awful and irrevocable decree. Their hearts immediately took fire, and they, at once, lost the most precious of the gifts of heaven, HOPE.'

On this passage we have the following remark :—

'It is a soothing reflection to the bulk of mankind, that the commonness of any blessing is the true test of its value. Hence HOPE is justly styled the most precious of the gifts of heaven, because, as Thales long since observed, it abides with those who are destitute of every other.'

The fine passage of Dante, to which this bears so near a resemblance, is noticed in a preceding remark :

'Lasciate ogni speranza, voi che entrate'

which is well rendered by Mr. Hayley,

'Quit every hope, all ye who enter here.'

How much, observes the editor, have the publick to regret, after the specimen given, that Mr. Hayley does not complete the *Inferno*! It is indeed a 'consummation' eagerly to be desired; and, having mentioned this subject, we will avail ourselves of the present occasion to make some short remarks concerning it. After a minute revisal of the three cantos of the *Inferno*, translated by Mr. Hayley, we will venture to pronounce them not only faithful to the sense, but the spirit of the original; and yet we do not believe that such a translation of the *Inferno* would ever become popular. The measure of the original is not adapted to our language; and the poetical powers of Mr. Hayley cannot make it harmonious to an English ear; and the difficulty of its construction should be an insuperable objection to its use. Perhaps, as Dr. Johnson has remarked of another department of literature, it can only be compared to the labour of the anvil and the mine. Mr. Hayley has remarked, that the Italian *terzina* had never before

¹[The authorship of this article is assigned to Duncombe by Nichols (see *Literary Anecdotes*, viii. 160).]

been used in English poetry. In this he is slightly mistaken, for Milton has adopted it, we think, in his version of the second Psalm.¹ We earnestly desire to see a translation of the *Inferno* by Mr. Hayley, in the heroic measure, which will be a valuable addition to English literature. Dryden's fables present an excellent model of versification, and we think that the triplet of Dante might in general be compressed into the English distich.

(Vol. lvi. Part ii. pp. 593-4.)

JOHN NICHOLS

(1745-1826)

[John Nichols, printer and author, was born at Islington, where his father was a baker, in 1745. In 1757 he was apprenticed to William Bowyer the printer, whose partner he became in 1766. In 1778 he joined the management of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, of which he was sole manager from 1792 to 1826. Nichols, who was the author and editor of numerous works, poetical, biographical, and antiquarian, and enjoyed the friendship of Dr. Johnson, Horace Walpole, Gibbon, and many of the leading men of the day, died in 1826. In his *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, a storehouse of bibliographical and biographical information (published in nine volumes, 1812-15), occur several incidental references to Dante—among them, an account of Charles Rogers, the translator of the *Inferno* (vol. iii. pp. 256 ff.—see below, pp. 382 ff.), and a criticism of Duncombe on Hayley's translation of the first three cantos of the *Inferno* (vol. viii. p. 160—see above, pp. 379-80).]

1780. LITERARY ANECDOTES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.²

[A reply to Sherlock's strictures upon Dante]

LATELY appeared at Paris, *Observations sur les Poètes Italiens, par M. Bassi; ou, Réponse aux Remarques sur les mêmes Poésies, du Voyageur Anglais, M. Sherlock.*³ This Author, a Professor of the Italian and English language at Paris, defends the poetical characters of Dante, Tasso, Ariosto, Petrarca, Chiabrera, Marini, &c. against Mr. Sherlock's sentiments; and examines the reasons why the Italians have had no tragic poets comparable to those of other nations, as the Romans had none comparable to those of the Greeks.

(Vol. viii. p. 71.)

GEORGE AUGUSTUS SELWYN

(1719-1791)

[George Selwyn, who was born in 1719, was educated at Eton (where he was contemporary with Gray and with Horace Walpole, his life-long friend) and at Hart

¹[See above, p. 366 note 6.]

²[Published in 1812-15.]

³[See above, pp. 374 ff.]

Hall (now Hertford College), Oxford, whence he was rusticated in 1745. In 1747 he entered parliament as member for the family borough of Ludgershall, which he represented until 1754, when he was elected for Gloucester. He sat for Gloucester in four parliaments until 1780, when to his great disgust he was turned out, and had to take refuge once more at Ludgershall, for which he sat till his death in 1791. (An amusing account of the Gloucester election at which Selwyn lost his seat is given by Horace Walpole in a letter to Lady Orrery, 23 Sept. 1780.) Selwyn had a great reputation as a wit among his contemporaries, which such of his sayings as have been preserved hardly justify. His portrait was twice painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds, once in company with his intimate friend, the Earl of Carlisle. The fact that the latter was a student and translator of Dante, no doubt accounts for a quotation from Dante in one of Selwyn's letters to him. (See also a letter of Lord Carlisle to Selwyn, above, p. 336.)]

1781. LETTER TO EARL OF CARLISLE.¹

[Gloucester a *città dolente* to Selwyn]

IT is now a doubt if Barrow² is dead, which the whole town believed when I was last out; not one syllable of it in any letter which I have had from Gloucester. I shall be very glad never more to hear his name or any other relative to that infernal place while I live. It has been truly a *città dolente*³ to me.

(Printed in *Historical MSS. Commission. Report XV*, Appendix, Part vi. p. 448.)

ANONYMOUS

1781. ANNUAL REGISTER.—ACCOUNT OF BOOKS—THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY, BY THOMAS WARTON. VOLUME III.

[Warton's comparison of Sackville's *Descent into Hell* with the *Inferno*]

MR. WARTON compares Dante's *Inferno* with Sackville's *Descent into Hell*.⁴ They both have for their foundation the sixth book of Virgil, and their different modes of treating the subject, arise in a great measure from the different periods at which they wrote. Dante composed his poem about the year 1310, and when the spirit of chivalry and romance was at the highest. It is this spirit that renders many of his sublime parts more fearful and terrible by infusing into them an air of mysteriousness, and it is the same spirit that often exhibits effects of the most ridiculous and incongruous nature, when incorporated with the ideas of the antient classics. In treating the softer passions Dante is incomparable: his descriptions are the most natural and graceful

¹[Frederick Howard, fifth Earl of Carlisle (1748-1825).]

²[Charles Barrow (created a baronet in 1784), who sat for Gloucester City from 1751 till his death in 1789. George Selwyn sat as junior member from 1754 to 1780.]

³[*Inf.* iii. 1.]

⁴[See above, pp. 282-3.]

that can be conceived, and tinged with a degree of sentiment and refinement (for the source of which we must look to chivalry and romance), not easily to be found in the best classical authors. Sackville¹ wrote about the year 1557, when the models of antiquity were better understood than they were in Dante's time, and when they began to have their true and genuine effect. His compositions are therefore more natural and correct, although inferior, as there are few but are so, in point of sublimity to Dante. Mr. Warton has been particularly attentive to the works of these two poets,² not only on account of their intrinsic merit, but also from their being the models which Spenser and Milton afterwards studied with great attention.

(Vol. xxiv. pp. 202-3.)

BIBLIOTHECA BEAUCLERKIANA

1781. BIBLIOTHECA BEAUCLERKIANA. CATALOGUE OF THE LARGE AND VALUABLE LIBRARY OF THE LATE HON. TOPHAM BEAUCLERK, F.R.S.

[Topham Beauclerk (1739-1780), best known through his friendship with Dr. Johnson (whose affection for him was such that, as Boswell records, 'when Beauclerk was labouring under that severe illness which at last occasioned his death, Johnson said, with a voice faltering with emotion, Sir, I would walk to the extent of the diameter of the earth to save Beauclerk'), was only son of Lord Sydney Beauclerk, and grandson of the first Duke of St. Albans. He collected a library of 30,000 volumes, which he housed in a building 'in Great Russell Street that reaches halfway to Highgate,' as Horace Walpole remarks. The books, which were sold by Paterson in London in April-June, 1781, consisted chiefly of English literature, plays, history, travels, and science, with 'a numerous collection of sermons.' Among the foreign literature were the following Dante items:—*Comedia*, Florence, 1481; *Comedia*, Lione, 1575; C. d'Aquino's Latin translation, Naples, 1728; *Tutte le Opere*, 4 tom. Venice, 1757; and Grangier's French translation of the *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso*, Paris, 1596.]

CHARLES ROGERS

(1711-1784)

[Charles Rogers, art collector, was born in London in 1711. He was educated at a private school, where, by his own account, 'he acquired no useful learning,' and in 1731 was placed in the Custom House under William Townson, from whom he acquired a taste for the fine arts and for book collecting, and from whom (in 1746) he inherited a valuable property, including a house in London containing a collection of art treasures. In 1747 he became head of his department, as Clerk of the Certificates, which post he held till within a short time of his death. In 1752 he was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and in 1757 a Fellow of the

¹[See above, pp. 49-50.]

²[For Warton's account of Dante (which follows that of Sackville) see above, pp. 283 ff.]

Royal Society. In 1778 he published in two folio volumes the work in connection with which he is best known, *A Collection of Prints in Imitation of Drawings*. He died in London in 1784. Rogers' portrait, painted in 1777 by his friend Sir Joshua Reynolds (and engraved in 1778 by W. Wynne Ryland), is now in the Cottonian Library at Plymouth, which contains a considerable portion of his collections. In 1782 Rogers issued anonymously a blank verse translation of the *Inferno*, the first complete (printed)¹ English translation. This work was dedicated to Sir Edward Walpole, elder brother of Horace Walpole, with whom he held jointly the Collectorship of the Customs, Rogers, then in his seventy-first year, being at that time Principal Officer of the Customs. The following note respecting this work, written in his copy by Dr. Richard Farmer (d. 1797), Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, was printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1805 (vol. i. p. 552): 'This translation is the work of Charles Rogers, Esq. F.R.S. and A.S., editor of two volumes, in large folio, of prints, in imitation of drawings, 1778. It gives the *Sense* without the least pretention to *Poetry* or *Elegance*, and was *intended* for sale, but was never published.' Nichols in *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* (vol. iii. p. 256) says that 'he chiefly attended to giving the sense of his author with fidelity; the character of a Poet not seeming to have been the object of his ambition.' As a matter of fact, the translation, while entirely devoid of any spark of poetry, has not even the merit of being faithful, as the subjoined specimen will show.]

1782. THE INFERNO OF DANTE TRANSLATED.

[*Inferno* v. 1-24. Minos]

FROM the first Circle we descended down
 To that which was of a more narrow space,
 Where Pain from ev'ry one excited cries.
 Horribly grinning Minos, standing there,
 Examines at their entrance each one's crime,
 Tries them, and passes judgment in their turns.
 Whene'er a guilty Soul before him comes
 It all confesses: He the proper place,
 Well knowing, that of Hell's to be their due,
 So many times his Tail around him twists,
 As the Degrees to which he'd have it cast.
 Many before him always ready stand,
 Who forward come, and are in order tried;
 They plead, they're sentenc'd, and then turned down.
 'O you who to this place of torments come,'
 Minos, his office then suspending, said,
 'Regard your entrance, and to whom you trust,
 Nor be you by the ample Gates deceiv'd.'
 To him my Guide; 'Why do you thus exclaim?
 Prevent his passage not, by Fate ordain'd:
 For who would this, can do whate'er he wills.
 More obstacles it is not fit to raise.'

(p. 17.)

¹[William Huggins, and Dr. Burney, had both made translations but neither of them was printed.]

[*Inferno* v. 88-142. Francesca speaks:—]

‘ O mortal Man replete with Grace divine,
 Who in this azure region visit us
 That have defiled with our blood the world,
 If by the universal King we were
 Befriended, we would to him for you pray :
 Since you commis’rate our unhappy lot,
 We’re ready to reply to what you ask ;
 Now that the wind is still to favour us.
 The Land where I was born is on the shore
 Plac’d, where the Po and all his rivulets
 Run with their tributes smoothly to the sea.
 Love, which possesses soon a courteous breast,
 Seiz’d on my handsome Paramour, whose loss
 I yet lament, reflecting on the act :
 Love, which will always be by love repaid,
 Caus’d me to that great pleasure in him take,
 Which still possesses me, as you perceive.
 Love brought us both to the like fatal end :
 But Caina him expects who did this deed.’
 These suff’ring Shades, when I knew who they were,
 I on my breast declin’d my thoughtful head,
 ’Till Virgil of my meditations ask’d.
 I thinking was, alas ! on that dire end
 To which they by their fond amours are brought.
 Then to them turning, I, ‘ Francesca,’ said,
 ‘ Your torments move my pity, and draw tears :
 But tell me, when your sighs and soft desires
 Were yet uncertain of a due return,
 What caus’d you to unlawful love permit ?’
 ‘ No greater grief assails us’ she replied,
 ‘ Than in unhappy hours to recollect
 A better time ; and this your Teacher knows.
 But if you still to learn the tender root
 Request, from which our am’rous dalliance sprung,
 However irksome, I will it relate.
 Together we, for pleasure, one day read
 How strictly Lancelot was bound by love ;
 We then alone, without suspicion, were :
 T’ admire each other, often from the book
 Our eyes were ta’en, and oft our colour chang’d ;
 That was the point of time which conquer’d us,
 When, reading that her captivating smile
 Was by the Lover she adored kiss’d ;
 This my Companion, always with me seen,

Fearful, and trembling, also kiss'd my mouth.
 The Writer, Galeotto, nam'd the Book.
 But from that day we never read in't more.'
 During one Spirit was relating this,
 So deeply did the other mourn, that I
 With pity swoon'd, and fell like a dead corse.

(pp. 19-20.)

[Note on *Inferno* xxxiii. 90]¹

Chaucer in his *Monkes Tale* (which is supposed to have been written about 1383) has related this tragical story of 'Hugelin of Pise,' taken from

'—the grete poete of Itaille,
 That highte Dante.'—

So early had the Fame of Dante flown to England. And a few years since,² a very elegant and poetical Translation of it in Rhyme, was published by the Earl of Carlisle, a Nobleman who at this time³ most worthily possesses the highest Office in a neighbouring Kingdom.⁴

Mr. Richardson,⁵ in his 'Discourse of a Connoisseur' (p. 26, &c.), has likewise given a Translation; and in it asserts that the Hieroglyphic Language of Painting completes what Words or Writing (either in the History of Villani or the Poem of Dante) began, and Sculpture carries on.

'The Historian and Poet (says he) having done Their parts, comes Michelangelo Buonarrotti, and goes on in a Bas-relief I have seen in the hands of Mr. Trench.'⁶

Before we proceed farther, it may not be improper to observe that Vasari (in his *Life of Pierino da Vinci*, nephew of Lionardo da Vinci, and an eminent Sculptor who worked in the Stile of Michelangelo) informs us that Pierino made a Basso-relievo of this subject in Wax, and afterwards cast it in Bronze, in which the Sculptor moves not less pity than the Poet. From this many other Casts were afterwards taken in Plaister; and Mr. Richardson himself, in the French Edition of this book (p. 139) expresses some doubt of the Artist. . . .

'In this admirable Bas-relief,' continues Mr. Richardson, 'there are Attitudes and Airs of Heads so proper to the Subject, that they carry the Imagination beyond what the Historian, or Poet could possibly.—'Tis true a Genius equal to that of Michelangelo may

¹[The only note in the volume.]²[In 1773.]³[1782.]⁴[Frederick Howard, fifth Earl of Carlisle, was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland from Feb. 1780 to March, 1782 (see above, pp. 333 ff.).]⁵[See above, pp. 197 ff.]⁶[Henry Trench, historical painter (d. 1726).]

form to itself as Strong and Proper Expressions as these ; but where is that Genius !—And could we see the same Story Painted by the same great Master, it will be easily conceiv'd that must carry the Matter still farther : There we might have had all the Advantages of Expression which the Addition of Colours would have given.—These would have shewn us the Pale and Livid Flesh of the Dead and Dying Figures, the Redness of Eyes, and Blewish Lips of the Count, the Darkness, and Horror of the Prison, and other Circumstances, beside the Habits.—These might be contrived so as to express the Quality of the Persons the more to excite our Pity, as well as to enrich the Picture by their Variety.'

What Mr. Richardson despaired of has been since performed by the, in every particular, transcendent President of the Royal Academy,¹ whose Ideas are always great, and Execution expressive.
(pp. 128-9.)

JOSEPH RITSON

(1752-1803)

[Joseph Ritson, conveyancer and antiquary, was born at Stockton-on-Tees, where his father was assistant to a tobacconist, in 1752. After serving as articled clerk to a solicitor in Stockton, he settled in London as a conveyancing clerk (1775), and in 1780 started on his own account. In 1784 he was appointed High Bailiff of the Liberty of the Savoy, which post he held until his death. In his leisure hours Ritson was an enthusiastic student of English literature and history, and he severely (and, for the most part, abusively) criticized the works of Thomas Warton and the editorial labours of Johnson, Steevens, Percy, and Pinkerton. He was applied to for aid in the compilation of the *Border Minstrelsy* by Scott, whom he visited at Lasswade in 1801. Partly in consequence, it is supposed, of an obstinate adherence from the age of 20 to a vegetable diet, towards the end of his life his brain gave way, and he died insane in 1803. In his *Observations on Warton's History of English Poetry* Ritson attacks Warton for the long dissertation on Dante introduced into the third volume (see above, pp. 279 ff.)]

1782. OBSERVATIONS ON THE THREE FIRST VOLUMES OF THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY. IN A FAMILIAR LETTER TO THE AUTHOR.

{Objections to Warton's dissertation on Dante}

Vol. iii. p. 255. **W**ELL, Mr. Warton, you have at length got us dragged through HELL, into which we found ourselves so unexpectedly plunged ; and now, perhaps, you will (after I have recovered my fright and breath) give me leave to ask you a single question : To what purpose is all this long dissertation upon *Dante* ? What possible connection is there

¹[Sir Joshua Reynolds, whose picture of Ugolino was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1773 (see above, p. 343).]

between the *Divina Comedia*, and the History of English Poetry? "Pough, fool! it fills my book up, do'n't it?" Very true, sir, it certainly does so; and, I think, THAT, from you, is such an unanswerable argument for the necessity of this sort of manœuvre, that I rather wonder you have not favoured us with a similar account of every epic or other poem of which you know anything, or know nothing ('tis all the same), from Homer to Milton. Trust me, I admire your modesty, though, doubtless, we shall have more anon. But pray, as you have entertained us with so many Italian quotations, give me leave to ask you, how long it may be since you became master of that language? because I have heard, that, once upon a time, when you were ambitious of displaying your erudition, in the OBSERVATIONS ON SPENSER'S FAIRY QUEEN, by an extract from Tasso (—Tasso in the original!—) you unfortunately laid hold of a *wrong stanza*, which occasioned much mirth among those wicked wits, who are so maliciously disposed as not to suffer a man of genius to enjoy the credit of talents and learning which he does not possess.

(p. 38.)

JOHN HOOLE

(1727-1803)

[John Hoole, whose father was a watchmaker, was born in London in 1727. He obtained a situation in the East India Company's Office, where he eventually became principal auditor. He retired in 1785 and devoted himself to literature, which had been the occupation of his leisure while at the India House; he died in 1803. Hoole's works consist principally of translations from the Italian, of which the most important are, *Tasso's Jerusalem Delivered*, 1763 (many times reprinted, and referred to with approbation by Johnson, who wrote the dedication, in his *Life of Waller*); and *Ariosto's Orlando Furioso*, 1773-83 (often reprinted). In the notes to his *Tasso* and *Ariosto* Hoole occasionally quotes and translates passages from Dante, his acquaintance with whose works appears to have been somewhat superficial.]

1783. ORLANDO FURIOSO: TRANSLATED FROM THE ITALIAN OF LODOVICO ARIOSTO; WITH NOTES.

[Dante, Ariosto, and the *terza rima*]

DANTE, at first, intended to have written his poem in Latin; and actually composed some initial lines in that language. . . . Ariosto had proposed to write a poem in *terza rima* (like Dante), in praise of the House of Este, different from the *Furioso*; but not being satisfied with the work, he laid it aside, and pursued the design of his *Furioso*, in *ottava rima*. . . .

Of this *terza rima* of the Italians, the English reader will have

a full idea, from three cantos of the *Inferno* of Dante, translated with wonderful spirit and fidelity, by Mr. Hayley, notwithstanding the confinement and difficulty of the metre.¹

(*Life of Ariosto*, ed. 1807, vol. i. pp. 47-8.)

[Parallels between Ariosto and Dante]

King Arthur bore a lance of uncommon size and weight, with which he slew his son Mordites, who had rebelled against him, and lay in ambush to assassinate him; hence Dante says:

Con ess' un colpo per le man d' Artù.²

With this a blow from Arthur's hand. . . .

(Vol. i. p. 197.)

the dreary train

By Charon doom'd to lakes of fiery pain.

(Bk. xiii. ll. 248-9.)

Of these burning lakes in which thieves and murderers are punished, an account is given in Dante, Canto xxv. of his *Inferno*; ³ where he assigns to these the seventh gulph, and where, he tells us, Chiron the Centaur, and his companions, stand armed with darts, which they shoot at the damned, as often as they attempt to escape from the lake of torment.

(Vol. ii. p. 118.)

The blessed Angel. . . .

(Bk. xiv. l. 585.)

The Italian has *benedetto augel*—blessed bird—an expression not to be hazarded in English, and which seems reprehensible in any language. So Dante

Augel divino. . . .

Parad. c. ii.⁴

(Vol. ii. p. 161.)

the wealth . . .

Which once from Rome with every treasure fraught,
Great Constantine selecting thither brought.

(Bk. xvii. ll. 551-2.)

¹[See above, pp. 359 ff.]

²[*Inf.* xxxii. 62.]

³[*Inf.* xii. (not xxv.) 47 ff.]

⁴[*Purg.* (not *Par.*) ii. 38, 'l' uccel divino.']

The poet says, that in Constantinople were centered the riches which Constantine carried from Rome: all the rest he gave to the Roman church: of him Dante speaks in this remarkable manner.

Ahi, Constantin! di quanto mal fu madre
Non la conversion, ma quella dote
Che da te prese il primo ricco padre.¹

Ah! Constantine! from thee what ills we draw,
Not that thy soul abjur'd the Pagan law;
But for that gift the Christian world has griev'd,
Which our first wealthy sire from thee receiv'd.

(Vol. ii. p. 266.)

From the woods a monster came
Of fearful aspect. . . .

(Bk. xxvi. ll. 231-2)

Most of the commentators have explained this monster to mean Avarice. . . . Lavezuola, a commentator, extols this description of Ariosto, as far superior to Dante, who simply represents Avarice in the form of a lean and hungry wolf.

E una lupa, che di tutta brame,
Scontra carca con la sua magrezza,
E molte genti fê gia viver grame.²

Inferno, Cant. i. .

Inflam'd with every fierce desire
A famish'd she-wolf like a spectre came,
Beneath whose gripe shall many a wretch expire

Hayley.

(Vol. iv. p. 11.)

he upward springs
To reach the mountain's top. . . .

(Bk. xxxiv. ll. 364-5.)

Ariosto here imitates Dante in describing this mountain, where he places the terrestrial paradise, and, after him, makes Astolpho purify himself with eblutions, from the smoke of the infernal regions, before he enters the seat of bliss.³

(Vol. v. p. 16.)

Ere yet, by twenty years, is mark'd on earth
With M and D the Word's Incarnate Birth.

(Bk. xxxv. ll. 31-2.)

¹[*Inf.* xix. 115-17.]

³[*Cf. Purg.* i. 121 ff.]

²[*Inf.* i. 49-51 (misquoted).]

The poet means the year 1480, in which Hippolito was born, twenty years before the year 1500, marked by the Roman numerals M.D. This conceit will appear strange in English versification, but it was thought right to preserve it. The idea of this expression seems from Dante, *Paradiso*, Cant. xix. ver. 129.

Vedrassi al Ciotto di Gerusalemme
Segnata con un I la sua bontate ;
Quando 'l contrario segnerà un emme.

(Vol. v. p. 36.)

Th' oblivious waters known by Lethe's name.

(Bk. xxxv. l. 80.)

Ariosto has feigned Lethe to be in the moon, and Dante places it in Purgatory.

(Vol. v. p. 38.)

a pool, more dismal than the lake
Which, circling Dis, Cocytus' waters make.

(Bk. xl. ll. 254-5.)

Dante, in his *Inferno*, feigns a river of red water, of which the four infernal streams are formed. Phlegethon, one of these, surrounds the city of Dis or Pluto.¹

(Vol. v. p. 195.)

Now, if my chart be true, these longing eyes
Will soon perceive the port in prospect rise.

(Bk. xliv. ll. 1-2.)

The very poetical opening of this last book, with the metaphor drawn from a ship, appears to be imitated by Spenser in the first book of his *Fairy Queen*, Canto xii. . . . And Dante in the beginning of his second,

Per correr miglior acqua alza le vele
Homai la navicella del mio ingegno,
Che lascia dietro a sè mar sì crudele.²

Now let my muse's vessel court the wind
With spreading sails, securer seas to find,
And leave the cruel stormy main behind.

Berni has borrowed the two first lines of Dante, and placed them at the beginning of his second book of the *Innamorato*. And Pope,

¹[*Inf.* xii. This is not an accurate description.]

²[*Purg.* i. 1-3.]

Say, shall my little bark attendant sail,
Pursue the triumph and partake the gale?

Essay on Man, Ep. iv.

(Vol. vi. p. 124.)

Th' infernal dragon. . . .

(Bk. xlvi. l. 620.)

Gran verme infernal, the devil. Dante calls Cerberus the great worm (*gran verme*)¹ and Lucifer, the dreadful worm (*verme rio*);² our Milton has the like expression.

O Eve, in evil hour didst thou give ear

To that false worm. . . .

*Par. Lost.*³

(Vol. vi. p. 153.)

1783. JERUSALEM DELIVERED: AN HEROIC POEM. TRANSLATED FROM THE ITALIAN OF TORQUATO TASSO. FIFTH EDITION, WITH NOTES.⁴

[Dante's description of the nine Celestial Orders]

Three squadrons rang'd the wondrous force display'd,

Three fulgent circles every squadron made,

Orb within orb; by just degrees they rose,

And nine bright ranks the heavenly host compose.

(Bk. xviii.)

Some theologists have said that these circles diminished till they came to an indivisible point, wherein was centred the essence of Divinity. This abstruse and whimsical doctrine is mentioned by Dante, which passage may not be unpleasing to the curious reader; where he speaks of these nine choirs or orders in the following manner:—

Un punto vidi, che raggiava lume,⁵ etc.

JOHN YOUNG

(c. 1750-1820)

[John Young was born about 1750 in Glasgow, where his father was a cooper. He entered Glasgow University in 1764, graduated M.A. in 1769, and in 1774 was

¹[*Inf.* vi. 22.]

²[*Inf.* xxxiv. 108.]

³[Bk. ix. ll. 1067-8.]

⁴[The translation was originally published in 1763. The notes were added in the fifth edition, to make it uniform with the translation of *Orlando Furioso* published in the same year (1783).]

⁵[Hoole here prints *Par.* xviii. 16-18, 25-36.]

appointed Professor of Greek, which chair he filled for 46 years, until his death in Glasgow in 1820. Among Young's publications was a criticism of Gray's *Elegy* in the style of Dr. Johnson, which was issued anonymously in 1783, and reprinted in 1810. Boswell thought it 'the most perfect imitation of Johnson. . . . It has not only the particularities of Johnson's style, but that very species of literary discussion and illustration for which he was eminent.' (*Life of Johnson*, Globe ed. p. 677.) Horace Walpole criticised it unfavourably in a letter to Mason of June 9, 1783. Young refers to Gray's imitation of *Purg.* viii. 6 in the first line of the *Elegy*.]

1783. A CRITICISM ON THE ELEGY WRITTEN IN A COUNTRY CHURCH YARD. BEING A CONTINUATION OF DR. J——N'S CRITICISM ON THE POEMS OF GRAY.

[Gray's imitation of Dante]

OF the curfew, as heard by a man of meditation, we have the following circumstantiation in Milton's *Penseroso* ;
 Oft, on a plat of rising ground,
 I hear the *far-off* curfew sound ;
 Over some wide-water'd shore
 Swinging slow with sullen roar.

To this characteristical figuring Gray has thought proper to substitute the conceit of *Dante* ; according to which the curfew is made to toll *requiems* to the day newly deceased : a fancy more subtle than solid, and to which the judgment, if reconciled at all, is reconciled by effort.

(pp. 14-15.)

WILLIAM BECKFORD

(1759-1844)

[William Beckford, author of *Vathek*, only child of William Beckford, twice Lord Mayor of London, was born at Fonthill Abbey in Wiltshire in 1759. On his father's death, when he was nine years old, he inherited a million of money and £100,000 a year. He was educated by a private tutor, with whom he travelled on the Continent. In 1781 or 1782 he wrote in French his celebrated *History of the Caliph Vathek*, of which an anonymous English version, with notes, by Samuel Henley (as is commonly supposed) was published in 1786 (see below, pp. 438-9). The original was published in the following year both at Paris and at Lausanne, the latter edition bearing the author's name. In 1783 Beckford published anonymously his letters from abroad, under the title of *Dreams, Waking Thoughts, and Incidents, in a series of Letters from various parts of Europe* ; the book was almost immediately suppressed, but was republished in an altered form and with another title in 1834. Beckford was M.P. for Wells, 1784-90, and for Hindon, 1790-4, and 1806-20. He died in 1844. In 1822, owing to extravagance and other causes, Beckford was compelled to dispose of Fonthill and of the greater part of its contents. His books, however, were not sold, and eventually came into the possession of his son-in-law, the tenth Duke of Hamilton, by whose grandson, the twelfth Duke, they were sold, with the rest of the Hamilton collection, at Sotheby's in 1882-4. Among Beckford's books were nine editions of the *Divina Commedia*, including the two Aldines (1502 and 1515), the *editio princeps* of the *Vita Nuova* (1576), and a copy of the second edition of Cary's *Dante* (1819)

with MS. notes by Beckford. In the account of his library (which he himself wrote) in Clarke's *Repertorium Bibliographicum* (1819), is the description of an MS. of a French translation of the *Commedia* (see vol. ii. p. 300). There are several references to Dante in Beckford's letters from Italy in 1780.]

1783. DREAMS, WAKING THOUGHTS, AND INCIDENTS, IN A SERIES OF LETTERS FROM VARIOUS PARTS OF EUROPE.¹

[Picture of Dante and Virgil by Poelemburg²]

(1780. Sept. 15.) **L**ETTER XI (from Florence)—Here are a great many Polembergs: one in particular, the strangest I ever beheld. Instead of those soft scenes of woods and waterfalls he is in general so fond of representing, he has chosen for his subject Virgil ushering Dante into the regions of eternal punishment, amidst the ruin of flaming edifices that glare across the infernal waters. These mournful towers harbour innumerable shapes, all busy in preying upon the damned. One capital devil, in the form of an enormous lobster, seems very strenuously employed in mumbling a miserable mortal, who sprawls, though in vain, to escape from his claws.

(Ed. 1834, vol. i. pp. 179-80.)

[Paintings at Pisa after Dante]

(1780. Oct. 2.) Letter xiii (from Pisa).—Our next object was the Campo Santo. . . . Strange paintings of hell and the devil, mostly taken from Dante's rhapsodies, cover the walls of these fantastic galleries, attributed to the venerable Giotto and Bufalmacco, whom Boccaccio mentions in his *Decamerone*.

(*Ibid.* pp. 194-5.)

[Hills celebrated by Dante]

(1780. Oct. 22.) Letter xv (from Florence)—In the afternoon I am irresistibly attracted to the thickets of Boboli. The other evening, however, I varied my walks, and ascended one of those pleasant hills celebrated by Dante, which rise in the vicinity of the city,³ and command a variegated scene of towers, villas, cottages, and gardens.

(*Ibid.* pp. 208-9.)

¹[Published anonymously, and almost immediately suppressed. The letters were republished, in an altered form, in 1834, under the title of *Italy; with Sketches of Spain and Portugal*. By the Author of 'Vathek.']

²[Cornelisz Poelemburg, native of Utrecht (1586-1660).]

³[Beckford is apparently thinking of *Inf.* xxx. 64 ff. where, however, the hills mentioned by Dante are those of the Casentino.]

ANONYMOUS

1783. THE EUROPEAN MAGAZINE, AND LONDON REVIEW. THE LIFE OF DANTE ALLIGHIERI. TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF M. MOUTONNET DE CLAIRFONS.¹

[Dante's two mistresses, Bice and Beatrice]

. . . DANTE, born with an heart tender and sensible, felt while still young, the most lively passion for Beatrice, daughter of Folco Portinari; and the first verses he sighed were consecrated to Love.—*Note.* Beatrice was not the first mistress of Dante's heart: it was resigned to her by Bice, a lady of whom little is known.²

(Vol. iii. pp. 430-2.)³

[Dante reputed to have had three wives]

. . . Dante returned to Florence in 1291, tired of a life of celibacy, and married Gemma, of the illustrious House of the Donati. Like Socrates, he had a great deal to suffer from a Xantippe: Gemma had so much untractableness, so much peevishness, and so much caprice in her composition, that, weary of living with a woman of her disposition, he sent her back to her family, after he had had several children by her. Some historians pretend that he had three wives; however, we are absolutely ignorant of the names of the two last.

(Vol. iv. pp. 10-11.)⁴

[Criticism of Dante's style]

. . . Dante is justly considered as the father of Italian poetry. By creating words, and establishing the use of his growing language, he had the same advantages that Homer had amongst the Greeks: he has preserved his poetry from the *concetti*, from the tinsel, and from the affected ornaments of false wit, with which the other poets of his nation are deservedly reproached. His style is close, concise and nervous, possessing an happy rapidity and sententiousness; sometimes a little obscure, but generally sublime.

(Vol. iv. p. 88.)⁵

1784. THE EUROPEAN MAGAZINE, AND LONDON REVIEW. DIVINI POETAE DANTIS ALLIGHIERII SEPULCHRUM À CARD. ALOYSIO VALENTI GONZAGA . . . RESTITUTUM . . . AENEIS TABULIS EXPRESSUM, ANNO MDCCLXXXIII. FLORENTIAE.

¹[The *Vie de Dante* was prefixed (pp. 1-45) to his prose translation of the *Inferno*, published at Florence and Paris in 1776.]

²[Just as much, or as little, is known of Bice as of Beatrice; the two, of course, are identical, Bice being the familiar abbreviation of Beatrice.]

³[Clairfons, p. 4.]

⁴[Clairfons, pp. 5-6.]

⁵[Clairfons, p. 19.]

[Dante the author of 'a satirical work']

CRITICS of every enlightened nation have at all times considered Dante among the first class of Italian poets. His works which have been preserved, are various poems, intitled Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise. . . . He was also author of a satirical work,¹ in which is displayed great genius, and a brilliant imagination.

(Vol. v. p. 38.)

ANONYMOUS

1784. CRITICISMS ON THE ROLLIAD.²

[The poet of the *Rolliad* compared to Dante]

OUR Author now proceeds . . . with an accurate description of the House of Commons, preparatory to the exhibition of Mr. Rolle. . . . Merlin first ushers Duke Rollo into the Lobby. . . . From the Lobby we are next led into the several committee-rooms, and other offices adjoining; and among the rest, Merlin, like a noble Lord, whose diary was some time since printed, 'takes occasion to inspect the water-closets,'

Where offerings, worthy of those altars, lie,

Speech, letter, narrative, remark, reply;

With dead-born taxes, innocent of ill,

With cancell'd clauses of the India bill: &c. &c.

. . . It was natural for Dante to send his enemies to hell; but it seems strange that our poet should place the writings of his own friends and fellow-labourers in a water-closet.

(No. vi. ed. 1795, pp. 33 ff.)

ANNA SEWARD

(1747-1809)

[Anna Seward, known as the 'Swan of Lichfield,' was the daughter of Thomas Seward, Rector of Eyam in Derbyshire, where she was born in 1747. In 1754 her father was made Canon of Lichfield, which was her home from that date until her death in 1809. She was the author of numerous poems and of a voluminous correspondence with most of the literary notabilities of the day. Her literary remains she bequeathed to Scott (who visited her at Lichfield in 1807), by whom the poetical works were published, with a memoir, in 1810. Scott also looked through her letters, a

¹[Presumably the *Divina Commedia*, which the writer apparently thought a different work from the 'poems' previously mentioned.]

²[A satire on John Rolle (1750-1842) (afterwards Baron Rolle), member for Devonshire, a staunch supporter of Pitt, written by George Ellis and others.]

selection from which was published by Constable in 1811, and took the opportunity to cut out all the extravagant references to himself and to his works. Miss Seward, who is described by Boswell as the 'celebrated daughter' of Mr. Seward, was on terms of intimacy with Hayley, whom she visited in Sussex. By Hayley she was introduced to Romney, who in 1786 painted her portrait. At Lichfield she frequently met Dr. Johnson, whom her father used to entertain on his visits to his native town, and she figures several times in Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, to which she contributed details of Johnson's early life. In 1792 she began a correspondence with H. F. Cary (then an undergraduate at Christ Church, Oxford) on the subject of Dante, which was carried on for several years. Her attention seems to have been originally directed to Dante by Hayley, who translated three cantos of the *Inferno* in 1782, and sent her Boyd's translation on its appearance in 1785. Miss Seward had very little admiration for the 'fire and smoke poet,' as she called him, and was shocked, or pretended to be, at his 'transcending fineness.' Her experience was confined to the *Inferno*, his translation of which Cary sent to her on its publication in 1805-6. She did not live to read his translation of the rest of the poem, which did not appear till five years after her death.]

1785. Aug. 25. LETTER TO MISS HELEN WILLIAMS¹ (from Lichfield).

[The 'weary horror' of Dante's *Inferno*]

THE dear bard² has been so good as to send me Boyd's translation of Dante into English verse.³ Appearing after Mr. Hayley's version of the three first cantos of the *Inferno*,⁴ it suffers by a comparison with their matchless excellence; yet, even had he condescended to lead us through the long succession of fiery furnaces, the result must have been a certain weary horror, of which we grow impatient. The Dantean⁵ Angel of Vengeance is diabolically insatiable; and *this* seems to me the sum and substance of his inflictions,—

Immerse him in that boiling tide,
Then on yon gridiron burn him;
And, broiled for ages on one side,
I prithee, devil, turn him.

(*Letters of Anna Seward: written between the years 1784 and 1807.* Edin. 1811. Vol. i. p. 77.)

1788. March 10. LETTER TO THE REV. WILLIAM BAGSHOT STEVENS,⁶ OF REPTON, NEAR DERBY (from Lichfield).

[Boyd inferior to Hayley as a translator of Dante]

Have you seen Boyd's translation of Dante? After reading and comparing it with Mr. Hayley's sublime English version of the

¹[See vol. ii. p. 156.]

²[Her friend William Hayley.]

³[Henry Boyd's translation of the *Inferno* was published in 1785; the translation of the whole *Commedia* appeared in three volumes in 1802 (see below, pp. 410 ff.)]

⁴[Published in 1782 (see above, pp. 359 ff.)]

⁵[This is the earliest recorded instance of the use of this word.]

⁶[William Bagshaw (not Bagshot) Stevens, poet and headmaster of Repton School (1756-1800).]

three first cantos, we cannot place great confidence in Boyd's justice to his author. The inferiority of his translation of those cantos, is, on comparison, very impressive indeed.

Milton is said to have been indebted to the *Inferno* of Dante, for many of the striking features of his *Pandemonium*;—but surely it is much more various, more grand, more sublime in its horror than the *Inferno*; and the reproach of plagiarism is lost in the impression of that great superiority.

(*Letters*, vol. ii. p. 48.)

1788. Oct. 30. LETTER TO THE REV. DR. GREGORY¹ (from Lichfield).

[Milton's indebtedness to Dante]

I feel impelled to meet you, once more, on the ground of Sterne's pretensions to literary fame. It appears to me, upon the most mature deliberation, that few, if any, of the antient or modern writers have greater originality.

Passing over the notorious imitations of the Latin poets, with Virgil at their head, of the Greek ones, recollect that Shakespeare borrowed almost all his plots, and the outlines of many of his characters from old novels—that Milton was indebted to the Scriptures for his story in the *Paradise Lost*, and to Homer, Dante, and Ariosto, for the chief features of his supernatural scenes.

Taking designs from others, was never reckoned plagiarism.

(*Letters*, vol. ii. pp. 182-3.)

1789. Dec. 21. LETTER TO MRS. PIOZZI.²

[Mr. Robert Merry, according to Mrs. Piozzi's estimate, superior to Homer, Dante, and Shakespeare]

All your poetic readers whom I converse with, unite with me in wonder to see you exalting, in this work,³ a strange, nauseous, vulgar poem,⁴ above all other poetry; a poem whose general darkness is rendered more visible by a few flashes of genius; to see you asserting that it transcends every other poetic composition as much as the Apollo, the Venus, and the Flora Farnese transcend the sculpture of Sansovino. Homer, Virgil, Dante, Ariosto, Shakespeare, Milton, Pope, Gray, must, if this decision be just, resign the

¹[George Gregory, D.D. (1754-1808), Prebendary of St. Paul's; author of *Essays Historical and Moral* (second edition, 1788), and of the *Life of Thomas Chatterton* (1789).]

²[Hester Lynch Piozzi, widow of Thrale the brewer (see below, pp. 448 ff.).]

³[Her *Observations and Reflections made in the course of a Journey through France, Italy, and Germany*, published in this year.]

⁴'Merry's Paulina, or Russian Daughter.'

palm of excellence to Mr. Merry.¹ We scarce believe our eyes as we read!

(*Letters*, vol. ii. p. 339.)

1790. Feb. 17. LETTER TO HUMPHRY REPTON,² ESQ.

[The Halls of Eblis in *Vathek* compared to Dante's Hell]

Have you read one of my darling books—the Caliph Vathec?³ that strange, wild, witty, Voltairish, yet very original work; so ludicrous in its opening, and on its progress;—so very sublime in its conclusion. The Halls of Eblis form an hell, solemn and striking as the fiery Deserts of Dante,⁴ or the Erebus of Milton.

(*Letters*, vol. ii. 372-3.)

1792. May 29. LETTER TO H. CARY⁵ ESQ. OF CHRIST CHURCH.

[Dante's similes criticized]

I confess I cannot perceive the high value of the simile you were so good as to translate for me from Dante.⁶ It is undoubtedly a natural description of the manners and habits of a flock of sheep; but what truth, what sublimity, what beauty can you see in comparing a crowd of spirits, or ghosts, to them, I cannot conceive. If sheep are such silly imitators of their leader, why are we to suppose a troop of ghosts would all put their eyes and noses to the ground because the first might do so, in the same sort of ambition with which the clown tumbles after Harlequin; and so I can discern no apposition in this vaunted simile, without which a simile is but on a level with his, who said, 'even as a wheelbarrow goes rumble rumble, even so that man lends another sixpence.'

The imaginary resemblance of a flying spirit to the meteors of night is poetic enough, but not half so sublime as the comparison in the old ballad, William and Margaret, of the corpse, or apparition of a beautiful young woman, to an April morning, 'clad in a wintry cloud.'

(*Letters*, vol. iii. pp. 142-3.)

¹[Robert Merry (1755-1798), author of numerous poetical and dramatic pieces. In conjunction with Mrs. Piozzi and others he wrote the 'Florence Miscellany' (1785), to which Mrs. Piozzi wrote a preface.]

²[Humphry Repton, landscape-gardener (1752-1818).]

³[Published in 1786 (see below, p. 438).]

⁴[*Inf.* xiv.]

⁵[The future translator of Dante (see below, pp. 465 ff.).]

⁶[See Cary's letter to Miss Seward of 7 May, 1792 (below, pp. 467-8).]

1794. March 16. LETTER TO H. F. CARY, ESQ. (from Lichfield).

[Parallels between Dante and Milton]

I wish you would send the parallels you have discovered, between Dante and Milton, to Mr. Hayley yourself. He knows of you, and has long since expressed to me his confidence in the powers of your understanding and imagination.

(*Letters*, vol. iii. p. 349.)

1795. Sept. 7. LETTER TO THE REV. HENRY WHITE, OF LICHFIELD (from Barmouth).

[The 'Ladies of Llangollen' admirers of Dante]

I resume my pen, to speak to you of that enchanting unique, in conduct and situation, of which you have heard so much, though, as yet, without distinct description. You will guess that I mean the celebrated ladies of Llangollen Vale,¹ their mansion, and their bowers. . . .

The library is fitted up in the Gothic style. . . . This saloon of the Minervas contains the finest editions, superbly bound, of the best authors, in prose and verse, which the English, Italian, and French languages boast, contained in neat wire cases. . . . I am informed that both these ladies read and speak most of the modern languages. Of the Italian poets, especially of Dante, they are warm admirers.

(*Letters*, vol. iv. pp. 98, 99, 100, 103.)

1797. Oct. 30. LETTER TO MISS PONSONBY² (from Lichfield).

[Sir Joshua Reynolds' picture of Ugolino]

Mrs. Roberts always remains till near dinner time in her very pleasant bed-room on the ground floor; and there, in her tristful days, I used to behold her, the large Venetian sash lifted up to its utmost extent, sitting in an arm-chair before it, in broad attitude, with contracted lips, wide eyes, and Ugolino³ brow. . . .

(*Letters*, vol. v. p. 11.)

¹[Lady Eleanor Butler (c. 1745-1829), and Hon. Sarah Ponsonby (c. 1755-1831), commonly known as the 'Ladies of Llangollen.' Lady Louisa Stuart, writing in 1821, speaks of them as 'the very grossest flatterers and palaverers upon earth,' and as 'keeping a gossip shop between England and Ireland.' Lockhart, writing four years later, gives a similar account (see *Familiar Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, vol. ii. pp. 334-5).]

²[Hon. Sarah Ponsonby, one of the 'Ladies of Llangollen' (see previous note).]

³[A reminiscence of Sir Joshua Reynolds' picture of Dante's Ugolino (see above, p. 343).]

1798. Nov. 15. LETTER TO MISS PONSONBY (from Lichfield).

[‘Dante’s terrifics’]

I now hasten to obey your injunction, and speak my sentiments of the poetical merits and defects of that exquisite picture of a transcript, ‘The Little Grey Man,’ which you have taken the kind trouble to trace. It has some few pleasing, and some few fine images. . . . The next verse is again sublime—the bell tolling over the heath, is still a fine, though somewhat hacknied, accompaniment to ghostism; but

‘Wild to the blast flew the skulls and the bones,’
is grand as any of Dante’s terrifics.

(*Letters*, vol. v. pp. 173, 176.)

1800. Aug. 30. LETTER TO CHARLES SIMPSON, ESQ. (from Lichfield).

[Milton’s indebtedness to Homer and Dante]

I confess it mortifies me that our great epic poet, whose palms are illustrious as the Homeric laurels, should be thus obviously indebted not only to Homer and Dante in the *Paradise Lost*, and in his Juvenile poetry, to Drayton, Brown, and Fletcher, but also, in both his great and lesser works, to a Gallic poet, and his translator,¹ neither of whom possessed, nor, on a balance of their beauties and defects, deserved to possess, the high esteem of their country.

(*Letters*, vol. v. p. 317.)

1800. Sept. 27. LETTER TO THE REV. R. FELLOWES² (from Lichfield).

[Cyril Jackson’s opinion of Dante]

On one only theme was Dr. Parr³ unjust; but that so flagrantly, so inconceivably!—Ah! it was to Gray, the first lyric bard the world has produced. Such a spot of heresy on such a sun as the mind of Dr. Parr! Spot, did I say, an absolute eclipse.

From his superiority of genius, it is even more astonishing than the present dean of Christchurch’s⁴ assertion, viz. that of all, in every age and nation, who have aspired to the name of poet, only four deserve it: Homer, Dante, Ariosto, and Shakespeare.

(*Letters*, vol. v. p. 331.)

¹[Josuah Sylvester, the translator of Du Bartas’ *Semaine*, under the title of ‘Du Bartas his divine Weekes and Workes’ (Lond. 1598).]

²[The translator of Milton’s *Familiar Epistles* (see vol. ii. p. 10).]

³[Samuel Parr (1747-1825).]

⁴[Cyril Jackson (1746-1819).]

1804. March 6. LETTER TO LEE PHILIPS, ESQ. OF MAYFIELD (from Lichfield).

[Milton's indebtedness to Homer, Virgil and Dante]

Mr. Hayley, in his *Life of Milton*, has given the Italian Drama, which is a skeleton of the plan of *Paradise Lost*, while the *prima stamina* of all the Edenic scenes, images, and sentiments, may be found in Sylvestris'¹ translation of the French poet, Du Bartas. For the Pandemonian scenery, it is well known how large were Milton's debts to Homer, Virgil, and particularly to Dante; yet the discovery of all these sources our glorious poet left to time, and the researches of his readers.

(*Letters*, vol. vi. p. 128.)

1805. June 13. LETTER TO MISS PONSONBY (from Lichfield).

[Cary's translation of the *Inferno* ranked with the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, and *Madoc*—Criticism of Dante]

Our young friend Cary has published his translation of Dante's *Inferno*.² It is thought the best which has appeared, and the sale goes on well. He presents a copy to yourself and Lady Eleanor, and I trust you will receive it soon.

The *Inferno* is a great storehouse of poetic images, but almost all of them have come down to us in Spencer, Milton, and other poets, so that the chief amusement this volume gives me is from my tracing the plagiarisms which have been made from it by more interesting and pleasing bards than Dante; since there is little for the heart, or even for the curiosity as to story, in this poem. Then the plan is most clumsily arranged: Virgil, and three talking quadrupeds, the guides;—an odd association.³

The poet, being his own hero, involves, by necessity, an unpleasing quantity of egotism, while the perpetual question and answer, so long continued, proves very wearying, with its endless 'said I,' and 'said he.' Then such a succession of torments for poor frail mortals! Such broiling, gashing, freezing, and whirling!! Terror, terror, nothing but terror, and to no possible use, since its description obtains no faith by which to repel temptation and purify morals. I trust Cary has done justice to his original, since in his numbers the poetry is often grand.

What a triumph for the muses, and for the rising century, that one year has produced the best translation extant of a classic so renowned, and two such original epic poems, as the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, and the *Madoc*! How do their unborrowed charms re-

(*Letters*, vol. vi. pp. 225-6.)

¹[*Sic*; see note to letter of Aug. 30, 1800.]

²[The first part of the *Inferno* appeared in this year, the remainder in 1806.]

³[It is evident from this remark that Miss Seward's acquaintance with the *Inferno* was not very profound. (See Macaulay's observation on this remark, vol. ii. p. 416.)]

proach the envious and narrow-minded asserters that the well-spring of genuine poetry is exhausted!

1805. Aug. 8. LETTER TO THE REV. H. F. CARY (from Lichfield).
[Dante described in the *Gentleman's Magazine* as 'one of the most obscene writers'.]

We are all much amused by the ridiculous misquotations in the *Gentleman's Magazine*¹ in its review of your Dante, where they make you confess that the poet you have translated is, instead of one of the most *obscure*, one of the most *obscene* writers;² while the literati will instantly perceive the mistake, it is likely to procure the circulation of your work amongst a certain and numerous class of beings, those gross voluptuaries, to whom chaste poesy is a dead letter.

(*Letters*, vol. vi. p. 229.)

1806. Aug. 7. LETTER TO THE REV. H. F. CARY (from Lichfield).
[Criticism of Cary's translation of the *Inferno*]

You had earlier received my thanks for your second volume of Dante's *Inferno*, had I not waited to make myself mistress of its contents. . . .

Miss Fern read three or four cantos aloud every night after supper when we were alone, and that was not above two nights in a week. Hence your translation was of slow progress.

From the impression left on our minds when it was finished, we think that this has much less poetic matter than the first volume. There I frequently traced the *prima stamina* of several images in Milton and other poets. Only once in these cantos did I find a probable source of modern poetry. Possibly the strange imagination on p. 295³ suggested the tale of Donica in Southey's first miscellaneous volume; but I cannot subscribe to your suggestion that Dante's three-headed devil⁴ was the origin of that fine description of the different and successive changes in the agitated countenance of Lucifer.

'Thus while he spoke each passion dimm'd his face.

Thrice chang'd with pale ire, envy, and despair.'⁵

Why should we impute this simply-grand portrait of a demoniac countenance to a conception in the Italian bard too grotesque and monstrous to be sublime, or in any degree an object of imitation to a poet so dignified as Milton?

¹[In the June number of this year (see below, p. 671).]

²[Cary in his preface had spoken of Dante as 'one of the most sublime and moral, but certainly one of the most obscure, writers in any language.']

³[The reference is to Bianca d' Oria, whose soul was in Hell, while his body was still on earth (*Inf.* xxxiv. 136 ff.).]

⁴[*Inf.* xxxiv. 38 ff.]

⁵[*Paradise Lost*, iv. 114-15.]

This second part of the *Inferno* increases my wonder at the longevity of Dante's fame. Few are the passages of genuine poetry, of power to mitigate the ridiculous infelicity of plot; an epic poem consisting wholly of dialogue and everlasting egotism! Were you never struck by the presumptuous malice of design in this poem? with the inherent cruelty of that mind which could delight in suggesting pains and penalties at once so odious and so horrid? The terrible graces of the *Inferno* lose all their dignity in butcherly, grid-iron, and intestinal exhibitions, which become fatal to our esteem for the contriver.

I best like the thirty-second and thirty-third cantos. Their pictures are less disgustingly shocking, and more within the powers of our conception. Of the exterior symptoms of perishing coldness we have seen some resembling instances. The following passage has a portion of sublimity.

‘—A thousand visages
Then mark'd I, which the keen and eager cold
Had shap'd into a doggish grin’;¹

but in the fiery punishments, the representation of talking flames² can be nothing but ridiculous. O! how the hell of Dante sinks before the infernal regions of our own Milton!

In several passages you have not been able to remove the veil of inflated and dense obscurity which envelopes the meaning of this fire and smoke poet. Your notes tell us the names and terrestrial residences of the punished, but throw no light upon half what the poet says about them. Dante is the only poetic author, of high reputation, whom I cannot understand. I think if you had fully comprehended the enigmas you have Anglicized, you would, by more perspicuous language, have enabled your readers to understand them also, though perhaps at the expense of some portion of that literality unfortunately the first object of so many translators. Let the versifying translator be tenacious on that head, but the poetic ones, Cowper and Cary, should have scorned it; at least in parts where the original has not expressed its meaning perspicuously.

The twenty-fourth canto opens with a description of hoar-frost similarized to snow, and it has somewhat of the softer grace of modern poetry; and though I cannot refer to the page, there is a simile of rills hastening to the Arno,³ which presents a pleasing landscape.

—‘In the world,

So may thy name still lift its forehead high’—⁴

The forehead of a name!! It was by such extravagant personification that Mr. Hayley injured his poetry, even some of his best.

¹[*Inf.* xxxii. 69-71.]

²[*Inf.* xxvi. 47 ff.]

³[*Inf.* xxx. 64 ff.—but not a simile.]

⁴[*Inf.* xxvii. 54-55. Cary wrote ‘still rear.’]

Page 195 is the filthiest horridness I ever met without the limits of this volume, for within it there is yet transcending filthiness.— Good heavens! what strange writing will not time sanction? Justly does Shenstone observe, ‘We pardon, nay admire, that in an ancient, for which we should execrate a modern poet.’

It surprises me, amongst a great deal of good blank-verse, to observe you frequently making use of expressions which debase it, such as *folk* for souls in hell, *tell on't* for *tell of it*, *liker*, *marul*, and other similar vulgarisms. Where (as in Madoc) they occur in works of great human interest from story, dramatic oration, tender pathetic sentiments, and vivid landscape, their use is less mischievous—but recollect what sonorous magnificence of phraseology, what never-stooping dignity of numbers Milton employs in the infernal regions. If, in other parts of the *Paradise Lost*, he has rigid lines, and plain language, I think we never find them in the realms of misery. The terrible graces should not be slipshod. Even Southey never permits that.¹

(*Letters*, vol. vi. pp. 301-305.)

1806. Sept.² 6. LETTER] TO THE REV. H. F. CARY (from Lichfield).

[Further criticisms of Cary's translation]

. . . Now to Dante. No, dear Cary, you have by no means utterly failed to satisfy me, though I cannot but like this volume less than the first. Yet that is much more the old poet's fault than yours. My last letter was written immediately on Miss Fern's finishing her audible course through that volume. Previous to the arrival of your last letter,³ I had *looked* into several parts of it to which, when I wrote my observations, I had only *listened*; and I then perceived that my ear had mistaken the simile in the opening of the 24th canto; that the dazzling sister was *snow*, the sister of the hoar-frost, and not Cynthia, the Sun's sister. Certainly that exordium is a very poetic passage, of which you have made a very vivid and striking picture, perfectly true to nature and the descriptive Muse. I will try to point out the lines which struck me as having that faulty kind of obscurity, which results, not from the image being purposely rather hinted than expressed, with a dependence upon the reader's imagination to supply the remainder, but where from want of precision in the *language*, the reader becomes perplexed in his guess at the meaning.

¹[For the reply to the criticisms contained in this letter, see Cary's letter of Aug. 16, 1806 (below, pp. 473-4).]

²[Printed *August*, which must be an error as the letter is written in reply to Cary's of August 16.]

³[Of August 16 (see below, pp. 473-4).]

The first instance which occurs to me is in the first canto, first vol., thus:—

‘Yet, to discourse of what *there* good befel,
All else will I relate discovered *there.*’ l. 8.

The passage is perfectly intelligible in Hayley, by the introduction of the word *but*.—‘I saw terrible things, which to describe is dreadful to me, *but* I will tell the good which I found there.’ That must be the poet’s meaning; and your lines do *not* express it.

Canto xix., line 21:—

‘and be this

A *seal* to undeceive.’

What is meant by a *seal*? can it possibly stand for attestation?

Same canto, line 55: ‘standest,’ for ‘standest thou,’ appears to me unwarrantable in our language; so also ‘dost’ for ‘dost thou,’ which frequently occurs in your translation, much, I think, to its disadvantage. Surely these are not *habits* with our best English poets! O dear, dear! why not say—

‘What then of me requir’st thou?’¹

The genius of our language will not bear the omission of the conjunctions, and you make it *wantonly*.

Canto xix., p. 29. To mix the usage of the second and third person has ever been condemned. What occasion was there for doing it on that page?

Canto xx., line 26, has as good a bull as ever Teague made:—

‘Here Pity most doth show herself alive,
When she is dead.’

On the same page, (line 33) you have the word ‘ruining’ in a sense in which I do not recollect ever seeing it applied.

The two last lines of the 77th page (canto xxii., lines 17, 18), are to me entirely unintelligible.

Canto xxiv., last line but one, *false quantity*, except you speak ‘Bianco’ ‘Banco.’ Southey offends thus at times, but his poetry is always the worse for it.

I do not understand the opening of the 25th canto,—a man *levelling* his hands at God!—nor *why* the serpents became *Dante’s friends* by tormenting the sinners in hell.

How easy to avoid that revolting abbreviation of *dost thou* in the 9th canto:—

‘Pistoia! ah Pistoia! wherefore doubt²
To turn thee into ashes?’

Page 141 (canto xxv.) line 47, to the end of the canto, seems to me an utter abortion of attempt; the most minute precision, without the least distinctness. What is description worth if the mind of

¹[For, ‘What then of me requirest?’—Canto xix. l. 68.]

²[For ‘why dost doubt?’ as it is in Cary’s version.]

the reader cannot image the object described? Canto xxxii., line 24, one line, in which I find the inelegant and unscholarlike word 'liker,' (yes, I would call it unscholarlike, if Milton himself, as perchance he may, have used it)—you might, with the utmost ease, have avoided it, preserving exactly the same sense and measure:—

'A lake whose frozen surface seemed more like¹
To glass than water.'

The succeeding passage is eminently beautiful, and could not be better expressed in *any* language.

Page 273 (canto xxxii., line 79). Why would you not avoid that strange elision of the word 'thou?' Without temptation to that mutilation of our language, instead of 'wherefore dost bruise me?' why not, 'why dost thou bruise me?' And again, in less than three lines, 'wherefore troublest me?' why not leave out the *st* in trouble?

I have quarrels with your phraseology in page 283:—the slovenly 'tell on't' (canto xxxiii., line 6), which I never surely till now saw in our good poets, and the superfluous and disagreeable monosyllable *at* in the ninth line; vulgarness surely for the sake of vulgarness, since you could have no difficulty in abstaining from it:—

'which but to think of, rends my heart
Ere I describe it.'²

And again:—

'The traitor whom I gnaw; then thou again
Shall see me speak and weep.'³

Page 291 (canto xxxiii., line 91), why say '*incapable*' instead of '*incapable*'? I like the change as little as I like it in Shakspeare when he calls *ineffectual*, *uneffectual* fire.⁴

A gentleman of the name of Brown is, with his mother, now resident in this mansion. He is fellow of Trinity, and will be dean of that college next year; a man of letters, ingenious and well-versed in our *own* best poets. I consulted him about your custom in this translation of cutting off *thou*, as by *choice*, in *shalt*, *wilt* do this, &c. &c. He said there was no precedent for it in Milton: he believed there might be a few instances of it in Shakspeare; but added, "It is 'a custom more honoured in the breach than the observance,' and must *greatly deform* a work in which it occurs *frequently*."

Your note does not assist me to comprehend what is meant by —'the date *more luscious* for my fig' (Canto xxxiii. line 118).

¹[For 'liker seemed.']

²[For—'which but to think of, wrings
My heart, or ere I tell on't.']

³[For 'The traitor whom I gnaw at, thou at once
Shall see me speak and weep.']

⁴[*Hamlet*, act i. sc. 5.]

If the poet had simply said, 'and here have I a date for my fig' (familiar and awkward as would have been the use of such a Rowland for his Oliver, as the old saying is with *us*, in a situation so *full of horror*), I might have understood it, but why the date should be *more luscious* for his fig, passes my comprehension.

Thus I have instanced some of the many passages in which the language fails to express the poet's idea with perspicuity. My dear friend, you wanted Molière's old woman now and then.

You accuse me of being a youth-loving critic and of want of reverence for antiquity. I deny the charge. I have all the reverence for it which it can *justly claim*; but blind *partiality is not due reverence*; and he who prefers *old* poetry to *better* poetry of a later date, is not of taste much less defective than a person who should prefer an old Gothic mansion with its

'Dim windows, which exclude the light,
And passages that lead to nothing,'¹

to a lightsome and convenient mansion, in which utility and beauty are united. Every poet whose works have centennial mellowness, is considered as an *ancient*. Shakspeare and Milton are in that class. What enthusiast in antiquity can admire their writings more than myself? I am pleased and interested by several of our modern tragedies; yet you never heard me speak of them as within any limit of comparison with our immortal dramatic bard.

If I can form any judgment from the most approved translations, the pompous Greek dramas, with their unnatural botching choruses, and vocal unities, which burlesque probability, they are more, much more inferior to Shakspeare's plays than are the best of Otway's, Rowe's, Jephson's, and the grand Alphonso,² by Lewis. It is true you have heard me say, that the superiority of human interest in the Madoc³ and of dramatic spirit and variety of characters, drawn with Shakspearian force and subtlety, almost balance the transcendence of magnificent harmony in the *style* of Milton; and when we consider the lavish plagiarisms of Milton, from Homer and the Italian poets, and above all from the Scriptures, and that Madoc's imagery is all original, I think there is much more reason for suspecting the coldness of a poetic mind to so beautiful and sublime a work, the result of prejudice, than to fancy any sensibility of the real faults of Chaucer, Spenser, and Dante, a sort of unhallowed irreverence for crude and easy composition. Then how can you profess to be charmed with the few faint outlines of landscape painting in Dante, who are blind to the beautiful, distinct, and profuse scenery in the pages of Ossian?

¹[From Gray's *Long Story* (St. 2, misquoted).]

²[*Alphonso, King of Castile*, a tragedy, by Matthew Gregory Lewis ('Monk' Lewis) (1775-1818); published in 1801, performed at Covent Garden, 15 Jan. 1802.]

³[Southey's *Madoc*, published in 1805.]

Now to answer your questions. I have fifty times repeated from *Paradise Lost*, 'Let us not slip the occasion,' without being struck with *slip* as a vulgarism. A monosyllable was necessary to the measure. I know of but one that Milton could have substituted, and that is '*miss* the occasion;' and *miss* is not more elegant than *slip*; then the grandeur of the next line so immediately covers the common-life word, as to prevent the attention from dwelling on it, if indeed, as I know that it is, it *be* a vulgarism. *Bestir* themselves is in harmony with the simile of the roused *soldiers*. Milton would not have used it in describing the upstarting of the fallen *angels*. *Belike* and *likeliest*, though exceptionable, are not so exceptionable as *liker*. I confess *kicking* the beam, to be *very very* low; and words that are in themselves a deformity, cannot, even from the best writers, be precedents of *justifiable* power. The rest of the words, quoted from Milton, are not used in the *demoniac* regions, but in that very absurd part, the Limbo of Vanity; which being in itself grossly ludicrous, any phraseology is good enough for it. . . .

Forgive my ingenuousness, hazarded in the hope that if you translate the Purgatorio, it may induce you to weed your blank verse a little. It is a rich soil, and wants only a higher degree of husbandry to make it responsible for a transplantation of the finest powers of another language.¹

(Printed in *Memoir of the Rev. Henry Francis Cary*, vol. i. pp. 232-9.)

1807. May 10. LETTER TO THE REV. H. F. CARY (from Lichfield).

[Scott and Dante]

The stranger guest, Scott,² delighted us all by the unaffected charms of his mind and manners. He had diverged many miles from his intended track of return from our capital, to visit me ere he repassed the Tweed. Such visits are the most high-prized honours which my writings have procured for me.

I shewed Mr. Scott the passage in your Dante which mentions his work, and the Magician it celebrates.³ He had heard of your translation, but not read it. On looking at a few of the passages, and comparing them with the original, he said there was power and skill in having breathed so much spirit into a translation so nearly literal; but he confessed his inability to find pleasure in that author,

¹[For Cary's answer to this letter, see below, pp. 474-9.]

²[Walter Scott, who paid a visit to Miss Seward at Lichfield on his way back from London in May, 1807, 'having diverged from the great road to Scotland for the purpose.']

³[In his note on *Inf.* xx. 116, Cary quotes Scott's account of Sir Michael Scott in the annotations to the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, which had been published two years before.]

even in his own language, which Mr. S. perfectly understands. The plan, he said, appeared to him unhappy, as it was singular, and the personal malignity and strange mode of revenge, presumptuous and uninteresting. However, he promised to examine your English version more largely when he could find leisure.¹

(*Letters*, vol. vi. pp. 339-40.)

JOHN PINKERTON

(1758-1826)

[John Pinkerton, Scottish antiquary and historian, was born in Edinburgh in 1758. After serving a five years' apprenticeship to a lawyer in Edinburgh he came to London, where he published several volumes of poetry, including *Select Scottish Ballads* (1783), some of which, as he afterwards confessed, were his own composition. In 1784 he published anonymously an *Essay on Medals*, which gained him the acquaintance of Horace Walpole. In the next year, under the pseudonym of 'Robert Heron,' he published *Letters of Literature*, which were highly praised by Horace Walpole, who in some quarters was suspected of being the author. Besides various other works dealing with Scottish history and literature, he published two volumes of *Ancient Scottish Poems* (1786), and a *History of Scotland* (1797). He died in Paris in 1826. In his *Letters of Literature* Pinkerton gives a somewhat depreciatory estimate of Dante, whom he ranks below Tasso. In 1799 he published a collection of anecdotes and sayings of Horace Walpole under the title of *Walpoliana*, in which he records Walpole's opinion of Dante.]

1785. LETTERS OF LITERATURE.²

[Dante and Petrarch compared]

PETRARCH'S sonnets, truly fine, and in which the train of thought varies, might be reduced to about a dozen. The real poetical beauties of Dante might likewise fall into very small compass; consisting chiefly of the celebrated tale of Ugolino; and of that in the close of the Vth Canto of the Inferno; which is as exquisite for tenderness, as the other is remarkable for terror. Now, that beauties of writers are fashionable reading, a small duodecimo extracted from these two poets would, if performed with taste, be an acceptable present to the public: for no works I have read afford so fair a field for selection as those of the fathers of Italian poetry; as they contain diamonds of the finest water lost in a mass of common soil. Yet were they both men of real genius; for superlative genius must be discovered from the amazing height it sometimes rises to; tho' at other times it displays no extraordinary vigor. The genius of Petrarch is however more equal and correct than that of Dante; yet he by no means wanted strength when he

¹[Scott quotes Dante occasionally in the *Waverley Novels*, but the *Commedia* evidently did not appeal to him (see below, pp. 442 ff.).]

²[Published under the pseudonym of Robert Heron.]

chose to exert it. Nor was Dante, whose excellence is native force, deficient in describing the tender passions, as may be seen in the Canto above referred to. Petrarch's learning almost destroyed his genius. Dante's genius shot freely, having no bound of erudition to confine its vigor: he is a bold original writer, whose beauties are peculiarly his own, while his faults are those of the times.

(Letter viii, pp. 54-5.)

[Tasso ranked above Dante]

You must observe, my dear friend, that we are gravely told that genius was, during these [Augustan] ages, carried to its greatest height. . . . A remark of superlative futility. In the Augustan age of Greece, for example, where is the name of Homer, who flourished about 300 years before? Where is that of Plutarch. . . .? In that of Rome, where is Tacitus, almost their only original writer? In the age of Leo X. where is Tasso, the first of the Italian poets? Where Petrarca? Where Dante? Where Metastasio? . . .

(Letter xxv, pp. 159-60.)

1799. WALPOLIANA. XXXIV. DANTE.

[Under this heading Pinkerton records Walpole's opinion of Dante, which is printed above, in the preliminary notice of Horace Walpole (see p. 338).]

HENRY BOYD

(c. 1750-1832)

[Henry Boyd, translator of the *Divina Commedia*, was a native of Ireland, where he was born about 1750. He appears to have been educated at Dublin University. In 1785 he published by subscription at Dublin in two volumes a verse translation of the *Inferno* (the second English version), together with a specimen of a new translation of the *Orlando Furioso*. The dedication to the Earl of Bristol, Bishop of Derry, is dated from Killeigh, near Tullamore, of which place presumably he was then incumbent. In 1793 he published *Poems chiefly Dramatic and Lyric*; and in 1802 he issued a translation of the whole of the *Divina Commedia* (the first complete English translation to see the light¹), with preliminary essays, notes, and illustrations, in three volumes. This work was dedicated to Viscount Charleville, whose chaplain Boyd then was, as well as vicar of Rathfriland, co. Down. In 1805 he published two more volumes of verse; and in 1807 appeared his verse translation of the *Triumphs of Petrarch*, on the title-page of which he describes himself as chaplain to H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex, and to the Earl of Charleville. He died at Ballintemple, near Newry, in 1832. Boyd's version of the *Divina Commedia*, which is in six-line stanzas, is not so much a translation as a paraphrase, in which it is often difficult to recognise Dante at all. His method, however, seems on the whole to have been acceptable to the critics of the day, one of whom speaks approvingly of his way of

¹[William Huggins left a complete translation in MS. at his death in 1761, but it was never printed (see above, p. 307).]

'dilating the scanty expressions of his author into perspicuous and flowing diction';¹ while another observes that 'the dulness of Dante is often enlivened by Mr. Boyd with profuse ornaments of his own, by which he is rather elevated than degraded.'² In the argument to the fourth canto of the *Inferno* he confesses that he has taken the liberty of adding some 'characteristic imagery' of his own to the list of names in the original, whereby he succeeds in expanding half a line of Dante ('Tullio e Seneca morale,' *Inf.* iv. 141) into a whole stanza:—

'Tully his Roman audience still harangues,
Still on his lips the list'ning Senate hangs,
While newly scap'd the tyrant's bloody steel,
The Moralist, a pale, exhausted sh de
Shews his torn veins and points the reeking blade,
Like one that seems the ling'ring wound to feel.'³

Passages from Boyd's version (specimens of which are given below), were printed in illustration of Flaxman's *Compositions from the Divine Poem of Dante*, published in 1807.]

1785. A TRANSLATION OF THE INFERNO OF DANTE ALIGHIERI, IN ENGLISH VERSE. WITH HISTORICAL NOTES, AND THE LIFE OF DANTE. TO WHICH IS ADDED A SPECIMEN OF A NEW TRANSLATION OF THE ORLANDO FURIOSO OF ARIOSTO.

[An apology for Dante]

THE venerable old Bard who is the subject of the present enquiry has been long neglected; perhaps for that reason, because the merit of his Poem could not be tried by the reigning laws of which the author was ignorant, or which he did not chuse to observe: He always indeed was a favourite with such as were possess'd of true taste, and dared to think for themselves; but since the French, the restorers of the art of criticism, cast a damp upon original invention, the character of *Dante* has been thrown under a deeper shade. That agreeable and volatile nation found in themselves an insuperable aversion to the gloomy and romantic bard, whose genius, ardent, melancholy, and sublime, was so different from their own. . . .

The sense of right and wrong, the innate love of virtue and justice, and the influence of conscience, are principles which every where prevail. These are the principles on which the Poem of the *Inferno* is founded, and to which they constantly refer; besides this, it abounds with powerful appeals to the strongest of all human passions, Terror and Pity; we sympathize with the sufferers, as they are neither Demons nor imaginary beings, but our fellow-creatures; and the combined force of all these sentiments and principles, the hatred of vice, the power of conscience, and our pity to the victims, must produce the most salutary of all effects, that moral effect, which all Laws tend to produce, a just

¹[*Monthly Review*, March, 1805 (see below, pp. 669-71).]

²[*Critical Review*, March, 1803 (see below, pp. 656-7).]

³[See also the notice in *Gentleman's Magazine*, May, 1785 (below, pp. 419 ff.).]

idea of the consequence of Vice to ourselves. There is another reason, which gives the descriptions and tales of the *Inferno* a still stronger influence. The modes of life described in the antient heroic Poets, though they exhibit all the simplicity of nature, are still remote from ours. . . . The modes of life, and even the opinions which we meet with in *Dante*, are all, if not familiar to us, at least allied to our own by a very near affinity; our manners of life and opinions are drawn from the same source, most of his characters profess the same faith with us, and exhibit nearly the same manners; hence we feel for them the more strongly. It may be thought that there are too many appeals made to the powerful emotions of the soul, terror and pity. This arises principally from the want of art in the composition: But the variety of his descriptions make an ample compensation for the uniformity of his subject. Everything that is terrible to human nature is variegated with more imagination, and described with more sublimity than any other Poet, not excepting *Milton*, who drew some of his most tremendous scenes evidently from *Dante*; some are hurried round in perpetual motion; some are immoveably fixed under their torments; situations which interest our feelings the more strongly, as they are both so strikingly remote from the common appearances of Life: But had he confined himself to corporal sufferings alone, he had only deserved to rank with those bards—

‘Where pure description holds the place of sense.’¹

He has also shewn the sufferings of the mind, with a force of genius that shews him to have been an accurate and profound observer of the human character. Some deprecate the wrath of Heaven in effeminate lamentations; some suffer in manly silence; in some we meet an expression of malignant envy; and some, struck with shame, endeavour to conceal their crimes and their woes in eternal oblivion; some have their sympathy, their envy, or their terror continually kept awake by supernatural representations of whatever was to happen among their friends on earth. The very introduction of a living man among them, who, exempt from their sufferings, views all their torments at leisure, serves to sublime their pains for a time. In short, the passions are represented as having their full play in the infernal Regions, and add new horror to the scene. . . .

In this endeavour to illustrate the Poem of the *Inferno*, and trace to their source the impressions it makes on us, I have been obliged to cast a veil on the venerable Father of *Grecian* Poetry;

¹ [‘While pure description held the place of sense.’ Pope, *Prolog. to Sat.* 148.]

yet, I hope it will not be thought owing to want of either Respect or Love.—It was in some sort necessary to shew *Dante* in his proper light. *Homer* and *Virgil* have all the advantages of Nature and Art, they may easily allow to *Dante* that single one of appealing to Sentiments and Principles more general, and more permanent than their Poems refer to. *Milton*, towards the end of his immortal Poem, shews the Sun and the whole Face of Nature under an Eclipse, in order to give the greater effect to a glorious apparition of Angels which he here introduces. I would be understood to mean as little disrespect to

—‘The solar Lord of the Poetic Year,’

as *Milton* did to the great Luminary: But all I meant was to shade his excellence a little, that a Bard of a secondary magnitude might have an opportunity of appearing in his proper light; this was the more necessary, as *Dante* had fallen into a degree of obscurity far below his genuine deserts.

(From *A Comparative View of the Inferno, With some other Poems relative to the Original Principles of Human Nature, on which they are founded, or to which they appeal.* Vol. i. pp. 27 ff.)

THE INFERNO

Canto the Fifth

Argument. The Travellers descend to the second Region, where they find the Tribunal of Minos, and observe his extraordinary method of pronouncing Sentence; thence they find their way to the place where the Votaries of lawless Love are punished, among whom *Dante* meets the spirits of *Paulo* and *Francesca*, a noble pair of *Ravenna*, whose affecting Story closes the Canto.

* * * *

[*Paolo* and *Francesca*]

Then screaming, flitted by *Eliza's*¹ ghost,
Who on herself reveng'd her lover lost:

Then Egypt's wanton Queen² was seen to soar.

Next I beheld the Spartan Dame³ appear,

The common pest of many a rolling year,

While mutual slaughter dy'd Scamander's shore.

Achilles too, by love to ruin led,

Paris I spy'd, and *Tristram's* gory shade,

And still each coming ghost the poet nam'd.

To see the wreck of souls my heart recoild.

At length, ‘O call that pair, thou spirit mild,

That skims so light before the blast untam'd!’

¹ Dido.

² Cleopatra.]

³ Helen of Troy.

'Soon may'st thou know,' he cry'd, 'the tide of air
Brings to our lofty stand the hapless pair;

Do thou adjure them by their mutual flame
To tell their woes, their woes they soon will tell.'
He spoke. Ascending from the depths of Hell,
Riding the blast, the wailing lovers came.

Then I. 'Afflicted pair! descend and say,
Why thus ye mourn?' The gentle ghosts obey,
And light, attentive to my warm request:
As, with her faithful mate, the turtle-dove
Descends, obedient to the call of love,
On steady wing, and seeks the nuptial nest.

Dido they left, that led the num'rous flight,
And thro' the shadows of eternal night
Struck by the potent charm the lovers came:
'Mortal,' they cry'd, 'whose friendly thoughts impel
Thy feet to wander thro' the shades of Hell
To learn our woes, the fates allow your claim!

'Ah! could the fruitless prayers that hence arise,
Bend the stern Ruler of the distant skies,
Thine were the joys of everlasting rest!
So sweet the pause thy adjurations gain
For us, ill-fated pair, untimely slain
Where *Padus* rolls the tribute of the west!

'This mangled form was fated to inspire
The gentle *Paulo's* breast with am'rous fire;
From his to mine the soft infection spread:
Too soon the fatal secret I divin'd;
Too soon with his my guilty wish combin'd,
Wretch that I was! who shar'd his brother's bed!

'Love link'd our souls above, and links below,
But, far beneath, in scenes of deeper woe,
The eldest murth'rer and his mates prepare
Already to receive the ruffian's soul:
Where *Caina* reaches to the nether pole
With *Fratricides* the penal doom to share.'

She paus'd, and her eternal plaints renew'd;
Struck with her hapless tale I musing stood:
'Why pensive thus?' the gentle bard enquir'd;
Then I: 'Could aught the captive souls persuade
To tell the trains for their seduction laid,
Millions might shun their fate, by Heav'n inspir'd.'

Then turning round to view the hapless pair,
 Sighing, I thus address'd the weeping fair :—
 'How sad th' atonement of thy guilty joys!
 But say, how first you saw his passion grow ;
 What busy demon taught thee first to know
 The secret meaning of his smother'd sighs ?'

She wept, and 'Oh! how grievous to relate
 Past joys, and tread again the paths of fate,
 Let him who sung *Eliza's* woes declare :
 But since, unsated still, the wish remains
 To know the source of our eternal pains,
 Thou shalt not vainly breathe the pious pray'r.

'One day (a day I ever must deplore!)
 The gentle youth, to spend a vacant hour,
 To me the soft seducing story read,
 Of *Lancelot* and fair *Genevra's* love,
 While fascinating all the quiet grove
 Fallacious Peace her snares around us spread.

'Too much I found th' insidious volume charm,
 And *Paulo's* mantling blushes rising warm,
 Still as he read the guilty secret told :
 Soon from the line his eyes began to stray ;
 Soon did my yielding looks my heart betray,
 Nor needed words our wishes to unfold.

'Eager to realize the story'd bliss,
 Trembling he snatch'd the half-resented kiss,
 To ill soon lesson'd by the pandar-page!
 Vile pandar-page! it smooth'd the paths of shame.'
 While thus she spoke, the partner of her flame
 Tun'd his deep sorrows to the whirlwind's rage.

So full the symphony of grief arose,
 My heart, responsive to the lovers' woes
 With thrilling sympathy convuls'd my breast :
 Too strong at last for life my passion grew,
 And, sick'ning at the lamentable view,
 I fell, like one by mortal pangs oppress'd.

(Stanzas xiii.-xxvii. vol. i. pp. 254-61.)

1802. THE DIVINA COMMEDIA OF DANTE ALIGHIERI : CONSISTING OF THE INFERNO—PURGATORIO—AND PARADISO. TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH VERSE, WITH PRELIMINARY ESSAYS, NOTES, AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE PURGATORIO

Canto the First

[Invocation of the Muses—Dawn in the Southern hemisphere]

But now the barque, that wafts the Muse and me,
 Displays her canvass on the smoother sea,
 And leaves the horrible expanse behind :
 Scourg'd by the tempest of eternal wrath,
 It now is giv'n to other climes to breathe,
 Where the pure Spirit soars, from sin refin'd.

Purge off the *Stygian* gloom, forsake the dead,
 And o'er a milder Zone your pinions spread ;
 Queen of immortal song ! thy help I claim :
 That harmony inspire, whose powerful strain
 Struck mute the clamours of the hostile train,
 Whose overthrow enhanc'd the *Muse's* fame.

The Orient sapphire of the deep serene,
 Spread her young glories o'er the op'ning scene,
 Thro' all the vast sublunar vault afar :
 How soft was then the Zephyrean plume
 Of morn ! to me escap'd the *Stygian* gloom,
 And damp'd with many a scene of deep despair.

Now, twinkling clear, the harbinger of day
 Look'd from his shrine, and all the East was gay ;
 Her rising beam the wat'ry sign conceal'd :
 (Hid, by excess of light,) I look'd around,
 And spy'd, within the pale nocturnal bound,
 Four stars in Paradise alone beheld

Alas ! how faintly gleams our Northern Pole,
 Compar'd with these celestial orbs that roll
 Their endless journey round the Southern sky !
 Half dazzl'd with their beams, I turn'd again
 To spy the Northern Charioteer in vain,
 The Pole, and flaming guards escap'd mine eye.

(Stanzas i.-v. vol. ii. pp. 57-9.)

THE PARADISO

Canto the Thirty-third

[The Beatific Vision]

My imperfection spoils the heav'nly theme ;
 The Infant thus, that quaffs the milky stream,
 Mars her insipient words with wailing cry :
 Yet an unvary'd semblance here was seen ;
 What now it is, the Godhead still has been,
 And Chance or Change must ever more defy.

Yet to spiritual organs, far refin'd
 Above material Sense, th' eternal Mind,
 Tho' One itself, a changing aspect wore ;
 More glorious far, and more intensely bright,
 The Vision seem'd, as with a sharper sight
 I try'd the glorious Prospect to explore.

Three Splendours seem'd their Glories to unite,
 And then diverge amid th' abyss of Light,
 Each catching in their turn the running Blaze ;
 As if three colours of the show'ry bow,
 With bright alternate hues, were seen to glow,
 For ever bending in a radiant maze.

The central Glory seem'd a rising Fire,
 Darting on either side his flaming spire !—
 Alas ! how poorly do my words express
 Ev'n the faint Picture that my Fancy drew !
 And that, how far beneath the wond'rous View !
 It were abuse of words to call it less.

Thou self-existent Beam, where all to come,
 Present and past, within the ample womb
 Of deep Duration held, to being spring
 At once, I saw you with unbounded joy,
 As if a second dawn illumed the Sky,
 Soaring to catch thy sight with flaming wing.

With sudden glance, the sun-bright Mirror show'd
 A radiant Form, that seem'd an human God ;
 His regal mien, and sweet Elysian glance,
 As with a spell, my whole attention caught ;
 On the fair Vision still, absorpt in thought,
 I hung, like one in soft delicious trance.

As the Geometer, with studious pain,
 To square the circle, plies his art in vain
 The reconciling principle to find ;
 So ponder'd I, on this strange problem fix'd
 When Manhood shone so bright with Godhead mix'd,
 Matter concrete with pure abstracted Mind.

But ill could mortal Sense this sight explore
 Until a lucid Hand, extended o'er
 My straining eyes, the Miracle display'd,
 Bright as empyreal Noon, which Heav'n denies
 To paint!—O may his Will, that rules the Skies,
 In this and all, be evermore obey'd!

(*Stanzas xxiv.-xxxi. vol. iii. pp. 369-71.*)

1807. THE TRIUMPHS OF PETRARCH: TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH VERSE, WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES.

[Dante and Petrarch]

The translation of the papal residence from Rome to Avignon, in the 14th century, . . . gave but too much room for the spirited invectives of the satirists and reformers of the time. Among these Dante and Petrarch made a remarkable figure: but in this, as in other particulars of their poetical character, they trode in the steps of the more ancient Provençal bards or troubadours, a race of men, whose writings had in many respects a tendency, no less to corrupt than to expose the corruptions of the times. It is not improbable, that Dante as well as Petrarch had tasted of the cup of Circe, and had been caught for a time in the vortex of dissipation: for this indeed we have the confessions of the former as well as the latter. The author of the *Divina Commedia* inveighed against the licentiousness of the times in a strain of peculiar acrimony. The latter, though he sometimes indulged in a strain of censure, yet seems to have made it his principal endeavour to refine the *belle* passion from its grosser terrestrial sediment, and to wing its flight and direct its views to nobler objects. . . . In his talents, and the mode in which they are directed, Dante may sometimes be thought to resemble Swift. In these particulars the Bard of Vaucluse exhibits a nearer similitude to Addison, as the one depicted vice in the most odious colours, the other exhibited virtue in her most engaging form, particularly in the second part of his miscellaneous poems, and in what he calls the *Triumphs of Death and of Eternity*. The latter has also imitated the former, but probably with less energy: yet when we consider what obligations we are under to each, were it only for opening the mines of modern poetry, and contributing to

improve the gross morals of the times in which they lived, it will probably tend to procure for this attempt a favourable reception from the English reader.

(Introduction, pp. xxiv-vi.)

[Petrarch's mention of Dante and Beatrice]

While thus I turned around my wond'ring eyes,
I saw a noble train with new surprise,
Who seem'd of LOVE in choral notes to sing,
While all around them breath'd Elysian spring.—
Here Alighieri, with his love I spied,¹
Selvaggio,² Guido, Cino, side by side—
Guido, who mourn'd the lot that fix'd his name
The second of his age in lyric fame.—

(Triumph of Love, Part iv. p. 47.)

ANONYMOUS

1785. May. GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE. ART. 71. BOYD'S TRANSLATION OF THE INFERNO OF DANTE ALIGHIERI, IN ENGLISH VERSE.³

THIS work was printed by subscription. . . . The translator should seem to be an Hibernian. *Magnum opus movet*, as, to render the darkness (if we may so say) of the *Inferno* visible to English eyes, requires (to say no more) great knowledge of the idioms of both languages. . . . The stanza, it is observable, is not that of Dante, but much more easy, a liberty, we think, very allowable.—The notes are very useful, and indeed necessary, additions, as they illustrate the facts and persons introduced in the poem. Had the translator been acquainted with some excellent verses by the late Mr. Yorke to his sister (Lady Anson), occasioned by her copying a picture of Dante by Clovio, he would certainly have mentioned them.⁴ And we are much surprised that the shocking story of Count Ugolino should not have extorted an eulogium on the great painter who has drawn it.⁵ . . .

This version is in general correct and spirited, and frequently poetical; it will therefore please an English, more than an Italian, reader, who compares it with the original, as it is often diffuse, and

¹Dante: he was the author of several sonnets and canzoni on the subject of Love.

²[*Sic*, for *Selvaggia*, the mistress of Cino da Pistoja. Boyd says in his note: 'Of Selvaggio but little is known, except that his writings contributed to polish the nascent language' (!)]

³[See above, pp. 411 ff.]

⁴[See above, pp. 243 ff.]

⁵[Sir Joshua Reynolds (see above, p. 343); a correspondent in a subsequent number (1786, ii. 928), however, points out that as Boyd was domiciled in the wilds of Ireland he had probably never heard of the picture.]

the sense of the author is often amplified, and sometimes retrenched, with a freedom which few (we should think) will approve. Thus in Canto iv, which describes 'the Limbo of the ancients,' and where the translator says, 'he has taken the liberty of adding some characteristic imagery to the muster-roll of names which constitutes a great part of this Canto in the original,' among the Patriarchs 'David Re,' we know not why, is omitted, and 'Abraam Patriarcha,' and

'Israel, con suo padre, et co' suoi nati,
Et con Rachele, per cui tanto fe'

(literally)

'Israel, with his father and *his sons*,
And Rachel, earn'd by many a toilsome hour')

are branched out into this stanza:

'Then he,¹ who with his small domestic band
Follow'd the vision of the promis'd land
Through many a smiling plain to Jordan's shore;
He² that so dear the Syrian damsel bought,
His *spouse*,³ and they⁴ that to their father brought
The fraudulent mantle, stain'd with savage gore.'

Here, not to cavil at the vulgarity of the word 'spouse,' the 'characteristic imagery' is not only arbitrarily, but improperly, annexed to the 'sons of Israel,' as it 'stains' them with an imputation of fraud at least, which, however just, Dante, far from expressing, could never intend.

In like manner, these three lines,

'Quegli è Homero poeta sovrano
L' altr' è Horatio satiro, che vene,
Ovidio è 'l terzo, et l' ultimo Lucano,'

(literally,

'Tis Homer, he who every bard surpass'd,
Horace approaches next, for satire fam'd,
The third is Ovid, Lucan is the last.')

are expanded into these nine:

'Tis mighty Homer, first of bards, who sung
How on the flying rear Achilles hung,
And all the terrors of Scamander's field.

Near him the master⁵ of the Latian lyre,
Who civilised the rude satiric choir,

And bade them mingle with the polish'd throng;
And mighty Lucan, stain'd with civil blood,
With him⁶ who to the swans on Ister's flood
In exile sung his sweetly plaintive song.'

¹ Abraham.
⁵ Horace.

² Jacob.
⁶ Ovid.

³ Rachel.

⁴ The sons of Israel.

To us the names only, as in the original, are much more expressive than the circumlocution, by which 'like expanded gold,' to adopt a simile in *Irene*, they 'exchange solid strength for feeble lustre.' Besides, to such a poet as Dante, the names alone were sufficient, as, when he heard who these poets were, he knew, as well as his informer, what and where they sung.

(Vol. lv. Part i. pp. 378-81.)

ANONYMOUS

1785. June. CRITICAL REVIEW. BOYD'S TRANSLATION OF THE INFERNO OF DANTE.

SOME detached parts of this extraordinary poem have been rendered into English verse by different authors. The most considerable undertaking of the kind, the present excepted, is that of Mr. Hayley; who has inserted in the notes to his *Essay on Epic Poetry*, a close but spirited translation of the three first cantos.¹ He there intimates some intention of giving an entire version of it, should his specimen meet with a favourable reception. We know not whether he has dropped his intention; but if he has, there is the less reason to regret it, from the abilities displayed in the present performance.

* * * *

In a very early period of his life Dante fell in love with a lady whose name was Beatrice. She took the veil, and died at the age of twenty-six. His passion is supposed to have been merely of the Platonic kind. . . . After this event Dante fell into a profound melancholy, but was at length prevailed upon to marry, by the advice of his friends. His wife resembled Xantippe in character, but the husband did not prove a Socrates. He repudiated her, and, though she had borne him several children, never again admitted her into his presence. . . .

Dante cannot be charged with too great partiality in regard to his friends. Many whom he greatly esteemed, his tutor Brunello,² even the beautiful Francosia,³ daughter of his generous patron, are consigned to eternal torments. His disappointment in love, as well as his ambitious, if not vindictive views, in all probability soured his mind. . . .

Of the translator's abilities and execution, we, on the whole, think highly. He has taken some liberty with the original, but it is principally in softening absurd or offensive images; a liberty that may be considered as more than excusable. His diction is animated,

¹[See above, pp. 359 ff.]

²[*Sic*, for Brunetto.]

³[*Sic*, for Francesca.]

his expressions in general nervous and forcible, truly characteristic of the Tuscan bard, whose spirit he has happily caught, and whose harsh features, though sometimes meliorated, are seldom or never destroyed. We cannot always compliment him for the accuracy of his rhymes; nor are some passages free from obscurity: a defect greatly palliated by the difficulties of the original. . . .

ANONYMOUS

1785. Dec. MONTHLY REVIEW. BOYD'S INFERNO.

WE cannot say much in praise of this work, but that the translation of Dante is in general faithful, and renders pretty correctly the sense of a very difficult writer. A too rigorous attention to this object has, perhaps, prevented Mr. Boyd from smoothing his verses, and giving to his poetry that easy flow, of which some passages, written *con amore*, prove that he is not altogether incapable. As a specimen, we may select the story of Paulo and Francosia,¹ which closes the fifth canto. . . .

The translator's language is often obscure, sometimes ungrammatical. His poetry wants animation, and, instead of shading or mending the faults of Dante (which were those of his age), he renders them more conspicuous, and more unpleasing. But he has attempted a task, in which it was difficult to escape blame, and scarcely possible to merit commendation.

(Vol. lxxiii. pp. 425 ff.)

CHRISTOPHER HERVEY

(fl. 1760)

1785. LETTERS FROM PORTUGAL, SPAIN, ITALY, AND GERMANY IN THE YEARS 1759, 1760, AND 1761.

[Monte San Giuliano]

THIS is the nature of the road when you coast the mountain,
Per cui i Pisan Lucca veder non ponno.²

Dante

'Which shields fair Pisa's town from Lucca's view.'

(Vol. ii. p. 394.)

¹[*Sic*, for Francesca.]

²[*Inf.* xxxiii. 30 (misquoted)—the Monte San Giuliano.]

ANONYMOUS

1786. A PHILOSOPHICAL DICTIONARY. FROM THE FRENCH OF M. DE VOLTAIRE.¹

[Alleged prophetic utterances of Seneca and Dante]

CYRUS.² . . . The sages observe, that if there was ever a formal prophecy, it is that of the discovery of America in the tragedy³ of Seneca :—

Venient annis
 Secula seris quibus oceanus
 Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
 Pateat Tellus, &c.

A time may arrive when the ocean will loosen the chains of nature, and lay open a vast world.—The four stars of the southern pole are advanced still more clearly in Dante,⁴ yet no one takes either Seneca or Dante for diviners.

(Ed. 1824, vol. ii. p. 358.)

[The 'divine Dante' and his 'divine comedy']

DANTE.⁵ You wish to become acquainted with Dante. The Italians call him divine, but it is a mysterious divinity; few men understand his oracles; and although there are commentators, that may be an additional reason why he is little comprehended. His reputation will last, because he is little read. Twenty pointed things in him are known by rote, which spare people the trouble of being acquainted with the remainder.

The divine Dante was an unfortunate person. Imagine not that he was divine in his own day: no one is a prophet at home. It is true he was a prior, but not a prior of monks, but a prior of Florence; that is to say, one of its senators. . . .

He was born in 1260, when the arts began to flourish in his native land. Florence, like Athens, abounded in greatness, wit, levity, inconstancy, and faction. The white faction was in great credit; it was called after a Signora Bianca. The opposing party was called the blacks, in contradistinction. These two parties sufficed not for the Florentines; they had also Guelphs and

¹[A French edition was printed in London in 1765.]

²[The article on Cyrus was first published in 1774. For the original, and for a further reference by Voltaire to these so-called prophecies of Seneca and Dante, see above, pp. 211-12, 206-7.]

³[In the *Medea*, ii. 3.]

⁴[*Purg.* i. 23-4.]

⁵[The article on Dante was originally published in 1756 in a volume of *Mélanges*, and was afterwards inserted by Voltaire in his *Dictionnaire Philosophique*, the first edition of which was published in 1764.]

Ghibelines. The greater part of the whites were Ghibelines, attached to the party of the emperors; the blacks, on the other hand, sided with the Guelphs, the partisans of the popes. . . .

Dante was a white and a Ghibeline; he was driven away among the first, and his house rased to the ground. . . . It is said that he took a journey to Paris, and, to relieve his chagrin, turned theologian, and disputed vigorously in the schools. It is added, that the Emperor Henry VII did nothing for him, Ghibeline as he was; and that he repaired to Frederick of Arragon, King of Sicily, and returned as poor as he went. He subsequently died in poverty at Ravenna, at the age of fifty-six. It was during these various peregrinations that he composed his divine comedy of Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise.

[Voltaire here enters into a description of the Inferno, which it is unnecessary to insert, after the various translations into English. The conclusion, however, exhibiting our author's usual vivacity, is retained.]¹

Is all this in the comic style? No. In the heroic manner? No. What then is the taste of this poem? An exceeding wild one; but it contains verses so happy and piquant, that it has not laid dormant for four centuries, and never will be laid aside. A poem, moreover, which puts popes in hell excites attention; and the sagacity of commentators is exhausted in correctly ascertaining who it is that Dante has damned; it being, of course, of the first consequence not to be deceived in a matter so important.²

(Ed. 1824, vol. ii. pp. 360-1.)

HENRY FUSELI

(1741-1825)

[Henry Fuseli (whose real name was Johann Heinrich Fuessli), was a native of Zurich, where he was born in 1741. He was brought up to the clerical profession, and with his friend Lavater (subsequently famous as a physiognomist) he took orders in 1761. In 1763 he was brought to England by Sir Andrew Mitchell, British Minister at Berlin. He was introduced in 1767 to Sir Joshua Reynolds, who encouraged him to become an artist. Accordingly Fuseli devoted himself to the study of art, and in 1769 started for Rome, where he remained for eight years. From Rome he sent several paintings to the Royal Academy, where in 1780 after his return to London he exhibited three pictures. In 1790 he was elected to the Royal Academy, where he became Professor of Painting in 1799, and Keeper in 1804, both of which offices he held until his death. He died in 1825, and was buried in the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral next to Sir Joshua Reynolds. Fuseli was a diligent student of Dante from his youth, and made several sketches while in Rome from subjects suggested by the *Divina Commedia*, which he afterwards worked up into pictures. He exhibited three

¹[Translator's note.]

²[In the original (for which see above, pp. 207-10) a translation is given by Voltaire in verse of the episode of Guido da Montefeltro from *Inf.* xxvii.]

pictures from Dante at the Royal Academy—two of Paolo and Francesca (1786 and 1818), and one of Ugolino (1806). There are frequent references to Dante in his Academy Lectures and other writings.]

1786. **I**N this year Fuseli exhibited at the Royal Academy a picture with the following title:—

Francesca and Paolo, Dante's Inferno, Canto 5.

(*Catalogue of the Exhibition of the Royal Academy, 1786.*
No. 53.)

c. 1796. CRITICISM ON ROSCOE'S LORENZO DE' MEDICI.

[Dante no longer understood in Italy in the fifteenth century]

If the supposed unaccessible excellence of Dante and his contemporaries dispirited the Italians of the fifteenth century from the cultivation of the higher Italian poetry, it proved not that they had exhausted Nature, but that they were no longer understood; and that they were not, almost every line of their pedantic commentators proves.

(*Life and Writings, vol. i. p. 145.*)

1797. LETTER TO WILLIAM ROSCOE.

[Dante's description of a rain-storm]

The infernal storm that inundates the street and bespatters my window whilst I am writing, equal to Dante's 'Pioggia maledetta eterna e greve,'¹ confounding all season, and cloaking the face of day, makes it indeed totally indifferent what month I pick for travel.

(*Life of William Roscoe, vol. ii. p. 351.*)

1801. LECTURES ON PAINTING, DELIVERED AT THE ROYAL ACADEMY.

['A bold figure of Dante']

Michael Angelo's cartoon of Pisa may without exaggeration be said to personify with unexampled variety that motion, which Agasias and Theon embodied in single figures: in imagining this transient moment from a state of relaxation to a state of energy, the ideas of motion, to use the bold figure of Dante, seem to have showered into the artist's mind.²

(*Lecture iii. Life and Writings, vol. ii. p. 153.*)

¹[*Inf. vi. 7-8* 'La piovra Eterna, maledetta, fredda e greve.']

²[*Purg. xvii. 25.*]

[Michael Angelo and Dante]

On the immense plain of the last judgment, Michael Angelo has wound up the destiny of man, simply considered as the subject of religion, faithful or rebellious. . . . But had Raphael meditated that subject, he would undoubtedly have applied to our sympathies for his choice of imagery; he would have combined all possible emotions with the utmost variety of probable or real character. . . . In a word, the heads of that infinite variety which Dante has minutely scattered over his poem—all domestic, politic, religious relations; whatever is not local in virtue and in vice: and the sublimity of the greatest of all events, would have been merely the minister of sympathies and passions.

Much has been said of the loss we have suffered in the marginal drawings which Michael Angelo drew in his Dante. Invention may have suffered in being deprived of them; they can, however, have been little more than hints of a size too minute to admit of much discrimination. The true terrors of Dante depend as much upon the medium in which he shews, or gives us a glimpse of his figures, as on their form. The characteristic outlines of his friends, Michel Angelo personified in the daemons of the last judgment, and invigorated the undisguised appetite, ferocity or craft of the brute, by traits of human malignity, cruelty, or lust. The Minos of Dante, in Messer Biagio da Cesena, and his Charon, have been recognised by all; but less the shivering wretch held over the barge by a hook, and evidently taken from the following passage, in the *xxiid* of the *Inferno*:

Et Graffiacan, che gli era più di contra,
Gli arroncigliò l' imegolate chiome;
E trasse 'l sù, che mi parve una lontra.¹

None has noticed as imitations of Dante in the *XXIVth* book, the astonishing groups in the Lunetta of the brazen serpent; none the various hints from the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio* scattered over the attitudes and expressions of the figures rising from their graves. In the Lunetta of Haman, we owe the sublime conception of his figure to the subsequent passage in the *XVIIth* c. of *Purgatory*:

Poi piobbe dentro all' alta phantasia
Un Crucifisso, dispettoso e fiero
Nella sua vista, e loqual si moria.²

The bassorelievo on the border of the second rock, in *Purgatory*,³ furnished the idea of the *Annunziata*, painted by Marcello Venusti from his design, in the sacristy of St. Giov. Lateran, by order of Tommaso de' Cavalieri, the select friend and favourite of Michael Angelo.

¹[*Inf.* xxii. 34-6.]²[*Purg.* xvii. 25-7.]³[*Purg.* x. 34 ff.]

We are told that Michael Angelo represented the Ugolino of Dante, inclosed in the tower of Pisa; if he did, his own work is lost; but if, as some suppose, the bassorelievo of that subject by Pierino da Vinci, be taken from his idea, notwithstanding the greater latitude, which the sculptor might claim, in divesting the figures of drapery and costume; he appears to me, to have erred in the means employed to rouse our sympathy. A sullen but muscular character, with groups of muscular bodies and forms of strength, about him, with the allegoric figure of the Arno at their feet, and that of Famine hovering over their heads, are not the fierce Gothic chief, deprived of revenge, brooding over despair in the stony cage; are not the exhausted agonies of a father, petrified by the helpless groans of an expiring family, offering their own bodies for his good, to prolong his life.

(Lecture iii. *Life and Writings*, vol. ii. pp. 163-6.)

1806. In this year Fuseli exhibited at the Royal Academy a picture with the following title:—

Count Ugolino, chief of the Guelphs at Pisa, locked up by the opposite party with his four sons, and starved to death in the tower, which, from that event, acquired the name of *Torre della Fame*. See the *Inferno* of Dante, Canto 33.¹

(*Catalogue of the Exhibition of the Royal Academy*, 1806.
No. 19.)

1809. Aug. 31. LETTER TO JOHN KNOWLES² (from Somerset House).

[Dante's (alleged) definition of woman].

Your account of the Nunneries you have visited, confirms Hamlet's verdict: 'Frailty, thy name is woman!' How self-contradictory, that the 'animal of beauty,' as Dante calls woman,³ should exchange her claims to social admiration and pleasure, and the substantial charms of life, for the sterile embraces of a crucifix or

¹[Fuseli's biographer observes:—This picture, as it came in competition with that well-known subject from the pencil of Sir Joshua Reynolds, was admired and censured more than any other he had previously produced. Fuseli took the moment when Ugolino is petrified by his situation—'bereft of tears, his heart is turned to stone'; he has represented him in a sitting posture with his youngest son stretched dead over his knees, while the other three are either writhing under the agonies of hunger, dying, or given up to despair. This picture (now in my possession) is as superior in drawing, in truth to nature placed under such circumstances, and to the story, as Sir Joshua's soars above it in colour, in manual dexterity, and in chiaroscuro. (*Life and Writings*, vol. i. p. 290). For Blake's defence of this picture against a critic in *Bell's Weekly Messenger*, see below, p. 456.]

²[Fuseli's executor and biographer.]

³[This expression probably occurs in one of the spurious lyrical poems ascribed to Dante.]

some withered sister, by the dim glimmer of cloistered light,—lost to hope, and marked by oblivion for her own!

(*Life and Writings*, vol. i. p. 297.)

1813. REMARKS ON SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS' PICTURE OF UGOLINO.¹

[Criticism of the details of Sir Joshua's Ugolino]

From whatever cause this face became that of Ugolino,—whether its original were that of a noble or a pauper, it is a standard of grief;—but, more habitual than sudden, the grief of one whom 'sharp misery had long worn to the bones,'—not of him whom fortune's quick reverse dashed headlong on to despair. The manner in which he is grouped with his infant son, as it increases the contrast, adds to our sympathy,—which is however obtained not only at the expense of the story, but of nature. The whole family were shut up together in the cage; and when the vigorous partners of the father in arms writhe in the agonies of hunger, or, unable to support themselves, droop in languor, is it natural to see a blooming stripling, unaffected by either, at his ease console the petrified father?

(*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 385.)

1816. LETTER TO WILLIAM ROSCOE.

[Quotation from Dante]

The conception² of the moment remains unaltered, the same I had at first. 'Piobbe,' says Dante, 'nell' alta phantasia';³—'alluxit nobis,' says Vitellius. The business which remains now, is to make the execution correspond. . . . After all, I suspect, between you and me, your hero⁴ to have been a d—d ill-looking fellow.

(*Life of William Roscoe*, vol. ii. pp. 137-8.)

1818. In this year Fuseli exhibited at the Royal Academy a picture with the following title:—

Dante, in his descent to Hell, discovers amidst the flights of hapless lovers whirled about in a hurricane, the forms of Paolo and Francesca of Rimini: obtains Virgil's permission to address them; and being informed of the dreadful blow that sent them to that abode of torment at once, overcome by pity and terror, drops like a lifeless corpse on the rock.

'E caddi, come corpo morto cade.'

Dante *Inferno*, c. v.

(*Catalogue of the Exhibition of the Royal Academy*, 1818.
No. 16.)

¹[Sir Joshua's works had recently been exhibited at the British Institution.]

²[Of a painting of the Death of Lorenzo de' Medici, painted at Roscoe's request.]

³[*Purg.* xvii. 25.]

⁴[Lorenzo de' Medici.]

1820. LECTURES ON PAINTING, DELIVERED AT THE ROYAL ACADEMY.

[Dante's 'Ugolino' and 'Paolo and Francesca']

The Madonnas of Raphael; the Ugolino, the Paolo and Francesca of Dante; the conflagration of the Borgo; the Niobe protecting her daughter; Haemon piercing his own breast, . . . owe the sympathies they call forth to their assimilating power, and not to the names they bear: without names, without reference to time and place, they would impress with equal energy, because they find their counterpart in every breast, and speak the language of mankind.

(Lecture iv. *Life and Writings*, vol. ii. pp. 193-4.)

[Dante and the Frati Godenti]

In the celebrated pictures which represent the Communion or death of St. Jerome by Agostino Caracci and his scholar Domenichino . . . in the sacerdotal figure administering the viaticum, Domenichino has less improved than corrected the unworthy choice of his master. The priest of Agostino is one of the Frati Godenti of Dante, before they received the infernal hood; ¹ a gross, fat, self-conceited terrestrial feature, a countenance equally proof to elevation, pity or thought. The priest of Domenichino is a minister of grace, stamped with the sacred humility that characterized his master, and penetrated by the function of which he is the instrument.

(Lecture v. *ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 268-9.)

[Influence of Dante on Michael Angelo]

With what an eye M. Agnolo contemplated the Antique, we may judge from his Bacchus, the early production of his youth. . . . His idea seems to have been the personification of youthful inebriety, but it is the inebriety of a superior being, not yet forsaken by grace, not yet relinquished by mind. In more advanced years, the Torso of Apollonius became his standard of form. But the Dæmons of Dante had too early tintured his fancy to admit in their full majesty the Gods of Homer and of Phidias.

(Lecture xi. *ibid.* vol. iii. pp. 19-20.)

1821. Nov. 17. LETTER TO THE COUNTESS OF GUILFORD (from London).

[Quotation from Dante]

'Taciti, soli, e senza compagnia.'²

We jogged on, though at a swifter pace than Dante and his guides, sympathising (one at least,) with autumn's deciduous beauty,

¹[*Inf.* xxiii. 58 ff.]²[*Inf.* xxiii. 1.]

and whispering to every leaf the eye caught falling, *Soon* shall I follow thee!¹

(*Life and Writings*, vol. i. p. 327.)

[A moral lapse on the part of Dante]

Fuseli was well versed in the works of foreign poets; but of these, Dante was his favourite, for his imagery made the deepest impression on his mind, and afforded many subjects for his daring pencil. 'There was but one instance,' he said, 'in which Dante betrayed a failure in moral feeling. It is when Frate Alberigo, lying in misery in Antenora, implores him to remove the ice from his face. Dante promises to do so, on this condition—that the sinner shall first inform him who he is, and for what crime he is punished. But after Alberigo has fulfilled the conditions, the poet refuses to render him the service he promised.² That is bad, you know; faith should be kept, even with a poor devil in Antenora.' After a pause, he burst out with Dante's description of the Hypocrite's punishment—

'O in eterno faticoso manto!³

How well this is! I feel the weight, though I'm no hypocrite.'

(*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 360.)

[Suggested motto from Dante for Sir Thomas Lawrence's studio]

Of Sir Thomas Lawrence Fuseli said, 'The portraits of Lawrence are as well if not better drawn, and his women in a finer taste, than the best of Vandyck's; and he is so far above the competition of any painter in this way in Europe, that he should put over his study, to deter others, who practise this art, from entering,

Lasciate ogni speranza voi ch' entrate.'⁴

(*Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 363-4.)

[Poet and painter]

To say that the painter's invention is not to find or to combine its own subject, is to confine it to the poet's or historian's alms—is to annihilate its essence; it says in other words, that Macbeth or Ugolino would be no subjects for the pencil, if they had not been prepared by history and borrowed from Shakspeare and Dante.

(*Aphorisms*, No. 48. *ibid.* vol. iii. p. 78.)

[Dante's 'Ugolino' and 'Gianni Fucci']

The being seized by an enormous passion, be it joy or grief, hope or despair, loses the character of its own individual expression, and

¹[Fuseli was in his 81st year—he lived till 1825.]

²[*Inf.* xxxiii. 109 ff. Fuseli overlooks the fact that Dante's promise was equivocal (cf. ll. 115-17).]

³[*Inf.* xxiii. 67.]

⁴[*Inf.* iii. 9.]

is absorbed by the power of the feature that attracts it: Niobe and her family are assimilated by extreme anguish; Ugolino is petrified by the fate that sweeps his sons; and every metamorphosis from that of Clytie to the transfusion of Gianni Fucci (Dante, *Inferno*, Cant. 24) tells a new allegory of sympathetic power.

(*Aphorisms*, No. 89. *Life and Writings*, vol. iii. p. 90.)

A HISTORY OF ART IN THE SCHOOLS OF ITALY.

[Dante and Cimabue]

The Tuscan School.—The pompous visit which Charles of Anjou paid to Cimabue in passing through Florence, sufficiently proves the celebrity which he enjoyed, if it has not been sanctioned by the authority of Dante,¹ who calls him the unrivalled champion of his day.

(*Life and Writings*, vol. iii. p. 159.)

[Giotto's portrait of Dante]

Though not the inventor, Giotto was the restorer of portrait-painting; resemblance, with character of face and attitude, date from him. He gave us Dante, Brunetto Latini, Corso Donato,² &c.

(*Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 164.)

[Orcagna's 'Dantesque licence']

Andrea Orcagna painted jointly with his brother Bernardo in the Capella Strozzi of Sta. Maria Novella, in the Campo Santo at Pisa, and alone and better in Sta. Croce, Death, Judgement, Paradise, and Hell, placing with Dantesque licence his friends among the elect, his enemies with the damned.

(*Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 170.)

[The demons of Dante]

In the mixed imagery of final dissolution and infernal punishment, Luca Signorelli has scattered ideas of original conception, character and attitude, in copious variety. . . . In the expression of the condemned groups and dæmons, he chiefly dwells on the supposed perpetual renewal of the pangs attending on the last struggles of life with death, contrasted with the inexorable scowl or malignant grin of fiends methodizing torture: a horrid feature reserved by Dante for the last pit of his *Inferno*, and far beyond the culinary abominations of Sandro Botticelli.

(*Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 184.)

¹[*Purg.* xi. 94-5.]

²[Fuseli states this, no doubt, on the authority of Vasari. The fresco in the Bargello containing these portraits was not discovered until twenty years after the death of Fuseli.]

[Michael Angelo and Dante]

The School of Florence.—Michael Angelo had finished more than three-fourths of his Last Judgement in the Sistine Chapel, when the Pontiff visited the Chapel, and on inspection, turning to Messer Biagio, of Cesena, the master of ceremonies, in his train, asked him what he thought of the work. The scrupulous prelate replied, that so daring an aggregate of shameless nudities in a sacred place was obscene profanation, and an exhibition fitter for a tavern or a brothel than a papal chapel. Michael Angelo, indignant, and eager to revenge the affront, only waited for his departure, and then, from memory, drew him in the character of Dante's Minos, with a snake encircling his body and gnawing his middle, in the midst of a hillock of fiends. In vain did Messer Biagio supplicate the Pontiff and Michael Angelo to take him out; he remained, and is there still. So far Vasari; but tradition adds, that on Biagio's application, the Pope asked in what part of the picture he was placed, and being answered, in Hell, replied, had you been lodged in Purgatory, you might perhaps have been dismissed, 'sed ex Inferno nulla est redemptio.'

(*Life and Writings*, vol. iii. p. 212.)

[Giotto and Dante]

The School of Bologna.—The age of Giotto and Dante gives Art an air of greater certainty. Tradition and monument go hand in hand. Franco of Bologna, with his supposed master Oderigi of Gubbio, are celebrated in the poet's poem of the Purgatory.¹

(*Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 401.)

EARL OF CHARLEMONT

(1728-1799)

[James Caulfield, fourth Viscount and first Earl of Charlemont, was born in Dublin in 1728. He was privately educated, and in 1746 he went on a tour to Italy and the Levant, in the course of which he resided for a year at Turin. He returned to Ireland in 1754, and in 1760 he served against the French at Carrickfergus. In reward for his services in Ireland he was in 1763 created an Earl (having succeeded his father as fourth Viscount in 1734). From 1764 to 1773 he resided in London, where he frequented the society of Burke, Johnson, Reynolds, Goldsmith, and other literary men of the day. In 1773 he removed to Dublin, and he continued to reside in Ireland, working for Irish independence, until his death in 1799. In 1783 he was created one of the fifteen original Knights of the Order of St. Patrick, and in 1785, on the establishment of the Royal Irish Academy, he was chosen first President. Lord Charlemont was an assiduous Italian scholar, as is testified by his translations of select sonnets of Petrarch (published after his death, in 1822) and by the references to

¹[*Purg.* xi. 79-83.]

Dante in his letters, and in the papers read by him before the Irish Academy. It appears from a note of Lord Charlemont's in the translations from Petrarch that he also translated considerable portions of the *Divina Commedia*, but these have not been printed (see below, p. 436 n. 3).]

1786. THE ANTIQUITY OF THE WOOLLEN MANUFACTURE OF IRELAND, PROVED FROM A PASSAGE OF AN ANTIENT FLORENTINE POET.¹

[Fazio degli Uberti and Dante]

THE following lines are taken from an old Italian poem, entitled Dittamondi, and written by Fazio Delli Uberti, a nobleman of Florence, who, though certainly not, as some suppose, contemporary with Dante, flourished not long after the death of that poet.² . . .

This whimsical poem, which in point of language is of such authority as to be cited by the authors of the Dictionary della Crusca, and is written in Terza Rima, a species of versification which Dante had then made fashionable, contains an historical and geographical account of all the nations of the world. The author, having travelled through England and Scotland, passes into Ireland, a description of which country, and of its inhabitants, he begins as follows :

Cap. xxvi. lib. iv.
 Similimente passamo en Irlanda,
 La qual fra noi e degna de Fama
 Per le nobile saie che ci manda.

These lines appear to me to contain a full proof of a most extraordinary fact—That Ireland should have been already famous for her woollen manufactures so early as in the middle of the fourteenth century, and should at that period have imported them into Italy.

(*Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, M.DCC.LXXXVII.
Antiquities, pp. 17-18.)

1786. Nov. 1. LETTER TO EDMOND MALONE³ (from Dublin).

[Enquiry for an edition of Dante]

Payne⁴ has not been quite so active as you have been, as I do

¹[Read before the Royal Irish Academy on 20 Feb. 1786, and published in the *Transactions* in 1787.]

²Fazio, or Bonifazio, delli Uberti, was grandson to the celebrated Farinata—for some account of this Tuscan hero, vid. *Istorie di Giovanni Villani*, lib. vi. cap. 82.—Also, Dante, *Inferno*, Canto x. [Fazio was born, probably at Pisa, between 1305 and 1309, and died after 1368.]

³[Edmond Malone (1741-1812), the Shakespearian scholar.]

⁴[The bookseller, Thomas Payne the elder (1719-1799); he is referred to by Malone in a previous letter as "our friend Payne at the Mew's gate," his house and shop having been 'in Castle Street, next the Mewsgate, the entrance by St. Martin's Church to the King's Mews' (*D.N.B.*).]

not find that he sends some of the principal books on my list. The best quarto of Dante¹ is surely to be had in London.

(*Hist. MSS. Comm., Charlemont MSS.* vol. ii. p. 42.)

1787. June 21. LETTER TO EDMOND MALONE (from Dublin).

I want much the large and modern quarto edition of Dante. It is strange that it should not be common in London. Remember that there are two papers, and that I am coxcomb enough to wish for the best.²

(*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 54.)

1787. Dec. 7. LETTER TO EDMOND MALONE (from Dublin).

I have not the first translation of Boccaccio,³ and beg that you would send it. Has it not yet been possible to procure the modern quarto of Dante in the best paper?⁴

(*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 64.)

1788. Jan. 12. LETTER TO EDMOND MALONE (from Dublin).

I am surprised that the large paper of Dante is not to be met with in London; but, as I wish for this edition principally for its magnificence, the small paper would not answer my purpose.⁵ Could not Payne send to Italy for it, and, in the meanwhile, transmit the parcel without it?

(*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 68.)

1796. SOME HINTS CONCERNING THE STATE OF SCIENCE AT THE REVIVAL OF LETTERS, GROUNDED ON A PASSAGE OF DANTE IN HIS INFERNO, CANTO IV. v. 130.⁶

[Dante and Aristotle]

This earliest of modern Bards, who composed his excellent,

¹[Doubtless the edition of Dante's works published at Venice by Antonio Zatta, in 1757, in five volumes quarto. Copies of this edition were issued on large paper, and on extra large paper (see Colomb de Batines, *Bibliografia Dantesca*, vol. i. pp. 112-114). It was one of the large paper copies that Lord Charlemont wished to procure, as appears from his letter of June 21, 1787.]

²[See note to preceding letter.]

³[An English translation, published in 1620 in folio; for the copy in question Malone had given twelve shillings.]

⁴[See note to letter of 1 Nov. 1786.]

⁵[Malone had written on Jan. 7;—The Dante (large paper) which you want so much Payne seems entirely to despair of; the small one could more easily be procured. Your books have been a long time delayed for this (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Charlemont MSS.* vol. ii. p. 67).]

⁶[Read before the Royal Irish Academy on 9 April, 1796, and published in the *Transactions* in 1797.]

though singular poem about the year 1300,¹ in describing the Elysium, prepared for the reception of those Pagan worthies whose merits might have justly entitled them to a seat in Paradise, if they had partaken of the baptismal rite, mentions Aristotle as holding the first and principal place among the ancient philosophers.

Poiche 'nnalsai un poco piu la ciglia
 Vidi 'l Maestro di *color che sanno*
 Seder tra Filosofica Famiglia.
 Tutti l' amiran, tutti onor gli fanno.
 Quivi vid' io e Socrate, e Platone
 Che 'nnansi agli altri piu presso gli stanno.

My eyes a little raising, I descried
 The sov'reign master of all *those who know*,
 Sitting among the philosophic race,
 Admir'd by all, by all rever'd and honour'd:
 There I beheld both Socrates and Plato,
 Who prior to the rest stand close beside him.

The character of Aristotle, which will bear the test of the most enlightened times, was peculiarly revered in the darker ages at the first Revival of Letters, and the praises lavished on this philosopher approach almost to idolatry. His great Commentator, the Arabian Averroes, says of him that before Aristotle was born nature was yet incomplete, and that she received from him the perfection of her being. The theologians of Cologne held, that Aristotle was the precursor of the Messiah in the mysteries of nature, as John the Baptist was in those of grace. Dante assigns him, in the passage here cited, the first place among Philosophers, and cannot better shew his predilection than by preferring him to Socrates, and even to his master Plato, who are honoured by being placed next to him. . . .

The Arabians, who, in their conquest of the Asiatic provinces had made themselves acquainted with all the learning of Greece, in their victorious progress collected manuscripts of all kinds, and translated them with avidity; and that Aristotle in particular was,

¹ Dante was born, according to Boccaccio, in the year 1265, and probably wrote his *Comedia* at about the age of thirty-five years, a period of his life which many reasons concur to make us suppose was honoured by this wonderful composition, and which well accords with what he himself says in the first line of his poem.

Nel mezzo del Cammin di nostra Vita.

I have styled Dante the earliest of modern Bards, and so he undoubtedly was of such as have merited that illustrious appellation, though the Poesia Provenzale began to be cultivated so early as in the year 1100, and though Italian poetry may be traced back to the year 1184—about sixty years however it continued in its infant state, and was first brought to a degree of maturity by Fra. Guittone D'Arezzo, who flourished about the year 1250.

and long continued, their favourite author, may be concluded from the *Gran Comento*, as Dante styles it, written on his works by the Arabian Averroes about half a century previous to the time of the poet.¹ . . .

During the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the learned of Italy, the great teachers of the West, were plunged and absorbed in the unfathomable depths of scholastic speculation and metaphysical refinement. . . . Hence proceeded that rage for abstruse disquisition, which, not content with rendering Prose unintelligible, infected and obscured even the pleasant Region of Poetry, so as that scarce a Love-sonnet could be given to the world unattended by the long, laborious, and perplexing comments of fashionable Philosophers.—. . .—Hence the dark allegories and mystic theology of the learnedly-poetical Dante, and his best of imitators, Frezzi.²

(*Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, 1797, vol. vi. *Polite Literature*, pp. 3 ff.)

1822. SELECT SONNETS OF PETRARCH, WITH TRANSLATIONS AND ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES.³

[Dante the father of the modern epic]

As Dante, who flourished a few years before Petrarch, and lived in his time, being born in the year 1265, will ever be accounted by all nations the father of the modern epic, such, though some weak and unsuccessful attempts had been previously made, must Petrarch be esteemed of lyric poetry.

(*Introduction*, p. v.)

[The *Divina Commedia* the offspring of a rude age—Dante's lyrics obscure and inelegant]

With regard to the prior claim of Dante, though I be far from endeavouring to abridge his fame, it must however be allowed that heroic poetry is much more likely to be the offspring of a rude age than that kind of lyric in which Petrarch excelled. The epic muse can ill brook too great a refinement of manners . . . perhaps we

¹[Averroes died about 1200; a Latin translation of his commentary was in existence before 1250.]

²*Monsignor Frezzi Vescovo de Foligno* composed, between the years 1380 and 1400, the *Quadriregio*, an excellent Poem written in successful imitation of Dante.

³[Published posthumously.—In the editorial note it is stated that 'these translations form a small portion of a work, found in a state nearly ready for publication, among the author's papers, and intended to illustrate in a similar manner the writings of the great Italian poets from Dante to Metastasio.' From a note of the author himself towards the end of the volume (p. 95), where he speaks of 'my essay towards a version of some cantos and singular passages of Dante,' it is evident that Lord Charlemont made a translation of portions of the *Divina Commedia*, including Canto x of the *Inferno* (p. 11). (See also below, vol. ii. p. 700, under Francis Hardy.)]

may be permitted to assert, that an age just emerging from barbarity is most favourable to epic production. . . . Dante's poem, divine though it be, evidently carries with it many marks and traces of a rude age; and where he has attempted the lyric, as in his *canzoniere*, he appears to me, I must confess, hard, obscure, and inelegant.

(*Introduction*, pp. viii-ix.)

[Dante and Petrarch contrasted]

Battista Giraldi¹ records a happy criticism of an Italian painter, who, comparing the different merits of these two great poets, placed them in a picture, both upon the hill of Helicon, Dante with a scythe furiously mowing down every herb the soil produced, while Petrarch was busily employed in culling with care and studious choice the most fragrant and the most beautiful flowers.

(*Ibid.* p. ix.²)

JOHN HORNE TOOKE

(1736-1812)

[John Horne Tooke, politician and philologist, son of a poulterer named Horne, was born in Westminster in 1736. He was educated at Eton, Westminster, and St. John's College, Cambridge, where he graduated in 1758, having been 'senior optime' in the tripos. He was anxious to become a lawyer, and in 1756 he entered the Inner Temple, but his father insisting on his taking orders, he was ordained priest in 1760. After two tours on the continent, he plunged into politics in support of Wilkes and of the American colonists, which ended in his imprisonment in 1778 in the King's Bench prison. In 1782 he assumed the name of Tooke, as a compliment to his friend William Tooke, whose estate of Purley was commemorated in the title of the American colonists, which ended in his imprisonment in 1778 in the King's Bench prison. In 1782 he assumed the name of Tooke, as a compliment to his friend William Tooke, whose estate of Purley was commemorated in the title of the first volume of which was published in 1786, and the second in 1798. After twice (in 1790 and 1796) unsuccessfully contesting Westminster against Fox, Tooke in 1801 was returned for Old Sarum, but he was declared incapable, as a clergyman, of holding the seat. He thereupon retired to his house at Wimbledon where he died in 1812. Tooke, who spent some time in Italy as a young man, had a good knowledge of Italian, as appears from the *Diversions of Purley*, in which occur frequent quotations from Italian authors, including Dante.]

1786. *Ἐπεα Πτεροεντα*. OR, THE DIVERSIONS OF PURLEY.

[Dante's use of *ca* for *casa*]

'JE viens de *chez* vous,' is no other than—'Je viens de *casa* à vous'; or (omitting the *Segnacaso*) 'de *casa* vous'; or 'de *ca* vous.' *Diction. della Crusca*.—'*Ca*, accorciato da *casa*.' So Menage.—'Fermato l' uso di questo troncamento di *ca*

¹[G. B. Giraldi Cintio (1504-1573).]

²[In the notes to his translations from Petrarch Lord Charlemont frequently quotes illustrative passages from Dante's works viz. from the *Commedia* (pp. 7, 9, 11, 54, 90), from the *Convivio* (p. 69), and from the *Canzoniere* (p. 90).]

per *casa*, familiare a nostri antichi.—Sarae simile all' uomo savio, il quale edifica la *ca* sua sopra la pietra.' (Vangel di San Matteo volgare.) . . . Many other instances are also given from Dante,¹ Boccaccio, Giovan Villani, Franco Sachetti, &c.

(p. 163, ed. Taylor, 1860.)

[Dante's use of *scotto*]

Scot and *shot* are mutually interchangeable. . . . The Italians have (from us) this same word *scotto*, applied and used by them for the same purpose as by us. Dante uses it in his *Purgatory*:² and is censured for the use of it, by those who, ignorant of its meaning, supposed it to be only a low, tavern expression; and applicable only to a tavern reckoning.

(*Ibid.* pp. 401-2.)

SAMUEL HENLEY

(1740-1815)

[Samuel Henley, who had been a professor of moral philosophy in Virginia, on the outbreak of the war of American independence, came to England, and obtained an assistant-mastership at Harrow School. In 1778 he was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and in 1782 he was presented to the living of Rendlesham in Suffolk. In 1805 he was appointed principal of the East India College near Hertford, which post he held until within a few months of his death in 1815. In 1786 Henley published anonymously an English translation, with notes, of Beckford's *Vathek*, which had been written in French by Beckford in 1781 or 1782. Two editions of the French original were published in 1787, the year after the publication of the English version, one at Paris, the other at Lausanne. The latter contains no notes; the former contains notes, but by no means all of those which accompanied the English translation, and for which Henley was responsible. In his notes Henley several times refers to Dante, and in one of them he makes the interesting suggestion that Cervantes borrowed the idea of Don Quixote's mistaking windmills for giants from Dante.]

1786. THE HISTORY OF THE CALIPH VATHEK: AN ARABIAN TALE FROM AN UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPT WITH NOTES CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY.

[Cervantes and Dante]

“SHE expected to have seen some stupendous giant.”

Note. Such is the representation which Dante hath given of this *Infernal Sovereign*:

Lo 'mperador del doloroso regno

Da mezzo 'l petto uscia fuor della ghiaccia :

E più con un *Gigante* i' mi convegno,

Che *I Giganti* non fan con le sue *Braccia*.³

¹[Dante uses *ca* for *casa* in *Inf.* xv. 54.]

²[*Purg.* xxx. 144.]

³[*Inf.* xxxiv. 28-31.]

It is more than probable (though it has not been noticed), that Don Quixote's mistake of the *windmills* for *Giants*, was suggested to Cervantes by the following simile, in which the Tremendous personage above mentioned is so compared :

però dinanzi mira,
Disse 'l maestro mio, se tu 'l discerni.
Come quando una grossa nebbia spira,
O quando l' emisperio nostro annotta,
Par da *lungi un mulin che 'l vento gira.*
Veder mi parve un tal dificio allotta :¹

What confirms the conjecture is the reply to Sancho's question—'what *Giants*'?—made by Don Quixote, in reference to the two last lines of the preceding citation :

'And nearer to a *Giant's* is my size
Than *Giant's* are when to his *Arms* compar'd.'²

—'Those thou seest yonder, with their *vast arms*; and *some of them* there are that *reach nearly two leagues*'—Don Quixote, parte prim. capit. viii. p. 52. Dante dell' *Inferno*. Cant. xxxiv. It may be added that a *rising wind* is mentioned in Both.

(pp. 329 ff.)

[The gate of Dante's Hell]

"In the abode of vengeance and despair."

Note. Thus Dante's description over the gate of hell:
Per me si va nella città dolente :

Lasciate ogni speranza voi che' entrate.

Canto iii.

'Through me you pass to Mourning's dark domain;
Through me to scenes where Grief must ever pine;
Through me to Misery's devoted train.
Justice and Power in my great Founder join,
And love and wisdom all his fabricks rear;
Wisdom above controul and love divine!
Before me Nature saw no works appear,
Save works eternal: such was I ordained.
Quit every hope, all ye who enter here.'

* * * *

(How much have the Publick to regret after the Specimen given, that Mr. Hayley³ does not compleat the *Inferno*!)

(pp. 332 ff.)

¹[*Inf.* xxxiv. 2-7.]

²[This is from the version of Charles Rogers, who, however, writes, "Far nearer," etc. (see above, pp. 382 ff.).]

³[William Hayley published in 1782, among the notes to the third Epistle of the *Essay on Epic Poetry*, a rendering in *terza rima*, accompanied by the Italian text, of the first three cantos of the *Inferno* (see above, pp. 359 ff.).]

THOMAS MARTYN

(1735-1825)

[Thomas Martyn, botanist and traveller, was born in Chelsea in 1735. He was educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, where he gained several scholarships; he was elected Fellow of Sidney Sussex College (M.A. 1758), was tutor of the College, 1760-74, and Cambridge Professor of Botany, 1762-1825. In 1778 he started for a two years' tour on the Continent, a considerable part of the time being spent in Italy. He kept a journal during his tour, part of which he published anonymously in 1787 under the title of *The Gentleman's Guide in his Tour through Italy*, which was reissued, with the author's name, as *A Tour through Italy*, etc. in 1791. Martyn, who was the author of numerous works in botany and art, died at Pertenhall in Bedfordshire in 1825.]

1787. THE GENTLEMAN'S GUIDE IN HIS TOUR THROUGH ITALY.¹

[Dante's tomb at Ravenna]

RAVENNA.—In the public street, at one corner of the Franciscan convent, is the tomb of Dante. (p. 113.)

[Portrait of Dante in the Cathedral at Florence]

Florence.—The Cathedral church, called *Santa Maria del Fiore*, was begun in the year 1296, from designs of Arnolfo di Lapo, disciple of Cimabue. . . . The tomb of Giotto is by one of the side doors: the epitaph by Politian. Next to it is the tomb of Brunellesco the architect: the epitaph by Aretino. On the other side is a portrait of Dante.

(p. 321.)

LORD CAMELFORD

(1737-1793)

[Thomas Pitt, first Baron Camelford, nephew of William Pitt, first Earl of Chatham, was born at Boconnoc in Cornwall in 1737. He was educated at Clare College, Cambridge (M.A. 1759), and on leaving the University travelled for some time in Italy, part of the summer of 1761 being spent at Florence. On his return home he entered Parliament, and sat as Whig member for Old Sarum from 1761 to 1768, for Okehampton from 1768 to 1774, and again for Old Sarum from 1774 to 1784, in which year he was raised to the peerage. During the last ten years of his life he was much in Italy, where he died (at Florence or Pisa) in 1793. Lord Camelford's letters from abroad to George Hardinge were printed by Nichols in *Illustrations of Literature* (vi. 74-139). An extract from one of them (not printed by Nichols), containing a reference to Dante, sent by her 'witty and volatile correspondent, Mr. Hardinge' to Miss Seward, is printed in a letter of hers of 20 Dec. 1787, to the Rev. T. S. Whalley.]

¹[Published anonymously.]

1787. LETTER TO GEORGE HARDINGE¹ (from the Continent).

[Vaucluse more suited to Dante or Ossian than to Petrarch]

FROM Avignon we went to Vaucluse. . . . The whole of the scene is majestic and imposing, but not, to my feelings, such as would fill the mind with images for amorous sonnets. If Dante, if Ossian, had frequented the retreat, I should have understood them better than I do Petrarch, who would have been more in his place in the quiet vales of Boconnoc.²

(Printed in *Letters of Anna Seward*, vol. i. p. 389.)

EDWARD GIBBON *

(1737-1794)

[Edward Gibbon was born at Putney in 1737. He was educated at Westminster School (1748-1750), whence he went to Magdalen College, Oxford, where he spent fourteen 'idle and unprofitable months' (1752-3). In June, 1753, he was received into the Church of Rome, and in the same month he was placed by his father under the care of a Calvinist minister at Lausanne, where eighteen months after he abandoned the creed of Rome. In 1758 he returned to England, and completed an *Essai sur l'Étude de la Littérature*, begun at Lausanne, which was published in 1761, and translated into English in 1764. In April, 1764, he went to Italy, and passed the summer at Florence in the study of Italian; he reached Rome in October and there 'while musing amidst the ruins of the Capitol, the idea of writing the decline and fall of the city first started into his mind.' In 1772 he settled in London, where he soon became well known in fashionable and literary society. In 1774 he joined Dr. Johnson's Club, and on the death of Goldsmith was elected Professor in Ancient History at the Royal Academy. He was M.P. for Liskeard from 1774 to 1780, and for Lymington from 1781 to 1783, and Commissioner of trade and plantations from 1779 to 1782. The first volume of his *History* was published in 1776, the second and third volumes in 1781, and the three last in 1788. He died in London in 1794. His portrait was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds in 1779. There is but one solitary reference to Dante in Gibbon's *History*, but it is evident from the passage in which it occurs that he had read and appreciated the *Divina Commedia*, or at any rate the *Inferno*, which he rated far above the 'tedious uniformity' of Petrarch's rhymes.]

1788. THE HISTORY OF THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE. VOLUME VI.

['The original wildness of Dante']

IN the apprehension of modern times, Petrarch is the Italian songster of Laura and love. In the harmony of his Tuscan rhymes, Italy applauds, or rather adores, the father of her lyric poetry; and his verse, or at least his name, is repeated by the

¹[George Hardinge (1743-1816), author and senior justice of Brecon, a correspondent of Horace Walpole.]

²[Printed 'Boconoli.']

* [Before Gibbon should come GEORGE SIDNEY (see *Appendix*, below, p. 683.)]

enthusiasm, or affectation, of amorous sensibility. Whatever may be the private taste of a stranger, his slight and superficial knowledge should humbly acquiesce in the judgment of a learned nation; yet I may hope or presume, that the Italians do not compare the tedious uniformity of sonnets and elegies, with the sublime compositions of their epic muse, the original wildness of Dante, the regular beauties of Tasso, and the boundless variety of the incomparable Ariosto.

(Chap. lxx. ed. 1855, Bohn, vol. vii. pp. 391-2.)

SIR WALTER SCOTT

(1771-1832)

[Walter Scott was born in Edinburgh in 1771. He was educated at the High School and University of Edinburgh, and in 1786 he was apprenticed to his father as a writer to the signet. He was called to the bar in 1792, was appointed Sheriff-depute of Selkirkshire in 1799, and became one of the principal clerks of the Court of Session in 1806. In 1802-3 Scott published the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* in three volumes, and in 1805 he produced his first poem, *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, which was followed by *Marmion* (1808), *The Lady of the Lake* (1810), *Rokeby* (1812), and *The Lord of the Isles* (1815). In 1814 he published *Waverley*, the first of the *Waverley Novels*, the last of which appeared shortly before his death. In 1820 Scott was created a baronet. In 1805 he had become a partner in the printing business of the Ballantynes, who in 1809 started as a publishing firm. The failure of this firm in 1826 brought ruin upon Scott, who devoted the rest of his days to a heroic effort to pay off his debts. In the autumn of 1831, his health being shattered, he left England for Italy, where he spent several months, but he returned home in the following summer, and died at Abbotsford in September, 1832.]

According to his own account (in his autobiographical memoir) Scott as a young man was 'intimate' with the works of Dante, and other Italian poets, but Dante never appealed to him. When he visited Miss Seward at Lichfield in 1807, the poetess introduced him to Cary's translation of the *Inferno*, but he confessed that he could find no pleasure in the poem, the plan of which appeared to him unhappy. In a well-known passage of *Rob Roy* he speaks of it as a 'wild and gloomy poem,' and elsewhere he finds fault with the 'tedious particularity' of the author. In an interesting conversation with Edward Cheney at Rome in 1832, a few months before his death (the memoranda of which are printed in Lockhart's *Life of Scott*), Scott acknowledged that he knew little of Dante, whom he found 'too obscure and difficult' (see vol. ii. pp. 554-5).]

[c. 1788.] MEMOIR OF THE EARLY LIFE OF SIR WALTER SCOTT, WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.¹

[Dante read by Scott in his youth]

THE translations of Mr. Hoole having made me acquainted with Tasso and Ariosto, I learned from his notes on the latter, that the Italian language contained a fund of romantic lore. A part of my earnings was dedicated to an Italian

¹[Prefixed to Lockhart's *Life of Scott*. The memoir was written in 1808.]

class which I attended twice a week, and rapidly acquired some proficiency. I had previously renewed and extended my knowledge of the French language, from the same principle of romantic research. Tressan's romances, the Bibliothèque Bleue, and Bibliothèque de Romans, were already familiar to me, and I now acquired similar intimacy with the works of Dante, Boiardo, Pulci, and other eminent Italian authors.

(*Lockhart's Life of Scott*, ed. 1837, vol. i. p. 46.)

1807. For Scott's opinion of Dante, and of Cary's translation, as expressed to Miss Seward while he was on a visit to her at Lichfield in this year, see Miss Seward's letter to Cary, May 10, 1807;¹ and the account in Lockhart's *Life of Scott*.²

1811. THE CURSE OF KEHAMA, BY ROBERT SOUTHEY.³

[The 'gloomy power' and 'tedious particularity' of Dante]

'Their way was through the adamantine rock
Which girt the World of Wo; on either side
Its massive walls arose, and overhead
Arch'd the long passage; onward as they ride,
With stronger glare the light around them spread,
And lo! the regions dread,
The World of Wo before them opening wide.'

The single-wheeled car crosses the fiery flood on 'a rib of steel,' sharp as the edge of a sabre, while the screams and torments of the damned in the gulf beneath are described with all the gloomy power of Dante. . . .

. . . Weighing the beauties, and the imperfections connected with the author's plan, the former will be found to preponderate in a very great degree. But could not Mr. Southey have selected some subject, admitting all that is excellent, and excluding all that is extravagant in his poem? We should be deficient indeed in our art, if we could not answer in the affirmative. As Mr. Southey himself, however, was to write the poem, it is only reverence for the reader's leisure, which prevents our demanding that he shall choose for his next theme, one which will allow him to display the sublimity of Homer, the majesty of Virgil, the fancy of Ariosto, the chaste taste of Tasso, the solemnity of Dante, and all the attributes of all the first poets. . . .

. . . Mr. Southey, though we can discern that Milton is his

¹[See above, pp. 408-9.]

²[See vol. ii. pp. 278 ff.]

³[Originally published in *Quarterly Review*, Feb. 1811.]

favourite poet, is in no respect a servile imitator of his sublime model. His picture of the infernal regions may stand comparison with any poetic vision of those penal fires, from the days of Homer to those of Klopstock. The description hovers between that of Dante and Milton; not exhibiting the tedious particularity of the former, yet more detailed than that of the latter.

(*Prose Works*, vol. xvii. pp. 322, 333, 335, ed. 1835.)

1816. THE THIRD CANTO OF CHILDE HAROLD, WITH OTHER POEMS, BY LORD BYRON.¹

[Bonnivard and Ugolino]

The theme of the *Prisoner of Chillon* is the gradual effect of protracted captivity upon a man of powerful mind, tried at the same time by the successive deaths of his two brethren. It will be readily allowed that this singular poem is more powerful than pleasing. The dungeon of Bonnivard is, like that of Ugolino,² a subject too dismal even for the power of the painter or poet to counteract its horrors. It is the more disagreeable, as affording human hope no anchor to rest upon, and describing the sufferer, though a man of talents and virtues, as altogether inert and powerless under his accumulated sufferings.

(*Prose Works*, vol. iv. p. 390, ed. 1834.)

1817. ROB ROY. CHAPTERS XII AND XIII.

['The wild and gloomy poem' of Dante]

'Cousin Francis,' said Miss Vernon, addressing me by the same title she used to give to the other Osbaldistones, although I had, properly speaking, no title to be called her kinsman, 'I have encountered this morning a difficult passage in the *Divina Commedia* of Dante; will you have the goodness to step to the library and give me your assistance? and when you have unearthed for me the meaning of the obscure Florentine, we will join the rest at Birkenwood-bank, and see their luck at unearthing the badger.'

I signified, of course, my readiness to wait upon her. Rashleigh made an offer to accompany us. 'I am something better skilled,' he said, 'at tracking the sense of Dante through the metaphors and elisions of his wild and gloomy poem, than at hunting the poor inoffensive hermit yonder out of his cave.'

'Pardon me, Rashleigh,' said Miss Vernon, 'but as you are to occupy Mr. Francis's place in the counting-house, you must surrender to him the charge of your pupil's education at Osbaldistone Hall.'

¹[Originally published in *Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1816.]

²[*Inf.* xxxiii.]

We shall call you in, however, if there is any occasion ; so pray do not look so grave upon it.'

* * * *

I assured Miss Vernon her confidence was not misplaced.

'I do not believe that it is,' she replied. 'You have that in your face and manners which authorises trust. Let us continue to be friends. . . . And now that the passage in Dante is made so clear, pray go and see what has become of the badger-baiters. My head aches so much that I cannot join the party.'

I left the library, but not to join the hunters.

(Ed. 1870, pp. 168-9, 176.)

1818. CHILDE HAROLD'S PILGRIMAGE. CANTO IV. BY LORD BYRON.¹

[Byron's description of Dante and Ariosto as the bards of Hell and Chivalry]

Of Italy, in its present state, it is impossible to think or speak without recognizing the truth as well as the beauty of the following lines.

'The commonwealth of Kings, the men of Rome!

And ever since, and now, fair Italy!

Thou art the garden of the world, the home

Of all Art yields, and Nature can decree;

Even in thy desert, what is like to thee?

Thy very weeds are beautiful, thy waste

More rich than other climes' fertility;

Thy wreck a glory, and thy ruin graced

With an immaculate charm which cannot be defaced.'

Through these delightful regions the Pilgrim wanders, awakening by the flashes of his imagination that of the reader, as the face of the country suggests topics of moral interest, and reminds us alternately of the achievements of the great of former days in arms and literature, and as local description mingles itself with the most interesting topics of local history. Arqua, 'the mountain where he died,' suggests the name of Petrarch; the deserted Ferrara, the fame and fate of Tasso, fitly classed with Dante and Ariosto, the bards of Hell and Chivalry.

(*Prose Works*, vol. xvii. p. 352, ed. 1835.)

1822. THE FORTUNES OF NIGEL. CHAPTERS XXVII AND XXVIII.

[Traitor's Gate in the Tower of London compared to the entrance to Dante's Hell]

A projecting low-browed arch, which has lowered over many an innocent, and many a guilty head, in similar circumstances, now

¹[Originally published in *Quarterly Review*, April, 1818.]

spread its dark frowns over that of Nigel.¹ . . . In a few minutes the Lieutenant of the Tower appeared, received, and granted an acknowledgment for the body of Nigel, Lord Glenvarloch. . . .

The dark and low arch, which seemed, like the entrance to Dante's Hell, to forbid hope of regress—the muttered sounds of the warders, and petty formalities observed in opening and shutting the grated wicket—the cold and constrained salutation of the Lieutenant of the fortress, who showed his prisoner that distant and measured respect which authority pays as a tax to decorum, all struck upon Nigel's heart, impressing on him the cruel consciousness of captivity.

(Ed. 1871, pp. 363, 364.)

1822. June 26. LETTER TO LORD BYRON (from Edinburgh).

[Taaffe's commentary on the *Divina Commedia*]

I knew Taaffe² in Edinburgh some years since. . . . He meditates a work in English upon Dante; but I should fear the original is too little known amongst us to make the commentary, however valuable to Italian scholars, a matter of great interest with the general reader.

(Printed in *Letters and Journals of Lord Byron*, ed. Prothero, 1901, vol. vi. p. 55.)

1825. Oct. 12. LETTER TO WILLIAM STEWART ROSE (from Abbotsford).

[Foscolo's edition of the *Divina Commedia*]

I will subscribe for *Dante*³ with all pleasure, on condition you do not insist on my reading him.

(*Familiar Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, 1894, vol. ii. p. 356.)

1832. For *Memoranda* of Sir Walter Scott's conversation on Dante at Rome with Mr. Edward Cheney in this year, see vol. ii. pp. 554-5.

THOMAS TWINING

(1735-1804)

[Thomas Twining, who belonged to the well-known family of tea-dealers in the Strand, was born at Twickenham in 1735. He was educated at Colchester Grammar School, and Sidney-Sussex College, Cambridge, of which he became a Fellow in

¹ Traitor's Gate, which opens from the Tower of London to the Thames, was, as its name implies, that by which persons accused of state offences were conveyed to their prison.

²[See vol. ii. pp. 340 ff.]

³[Probably the edition of the *Commedia* projected by Ugo Foscolo, the first volume of which was published by Pickering in this same year (see vol. ii. p. 173).]

1760. He took holy orders, and was presented to several livings, including that of St. Mary's Colchester, which he held from 1788 till his death in 1804. Twining was a distinguished classical scholar and an accomplished linguist and musician. His musical tastes brought him into relations with Charles Burney, with whose family he became intimate, and to whose *History of Music* he made some valuable contributions. Twining's only published work was his translation of Aristotle's *Poetics* (1789), with dissertations; in one of these he introduces an interesting illustration from the *Divina Commedia*, with which he appears to have been well acquainted.]

1789. ARISTOTLE'S TREATISE ON POETRY, TRANSLATED WITH NOTES; AND TWO DISSERTATIONS, ON POETICAL, AND MUSICAL, IMITATION.

[Dante's description of sound]

THE general and confused effect of complex and aggregated sound may be said to be *described*, when the most striking and characteristic of the single sounds of which it is compounded, are selected and enumerated; just as *single* sounds are described (and they can be described no otherwise) by the selection of their principal *qualities*, or *modifications*—I cannot produce a finer example of this than the following admirable passage of Dante, in which, with a force of representation peculiar to himself in such subjects, he describes the mingled terrors of those distant sounds that struck his ear as he entered the gates of his imaginary *Inferno*;—"si mise dentro alle segrete cose"—

Quivi sospiri, pianti, ed alti guai
Risonavan per l' aer senza stelle;
* * * *

Diverse lingue, orribili favelle,
Parole di dolore, accenti d' ira,
Voci alte fiocche, e suono di man con elle.

Inferno, Canto iii. [ll. 22-3, 25-7.]

(Ed. 1812, vol i. pp. 17-18.)

1797. ACCOUNT OF A HOLIDAY TOUR.

[Tourists compared to sheep as described by Dante]

Your true tourist seldom sees anything but what has been seen by every tourist before him. These routine seers follow each other like a flock of sheep:—

E ciò che fa la prima, e l' altre fanno,
Addossandosi a lei s' ella s' arresta,
Semplici e quete, e lo 'mperchè non sanno.¹

(*Selections from the Papers of the Twining Family*,² 1st Series, p. 220.)

¹[*Purg.* iii. 82-4.]

²[Published in 1887.]

HESTER LYNCH PIOZZI

(1741-1821)

[Hester Lynch Piozzi, the daughter of John Salusbury, was born near Pwllheli in Carnarvonshire in 1741. In 1763 she was married to Henry Thrale the brewer, as whose wife she was the hostess of Dr. Johnson at Streatham. Her intimacy with Johnson began in 1764, and lasted till her second marriage in 1784, three years after Thrale's death, with Gabriel Piozzi, an Italian musician, who died in 1809. After Piozzi's death she lived mostly at Bath, where she died at the age of 80 in 1821. Besides anecdotes and letters of Dr. Johnson, Mrs. Piozzi published in 1789 *Observations* made during a tour in France, Italy, and Germany with Piozzi (written between 1784 and 1787), and in 1794 *British Synonymy*, in both of which works she expresses her admiration for Dante.]

1789. OBSERVATIONS AND REFLECTIONS MADE IN THE COURSE OF A JOURNEY THROUGH FRANCE, ITALY, AND GERMANY.¹

[‘Dante’s Paradiso’ at Padua]

WELL, here we are at Padua again! where I will run, and see once more the places I was before so pleased with. The beautiful church of Santa Giustina, the ancient church adorned by Cimabue, Giotto, &c. where you fancy yourself on a sudden transported to Dante’s Paradiso, and wish for Barry the painter, to point your admiration of its sublime and extraordinary merits.

(Vol. i. p. 224.)

[Dante and Milton contrasted with Tasso and Pope]

Though Dante is a sublimer poet than Tasso, and Milton a writer of more eminence than Pope, *these* last will have readers, reciters, and quoters, while the others must sit down contented with silent veneration and acknowledged superiority.

(Vol. ii. p. 375.)

1794. BRITISH SYNONYMY; OR, AN ATTEMPT AT REGULATING THE CHOICE OF WORDS IN FAMILIAR CONVERSATION.²

[‘Dante’s inscription on the Gates of Hell’]

Order, Method, Regulation, Arrangement.

. . . When God in wrath no longer sends his grace among mankind, we see them soon degenerate into much worse than beasts. Nature’s limits are quickly leaped over, when the curb of religious

¹[Written between 1784 and 1787.]

²[‘Inscribed, with Sentiments of Gratitude and Respect, to such of her Foreign Friends as have made English Literature their peculiar Study, By Hester Lynch Piozzi.’]

worship is flung aside: as our cool camphor is no longer found where the incalcescent furor prevails over every particle, and melts it undistinguished in the general mass. There would it lie eternally, if the clear element was not once more thrown in, to prove those powers of resuscitation which only can belong to purity immaculate. Loss of ORDER in the ARRANGEMENTS of civil society would produce, nay does produce, the most fatal of all consequences; while reward for industry and excitements to honourable actions are no more; the very words Loss and Gain, Virtue and Vice, must be erased from our new vocabulary, and Dante's Inscription on the Gates of Hell set in their place; for where all are equal *within*, these words do well *without*:

Lasciate ogni speranza voi ch' entrate.

Leave Hope behind, all you who enter here.¹

(Vol. ii. pp. 88-9.)

[Dante and Tasso]

To have rather, To prefer, To like better.

Johnson says the first of these is not English, and I trust he's right; yet Shakespeare's plays and common usage shield it from criticism, and foreigners are safe when they say, that although Dante was a greater poetical genius than Tasso, and ought to be PREFERRED to him, yet still they HAD RATHER read the Gierusalemme, or even Metastasio's Dramas, than his great work; and when they study English, they LIKE BETTER to read Young's Night Thoughts than Milton's Paradise Lost.

(Vol. ii. pp. 197-8.)

HANNAH MORE

(1745-1833)

[Hannah More was born at Stapleton, near Bristol, in 1745. In 1774 she paid a visit to London and made the acquaintance of Dr. Johnson, Garrick, and others of their circle. In 1777 Garrick produced her tragedy of *Percy*, which was a great success. A few years after she took to writing on serious and religious subjects and became an ardent advocate of the abolition of slavery. The rest of her life was devoted to good works and to the composition of moral treatises, among which may be included her most popular work, *Coelebs in Search of a Wife* (published anonymously in 1809). She died at Clifton, at the age of eighty-eight, in 1833. In 1781 Hannah More had made the acquaintance of Horace Walpole, who printed a poem of hers at Strawberry Hill, and corresponded with her until within a year of his death. In one of her letters to him she quotes an apt application of three lines of the *Inferno* to the horrors of a slave ship.]

{ ¹[*Inf.* iii. 9.]

1789. April. LETTER TO HORACE WALPOLE.

[The inscription over the gate of Dante's Hell applied to a slave ship]

I DO, indeed, feel most anxiously, now the moment for deciding the fate of Africa is at hand! I was delighted, the other day, with a new pamphlet on the subject, in which the author applies Dante's inscription over the Inferno to a slave-ship—

Per me si va nella città dolente,
Per me si va ne l' eterno dolore,
Per me si va tra la perduta gente.¹

(*Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More*,
by William Roberts, 1834, vol. ii. pp. 150-1.)

PHILIP NEVE

(fl. 1780)

[Philip Neve, in his *Cursory Remarks on some of the Ancient English Poets, particularly Milton* (which was issued anonymously in a limited edition of two hundred copies, printed 'for presents'), claims the credit of having been the first to point out Chaucer's indebtedness to Dante in the *Prologue to the Second Nun's Tale*. He remarks on the influence of Dante on Milton's Italian poems, but curiously enough overlooks the instances in which Milton was indebted to Dante in his English poems (see above, pp. 119 ff.)]

1789. CURSORY REMARKS ON SOME OF THE ANCIENT ENGLISH POETS,
PARTICULARLY MILTON.

[Chaucer's indebtedness to Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio]

CHAUCER, for the time when he wrote, was a very learned, and a very powerful master in his art. When he began his *Canterbury Tales*, English could scarcely be called the predominant language of the country. French was yet used in all publick proceedings; and also in schools, as the language, into which the *Classics* were construed. To enrich his English style, therefore, he consulted the best foreign sources. With the graces of the *Provençal* poetry all *Europe* was then in admiration: and he not only adopted words and phraseology from that dialect; but, from a close study of *Dante's* sublimity, the elegance of *Petrarca*, and the style and manners of *Boccaccio*, he gained copiousness, harmony, and whatever was formed to give poetical expression.
(p. 3.)

¹[*Inf.* iii. 1-3.]

[Chaucer's translation from Dante in the *Second Nun's Tale*]

In the *Second Nonne's Tale*, Chaucer has taken three stanzas together from the beginning of the 33d Canto of Dante's *Paradiso*;¹ which copy from the Italian remains, as yet, unnoticed by his commentators.

(p. 4.)

[Chaucer's relation to Dante in point of date]

Chaucer was contemporary with *Petrarca* and *Boccaccio*; the former of whom died in 1374; the latter, in 1375: Chaucer not till 1400. These two Italians were the immediate successors of Dante. "Quando Dante morì, Il Petrarca era di età di anni diecisette; e quando morì Il Petrarca, era Il Boccaccio di minore età di lui anni nove: e così per successione andavano le muse."

(p. 9.)

[Milton's methods compared with those of Dante]

Lycidas.—This poem appears to have been formed between *Spenser* and the early Italians. *Dryden* says, in the *Preface* to his *Fables*, "Milton was the poetical son of *Spenser*. He has acknowledged to me, that *Spenser* was his original." *Astrophel* therefore probably gave rise to *Lycidas*. And, as *Dante* has made *Cato* of *Utica* keeper of the gates of Purgatorio, *Milton* has here, in return, placed *St. Peter* in company with *Apollo*, *Triton*, *Eolus*, etc. For the intrusion of what follows, respecting the clergy of his time, the earliest Italians have, in pieces of every sort, set plentiful example. Perhaps no better reason can be given of *Milton's* conduct here, than what some commentator gives for *Dante's* above mentioned: "Per verità è un gran capriccio, ma in ciò segue suo stile."

(p. 112.)

[An Italian idiom used by Milton and Dante]

Milton's six *Italian Poems* shew a very extensive skill in that language; and highly deserve the elaborate praise *Francini* has bestowed on them in his *Ode*, where he says, with much grace,

Dammi tua dolce cetra

Se vuoi ch' io dica del tuo dolce canto.

The second *Sonnet*,

Qual in colle aspro al imbrunir di sera, etc.

has great delicacy, both of sentiment and expression. It is without weakness, and without hyperbole: a medium, which seems Italian

¹[*Par.* xxxiii. 1-12, 16-21, translated in the *Prologue to the Second Nun's Tale*, ll. 36-44, 50-6 (see above, pp. 15-16).]

perfection. In the *Canzone* is one of the most elegant forms, used in the language ;

*Dinne, se la tua speme sia mai vana,
E de pensieri lo miglior t' arrivi ;*

a mode used by the earliest, and the best Italians ;

*Se la vostra memoria non s' imboli
Ditemi.*

Dante, *Inf.* c. 29.¹

Hor *dimmi, se colui in pace vi guide,*

Petrarca, del. *Tr. d' Am.* c. 2.

and is one of the many beauties, they have borrowed from the Latins.

(pp. 118-19.)

[Milton's indebtedness to Dante in his Italian poems]

That the praise of *Milton* is, like that of *Cowley*, to have no thought in common with any author, his predecessor, cannot be urged. Though he thought for himself, he had a just deference for the thoughts of others; and, though his genius enabled him without helps to execute, he disdained not to consult and direct himself by the most approved examples. In his Latin elegies, *Ovid* was his master: in his first essay in masque, *Ben Jonson*: in his Italian poems, *Dante*, *Petrarca*, and *Fulvio Testi*. It was his peculiar study to explore the traces of genius, in whatever authors had gone with eminence before him. He read them all. He took the gold in ornaments from the hands of the best artists; he considered their fashion, their workmanship, their weight, their alloy; and, storing and arranging them for occasion, he adapted them, as he saw fit, to the chalice, or the pixis, formed from the sublime patterns of his own mind.

(pp. 145-6.)

JAMES PETITT ANDREWS

(c. 1737-1797)

[James Petitt Andrews, antiquary and historian, was born near Newbury about 1737. He died in 1797, having been for the last five years of his life one of the magistrates at the police court in Queen Square, Westminster. In 1789 he published a collection of *Anecdotes, Ancient and Modern* (with *Addenda*, 1790), to which his friend Pye the poet-laureate, contributed (see below, pp. 453-4). In one of his 'observations' in this work Andrews blames Poggio for having collected Dante's so-called witticisms.]

¹[*Inf.* xxix. 103. 106.]

1789-90. ANECDOTES, &C. ANTIENT AND MODERN. WITH OBSERVATIONS.

[Poggio's collection of Dante's witty sayings]

POGGIO, the Florentine, out of respect to the memory of the poet Dante, has taken great pains to collect his bon mots. Had he been that great bard's most bitter foe, he could have done him no greater diskindness. The repartees are flat, unpolite, and totally uninteresting.¹

(From *Addenda*, ed. 1790, p. 93.)

HENRY JAMES PYE

(1745-1813)

[Henry James Pye, poet-laureate, was born in London in 1745. In 1762 he entered Magdalen College, Oxford, as a gentleman-commoner, and was made M.A. in 1766, and D.C.L. in 1772. He was M.P. for Berkshire from 1784 to 1790, in which year he was appointed poet-laureate in succession to Thomas Warton, a post he held for twenty-three years until his death in 1813. The mediocre quality of Pye's poetry, of which he had published numerous specimens, caused his appointment to be received with scorn in literary circles, which was not lessened by the 'ludicrous tameness' of his official 'birthday' odes. Pye contributed to his friend James Petitt Andrews' collection of *Anecdotes, Ancient and Modern* (1789-90) an alleged prophecy of Dante in connection with the constellation of the Southern Cross, for the notice of which he was probably indebted to Voltaire.]

1789-90. ANECDOTES, &C. ANTIENT AND MODERN. WITH OBSERVATIONS. BY JAMES PETITT ANDREWS.²

[Alleged prophecy of Dante]

THERE are two extraordinary instances of prophecies being fulfilled, where no supernatural means can possibly be supposed. The first is mentioned by the learned Bishop of Worcester,³ in the preface to his *Sermons on Prophecy*.⁴ It is part of a chorus in the *Medea* of Seneca.

Venient annis
 Secula seris, quibus Oceanus
 Vincula rerum laxet et ingens
 Pateat tellus, Tiphysque novos
 Deteget orbis.

This is obviously fulfilled by the invention of the compass, and

¹[Poggio published these (apocryphal) jests of Dante in his *Facetiae*. For a specimen, see below, pp. 611-12.]

²[In his preface Andrews acknowledges his obligations to 'his ingenious friend Mr. Pye' for many contributions, of which the above is one.]

³[Richard Hurd, Bishop of Worcester from 1781 to 1803.]

⁴[First published in 1772—last edition, 1788.]

the discovery of America. The other¹ is in the first book of Dante's *Purgatorio*.

I' mi volsi a man destra, e posi mente

All' altro polo, e vidi quatro stelle

Non viste mai, fuor ch' alla prima gente.²

Now this is an exact description of the appearance of the four stars near the south pole, and yet Dante is known to have written before the discovery of the southern hemisphere.³

(Ed. 1790, p. 343.)

JOHN WESLEY

(1703-1791)

[John Wesley, the famous Methodist preacher, was born at Epworth in Lincolnshire (of which his father, Samuel Wesley, was rector) in 1703. He was educated at the Charterhouse School in London, and at Christ Church, Oxford, where he was elected scholar in 1720. He graduated in 1724, and was ordained in the following year. In 1726 he was elected to a Fellowship at Lincoln College, which he retained until his marriage in 1751. After acting as his father's curate for a couple of years he engaged in tutorial work at Lincoln College (1729-1735), and joined his brother Charles' 'methodist' society, of which he became the leader. In 1735 he went on a mission to Georgia, where he remained until 1737. In 1739 he began to preach in the open air, and founded the first Methodist Chapel at Bristol, and he devoted the rest of his long life to Methodist work, preaching his last sermon a few days before his death, at the age of eighty-eight, in 1791.]

Wesley read the Italian poets in his old age, Ariosto, Tasso, and apparently Dante, of whose account of the death of Ugolino he gives a confused recollection in his *Journal* the year before his death, on the occasion of a visit to the Duke of Dorset's house at Knole Park, where he saw Sir Joshua Reynolds' famous picture of Ugolino in the Tower of Famine.]

1790. Oct 7. JOURNAL.

[Sir Joshua Reynolds' picture of Ugolino at Knole Park]

IN the evening I preached once more at Rye, and the word did not fall to the ground. In the morning we left this loving well-united people and dined at Sevenoaks. After dinner we spent an hour in the Duke of Dorset's house. I could not but observe some change for the worse here. The silk covers are removed from several of the pictures, particularly that of Count Ugolino

¹[Indexed as 'Dante prophesies the discovery of America.']

²[*Purg.* i. 22-4.]

³[Dante's contemporary, Marco Polo, might well have seen the Southern Cross; the stars composing it are mentioned by Ptolemy in the *Almagest*.—Both these so-called prophecies had been discussed more than thirty years before by Voltaire in his *Essai sur les Mœurs et l'Esprit des Nations*, published in 1753 (see above, pp. 206-7).]

and his sons;¹ and it is placed in a worse light, so that I could hardly discern the little boy, that when he saw his father gnawing his own arm for anguish, cried out, ‘Papa, if you are hungry, do not eat your own arm, but mine.’

(*Journals of the Rev. John Wesley*, ed. 1837, p. 901.)

WILLIAM BLAKE

(1757-1827)

[William Blake, poet and painter, whose father was a hosier, was born in Golden Square, London, in 1757. He early showed a taste for drawing, and at the age of fourteen was apprenticed to an engraver for seven years (1771-8). After studying for a time at the Royal Academy, in 1784 he set up a printseller's shop. In 1789 he published his *Songs of Innocence*, which was followed by *Songs of Experience* in 1794. He exhibited at the Royal Academy from 1780 till 1808. His most important designs were those for Young's *Night Thoughts*, Blair's *Grave*, the *Book of Job*, and the *Divina Commedia*, most of which were engraved by himself. He was engaged upon the engraving of the designs from Dante to within a few days of his death, which took place in 1827. Blake's attention was directed to Dante by his friend, John Linnell, the artist, who in 1824 commissioned him to make a series of drawings from the *Divina Commedia*, to be afterwards engraved. Blake, though now 67 years of age, set to work to learn Italian, for the purpose of reading the *Commedia* in the original, and produced a series of ninety-eight coloured designs (sixty-eight for the *Inferno*, twenty for the *Purgatorio*, and ten for the *Paradiso*), besides four uncoloured drawings. Of these designs seven only (from the *Inferno*) were engraved, by Blake himself, and published in 1827, the year of his death. A detailed list, with critical notes, by W. M. Rossetti, of the whole series (which still remains in the possession of the Linnell family) is given in the second volume (pp. 227-34) of Gilchrist's *Life of Blake*. Eight of the coloured designs, besides two of the engraved plates, were published in the *Savoy Magazine* in 1896. Sundry remarks of Blake upon Dante have been preserved in the *Diary* of Henry Crabb Robinson (see below, pp. 633 ff.). From the notes of his conversations with Blake Robinson compiled his *Reminiscences of Blake*, which were printed in Gilchrist's *Life*, and are given below. In or about 1801 Blake painted a portrait of Dante, nearly life-size, as part of a series of eighteen heads of the poets, which began with Homer, and ended with Hayley!]

1790. MARRIAGE OF HEAVEN AND HELL.

[Dante and Shakespeare as a mine for writers like Swedenborg]

SWEDENBORG boasts that what he writes is new; though it is only the contents or index of already published books. . . . Any man of mechanical talents may, from the writings of Paracelsus or Jacob Behmen, produce ten thousand volumes of

¹[This was the famous picture by Sir Joshua Reynolds, which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1773, when it was described in the Catalogue as “Count Ugolino and his Children in the Dungeon, as described by Dante in the 33rd Canto of the *Inferno*.” It was bought by the third Duke of Dorset for 400 guineas for the gallery at Knole Park, where Wesley saw it (see above, p. 343).]

equal value with Swedenborg's and from those of Dante or Shakespeare an infinite number.

(Gilchrist's *Life of Blake*, vol. i. p. 85.)

[Blake's 'visionary conversations' with Homer, Dante, and Milton]

1800. By the shore [at Bognor] visionary conversations were held with many a majestic shadow from the Past—Moses and the Prophets, Homer, Dante, Milton: 'All,' said Blake, when questioned on these appearances, 'all majestic shadows, grey but luminous, and superior to the common height of men.'

(*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 160.)

1801. About this date Blake painted a portrait of Dante (see introductory note, p. 455).

1806. July 1. LETTER TO THE EDITOR OF THE MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

[Criticism of Fuseli's picture of Ugolino]

My indignation was exceedingly moved at reading a criticism in *Bell's Weekly Messenger*¹ (25 May), on the picture of Count Ugolino, by Mr. Fuseli, in the Royal Academy Exhibition. . . . Such an artist as Fuseli is invulnerable; he needs not my defence; but I should be ashamed not to set my hand and shoulder, and whole strength, against those wretches who, under the pretence of criticism, use the dagger and the poison.

My criticism on this picture is as follows:—Mr. Fuseli's Count Ugolino is the father of sons of feeling and dignity, who would not sit looking in their parent's face in the moments of his agony, but would rather retire and die in secret, while they suffer him to indulge his passionate and innocent grief, his innocent and venerable madness and insanity and fury and whatever paltry, cold-hearted critics cannot, because they dare not, look upon. Fuseli's Count Ugolino is a man of wonder and admiration, of resentment against man and devil, and of humiliation before God; prayer and parental affection fill the figure from head to foot. The child in his arms, whether boy or girl signifies not (but the critic must be a fool who has not read Dante, and who does not know a boy from a girl), I say, the child is as beautifully drawn as it is coloured—in both, inimitable; and the effect of the whole is truly sublime, on account of that very colouring which our critic calls black and heavy.

(*Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 258-9.)

1825. BLAKE'S DRAWINGS FROM THE DIVINA COMMEDIA.

In 1825 payments began to pass for a series of coloured drawings from Dante done for Mr. Linnell, which, for boldness and startling

¹[See vol. ii. pp. 30-1.]

emphasis and novelty, overtop all that Blake ever executed. These drawings were made in a large blank-paper book given to Blake to be filled thus, as he felt inclined from time to time. They were paid for by instalments, about £52 being given altogether, so far, at least, as record remains. The book in which the designs were done had pages measuring about fourteen inches one way and eighteen the other. But every leaf now looks gigantic from the massive and complex nature of the designs which cover them. . . . Of these a few only were engraved by Blake; the plates, as in the Job series, being still (1893) in the hands of the Linnell brothers. . . .

The slighter sketches and schemes of work are here and there scrawled over with little pencil notes. . . . One scheme gives a diagram of Dante's Circles, No. 1 being at the bottom. They are piled one over the other with the following note: 'This is upside down, but right when viewed from Purgatory after they had passed the centre.' . . . 'In equivocal worlds,' Blake also notes to Dante, 'all is equivocal.' Another scheme gives Purgatory, in the centre, and concentric circles indicated beyond like rings of a target and labelled, as read from within outwards, Terrestrial Paradise—with the note: 'It is a limbo,'—then Moon, Mercury, Venus, Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, Starry Heavens, Vacuum—the latter the eternal. . . .

Blake, as believer in the forgiveness of sins, and in dual creatorship, meditates in the following note: 'It seems as if Dante supposes God was something superior to the Father of Jesus, or if he gives rain to the evil and good, and his sun to the just and unjust, he can never have builded Dante's Hell, nor the Hell of the Bible as our parsons explain it. It must have originally been framed by the dark Spirit itself, and so I understand it.' . . .

Once he places Homer, crowned with laurels and armed with sword¹ in the centre. . . . A commencement of circles outside him is sketched, the first labelled 'Swedenborg,' the next illegible. The connection of ideas is detected in the following note: 'Everything in Dante's Paradise shows that, for tyrannical purposes, he has made this world the foundation of all, and the goddess Nature, Memory, not the Holy Ghost. . . . Round Purgatory is Paradise, and round Paradise is Vacuum, or Limbo. . . . Homer is the centre of all, I mean the poetry of the heathen, stolen and perverted from the Bible, not by chance, but by design, by the kings of Persia, their generals, the Greek heroes, and lastly, the Romans. Swedenborg does the same in saying that the world is the ultimate of heaven. This is the most damnable falsehood of Satan and Anti-christ.'

(*Works of Blake*, Ellis and Yeats, vol. i. pp. 137-9.)

¹[As described by Dante, *Inf.* iv. 86.]

1825. HENRY CRABB ROBINSON'S REMINISCENCES OF BLAKE.¹

[As to the 'purity' of Dante—Blake's designs from Dante]

On my asking whether Dante was pure in writing his *Vision*,—'Pure!' said Blake, 'is there any purity in God's eyes? No! He chargeth his angels with folly.' . . . He seemed to consider—but that was not clear—the visions of Swedenborg and Dante as of the same kind. Dante was the greater poet. He, too, was wrong in occupying his mind about political objects. Yet this did not appear to affect his estimation of Dante's genius, or his opinion of the truth of Dante's visions. Indeed, when he even declared Dante to be an atheist, it was accompanied by expression of the highest admiration; 'though,' said he, 'Dante saw devils where I saw none.' . . .

I called on Blake at his house in Fountain Court in the Strand. He was making designs, or engraving—I forget which. Cary's *Dante* was before him. He showed me some of his designs from Dante, of which I do not presume to speak. They were too much above me. But Gotzenberger, whom I afterwards took to see them, expressed the highest admiration. . . .

(Printed in Gilchrist's *Life of Blake*, vol. i. pp. 383-5.)

[The 'Dante Wood']

1826. August. During a visit to Hampstead Blake was at work upon the *Dante*. A clump of trees on the skirts of the heath is still known to old friends as the 'Dante Wood.'

(*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 396.)

1827. March 15. LETTER TO JOHN LINNELL.

[The designs from Dante]

I saw Mr. Tatham,² senior, yesterday. He sat with me above one hour, and looked over the *Dante*. He expressed himself very much pleased with the designs as well as the engravings.

(*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 399.)

1827. April 25. LETTER TO JOHN LINNELL.

[The same]

As to *Ugolino*, &c., I never supposed that I should sell them. . . . I am too much attached to Dante to think much of anything

¹[Compiled from the notes in his *Diary* of his conversations with Blake (see below, pp. 633 ff.; and see also Robinson's letter to Miss Wordsworth, below, p. 634).]

²[An architect, whose son (a sculptor) was an enthusiastic follower of Blake.]

else. I have proved the six copper plates, and reduced the fighting devils ready for the copper.¹

(Printed in Gilchrist's *Life of Blake*, vol. i. p. 400.)

1827. ILLUSTRATIONS TO THE INFERNO OF DANTE, DESIGNED AND ENGRAVED BY WILLIAM BLAKE.²

- Plate i. 'and like a corse fell to the ground.'³
Hell, Canto v. l. 137.
- Plate ii. 'seiz'd on his arm,
And mangled bore away the sinewy part.'
Hell, Canto xxii. l. 70.
- Plate iii. 'so turn'd
His talons on his comrade.'
Hell, Canto xxii. l. 135.
- Plate iv. 'lo! a serpent with six feet
Springs forth on one.'
Hell, Canto xxv. l. 45.
- Plate v. 'He ey'd the serpent and the serpent him.'
Hell, Canto xxv. l. 82.
- Plate vi. 'Then two I mark'd, that sat
Propp'd 'gainst each other.'
Hell, Canto xxix. l. 71.
- Plate vii. 'Wherefore dost thou bruise me? weeping he ex-
claim'd.'
Hell, Canto xxxii. l. 79.

THOMAS PENROSE

(c. 1770-1851)

[Thomas Penrose, only child of Thomas Penrose the poet, was born about 1770. He was educated at Winchester and New College, Oxford, of which he became a Fellow. He accepted the College living of Writtle-cum-Roxwell in Essex, and died in 1851. In 1790, while still at Oxford, he published anonymously *A Sketch of the Lives and Writings of Dante and Petrarch*.]

¹[These were the seven plates from the Dante designs, which Blake managed to engrave within a few months of his death.]

²[Seven only of the 100 designs drawn by Blake were engraved by him and published in this volume (see introductory note above).]

³[The quotations are from Cary's translation.]

1790. A SKETCH OF THE LIVES AND WRITINGS OF DANTE AND PETRARCH. WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF ITALIAN AND LATIN LITERATURE IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.¹

[Dante, the Ennius of Italian poetry]

IT has been remarked that Europe may perhaps behold ages of a bad taste, but will never again relapse into barbarism:—the sole invention of printing has forbidden that event. In the fifteenth century, this art, whose first materials were rough, and execution clumsy, was the means of multiplying manuscripts, and circulating more freely the remaining relics of knowledge. Yet many years before literature received this very valuable acquisition, and any other method of communicating information was conceived, than that of laboriously copying old and imperfect manuscripts, flourished Dante, the Ennius, and father of Italian poetry. After seven hundred years of ignorance and darkness, when learning, immured in the cloister, and circumscribed to narrow limits, was uselessly employed in metaphysical disquisitions, this meteor of genius, as it were, blazed out with redoubled lustre.

(pp. 3-5.)

[Criticism of Dante's style]

The title of Divine has been given only to the works of Homer and Plato; but the judgment of the learned of all nations has given to the Comedy of Dante the same distinguished title. Though the author wished to be the model of the middle style, he has shewn how little government he had over his impetuous imagination. He is bold, majestic, and sublime; his vast and comprehensive mind, embracing at once things human and divine, soars as far 'as angels ken.' Master as he is of poetical beauties and ornaments, he has discovered a wonderful knowledge of philosophy, astronomy, theology, history, politics, and oratory. At times indeed (and what writer is not?) he is inferior to his subject: his images are strange and unnatural; his rhymes forced and inharmonious; his style harsh and unpolished; his stanzas dull and tedious. But, upon the whole, let us not forget that in his poem the exalted ideas of Homer are often clothed in rich and gorgeous trappings; that there is throughout a vigorous imagination, whose grand and sublime conceptions few painters could express, and few poets imitate. . . .

¹[Published anonymously. In some copies the work is stated on the title-page to have been written by 'A Young Gentleman of Oxford.']

A taste for Latin poetry was among the least of Dante's accomplishments; and happily was it for himself and his readers that he abandoned the idea he once entertained of writing his *Inferno* in Latin: I say happily; for although he has by his *Eclogues* convinced us that he was no despicable poet in that language, yet has he not acquired more honour to himself by enriching and polishing the language of his country? by daring to claim to himself a path unknown to his countrymen, and at that time unexplored? and, lastly, by shaking off the monotonous jingle of the Leonine couplet, and adding grace, harmony, and dignity to the rough and corrupted language of his Gothic ancestors? To Dante therefore, with the utmost esteem and veneration, is modern Italy to look up, as to one of her greatest ornaments—the author and father of her poetry—who, by his eminent and profound researches into every branch of science, blended the different accomplishments of the philosopher and poet, and shewed to the world how much the milder beauties of poetry might gain from the severe studies of abstracted sciences. Poetry, under the hands of Dante, is like a block of marble under the chisel of a Phidias or Praxiteles, which, by the masterly touches of the artist, is soon reduced to symmetry and grace.

(pp. 29 ff.)

[Personal characteristics of Dante]

To those who are not disgusted with the personal peculiarities of illustrious men—and can listen to Montaigne, when he says that he is fond of white wine, without bluntly answering, like Mr. Du Puy, What the devil is it to me whether he is or not?—every minute account of Dante must be agreeable. He was, according to his biographers, of a becoming stature, but rather inclined to be fat and lusty; his air was manly and noble, and by his pensive look and continual silence assumed a kind of stern gravity; his face was long, his eyes large, and his nose aquiline; he had broad cheeks, a projecting under lip, dark complexion; a beard and hair long, black, and curling. To beguile his melancholy hours he would frequently amuse himself with drawing—an art in which he had great merit. In conversation he was commonly uninteresting, as he generally sat in a meditating posture, and only spoke to introduce some severe and satirical remark. An insult he never forgot or forgave; but to his friends and protectors was ever grateful and generous.

(p. 37.)

ANONYMOUS

1791. THE COMPLETE ITALIAN MASTER ; CONTAINING THE BEST AND EASIEST RULES FOR ATTAINING THAT LANGUAGE.¹

[Of the articles]

WE do not use in the plural the articles *li, delli, alli, dalli*, as the ancients did. Yet they may be used in verse, and in Dante they occur frequently, though a great number of our best poets endeavoured to avoid them.

(p. 37.)

[Of the nouns in *i*]

Génesi has no plural, and is of all genders. In Dante we meet with *lo Génesi*,² but the generality of good writers say *la Génesi*.

(p. 47.)

[Of words that may be retrenched]

In Dante, Petrarch, Ariosto, Guarini, Tasso, Marini, and all the poets, we find several tenses of the verbs abridged.

(p. 178.)

BIBLIOTHECA PARISIANA

1791. CATALOGUS BIBLIOTHECAE PARISIANAE.

[Catalogue of a collection of books formed by Mr. Paris, and sold by J. Edwards in 1791 on March 26, and five days following. The collection included five editions of the *Divina Commedia*, viz. Florence, 1481 (with two plates—bought by Wodhull for £7 10s); Aldus, 1502, and 1515; Venice (Giolito), 1555; and an undated edition, in three volumes, printed on vellum; also a MS. on vellum of a French translation of the *Paradiso*; *Sonetti e Canzoni*, Florence, 1527; and Boccaccio's *Vita di Dante*, Venice, 1542.]

JAMES BOSWELL

(1740-1795)

[James Boswell, son of Alexander Boswell of Auchinleck (afterwards Lord Auchinleck), was born in 1740. He was educated at the Edinburgh High School and University. In 1759 he went to Glasgow to study law under Adam Smith. In

¹[‘Translated from the Italian of Signor Veneroni, Italian Secretary to the late French King.’ It is significant of the taste of the times that in the ‘Collection of Beautiful Passages, from the most celebrated Italian Poets’ at the end of the volume, there are extracts from Petrarch, Tasso, Ariosto, Guarini, Alamanni, Sannazzaro, Marino, and Chiabrera, but Dante is not represented at all.]

²[*Inf.* xi. 107.]

1763 he made the acquaintance of Dr. Johnson in London, which was the beginning of an intimate friendship, which lasted till Johnson's death in 1784. In 1765 Boswell went to Utrecht to study civil law, and from thence, in the course of a tour, he went to Corsica, where he was introduced to General Paoli. He returned home in 1766, and in 1768 published his *Account of Corsica*. In 1773 he accompanied Johnson on a tour to the Hebrides (an account of which, *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, he published in 1786), and from this date until 1784 he made frequent visits to London to visit Johnson. In 1789 he came to reside in London, and in 1791 he published his *Life of Johnson*, which had an immediate and lasting success. He died in London in 1795. In his *Life of Johnson* Boswell records an interesting remark of Johnson's as to the possibility of Bunyan's having imitated Dante; and in a note on another remark he proves conclusively his own ignorance of Dante.]

1791. THE LIFE OF SAMUEL JOHNSON, LL.D.

[Johnson on Bunyan and Dante]

(1773.) JOHNSON praised *John Bunyan* highly. 'His *Pilgrim's Progress* has great merit, both for invention, imagination, and the conduct of the story; and it has had the best evidence of its merit, the general and continued approbation of mankind. Few books, I believe, have had a more extensive sale. It is remarkable, that it begins very much like the poem of *Dante*; yet there was no translation of *Dante* when *Bunyan* wrote.'¹

(Globe ed. 1899, pp. 260-1.)

[Dante's opinion of 'a lie which is half a lie']

(1778.) Johnson was so much impressed with the prevalence of falsehood, voluntary or unintentional, that I never knew any person who upon hearing an extraordinary circumstance told, discovered more of the *incredulus odi*. He would say with a significant look and decisive tone, 'It is not so. Do not tell this again.'²—The following plausible but over prudent counsel on this

¹[The *Pilgrim's Progress*, which was first published in 1678, is supposed to have been written in 1675. Johnson's remark seems to imply that there was an English translation of Dante at the time when he was speaking. At the date in question (1773) the only published English translations from Dante were the versions of the Ugolino episode (*Inf.* xxxiii.) by Jonathan Richardson (published in 1719), and by the Earl of Carlisle (printed in the *Annual Register* for this same year) (see above, pp. 197-9, 334-6). There were also in existence in MS. a version of the Ugolino episode by Gray (written probably between 1737 and 1740); a complete translation of the *Divina Commedia* by William Huggins (made before 1761); and a prose translation of the *Inferno* by Dr. Burney (made in 1761) (see above, pp. 232-4, 307, 323). Johnson may possibly have seen this last (which was never published) as he was on terms of intimacy with Burney. When Bunyan wrote the *Pilgrim's Progress* there was an English translation in print of the first three lines of the *Commedia*, viz. in Sir John Harington's *Orlando Furioso*, published in 1591 (see above, p. 83), from which Bunyan might have taken the hint of the opening of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, as Johnson suggests, but it does not seem likely.]

²[This observation was added by Boswell in the *Corrigenda et Addenda* issued in 1793.]

subject is given by an Italian writer, quoted by *Rhedi de generatione insectarum*, with the epithet of *divini poetae*¹—

Sempr' à quel ver ch' a faccia di menzogna
De' l' uom chiudere le labbra quanto ei puote ;
Però che senza colpa fa vergogna.

(Globe ed. 1899, pp. 442-3.)

MARQUIS WELLESLEY

(1760-1842)

[Richard Colley Wellesley, eldest son of the first Earl of Mornington, was born in 1760. He was educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford. He succeeded to the Earldom in 1781; sat in Parliament from 1787 to 1796; and in 1797 was appointed Governor-General of India, whence he was recalled in 1805. He was created Baron Wellesley in the English peerage in 1797, and Marquis Wellesley in the Irish peerage in 1799. After his return from India he took an active part in politics, serving as Foreign Secretary from 1809 to 1812, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from 1821 to 1828, and again from 1833 to 1834. He withdrew from public life in 1835, and died in 1842. Wellesley was a good classical and Italian scholar, and is said to have had 'an extensive knowledge of the Italian poets, and especially of Dante,' references to whom occur in several of his letters.]

1791. July 3. LETTER TO LORD GRENVILLE (from Spa).

[His opinion of Tasso, Ariosto, and Dante]

I HAVE read Tasso, Ariosto, and parts of Dante since I have seen you, in each of which there are some very fine things, particularly in the two last; but on the whole I was rather disappointed in the Italian poets.

(*Hist. MSS. Comm., Dropmore MSS.* vol. ii. pp. 119.)

¹[The 'divine poet,' of course, is Dante. The lines are from *Inf.* xvi. 124-6. The work in which Boswell found them was a Latin translation (Leyden, 1729) of the *Esperienze intorno alla generazione degli Insetti* (Florence, 1668) of Francesco Redi (1626-1698), best known as the author of the dithyrambic poem, *Bacco in Toscana*. The passage referred to by Boswell runs as follows in the original:—'Qual sia la vera tra tante opinioni, o qual per lo meno più dell' altre alla verità si sia avvicinata, io per me non saprei indurmi a dirlo; e' non è ora di mia possanza, ne di mia intenzione, il deciderlo; e se vengo a palesarvi la credenza, ch' io ne tengo, lo fo con animo peritoso, e con temenza grandissima, parendomi sempre di sentirmi intonare agli orecchi ciò, che già dal nostro divino Poeta fu cantato, *Sempre a quel ver*, &c.' (ed. 1688, p. 11). Redi frequently quotes Dante in this work, but it so happens that he does not mention him by name, referring to him as 'divino poeta,' or 'sovrano poeta.']

1839. April 20. LETTER TO SAMUEL ROGERS (from Kingston House).

[Discussion of a passage in Dante]

I should like to hear what your opinion is of the famous passage in Dante—

Nessun maggior dolore
Che ricordarsi del tempo felice
Nella miseria.¹

Milton has the same idea—

For now the thought
Both of lost happiness and lasting pain
Torments him.²

This would seem inconsistent with the notion of pleasure in the recollection of past happiness; Goldsmith too—

To our past joys recurring ever,
And cheating us with present pain.

Not so T. Moore—

The memory of the past shall stay,
And all our joys renew.

Dante hints that there is some such sentiment in Virgil—

E ciò sa il tuo Dottore.³

But I do not remember any passage in Virgil of that description, although several where the recollection of past pain is described as a pleasure—

Haec olim meminisse juvabit.

(*Rogers and his Contemporaries*, ed. Clayden, ii. 179-80.)

HENRY FRANCIS CARY

(1772-1844)

[Henry Francis Cary, the translator of Dante, was born at Gibraltar on Dec. 6, 1772, in the same year as Coleridge, and within a year or two of Wordsworth, Scott, and Southey. He was the eldest son of Captain William Cary, of the First Regiment of Foot, who shortly after his son's birth returned to England and sold his commission. Cary was educated at Rugby (1783-5), and at the Grammar Schools of Sutton Coldfield and Birmingham. From Birmingham he went with an exhibition to Christ Church, Oxford (1790). At an early age he displayed a literary bent, and especially a taste for translation. While he was still at school at Birmingham he published an ode to General Elliott (Lord Heathfield) on his gallant defence of Gibraltar, which attracted considerable attention, and was the means of bringing him acquainted with Miss Anna Seward, 'the Swan of Lichfield,' with whom he regularly corresponded for some years. In one of his letters to her from Oxford (dated May 7, 1792) occurs the first mention of his study of the *Divina Commedia*—he advises her to read the poem, and sends a prose translation of two passages from the *Purgatorio*. Cary's career at Oxford was

¹[*Inf.* v. 121-3.]

²[*P. L.* i. 54-6.]

³[*Inf.* v. 123—the original of Dante's sentiment is to be found not in Virgil, but in the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* of Boëthius.]

undistinguished. After taking his M.A. degree (Nov. 1796), he tried for a fellowship at Oriel College, but was unsuccessful. His desire to enter the army being opposed by his father, he was ordained, and was presented to the vicarage of Abbot's Bromley in Staffordshire, in 1796, in which year he married. In 1800 he removed to the living of Kingsbury in Warwickshire, and in May of this year he began his translation of the *Inferno*, which was published, together with the Italian text, in two volumes in 1805-6. From an entry in his diary, as well as from the preface to the first edition of his 'Vision of Dante,' it appears that he had begun to translate the *Purgatorio* as far back as 1797. On May 8, 1812 (he having meanwhile removed to London, where he had been appointed reader at Berkeley Chapel), the translation of the whole *Commedia* was completed. The work was published, at the author's expense, in 1814, in three diminutive volumes in boards, at the price of 12s. It was noticed with praise by the *Gentleman's Magazine*,¹ and with contempt by the *Critical Review*,² and then for several years lay dead and forgotten. In February, 1818, it was mentioned with approval in a lecture on Dante by Coleridge, who had accidentally made Cary's acquaintance on the beach at Littlehampton a year or two before. The effect on the sale of the book, of which favourable notices appeared both in the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly* (see vol. ii. pp. 161-2, 449-50), was immediate.³ A thousand copies of the neglected first edition had at once disposed of, a new edition (in 3 vols. 8vo) was called for, and within a few months the author pocketed a sum of nearly £250 by what he had come to regard as a dead failure. In 1814 Cary had accepted the curacy and lectureship of Chiswick, and two years later he returned to London as curate of the Savoy. His leisure was now chiefly taken up with literary work; he contributed ballads and critical essays to the *London Magazine*, and engaged upon translations from Aristophanes and Pindar. In 1826 he was appointed Assistant Keeper of Printed Books at the British Museum, a post which he retained for eleven years. Among his literary acquaintance and correspondents about this time, besides Coleridge, were Charles and Mary Lamb, Hazlitt, De Quincey, Carlyle, Hood, Allan Cunningham and Gabriele Rossetti. With the Lambs he was on terms of intimacy, and for some time they dined with him regularly at the Museum every third Wednesday in the month. In 1831 Cary published a third edition (a reprint in 3 vols. 12mo of the edition of 1819) of his Dante. In 1837 the office of Chief Librarian at the Museum became vacant. Cary applied for the post, and on its being given to Panizzi, 'his subordinate officer and a foreigner,' he resigned his appointment. After his retirement he continued to devote himself to literature. Among his latest occupations was the preparation of a fourth edition of his Dante, the preface of which is dated February, 1844. He died in the following August, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, by the side of Samuel Johnson, his title to fame being commemorated by a slab bearing the inscription.

THE TRANSLATOR OF DANTE]

¹[See vol. ii. pp. 157-8.]

²[See vol. ii. p. 157.]

³In *Recollections of the Table-Talk of Samuel Rogers*, edited by A. Dyce, this account is disputed. Rogers says:—"In the *Memoir* of Cary by his son, Coleridge is said to have first become acquainted with Cary's *Dante* when he met the translator at Little Hampton. But that is a mistake. Moore mentioned the work to me with great admiration; I mentioned it to Wordsworth;* and he to Coleridge, who had never heard of it till then, and who forthwith read it. I was present at that lecture by Coleridge, during which he spoke of Cary's *Dante* in high terms of praise: there were about a hundred and twenty persons in the room. But I doubt if that did much towards making it known. It owes some of its celebrity to me; for the article on Dante in the *Edinburgh Review*,† which was written by Foscolo, has very considerable additions by Mackintosh; and a few by myself. Cary was aware (though his biographer evidently is not) that I had written a portion of that article; yet he never mentioned it to me: perhaps there was something in it which he did not like" (pp. 282-3).

* Dyce notes:—"Wordsworth once remarked to me. 'It is a disgrace to the age that Cary has no church-preferment; I think his translation of Dante a great national work.'"

† Vol. xxix. 453.

1792. May 7. LETTER TO MISS ANNA SEWARD (from Christ Church, Oxford).

[Cary advises his correspondent to read Dante]

I MUCH wonder that you should listen to the idea, that a fondness for Italian poetry is the corruption of our taste, when you cannot but recollect that our greatest English poets, Chaucer, Spenser, and Milton have been professed admirers of the Italians, and that the sublimer province of poetry, imagination, has been more or less cultivated among us, according to the degree of estimation in which *they* have been held. . . .

Give a few months to the acquisition of Italian; go and see the wonders of Dante's *Inferno*, *Purgatorio*, and *Paradiso*; remember what a vast interval of time there is between Homer and him; remember in what a state the country and age in which he lived, and how pure the language in which he wrote, and then abuse him, if you dare.

I subjoin two passages from the *Purgatorio*, because the poem is less known than the *Inferno*.

The third canto begins¹ with this comparison, so exquisitely drawn from nature:—

‘As the sheep come out of the fold, some alone, others in pairs, others three together, the rest stand fearful, putting their eyes and noses to the ground, and whatever the first does, all the others do the same, crowding at her back, if she makes a stand, simple and tranquil, and yet do not know the reason why they stop, so this crowd of spirits stopt at our approach,’² etc.

Speaking of the swift motion of a spirit that flew from them, he says, ‘I never saw the lighted vapours at the beginning of the night cut the serene air so swiftly, nor when the sun is setting, the clouds of autumn.’³

Such are the sketches of Dante's pencil, and as for the conceits that

¹[The passage in question occurs not at the beginning, but in the middle of the canto, ll. 79-85.]

²[The following is Cary's rendering of this passage in his verse translation published twenty-two years later:—

As sheep, that step from forth their fold, by one,
Or pairs, or three at once; meanwhile the rest
Stand fearfully, bending the eye and nose
To ground, and what the foremost does, that do
The others, gathering round her if she stops,
Simple and quiet, nor the cause discern;
So saw I moving, etc.]

³[In the verse translation:—

Ne'er saw I fiery vapours with such speed
Cut through the serene air at fall of night,
Nor August's clouds athwart the setting sun, etc.

Purg. v. 37-9.]

you attribute to him, they are much fewer than you would expect from a writer in so barbarous an age, that some years after, Petrarch was accused of necromancy by the Pope, because he read Virgil and Cicero, and wrote verses. Everything becomes interesting at this period of reviving literature, and I am infinitely delighted with Dante, as an historian of his own time; so that I am collecting anecdotes, so plentifully interspersed among his works, for my amusement.¹

(*Memoir of Rev. H. F. Cary*, vol. i. pp. 42-4.)

1794. Feb. THE MOUNTAIN SEAT.²

[Motto]

O insensata cura de' mortali,
 Quanti son difettivi sillogismi
 Quei, che ti fanno in basso batter l' ali.

Dante, *Par. Canto xi.*

(*Memoir*, vol. i. p. 55.)

1797. LITERARY JOURNAL.³

[Progress of his translation of Dante]

- Jan. 16. Translated Dante, Purgatorio, part of the first canto.
 Jan. 17. Continued Dante, and finished canto i of the Purgatorio.
 Jan. 23. Proceeded in translating Dante, Purgatorio, canto ii.
 Jan. 24. Proceeded in Dante, Purgatorio, canto ii.
 Jan. 25. Finished canto ii of the Purgatorio.
 Jan. 28. Proceeded in Dante, Purgatorio, canto iii.
 Jan. 30. Proceeded in Dante, Purgatorio, canto iii.
 Feb. 6. Proceeded in Dante, Purgatorio, canto iii.
 Feb. 16. Proceeded in Dante, Purgatorio, canto iii.
 Feb. 17. Finished Dante, Purgatorio, canto iii.
 Feb. 21. Continued Dante and began Purgatorio, canto iv.
 March 2. Finished Dante, Purgatorio, canto iv.
 March 14. Continued Dante and began Purgatorio, canto v.
 March 18. Finished Dante, Purgatorio, canto v.
 June 28 to Dec. 20. Read . . . Dante's Inferno, in the edition of Venturi.
 Dec. 26. Read canto vi and vii of Dante's Purgatorio.

(*Memoir*, vol. i. pp. 103-15.)

¹[For Miss Seward's reply to this letter, see above, p. 398.]

²[A poem of Cary's published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for Feb. 1794.]

³[Only the entries are here given which relate to Dante.]

1798. LITERARY JOURNAL.

Jan. 1 to Jan. 22. Finished Dante's *Purgatorio*.
(*Memoir*, vol. i. p. 128.)

1800. LITERARY JOURNAL.

May 23. Resumed my translation of Dante, and translated half the first canto of the *Inferno*.

May 24. Translated the remainder of the *Inferno*, canto i.

May 25. Translated the beginning of the *Inferno*, canto ii.

May 26 and 27. Continued translation of the *Inferno*, canto ii.

May 28. Finished translation of *Inferno*, canto ii.

May 29. Began *Inferno*, canto iii.

June 4. Continued translation of *Inferno*, canto iii.

June 6. Finished canto iii of the *Inferno*.

(*Memoir*, vol. i. p. 165.)

1805-6. THE *INFERNO* OF DANTE ALIGHIERI : CANTO I-XVII. WITH A TRANSLATION IN ENGLISH BLANK VERSE, NOTES, AND A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR.—CANTO XVIII-XXXIV.

[Advertisement]

The following work is offered to the Public with the earnest hope, that it may be serviceable to the cause of literature and the interests of virtue, as it will tend to facilitate the study of one of the most sublime and moral, but certainly one of the most obscure¹ writers in any language.

An edition of Dante with a literal prose translation was considered as a desideratum by the late Earl of Orford,² who probably would have met with as little difficulty in the original as most of his learned contemporaries; and the sentiments of that nobleman, in however little value they may deservedly be held on subjects of far higher importance, yet in matters of taste at least were of no mean authority. In the ensuing pages I have aimed at not only adding to the original text a translation so faithful, as, with the assistance of the notes, to enable one moderately skilled in the Italian tongue to understand my author, but at producing a work which shall not be totally devoid of interest to the mere English reader. The difficulties of such an attempt will be most fairly ap-

¹[Much amusement was caused to Cary's friends by a misprint of this word in the notice of his book which appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for June, 1805—Cary is there made to describe Dante as 'one of the most *obscene* writers in any language!'
—See letter of Miss Seward, 8 Aug. 1805 (above, p. 402), and the review (below, p. 671).]

²[Cary is referring to a remark of Walpole's published by Pinkerton in *Walpoliana* in 1799 (see above, p. 338).]

preciated by those, who are most competent to judge of the genius and character, both of the two languages, and of the poet whom I design to illustrate. They will be disposed, I trust, to regard with a lenient eye many passages, that may wear the appearance of coarseness or negligence, but which have perhaps cost me as much pains as any other parts of the poem. If the judgment of an Italian of eminence in the literary history of his country is to be relied on, my author is responsible for many such blemishes. 'Est Dantes,' says Pico of Mirandula, in a letter to Lorenzo de' Medici, 'nonnunquam horridus, asper, et strigosus, ut multum rudis et imperitus.'—'Dante is at times harsh, rough, and meagre, generally deficient in elegance and address.' Nearly the same has by some of our critics been said of Milton, and with still less reason. But I do not wish to shelter myself under an imputation so unfavourable and so unjust, and am furnished with a better apology in the avowal of Dante himself, who, in the Dedication of the *Paradiso* to his Veronese patron, declares that he had purposely used a diction low and familiar: 'remissus est modus loquendi et humilis, quia locutio vulgaris.'¹

To the labours of Mr. Boyd we are indebted for the only view that has yet appeared in English of the whole of the *Divina Commedia*; but whatever praise that gentleman's translation may deserve in other respects, it must be owned, that it takes so great a latitude in its interpretation,² as not to answer one principal purpose to which the present is adapted, that of affording an easy introduction to such as are desirous of forming an acquaintance with the Italian poet himself.

Feb. 22, 1805.

(Vol. i. pp. v-viii.)

[*Inferno* i. 1-27]

In the mid way of this our mortal life,
 I found me in a gloomy wood, astray
 Gone from the path direct: and e'en to tell
 It were no easy task, how savage wild
 That forest, how robust and rough its growth,
 Which to remember only, my dismay
 Renews, in bitterness not far from death.
 Yet to discourse of what there good befell,
 All else will I relate discover'd there.
 How first I enter'd it I scarce can say,
 Such sleepy dulness in that instant weigh'd
 My senses down, when the true path I left.

¹[In the letter to Can Grande, *Epist.* x. ll. 223-4.]

²[For specimens of Boyd's translation, see above, pp. 410 ff.]

But when a mountain's foot I reach'd, where clos'd
 The valley, that had pierc'd my heart with dread,
 I look'd aloft, and saw his shoulders broad
 Already vested with that planet's beam,
 Who leads all wanderers safe through every way.
 Then was a little respite to the fear,
 That in my heart's recesses deep had lain,
 All of that night, so pitifully pass'd :
 And as a man, with difficult short breath,
 Forespent with toiling, 'scap'd from sea to shore,
 Turns to the perilous wide waste, and stands
 At gaze; e'en so my spirit, that yet fail'd
 Struggling with terror, turn'd to view the straits,
 That none hath pass'd and liv'd.

(Vol. i. pp. 3-5.)¹

[*Inferno* i. 61-93]

While to the lower space with backward step
 I fell, my ken discern'd the form of one,
 Whose voice seem'd faint through long disuse of speech.
 When him in that great desert I espied,
 'Have mercy on me!' I cried out aloud,
 'Spirit! or living man! whate'er thou be!'
 He answer'd: 'Now not man, man once I was,
 And born of Lombard parents, Mantuans both
 By country, when the power of Julius yet
 Was scarcely firm. At Rome my life was past
 Beneath the wild Augustus, in the time
 Of fabled deities and false. A bard
 Was I, and made Anchises' upright son
 The subject of my song, who came from Troy,
 When the flames prey'd on Ilium's haughty towers.
 But thou, say wherefore to such perils past
 Return'st thou? wherefore not this pleasant mount
 Ascendest, cause and source of all delight?'
 'And art thou then that Virgil, that well-spring,
 From which such copious floods of eloquence
 Have issued?' I with front abash'd replied.
 'Glory and light of all the tuneful train!
 May it avail me, that I long with zeal
 Have sought thy volume, and with love immense
 Have conn'd it o'er. My master thou and guide!

¹[In this edition the translation was accompanied by the Italian text on the opposite page; the notes were placed at the end of each canto.]

Thou he from whom alone I have deriv'd
 That style, which for its beauty into fame
 Exalts me. See the beast from whom I fled.
 O save me from her, thou illustrious sage!
 For every vein and pulse throughout my frame
 She hath made tremble.' He soon as he saw
 That I was weeping, answer'd, 'Thou must needs
 Another way pursue, if thou wouldst 'scape
 From out that savage wilderness.'

(Vol. i. pp. 9-11.)

[*Inferno* xxv. 79-93]

As underneath the scourge
 Of the fierce dog-star, that lays bare the fields,
 Shifting from brake to brake, the lizard seems
 A flash of lightning, if he thwart the road,
 So toward th' entrails of the other two¹
 Approaching, seem'd an adder all on fire,
 As the dark pepper-grain, livid and swart.
 In that part, whence our life is nourish'd first,
 One he transpierc'd; then down before him fell
 Stretched out. The pierced spirit look'd on him,
 But spake not; yea stood motionless and yawn'd,
 As if by sleep or fev'rous fit assail'd.
 He ey'd the serpent, and the serpent him.
 One from the wound, the other from the mouth
 Breath'd a thick smoke, whose vap'ry columns join'd.

(Vol. ii. p. 145.)

[*Inferno* xxxi. 40-66.]

As with circling round
 Of turrets, Montereccion crowns his walls,
 E'en thus the shore, encompassing th' abyss,
 Was turreted with giants, half their length
 Uprearing, horrible, whom Jove from heav'n
 Yet threatens, when his mutt'ring thunder rolls.
 Of one already I descried the face,
 Shoulders, and breast, and of the belly huge
 Great part, and both arms down along his ribs.
 All-teeming nature, when her plastic hand
 Left framing of these monsters, did display
 Past doubt her wisdom, taking from mad War

¹[Two thieves in the seventh bolgia of Malebolge.]

Such slaves to do his bidding ; and if she
 Repent her not of th' elephant and whale,
 Who ponders well confesses her therein
 Wiser and more discreet ; for when brute force
 And evil will are back'd with subtlety,
 Resistance none avails. His visage seem'd
 In length and bulk, as doth the pine, that tops
 Saint Peter's Roman fane ; and th' other bones
 Of like proportion, so that from above
 The bank, which girdled him below, such height
 Arose his stature, that three Friezelanders
 Had striv'n in vain to reach but to his hair.
 Full thirty ample palms was he expos'd
 Downward from whence a man his garment loops.
 (Vol. ii. pp. 249-51.)

1806. Aug. 16. LETTER TO MISS ANNA SEWARD (from Coleshill).

[Reply to his correspondent's criticisms of his translation of the *Inferno*]

You cannot wonder that after all the pains I have taken in the translation of a favourite poet, I am disappointed in having so utterly failed of pleasing one whom I always ardently wished to please. Your opinion¹ of Dante himself I do not attempt to controvert. It is so much a matter of taste, that I am sure it would be vain to say anything on the subject. Together with Chaucer and Spenser, it will ever be to you, as 'caviare to the multitude,' and as Ossian to me.

Voltaire was of your mind. The old Tuscan was the object of his bitterest ridicule, while our own Milton avowed the delight and admiration excited in his mind by that which only provoked derision in the Frenchman. That spirits confined in flames should make themselves heard, surely does not seem more absurd (as Mrs. C. has justly observed to me) than that those pent in trees should do the same in Virgil and Tasso, as well as in Dante. I know nothing in the whole circle of *diablerie* more terrible than the transformations in Canto xxiv and xxv. The two nauseous passages you have remarked, with something more of the same sort, I should have been heartily glad not to have met with : but I did not think myself justified in doing more than endeavouring to make them somewhat less offensive than they are in the original. I have always admired the art with which the poet has relieved the horrors of his tale by the little exquisite touches of landscape painting that are every here and there interspersed, as you may find

¹[For Miss Seward's letter (of Aug. 7), to which this is a reply, see above, pp. 402-4.]

them, perhaps feebly copied, in page 43, line 10, &c. (*Inferno*, canto xx. 44-47); page 45 (canto xx. 57 &c.); the whole page 117 (canto xxiv. 1-16), of which you erroneously observe that it contains a description of hoar-frost similarised to *moonlight*; page 141, line last (canto xxv. 52-54); page 145, line 1 (canto xxv. 70-73); page 157, line 8, &c. (canto xxvi. 22-27); page 233, line 7 (canto xxx. 30-33)—the passage you could not find. In the same way the attention is refreshed by the description of the Venetian dock-yards, at the beginning of canto xxi; and of the military manœuvres, canto xxii; and by many similar contrivances. The same artifice you well know is practised by Homer, Shakspeare, and Milton. The two former, like Dante in this instance, are always original: the last commonly borrows from his predecessors, but seldom fails to improve what he takes. That he does so in the description of Satan, I freely admit. He is truly sublime where Dante is little better than grotesque, but it is the grotesqueness of a masterly hand.

Of the two charges which you bring against the translation, obscurity and frequent vulgarisms, from the former it is impossible that I should clear myself without having the particular passages pointed out which appear to you liable to that objection. With respect to the latter, I must protest against the method of picking out particular words or expressions without taking the context, and the occasion on which they are used at the same time into consideration. You refer me to Milton for an example 'of never stooping dignity in the infernal regions.' Now, I beg to know what you say to the following words and phrases, singled out from the first four books of the *Paradise Lost*, where the scene for the most part is laid in those regions, and entreat that you will answer me candidly, whether they are not, in their state of nudity, full as likely to raise a laugh, as those unfortunates which you have stripped, 'and held them dangling at arm's length in scorn,'—'slipping the occasion'—'bestirring themselves'—'so much odds'—'belike'—'likeliest'—'drudge'—'trumpery'—'backside'—'likest'—'with a vengeance sent from Media post'—'unhoarding the cash'—'cringing'—'kicking the beam.' I could almost ask the spirit of Milton forgiveness for using him thus unfairly even in play. . . .¹

(*Memoir*, vol. i. pp. 227-30.)

1806. September.² LETTER TO MISS ANNA SEWARD.

[Reply to further criticisms of his translation]

. . . Now, my dear mistress, let me put in my plea at the bar

¹[For Miss Seward's reply to this letter, see above, pp. 404-8.]

²[Printed *August*, doubtless by an oversight, as the letter to which it is a reply was almost certainly written in September (see above, p. 404, note 2).]

of the Muses, in answer to the several charges you have brought against my translation. The first instance is from canto i:—

‘Yet, to discourse of what there good befell,
All else will I relate discovered there.’

If this is not to be understood at all in my version, Mr. Hayley’s version has not helped you much, for it has made you misunderstand the meaning of the passage entirely, which is this, ‘In order to tell of the good things which happened there, I will tell of all else, every other circumstance, let it be ever so bad, which I found in that place.’ Just as if I was to say, ‘In order that I may have an opportunity of telling you all the good events of my life, I will, at the same time, enter upon a narration of all those even of a contrary nature.’

Second instance, canto xix, line 21:—

‘and be this

A *seal* to undeceive.’

You prove this is not unintelligible by suggesting the right meaning. The use of the word *seal* for *attestation*, or rather *confirmation*, is so very common, that I wonder it could escape your recollection. ‘He that hath received his testimony, hath set to his *seal* that God is true,’ that is, hath attested (*John* iii. 33).

‘How in my words soever she be shent,
To give them *seals* never, my soul, consent.’

Hamlet, act iii. sc. 2.

Third instance. Omission of the pronoun *thou* after the second person singular of the verb, which so grievously offends you. Of this you are told and believe there is no instance to be found in Milton. Take the following:

‘What fury, O Son,
Possesses thee to bend that mortal dart
Against thy Father’s head? and *know’st* for whom?’

Par. Lost, b. ii. v. 730.

This is in hell, where you say Milton’s phrase never stoops, though I see not why he should be more solicitous to preserve his dignity there than in Heaven, Paradise, or even Limbo itself; and it is plainly by choice, as he might have written,

‘Against thy Father’s head? *know’st* thou for whom?’

But he thought, as every one must think, that it was much more dramatic as it stands at present. Again:

‘Which way or from what hope dost thou aspire
To greatness? whence authority *derivest*?’

Par. Reg. b. ii.

‘Then *proceed'st* to talk
Of th' emperor.’

Par. Reg. b. iv.

. . . There may be many other like passages in Milton. These have offered themselves on a very cursory view of part of his works, and are sufficient to disprove the broad assertion, that he never omits the pronoun. With the concession that there may be a few instances of the same custom in Shakspeare, I will not rest satisfied ; but will maintain that there are very many, that they almost always are instances of a very forcible and spirited tone of language, and therefore, that ‘the custom must needs be more honoured in the observance than the breach.’ Take the following ten passages that I met with after a short search.

‘Wherefore *ey'st* him so?’

Cymbeline, act v. sc. 5.

‘Have I the aspic in my lips? *Dost fall*?’

Ant. and Cleop. act v. sc. 2.

‘Well said, old mole! *canst work* i' the earth so fast?’

Hamlet, act ii. sc. 1.

‘I heard thee say but now : thou likedst not that,
When Cassio left my wife : what *didst not like*?’

Othello, act iii. sc. 3.

‘*Hast stolen* it from her?’

act iii. sc. 3.

‘I say thy husband : *dost understand* the word?’

act v. sc. 2.

‘Fellow, where *goest*?’

Lear, act iv. sc. 1.

‘*Wilt break* my heart?’

Lear, act iii. sc. 4.

‘*Art not ashamed* to look upon this beard?’

act ii. sc. 4.

‘Good even to thee, friend. *Art* of this house?’

act ii. sc. 2.

The truth is, that when the dialogue is quick, vehement, unceremonious, passionate, then the omission of the pronoun has generally a good effect.

Fourth instance. ‘Pity most alive when she is dead,’ if a blunder, is imputable to Dante, since his words are faithfully translated, just as if I were translating Milton’s

‘The fairest of her daughters, Eve’

Par. Lost, b. iv. v. 324,

I should not hesitate to preserve that peculiarity of my author, though commonly esteemed a blunder.

Fifth instance. The word *ruining* is used in the same sense by Milton:—

‘Hell heard th’ unsufferable noise, Hell saw
Heaven *ruining* from Heaven.’

Par. Lost, b. vi. v. 868 ;

and as the subject is that in which Milton’s phrase never stoops, I trust the authority will content you.

Sixth instance. Canto xxii. line 15 :

‘With the ten demons on our way we went ;
Ah fearful company ! but in the church
With saints, with gluttons at the tavern’s mess.’

The difficulty you complain of here results from the omission of ‘we keep company,’ or some such words, before ‘in the church.’ In proverbial modes of expression like this, such ellipses are very frequent.

Seventh instance. Canto xxiv, last line but one, *Bianco*, the first two syllables are melted into one in the Italian pronunciation, and always constitute a single foot, just as the last two in *Etruria* and many other similar words. Had I made three syllables of it I should have displayed a woful ignorance of my author, or neglect.

Eighth instance. *A man levelling his hands at God* ; Johnson’s Dictionary will explain to you that to *level* sometimes means to *point*. The concomitant action of the spirits explains his meaning to be a profane defiance of the Almighty. The serpents became Dante’s friends by stopping the mouth of a sinner, who was about to utter horrid blasphemies.

Ninth instance. The word *liker* appeared to me to be more poetical here than the alteration you suggest (which, indeed, being a very obvious one, suggested itself to me exactly in the same form at the time of writing the passage) and for that reason I retained it.

Tenth instance. Page 283, *tell on’t*. This abbreviation or corruption, if you please, of *on’t* for *of it*, is so very, very common in Shakspeare (who surely does deserve to be called a good poet, though often an incorrect one) that I can scarcely believe my eyes when you say that ‘you surely never saw it in our good poets.’ Take the following examples:—

‘I am *glad on’t* ; ’tis a worthy governor.’
Othello, act ii. sc. 1.

‘Be not you *known on’t* ; I have use for it.’
act iii. sc. 2.

‘By my soul, I’m *glad on’t*.’—
act iv. sc. 1.

‘You taught me language; and my *profit on’t*
Is, I know how to curse.’—

Tempest, act i. sc. 2.

‘And yet he would be king *on’t*.’—

act ii. sc. 1.

‘This tempest,
Dashing the garment of this peace, aboded
The sudden breach *on’t*.’—

Henry VIII, act i. sc. 1.

‘I’ll go and tell the duke *on’t*.’—

Beaum. & Fletcher, The Loyal Subject, act i. sc. 3.

Yet after all this I would not use it in a modern poem; but, in the translation of a poet, whose manner as well as matter I wish to represent, and whose manner is antique, it seems to me in its place. ‘Ere I describe it,’ is to my ear of so *base* and *scrannel* a sound that no temptation could have induced me to adopt such an amendment.

Eleventh instance; same page. ‘The traitor whom I gnaw at;’ I did not make the pause where you propose, because it seemed to me too like concluding the sentence, while the speaker was carried on by a violent passion to the end of it. I did not indeed think the passage (a passage of such unmixed horror) one in which *elegance* of phrase was much to be studied.

Twelfth instance. *Uncapable* instead of *incapable*, on the same account, probably, that Milton wrote *unsufferable* for *insufferable* in the passage quoted above, Shakspeare *uneffectual* for *ineffectual*, and *uncapable* for *incapable*, because I thought it of better sound, and that it was not at all the worse for not being the word of common chit-chat.

Last instance: ‘date more luscious for my fig.’ On consulting my old woman here (perhaps more quick of apprehension than Molière’s), she found the only difficulty was to know what it could be you did not understand. Yet I plead guilty of having exceeded my original, by the insertion of *more luscious*, which I conceived (vainly it seems) would add force to the sentiment (he suffered more than he inflicted), and found besides very convenient for filling up the verse. And for this offence let the Muse inflict what punishment shall seem good unto her, only I humbly pray it may not be to answer as many more objections.

When you made the comparison between the Gothic building and the modern one, I wonder it did not lead you to a different conclusion, and show you that as Dante’s edifice is Gothic, an attempt to modernise it would be to do what the architect has

done within these few years to your own cathedral,¹ that is, in your opinion and mine, what he could do to spoil it; nay, more, would be like fitting up that venerable pile with sash windows, venetian blinds, crimson curtains, and Turkish sofas.

(*Memoir*, vol. i. pp. 240-6.)

1807. Oct. 1. LETTER TO REV. WALTER BIRCH (from Kingsbury).

[Progress of his translation]

The instruction of my boys, added to the continuation of my work as a translator, has occupied my time pretty fully. I have nearly reached the end of the *Purgatorio*, which is, within one canto, as long as the *Inferno*. The critique which you hear has done me some justice, is from a partial hand, that of Price,² who is now becoming a frequent writer in the *Review*³ where it appeared.

(*Memoir*, vol. i. p. 253.)

1812. LITERARY JOURNAL.

[Work upon Dante]

May 8. Finished my translation of Dante's *Commedia*—began the 16th of January,⁴ 1797.

Nov. 6. Examined two manuscripts of Dante in the British Museum.

Nov. 9. Examined two other manuscripts of Dante in the British Museum.

(*Memoir*, vol. i. pp. 269, 272.)

1813. April 8. LETTER TO REV. THOMAS PRICE (from Kensington Gravel Pits).

[Notes to his translation of Dante]

I have come to the end of my notes to Dante, but must make additions. If you meet with any striking parallelisms to passages in the *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso*, pray communicate them.

(*Memoir*, vol. i. p. 279.)

1813. Oct. 11. LETTER TO REV. THOMAS PRICE (from Kensington).

[Printing of first edition of the translation of the *Commedia*]

My time is at present fully occupied in printing my translation,⁵ and in transcribing and amending my notes for it. The whole of

¹[Of Lichfield.]

²[Rev. Thomas Price, Cary's brother-in-law, and one of his earliest friends.]

³[The *Critical Review*.]

⁴[Printed 'June,' by an error for Jan.; see the entry in *Journal* for Jan. 16, 1797, p. 468.]

⁵[Cary printed the first edition of his complete translation, in three diminutive volumes, at his own expense; it was published in the next year.]

the first volume, and the greater part of the second is printed. I wish I could have your revival of the whole before it went to press. But the thing had been so long hanging on my mind, that I found it necessary to make an effort to get rid of it: and I have taken so much pains to compare mine with other versions, as, I think, to have escaped any gross error.

This undertaking occupies my money as well as my time; for I pay for the paper as I proceed, and am to pay for the printing when it is completed; and this, at the rapid rate we are going on, will be sooner than I expected.

(*Memoir*, vol. i. pp. 281-2.)

1813. Dec. 28. LETTER TO REV. THOMAS PRICE (from Kensington).

[Price of the first edition of his translation]

My printer¹ tells me that my book, being hot-pressed, may be bound immediately, and I have therefore desired him to have a copy put in russia, of which the expense will be twelve shillings. . . . The book is a cheap one, if the quantity alone be considered. The price is only twelve shillings for the three volumes in boards; and though they are diminutive in size, yet they contain letter-press in abundance. They will come out on the first of next month. I have employed Bagster, in the Strand, and Colburn, in Conduit Street, as my agents for the sale of them.

If you are disposed again to become my critic,² I have put the rod into your hands in the little edition of Dante I have sent you. There are a few alterations made in the version of the *Inferno*, and more in the notes, for I have taken your advice in adding to the number of parallel passages.

(*Memoir*, vol. i. p. 283.)

1814. THE VISION; OR HELL, PURGATORY, AND PARADISE, OF DANTE ALIGHIERI.³

[Preface]

In the years 1805 and 1806, I published the first part of the following translation, with the text of the original. Since that period, two impressions of the whole of the *Divina Commedia*, in Italian, have made their appearance in this country.⁴ It is not necessary that I should add a third: and I am induced to hope that

¹[J. Barfield.]

²[Price had reviewed Cary's *Inferno* in the *Critical Review*.]

³[In 3 vols. 34mo. The notes are printed at the end of each volume. There is no index.]

⁴[Both these editions were published in London; one, by R. Zotti, in 3 vols. 24mo (1808), the other, by P. da Ponte, in 3 vols. 48mo (1808).]

the Poem, even in the present version of it, may not be without interest for the mere English reader.

The translation of the second and third parts, 'The Purgatory' and 'The Paradise,' was begun long before the first, and as early as the year 1797; but, owing to many interruptions, not concluded till the summer before last. On a retrospect of the time and exertions that have been thus employed, I do not regard those hours as the least happy of my life, during which (to use the eloquent language of Mr. Coleridge) 'my individual recollections have been suspended, and lulled to sleep amid the music of nobler thoughts;' nor that study as misapplied, which has familiarized me with one of the sublimest efforts of the human invention.

To those, who shall be at the trouble of examining into the degree of accuracy with which the task has been executed, I may be allowed to suggest, that their judgment should not be formed on a comparison with any single text of my Author; since, in more instances than I have noticed, I have had to make my choice out of a variety of readings and interpretations, presented by different editions and commentators.

In one or two of those editions is to be found the title of 'The Vision,'¹ which I have adopted, as more conformable to the genius of our language than that of the 'Divine Comedy.' Dante himself, I believe, termed it simply 'The Comedy;' in the first place, because the style was of the middle kind, and in the next, because the story (if story it may be called) ends happily.

Instead of a Life² of my Author, I have subjoined, in chronological order, a view not only of the principal events which befel him, but of the chief public occurrences that happened in his time: concerning both of which the reader may obtain further information, by turning to the passages referred to in the Poem and Notes.

January, 1814.

(Vol. i. pp. v.-viii.)

1814. Feb. 20. LETTER TO REV. THOMAS PRICE (from Kensington).

[Previous translations of Dante]

I have heard of Huggins,³ the translator of Ariosto, but did not recollect that he had left a translation of Dante in manuscript. I do not think his Ariosto is much esteemed. There was a version of the Inferno, in blank verse, anonymous, but said, in the Gentleman's Magazine, to be the production of a Mr. Rogers,⁴ F.R.S.,

¹['La Visione, Poema di Dante Alighieri,' is the title of the Vicenza edition of 1613, and of the Padua edition of 1629.]

²[Cary's Life of Dante appeared for the first time in the edition of 1819.]

³[See above, pp. 306-8.]

⁴[See above, pp. 382 ff.]

published in 1782. I have picked it up, and will give you a sample or two of it.

Canto i. ver. 1—

‘When in the middle stage of life, I found
Myself entangled in a wood obscure,
Having the right path missed: but to relate
The horrid wildness of that rugged wood
Renews a dread, which that of death itself
Can scarce exceed: yet I will first recount
Those things I met with, ere I shall declare
The salutary good I after found.
How I came in it I can’t well explain,
So much had sleep my faculties of mind
Confused, when I abandon’d the true way.’

Canto iii. ver. 1—

‘Through me you to the doleful city go:
Through me you go where is eternal grief:
Through me you go among the sinners damn’d:
With strictest justice is this portal made,
By power, wisdom, and by love divine.
Nothing before me e’er created was
Unless eternal, as I also am.
Ye, who here enter, to return despair.’

Canto xxxi. ver. 55—

‘Above the bank (which served to conceal
Like breeches all the parts below the waist).’

Canto ix. ver. 68-9. Two good lines—

‘As through the water from a serpent glide
The frogs pursued, and huddled to the shore.’
(*Memoir*, vol. i. pp. 296-7.)

1814. April 24. LETTER TO REV. THOMAS PRICE (from Kensington).

[Favourable notice of his translation]

Do you know who is the writer of a letter signed Crito in the last ‘Gentleman’s Magazine,’¹ who has been so liberal of his commendation of my book.

(*Memoir*, vol. i. p. 315.)

1814. Nov. 11. LETTER TO REV. THOMAS PRICE (from Chiswick).

[Conflicting opinions of his translation]

I have seen no review of the translation of Dante, except two or three lines of very contemptuous mention made of it in the ‘Critical

¹[See vol. ii. pp. 157-8.]

Review.¹ For this gnat-sting I got a basilicon plaster the same day in a letter from Mr. Crowe,² the public orator, couched in such a strain of compliment, as my modesty will not let me repeat.

(*Memoir*, vol. i. pp. 316-7.)

1815. LITERARY JOURNAL.

[Bishop Bull and Dante]

Sept. 9. Read Bull's³ Sermon vii, on the Different Degrees of Bliss in Heaven, a good one, and much resembling a great deal that is said on the subject in Dante's *Paradiso*, except that Bull condemns Dionysius the Areopagite for temerity, whom the poet praises as one taught by St. Paul.⁴

(*Memoir*, vol. i. p. 339.)

1818. May 10. LETTER TO REV. THOMAS PRICE (from London).

[Second edition of his translation called for]

I have just read a very friendly review of my translation of Dante, in the 'Edinburgh Review,' and know not to whom I am indebted for it.⁵ The booksellers already propose another edition,⁶ and we are to talk over the terms to-morrow at Coleridge's, with whom I am to spend the day at Highgate. But they are such hard men to deal with, I scarcely expect much to come of it.

(*Memoir*, vol. ii. p. 29.)

1818. June 20. LETTER TO REV. THOMAS PRICE (from Littlehampton).

[Work on the second edition of his translation]

Now for what you say to me about the Dante. It would so incalculably increase my trouble to have the printing of the original along with the translation,⁷ that I do not at all regret my

¹[See vol. ii. p. 157.]

²[William Crowe (1745-1829), Fellow and Tutor of New College, and Public Orator in the University of Oxford (1784-1829).]

³[George Bull, Bishop of St. David's (1634-1710).]

⁴[*Par.* xxviii. 138-9.]

⁵[This review was written by Ugo Foscolo, with the assistance of Mackintosh and Rogers; for extracts from it, see vol. ii. pp. 161-2.]

⁶[Cary's son writes: 'In the month of February, 1818, Coleridge in a Lecture on Dante, being the tenth in his course, made mention of my father's translation. Of the terms in which he introduced it no record has been preserved. . . . The effect of his commendation, however, was no other than might have been expected. The work, which had been published four years, but had remained in utter obscurity, was at once eagerly sought after. About a thousand copies of the first edition, that remained on hand, were immediately disposed of; in less than three months a new edition was called for. The *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly Reviews* re-echoed the praises that had been sounded by Coleridge, and henceforth the claims of the translator of Dante to literary distinction were universally admitted.' (*Memoir*, vol. ii. pp. 27-8).]

⁷[The edition of 1814 was issued without the Italian text.]

not having to do it. I am now in the midst of Lombardi's edition, which I had before only looked at occasionally, and met with so many new readings, such variety in the pointing, and so much novelty in the interpretation, that it is staggering enough to have to compare my version with it, and to alter my notes accordingly. What would it be to have to new-model the text itself! . . . I should be ungrateful if I did not request you to tell Digby¹ from me of the proposed new edition. Will he allow me to make a public acknowledgment to him in my preface, of the liberal offer he once made me of printing the book at his own risk? The same booksellers, who have engaged to pay me 125*l.* for the next edition, have paid me 109*l.* for the remains of the old.

(*Memoir*, vol. ii. p. 32.)

1819. Jan. 1. LETTER TO REV. THOMAS PRICE (from Kentish-town).

[The *Edinburgh Review* on his translation]

You have seen that the 'Edinburgh Reviewer'² has changed his note a little, and does not sing quite so musically to me as he did at first. The criticism is supposed to come from Holland-house;³ for on application being made through Sir James Mackintosh for *Cancellieri*, the book on Dante last reviewed, it has been sent to me from Lord Holland's library.

(*Memoir*, vol. ii. pp. 38-9.)

1819. Feb. 9. LETTER TO REV. THOMAS PRICE (from Kentish-town).

[A Latin translation of Dante]

Did you ever make the intended search for a Latin translation of Dante, among the manuscripts at your cathedral? If you have that review which you wrote some years ago, and which was returned to you when the 'Critical Review' changed hands, I know that my bookseller would be well pleased to have it for insertion in some similar publication.

(*Memoir*, vol. ii. p. 40.)

1819. THE VISION; OR HELL, PURGATORY, AND PARADISE, OF DANTE ALIGHIERI. THE SECOND EDITION CORRECTED. WITH THE LIFE OF DANTE, ADDITIONAL NOTES, AND AN INDEX.⁴

[Preface]

After a reprint of the original preface of 1814, the following is added:—

¹[Rev. William Digby, an early friend.] ²[Sept. 1818 (see vol. ii. p. 164 note).]

³[The article, like the previous one, was by Foscolo, who in his second article found fault with some of Cary's renderings.]

⁴[In 3 vols. 8vo. Some copies were issued on large paper. The Life of Dante appears for the first time. The notes are printed at the foot of the page.]

The above advertisement was prefixed to an edition of the following translation, printed in so small a character as to deter a numerous class of readers from perusing it. Amongst the few into whose hands it fell, about two years ago, Mr. Coleridge became one; and I have both a pride and a pleasure in acknowledging, that it has been owing chiefly to the prompt and strenuous exertions of that gentleman in recommending the book to public notice, that the opportunity has been afforded me of sending it forth in its present form.

July, 1819.

1820. July 27. LETTER TO WILLIAM CARY¹ (from Chiswick).

[The first edition of his translation sold out]

Your tenant, Miss Booth, is very welcome to the copy of Dante. All the rest of the small edition are sold, and many more would be so, if they were printed in so cheap a form, as the Master of the Charter-house gave a large order for them, for the use of his boys to turn into Latin verse, which order cannot be supplied. This testimony of approbation, you may suppose, has been gratifying to me.

(*Memoir*, vol. ii. p. 54.)

1822. Feb. LONDON MAGAZINE.—THE EARLY FRENCH POETS: HUGUES SALEL.

[English writers in terza rima]

Like most of his brethren, Hugues celebrates the 'green eyes' of his mistress—

Marguerite aux yeulx rians et verds.

The 'laughing eyes' would be too bold an expression for a Frenchman now-a-days; and accordingly one of them,² who met with it in translating Dante,—

Ond' ella pronta e con occhi ridenti

Par. c. 3.

has translated it,—

L' ombre me répondit d' un air satisfait.

There are some more poems by Salel . . . the most remarkable of which are three Chapitres d'Amour (as they are called), in which he uses the Italian measure called the Terza Rima. It was adopted by some of our writers in Henry VIII. and Elizabeth's time, as Sir Thomas Wyatt, Sir Frs. Bryan,³ Sir Philip Sydney;

¹[His father.]

²[Artaud de Montor, who translated the *Commedia* into French prose (Paris, 1811).]

³[Bryan died in 1550. None of his poems have been preserved.]

and afterwards by Milton, in his version of the Second Psalm. Yet Mr. Hayley supposed that he was the first to introduce it into our language, in that spirited translation of the first three cantos of Dante, which he inserted in the notes to his *Essay on Epic Poetry*;¹ and Lord Byron, when he adopted it in a late poem called the *Vision*² of Dante, was not aware of Mr. Hayley's mistake.

(Vol. v. p. 158.)

1822. March. LONDON MAGAZINE.—THE EARLY FRENCH POETS: JOACHIM DU BELLAY.

[Joachim du Bellay's mention of Dante]

Bellay's ninety-sixth sonnet is certainly borrowed from an old Italian sonnet by Guido Cavalcanti; which is inserted, together with a version of it by a late translator³ of Dante, in his notes to the eleventh canto of the *Purgatory*. . . .

Not one of the old French poets that I have yet seen appears so much at home as Bellay amongst the Italians, for whom, in the fourth ode of his *Recueil*, he testifies his warm admiration.

Quel siecle eteindra ta memoire
O Boccace ? et quels durs hyvers
Pourrout jamais seicher la gloire,
Petrarque, de tes lauriers vers ?
Qui verra la vostre muette,
Dante, Bembe, à l' esprit hautain ?

Ode 4.

'What age shall extinguish the remembrance of thee, O Boccaccio? and what hard winters, O Petrarch! shall wither the glory of thy green laurels? Who, Dante and Bembo, of proud and lofty spirit, shall see your memory fade?'

(Vol. v. p. 233.)

1822. October. LONDON MAGAZINE.

[Dante and the Vision of Alberico]

The *Vision of Alberico*, a manuscript of which has been discovered in the library of the ancient convent of Monte Cassino, is preparing for publication. From this work, which was written about the beginning of the 12th Century, Dante is supposed to have taken the idea of his *Divina Commedia*. It relates the vision of a peasant of the village of Settefrati, in the district of Atina,

¹[See above, pp. 365 ff.]

²[A slip for the *Prophecy of Dante*; see vol. ii. pp. 43 ff.]

³[Cary himself.]

who continues in a trance for nine entire days, during which he supposes himself to be conducted by St. Peter through Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise.

(*Literary and Scientific Intelligence : Italy*, vol. vi. p. 381.)

1823. March. LONDON MAGAZINE.—A COMMENT ON THE DIVINE COMEDY OF DANTE.¹

[Cary on Taaffe]

Percotevansi incontro.—*Dante, Inf. c. 7, v. 28.*

Both smote together.—*Cary.*

Ho! charge, hurra, jolt, bound, rebound!

Commentator's Translation, p. 430.

From the last of these lines, which we have selected as our motto, some of our readers will perhaps conclude that this book is a jocular performance, or, as it has been termed of late years, a hoax. But it was put into our hands very seriously, with a desire that we should review it; and it is our intention to treat it with all due gravity. The writer tell us in his preface that he has lived in Italy many years, and (to use his own phrase) that 'he is likely to continue;' that 'he has attached himself entirely unto the chief of the celebrated Tuscan triumvirate,' and 'proposes an historical, philosophical, critical elucidation of his author's sentiments and intentions, because the different works, historical or literary, to which the reader may recur, have too lengthened a way before them to allow of their delaying on the same topics more than more or less cursorily.' . . . In a short account of Dante's writings, he enumerates his 'Historical Tracts, in Italian, of which very little now remains' (we believe so, having never before heard of any), and omits the *Vita Nuova*; which is of the less importance, as all other biographers have noticed it. He then gives us some information, touching Dante himself, which is equally novel and curious; that 'of the various remarkable men of his day, whether Italians, French, Germans, Spaniards, or Saracens, there was scarcely one with whom he was not personally acquainted.' The writer does not tell us how he found out this; but it is sufficient that he says so. . . . After this account of his author, he proceeds to speak of translations of the *Divina Commedia*. The one which least dissatisfies him, is the Latin version of Carlo d'Aquino. . . . In English he is acquainted with two, although he did not know anything of the existence of either till very lately. 'With regard to one of them,' he adds, 'it is quite unnecessary to notice it; for

¹ *A Comment on the Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri*, by * * *. London. Murray, 1822. 8vo. [By Count Taaffe (see vol. ii. pp. 340 ff.)]

ramblingly paraphrastic as it is, I believe, if the title-page were cut out and the book handed to me, I should not be aware it was intended for a translation of Dante.¹ The other is, indeed, a very different production; I mean that of Mr. Cary. Its fidelity is exemplary, and, although somewhat of a paraphrase, it is far from loose.² . . .

* * * *

1823. April. LONDON MAGAZINE.—A COMMENT ON THE DIVINE COMEDY OF DANTE (Continuation.)²

. . . So much³ for these precious notes, as he has handsomely called those of 'his fair antagonist,' Mr. Cary. Precious, indeed, the reader will find them, or rather the money they will cost him, which at the rate of the present volume,⁴ will be not less than eleven pounds; notes on a translation, which the writer, for some reason best known to himself, has thought fit to suppress. . . . Before the Divine Comedy is completely elucidated, the reader must expect that the Comment will have swelled to twelve octavo volumes and a half, consisting altogether of 6500 pages.

(Vol. vii. pp. 317 ff., 396 ff.)

1823. May. LONDON MAGAZINE.—ESSAYS ON PETRARCH, BY UGO FOSCOLO.⁵

[Gray and Dante—Dante and Petrarch contrasted]

There is much in this volume to gratify the lovers of Italian poetry. That the number of these has, of late years, much increased among us, may be regarded as no unfavourable symptom. It is a sign that we are so far willing to revert to the golden ages of our literature. The first among the moderns, who led us back to this source at which our elder poets had drunk in so much of their inspiration, was Gray. When in his company, a young man⁶ at Cambridge happened to make an apposite quotation from Dante, Gray suddenly turned round to him, and said, 'Right; but have you read Dante, Sir?' On the young man's modestly answering that 'he had endeavoured to understand him,' Gray addressed the chief of his discourse to him for the remainder of that evening, next

¹[Doubtless that of Boyd; see above, pp. 410 ff.]

²Since these remarks were printed, we have learned from a contemporary journal, that the author of the Comment is a Mr. Taaffe.

³[The bulk of the review consists of a reply to Taaffe's criticisms on various passages in Cary's translation.]

⁴[The first volume (all that was published) consists of 530 pages, containing the commentary on the first eight cantos of the *Inferno*; it cost 18s.]

⁵[See vol. ii. pp. 167 ff.]

⁶[Norton Nicholls; see below, pp. 560-1.]

invited him to his rooms, and soon became the director of his studies, as he continued ever after to be his friend. For one in whom this predilection was equally strong, we must go back as far as Milton, who, in one of his early prose works, speaking of those poets who had written on love, declares that 'he preferred above them all the two famous renowners of Beatrice and Laura, who never wrote but honour of them to whom they devote their verse, displaying sublime and pure thoughts, without transgression.'¹ In the preceding age, Sir Philip Sidney's blessing on such as honour poetry, is that 'so doing their souls shall be placed with Dante's Beatrice.'² . . . There is no comparison in the nicety required in transferring Petrarch's poems or those of Dante into another language. The graces of Petrarch are subtle and evanescent: the beauties of Dante defined and palpable. Through the numbers of Petrarch there floats a sweet and brilliant music. His ear seems as if it were always bending over the strings, at once to modulate and imbibe the sounds. Dante, with his head erect, makes the tones wait on the unequal current of his own feelings; and they are accordingly sometimes gentle and mellifluous, at others, impetuous, or austere and rugged. . . . The inspiration of Petrarch is less lofty and less varied, but it dwells in his own breast. In Petrarch we could imagine ourselves to recognize the minstrel, in Dante the bard. The one sports gracefully with a tuneful language, which he found already made; runs on it new divisions without end, and exhausts all the resources of its harmony. The other creates for himself a new language, which he uses rather as the exponent of his genius than of his technical skill. That Petrarch did not acknowledge the mighty powers of his predecessor as they deserved, may be attributed less to envy than to an inferiority of mind, which made him in some measure incapable of estimating them. He would himself have been comprehended by Dante, as the less is comprehended by the greater.

(Vol. vii. pp. 562 ff.)

1823. August. LONDON MAGAZINE.

[Numerous recent editions of Dante in Italy]

One of the most remarkable literary phenomena of the times, is the great number of new editions of Dante's works, and of writings of which that poet is the subject. Only in the years 1821 and 1822, there have appeared, the *Divina Commedia*, with Lombardi's Commentary; a *Rimario*,³ or Rhyming Dictionary of

¹[In the *Apology for Smectymnuus* (see above, p. 126).]

²[In his *Apologie for Poetrie* (see above, pp. 70-1).]

³[Doubtless that (attributed to Carlo Noci) contained in vol. iv. of the Padua (1822) edition of the *Divina Commedia*.]

Dante; and a Treatise on Homer and Dante;¹ all three published at Padua. Illustrations of the *Divina Commedia*, by Colelli,² at Rome; farther, an edition of this work, forming part of the *Par-nasso Italiano*, publishing at Florence, which contains Dante, Petrarch, Politian, Ariosto, and Tasso. Lastly, the *Atlante Dantesco*, by Thomas Flaxman,³ which contains 120 Copper Plates, adapted to all the editions of the *Inferno*, the *Purgatorio*, and the *Paradiso*. They begin now in Italy to give to the friends of Dante, whose numbers are constantly increasing, the name of *Dantists*,⁴ as the adherents of Petrarch were, in the 17th century, called *Petrarchists*. This might pass, but it affords matter for serious reflection, when we learn, that these admirers of Dante are decried as Sectaries and Ghibellines, or as enemies to social order, and that writings against them, containing accusations of that kind, are in circulation. If calumnies of this kind should succeed, we may expect to hear of similar accusations against the Petrarchists; for, if Dante joined the Ghibellines, Petrarch, on the other hand, was a constant adherent of the Guelphs, and an intimate friend of Cola Rienzi.

(*Sketch of Foreign Literature: Italy*, vol. viii. p. 209.)

1823. Nov. LONDON MAGAZINE.—EARLY ITALIAN POETS: GUITTONE D' AREZZO.

[Letters of Guittone to persons mentioned by Dante]

Besides Guittone's poems, there is a collection of his letters, mostly in prose, but some of them in verse. . . . The seventh letter is to Corso Donati, a turbulent statesman, famous for his eloquence, and the bitterest enemy that Dante had in Florence. . . . The eleventh is to Buonaggiunta, probably the poet of that name, and a friend of Dante's, who nevertheless has noted him for his gluttony, and accordingly placed him in the 24th canto of his *Purgatory*. The seventeenth is to Marzucco Scornigliano, whom the same poet has immortalized for his forgiveness of the murder of his son (*Purg.* c. 6). . . . The thirtieth, is an eulogium in verse, on the 'Good Marzucco', and we may well suppose it to have originated in that very act recorded of him with such noble simplicity by Dante.⁵

(Vol. viii. pp. 502-3.)

¹[*Orazione intorno ad Omero e a Dante*, by Giovanni Petretini (Padua, 1821).]

²[*Illustrazioni della D.C.*, by Scipione Colelli (Rieti, 1822-3).]

³[Not Thomas, but John Flaxman (see below, p. 517).]

⁴[The earliest instance of this word in the *New English Dictionary* is dated 1889; it was used by William Barker in 1568 (see above, p. 42).]

⁵[*Purg.* vi. 18.]

1823. Dec. LONDON MAGAZINE.—EARLY ITALIAN POETS: LAPO GIANNI.

[Dante and Lapo Gianni]

‘This author,’ says Muratori, ‘is supposed to have lived much before Dante; but his manner of composing does not show it, being devoid of antiquated words.’ This proof, even if it were founded in fact, does not seem to be quite satisfactory; because a writer will sometimes outstrip his age in this respect. A better might have been found in the silence of Dante concerning him; for it is difficult to suppose that that writer should not have seen his poems if they had been composed before his time; and that, seeing, he should not have noticed them in his Treatise *de Vulgari Eloquentiâ*.¹

(Vol. viii. p. 643.)

1824. April 29. LETTER TO REV. WILLIAM DIGBY (from Chiswick).

[A quotation from Dante]

I agree with you that Price² possesses both archidiaconal and episcopal qualifications. But he has no mind to show that he does so out of his own country; and in it there is many a one who, as of old in Florence,

‘risponde

Senza chiamare, e grida, i’ mi sobbarco,’³

on these ready-bent backs, the charges are more likely to be laid than on his.

(*Memoir*, vol. ii. p. 110.)

1825. Jan. 8. LETTER TO REV. THOMAS PRICE (from Chiswick).

[Gabriele Rossetti’s theories about the *Divina Commedia*]

I have lately had an Italian staying with me, who thinks he has made great discoveries as to the political allusions in Dante and wished for my opinion of them.

I am inclined to believe them not altogether visionary; but that like other framers of hypotheses, he pulls down too much of what has been raised by others to erect his own fabric.

His name is Gabriele Rossetti,⁴ a Neapolitan Constitutionalist,

¹[Cary is mistaken here—as a matter of fact Dante does mention Lapo in this work, viz. in bk. i. ch. 13, where he is coupled with Guido Cavalcanti, Cino da Pistoja, and Dante himself, as having recognized the excellence of the vulgar tongue. Lapo Gianni is also mentioned in one of Dante’s sonnets, that beginning ‘Guido, vorrei che tu e Lapo ed io’ (*Son.* xxxii.).]

²[His brother-in-law, Rev. Thomas Price.]

³[*Purg.* vi. 134-5.]

⁴[See vol. ii. pp. 445-7.]

who, like Dante, has been forced to quit his country on account of his politics, which, however, you may suppose are not violent, as he is befriended by the Freres, in the house of one of whom he resides.

(*Memoir*, vol. ii. p. 120.)

1825. Jan. LETTER TO GABRIELE ROSSETTI (from Chiswick).

[Rossetti's commentary on the *Divina Commedia*]

You refer me to the remainder of your Commentary for the full exposition of your theory respecting the *Divina Commedia*, and I will suspend my judgment of it accordingly. In the meantime, I have no hesitation in saying that from the interest excited in me by that part which I have already seen, I should conclude the whole to be well worthy of publication. Your peculiar opinions concerning the Allegory will meet with some opposition from the prejudices of the older readers of Dante like myself; they will in their very novelty carry with them a recommendation to others. But whatever reception they may ultimately obtain, I think there can be little doubt that an edition of the *Divina Commedia*, such as you can easily give, will be successful. The sale of it may be slow, but it will be sure. Allow me to suggest, first, that the convenience of your readers will be best consulted, if you place the interpretation either by the side of the text, in the manner of the *Delphin Classics*, or in the middle of the page, between the text and the commentary; next, that the whole of the *Divina Commedia* should be published at once; thirdly, that it should be comprised in not more than three volumes; and lastly, that your new explanation of the Allegory is most likely to gain a favourable hearing, if it is proposed in as brief, plain, and dispassionate a manner as possible.

(*Memoir*, vol. ii. pp. 121-2.)

1825. Aug. 9. LETTER TO WILLIAM CARY¹ (from Chiswick).

[Cary's Dante 'a standard work']

Henry² went yesterday to lay out part of his fee in a bookseller's shop in Piccadilly, and I must indulge a translator's vanity so far as to relate what there befel him. 'I have some old College books that I should like to exchange,' said Henry. 'They would be of no use to me,' said the man, 'but if you have any standard works I should like to take them.' 'What do you mean by standard works?' says H., when the man beginning 'Cary's Dante, Sir!' he

¹[His father.]

²[His son, writer of the *Memoir*.]

burst into one of his laughs, at which the man was so confused that H. found it necessary to explain the cause of his mirth.

(*Memoir*, vol. ii. p. 125.)

1826. LITERARY JOURNAL.

[Rossetti's commentary on the *Divina Commedia*]

Jan. 6-7. Looked into the first volume of Rossetti's edition of Dante,¹ just published, which I have read before in MS. . . . It is remarked by Rossetti at p. 365, that 'Dante ha nascosto sotto i suoi versi più sensi, come altrove più chiaramente osserveremo.' At page 396, he surprises the reader by telling him 'confessero ingenuamente che ho cercato, in tutto questo esame, di tenere, secondo il vezzo Dantesco, nell'inganno il lettore; e l'ho fatto per determinarli il pensiero ad un solo oggetto, a quello cioè del senso figurato sotto il litterale così nascosto.'

March 9. Began Heraclides Ponticus. . . . This treatise is called *'Αλληγορίαι Ομηρικαί*. . . . At p. 487, there is a remarkable coincidence in the manner of explaining the allegory at the beginning of the *Odyssey* with that used by Landino, and after him Rossetti, in explaining the allegory in Dante.

(*Memoir*, vol. ii. pp. 134-5, 142.)

1827. LETTER TO GABRIELE ROSSETTI.

[Rossetti's 'hypothesis' as to the *Divina Commedia*]

I have seen with admiration your thorough knowledge of the poets of your own country, and, above all, of Dante, with every line and expression of whose great poem I know you to be perfectly familiar. Long and studious reflection has led you to the adoption of an hypothesis, which, if it shall stand the test of strict examination, must be accounted one of the most remarkable discoveries ever made in the history of past ages. That a secret system, so deeply laid, so curiously organised, and so widely extended, of adherence to the Imperial power, and of opposition to the papal dominion, should hitherto have escaped detection, is truly surprising. All the advantages that a new theory can derive from liveliness and perspicuity of diction, you have given to yours; and those who take any interest in such speculations, if they should not be convinced by your argument, can scarcely fail of being gratified by the dexterity with which you urge them.

(*Memoir*, vol. ii. pp. 186-7.)

¹[The work was announced by the publisher (Murray) to consist of six volumes, but only two (containing the *Inferno*) were published.]

1831. THE VISION; OR HELL, PURGATORY, AND PARADISE, OF DANTE ALIGHIERI. TRANSLATED BY THE REV. HENRY FRANCIS CARY, A.M. THE THIRD EDITION. WITH THE LIFE OF DANTE, NOTES, AND AN INDEX. 3 VOLS.

[This third edition is a reprint in 3 vols. 12mo, of the second edition (1819).]

1833. JOURNAL OF A TOUR ON THE CONTINENT.

[MSS. of the *Divina Commedia* in Rome, Bologna, and Parma]

April 17. Rome. To the Vatican library with Darley¹ and Mr. Severn,² and saw there the MS. Dante illuminated (in the *Paradiso*) by Clovio Giulio.

May 13. Bologna. To the University, where we saw the library. The assistant librarian showed me two MSS. of Dante's *Divina Commedia*.

May 15. To the ducal palace in Parma, where we saw the library. . . . The librarian shewed me three MSS. of the *Divina Commedia*. There I met an elderly clergyman, very deaf, named Taverna, of prepossessing manners, and very studious of Dante. He has published two letters on Dante in the *Biblioteca Italiana*, vol. liv. p. 105; and vol. lvi. p. 343.

May 16. Left Parma (after dining), at three p.m. Before dinner there had come a young man, named Pier Luigi Campanini, who had seen or heard of my translation of Dante.

May 18. Mantua. We went to the public library. . . . There are more than forty thousand volumes: few early books: no copy of the early edition of Dante printed here,³ nor of the Mantuanus. (*Memoir*, vol. ii. pp. 229, 236-9.)

1834. JOURNAL OF A TOUR IN FRANCE.

[MSS. of the *Divina Commedia* in Paris]

Aug. 26. Paris. Went to the Bibliothèque du Roi. . . . Three Italians, Giuseppe Campi, another, and Piero Giacinto Terrachini, were employed in collating MSS. of the *Divina Commedia* for various readings.

(*Memoir*, vol. ii. p. 276.)

1837. CRITICISMS OF ENGLISH POETS.—LORD BYRON.

[Byron and Dante]

In his poems, as in his character, there is a mixture of grandeur and vulgarity. He is generally turbid and obscure, with flashes of

¹[George Darley, the poet (1795-1846); he contributed some notes to the fourth edition (1844) of Cary's Dante.]

²[Joseph Severn (1793-1879), the artist and friend of Keats.]

³[Published in 1472, one of the three earliest editions of the *Divina Commedia*.]

vivid imagery and violent outbreaks of passion. There is a total absence of that calmness and composure, which is requisite for the production of the beautiful. How insensible he was to the charm of a deep and tranquil feeling may be seen in his imitation of an exquisite passage in Dante, which many have attempted to imitate, but which no one except him could have so marred and distorted.

Era già l' ora che volge 'l disio
A' naviganti e 'ntenerisce il cuore
Lo di ch' han detto a' dolci amici addio,
E che lo nuovo peregrin d' amore
Punge, se ode squilla di lontano
Che paja 'l giorno pianger che si muore.

Purg. viii. 1-6.

Soft hour! which wakes the wish and melts the heart
Of those who sail the seas, on the first day
When they from their sweet friends are torn apart;
Or fills with love the pilgrim on his way
As the far bell of vesper makes him start
Seeming to weep the dying day's decay.

Don Juan, Canto iii. St. 108.

Now ev'ning brought the solemn hour along,
When o'er the gliding prow, in anguish hung,
The sailor calls to mind his last farewell:
And the lone pilgrim, touch'd with tender woe
Hears, o'er the long vale, chiming soft and slow,
The mournful tones of twilight's passing bell.

Boyd's Translation.

. . . The Preface to his 'Prophecy of Dante' shows his slight acquaintance with English literature of the best times. He informs his readers that he was not aware to have seen the *terza rima* tried in our language except by Mr. Hayley, whereas it was not uncommon in the Elizabethan age, and has been employed even by Milton, in his translation of one of the Psalms.¹

(*Memoir*, vol. ii. pp. 303-4, 305.)

1840. March 6. LETTER TO CHARLES LYELL² (from Park Street, Westminster).

[Lyell and Dante]

It gives me pleasure to learn that you continue to amuse yourself with the old Florentine and his contemporaries. I do not remember

¹[See above, p. 486.]

²[The translator of the lyrical poems of Dante (see vol. ii. pp. 593-6).]

ever to have seen or heard of any attempt at a translation of Cavalcanti's *Donna mi prega* in any of the languages you mention. It is very obscure, and I must confess myself not to be among *le persone c' hanno intendimento*, for whom the writer says he designed it. . . .

You have done me a great service in pointing out to me the two strange omissions¹ I had made in my translation of the Divine Comedy. I cannot account for them otherwise than by supposing the passages were dropped when I was transcribing my manuscript for the press.

(*Memoir*, vol. ii. p. 316.)

1841. Nov. 6. LETTER TO REV. WILLIAM DIGBY (from Westminster).

[Reply to a criticism of his translation of Dante]

I am glad to see your handwriting once more, though it is used to pick another hole in the old translation. The truth is, the line you criticize deserved no better, for it is a botch occasioned partly by my inability to express the simplicity of the original without becoming flat, and partly to my using a word in its old and now unaccustomed sense.² I intended the meaning, which you suppose the passage to bear, to be conveyed by my translation, and that 'respect' would imply not 'reverence' or 'honour,' but merely 'consideration,' as Shakspeare often uses it, for instance—

There's the respect,

That makes calamity of so long life.³

I felt at the time it would be obscure; but after much difficulty it was the best I could make of it. The printer, I perceive, has improved on my obscurity by beginning the word with a capital letter.⁴ Nothing has yet been done towards printing another edition with the original opposite. I have sometimes wished to be employed in that task. It is many years since the publisher proposed it to me. I doubt whether he would think it worth his while to engage in it now.

(*Memoir*, vol. ii. pp. 321-2.)

1842. Feb. 11. LETTER TO REV. WILLIAM DIGBY (from Westminster.)

[Proposed fourth edition of Cary's Dante]

What you said of an incorporated society for translators amused me much. Soon after I inquired of my publishers what had become

¹[One of these was *Purg.* xi. 131—the line was restored in the next edition (1844).]

²[*Par.* xvi. 1. 'O slight respect of man's nobility!']

³[*Hamlet*, iii. 1.]

⁴[In both the second (1819) and third (1831) editions.]

of the Dante. They told me that the last edition was exhausted, and at first proposed reprinting it with Flaxman's designs. But after some consideration they represented to me that they had been so long in selling the last two editions,¹ that it would not be worth their while to offer me any fixed sum for another. I well know what this means, and that if I agreed to their terms I must give up any further expectation of profit from the work. I have, therefore, thought of stereotyping it in a cheap form on my own account, with the addition of some notes. This would tend to secure the copyright to my family, who would otherwise lose it in a few years more in the event of my death. My sons Henry and Francis urge me to this, and offer to do it at their own risk if I will not. So here I am, collecting as well as I can whatever has been said on the subject of Dante and his writings for the last twenty or thirty years. You would wonder at seeing how much it is. The labour consists chiefly in selecting what appears really worth notice.

(*Memoir*, vol. ii. pp. 323-4.)

1842. June 6. LETTER TO REV. WILLIAM DIGBY (from Westminster).

[Notes for the new edition of his Dante]

I have been looking over the 'Paradise' this morning for the note on 'form,'² to no purpose. Do you happen to know where it is? I read Plato through last year, but did not make any note of his using *μορφή* as Dante uses it, though I marked other passages for insertion, in my additional notes. The 'O poca nostra'³ I cannot manage.

(*Memoir*, vol. ii. p. 325.)

1842. July 22. LETTER TO REV. WILLIAM DIGBY (from Iffley).

[An American edition of Cary's Dante]

The first proof sheet of Dante is not yet come, though I sent one volume to the printer about six weeks ago. He is founding a new set of types for it. I fear they will be so small as to require your thorn-extractor.⁴ But it is very desirable, on many accounts, that the book should be made as low-priced as possible. The former edition was reprinted in America. In that now forthcoming they will not be able to undersell me. I look on this as the best means

¹ [Those of 1819 and 1831, published by Taylor and Hessey, and John Taylor respectively.]

² [*Par.* xxix. 22.]

³ [*Par.* xvi. 1.]

⁴ Alluding to the Bishop of Winchester's notion that blindness was 'the thorn in the flesh' of St. Paul, a spectacle the thorn extractor.

of preventing what is commonly called piracy, but, as matters stand, is surely no more than a fair competition between the two countries. I have, too, a fellow-feeling with those among my own countrymen who cannot allow themselves dear books.

(*Memoir*, vol. ii. p. 327.)

1843. Jan. 16. LETTER TO REV. WILLIAM DIGBY (from Charlotte Street, Bloomsbury).

[Progress of the fourth edition of his Dante]

My son William tells me you have been kindly inquiring what progress I make with Dante. Very little indeed. I sent the first volume to the printer's more than half a year ago, under a promise that he would begin on it in six weeks, and it is only a few days since I got the first sheet from him. It does not, however, I fear, much concern you when it is finished, as the print is too small for you to see what alterations or additions I have made.

(*Memoir*, vol. ii. p. 330.)

1843. Aug. 29. LETTER TO CHARLES LYELL (from Sandgate).

[Lyell's translation of the *Canzoniere* of Dante]

You may have thought me ungrateful in not acknowledging sooner the honour, which I understand you have done me in your new edition of the lyrical poems of Dante.¹ The truth is, that I have but just heard of it; and that the book itself has not yet reached me. . . . I hope to receive it in a few days, when I promise myself much pleasure in renewing my acquaintance with the original and your faithful translation.

(*Memoir*, vol. ii. pp. 333-4.)

1843. Sept. 5. LETTER TO CHARLES LYELL (from Sandgate).

[Lyell's translation of the *Canzoniere* of Dante]

Be assured that the public mark of approbation you have been pleased to honour me with is highly gratifying to me. I have now received your book, and have read all you have prefixed to your version of the lyrical poems, and scarcely need say that I concur in the view you have taken of Dante's religious principles. It may be more particularly useful at this time, when a leaning to some of the errors of the Church of Rome is but too apparent. . . . When a mind like Dante's, so vigorous and so impatient of any authority

¹[Lyell's third edition (1842) was dedicated 'To the Rev. Henry Francis Cary, A.M., the unrivalled translator of the *Vision of Dante*.']

except that of truth, continued in some points enthralled, can we wonder that others should fall under the same delusions?

(*Memoir*, vol. ii. pp. 334-5.)

1843. Oct. 9. LETTER TO REV. WILLIAM DIGBY (from Sandgate).

[Progress of the fourth edition of his Dante]

Dante, as you suppose, is high up in the Paradiso. Another sheet will complete my labour in revising the text. But there is the index to come, which will give me some more trouble. If I live to see the end on't, you shall hear from me again.

(*Memoir*, vol. ii. p. 338.)

1844. Feb. 7. LETTER TO REV. WILLIAM DIGBY (from Bloomsbury).

[American demand for his Dante]

I am just about to go to my printer with the last sheet of Dante corrected. When he will let me have the whole is still doubtful. An American house has proposed to my bookseller taking 250 copies of the dearer edition;¹ so Jonathan and I are still friends.

(*Memoir*, vol. ii. p. 341.)

1844. Feb. 26. LETTER TO W. PARSONS,² BOSTON, U.S.A.

[Parsons' translation of Inferno i-x]

Many thanks from an old brother translator for your kind consideration in sending him your version of the first ten cantos of the Inferno.³ I received it only a day or two since, and have read it twice with much pleasure. It appears to me to possess, in a remarkable degree, the fluency, vivacity, and harmony of original composition. This, unavoidably, is effected at the expense of some departure from Dante's grave and sedate character, though his general meaning is faithfully given. The form of rhymes you have adopted is probably the best our language can afford for the purpose;⁴ the *terza rima* would often be found totally unmanageable.

If you persevere in your intention of going on with the remainder of the Divina Commedia,⁵ there is great hope of your producing a work that will please a numerous class of readers; and you will render a good service to the cause of our common literature.

(*Memoir*, vol. ii. pp. 341-2.)

¹[The 12mo issue in one vol., of the fourth edition was priced 10s. 6d.; the double-column 8vo issue of the same cost 6s. The third edition (1831), in 3 vols. 12mo, cost 18s.; the second (1819), in three vols. 8vo, cost 36s.; the first (1814), in 3 vols. 24mo, cost 12s.; the Inferno (1806-7), in 2 vols. 12mo, cost 16s.; so that the present was the cheapest edition yet issued.]

²[Thomas William Parsons.]

³[Published at Boston in 1843.]

⁴[Parsons, who had tried the *terza rima* and abandoned it, adopted 'the stately and solemn quatrain, the stanza of Gray and Dryden.']

⁵[Parsons continued at intervals, but never completed, his translation.]

1844. THE VISION ; OR HELL, PURGATORY, AND PARADISE, OF DANTE ALIGHIERI. A NEW EDITION, CORRECTED. WITH THE LIFE OF DANTE, CHRONOLOGICAL VIEW OF HIS AGE, ADDITIONAL NOTES AND INDEX.

[Preface]

After a reprint of the prefaces of 1814 and 1819, the following is added :

When a third edition was called for in 1831, my duties as Assistant Librarian in the British Museum were such as to prevent me from engaging in any task that would have required an increase of sedentary labour. I was thus hindered not only from attending to the accuracy of the press (which indeed the care of my Publisher rendered almost unnecessary) but from collecting and putting in order the several corrections and additions, which I had occasionally noted with the purpose of introducing them into that edition.

A long interval of leisure may since have enabled me to do more effectually what I was before compelled to leave undone. In the hope of rendering the Life of Dante and the Notes on the Poem less imperfect, I have consulted most of the writers by whom my Author has been recently illustrated. Wherever an omission or an error in the translation has been pointed out to me, I have done my best to supply the one and to correct the other ; and my obligations in all these instances are acknowledged in the Notes. Among those who have not thought a few hours thrown away in noticing such oversights, it is gratifying to me to mention the names of Mr. Carlyle, one of the most original thinkers of our time ; my long experienced friend, Mr. Darley, one of our most genuine poets ; and Mr. Lyell, my respected fellow-labourer in the mine of Dante. At an advanced age,¹ I do not imagine myself capable of otherwise improving an attempt which, however defective, has at least the advantage of having had my earlier days bestowed upon it.

February, 1844.

1844. March 6. LETTER TO REV. WILLIAM DIGBY (from Bloomsbury).

[Publication of a cheap edition of his Dante]

You have given me the first *certain* intelligence of the two column edition² of Dante being published. I had seen it adver-

¹[Cary was in his seventy-second year.]

²[The 6s. edition in 8vo ; this, as appears from the next letter, was sold out in a fortnight. It was reprinted in the next year, after Cary's death.]

tised last Saturday, but knowing the odd ways of booksellers, did not feel sure it was out. I don't know when the other¹ will follow, the printer having still several sheets of it on hand. I do not recollect having made any alteration (except of one word) in the translation, besides those mentioned in the notes. But other insignificant ones may have been made, and I have forgotten them.

(*Memoir*, vol. ii. p. 342.)

1844. April 10. LETTER TO REV. WILLIAM DIGBY (from Bloomsbury).

[Rapid sale of the cheap edition of his Dante]

No news in these regions of the two or one column edition. The former was disposed of in the first fortnight. The other is, I believe, not yet out of the printer's hands; though I have done all I could to urge him.

(*Memoir*, vol. ii. p. 343.)

1844. May 1. LETTER TO CHARLES LYELL (from Bloomsbury).

[Translations by Lyell of the *Vita Nuova* and *Convito*]

In reading your Essay on the Anti-papal Spirit of Dante,² I did not observe that you had said anything that it was unnecessary to say, or that you had omitted anything which could reasonably have been expected. You would, therefore, be imposing on yourself a needless task, if you were to sit down with the intention of revising and reproducing that work. Such, at least, is my opinion. Should you, however, have leisure and inclination to prepare for the press the version you formerly mentioned having made of the *Vita Nuova* and the *Convito*,³ the service thus rendered to our literature, and particularly as regards the admirers of Dante, might be considerable. The style of such a work ought, according to my notions, to be formed as nearly as possible on the best prose writers of the Elizabethan age, such as Sidney and Hooker. Pardon the liberty I take in offering this suggestion, which is prompted by the wish to make our favourite author better known.

I am flattered by what you say of having all the editions of my translation. The last will, I fear, disappoint you, as far, at least, as the type is concerned, if it does not in other respects. But I

¹ [The 10s. 6d. edition in 12mo.]

² [Prefixed to the 1842 edition of his translation of Dante's lyrical poems.]

³ [This version has never been published, and has apparently not been preserved.]

found that the only chance of making the book circulate widely, was to make it cheap.

(*Memoir*, vol. ii. p. 344.)

1844. May 15. LETTER TO CHARLES LYELL (from Bloomsbury).

[Criticism of Fraticelli's 'canon' with regard to the *Canzoniere* of Dante]

I have to thank you for your kind present of Rossetti's *Mistero dell' Amor Platonico*.¹ From what I have had time to read of it, he appears to me, as usual, argumentative and eloquent, but apt to be carried away, into extravagances by an over lively imagination. . . .

I can thoroughly enter into the force of your objections to the task I ventured to suggest to you of translating the *Vita Nuova* and *Convito* into the English of the Elizabethan age. You speak of distinguishing Dante's Lyrics according to the division made of them by Fraticelli. Now let me freely own to you, that after having read all he has written on the subject, I am not inclined to place any reliance on the judgment of that critic. One of his remarks in particular betrays such a total want of feeling for a chief excellence of his author, that, as far as taste is concerned, his opinion as to the authenticity of any one poem weighs very little with me. It is this:—'Un accurato moderno editore dovrà scegliere fra le varie posposizioni di parole, che si rinvencono nelle varianti, quelle che rendono più armonico il ritmo; ed invece di stampare,

“Con tre gole caninamente latra,”²

lezione per la quale il verso viene ad essere privo di suono (perciocchè la parola *gole* non può leggersi coll'accento, *golè*), dovrà preferir l'altra,

“Caninamente con tre gole latra.”

Opere Minori di Dante, Pte I. p. cclii.

Ugo Foscolo justly observes on his reading, 'La misura è più regolare ma il suono non rende l'immagine.'

An ignorant and tasteless editor might indeed prefer the reading that made the verse most regular, though least adapted to the purpose of the poet. How many are the instances in which Dante departs from regularity or, more properly speaking, uniformity of metre, in order to produce an effect; and if to all these we were to apply Fraticelli's *canon*, what havoc might it make! I am well pleased that my last little edition has found so much favour in your sight.³

(*Memoir*, vol. ii. pp. 345-6.)

¹[Published in London, in 1840, in five vols., three of which (vols. 2, 4, 5) are devoted to an examination of the theological and allegorical spirit of Dante's works.]

²[*Inf.* vi. 14.]

³[Cary died three months after the date of this letter.]

JAMES EDWARD SMITH

(1759-1828)

[James Edward Smith, botanist, was born at Norwich in 1759. He was educated at home and at Edinburgh University (1781-3), where he studied botany, and won the Hope gold medal. In 1783 he came to London, and in the next year he purchased the Linnaean library, MSS., and natural history collections, which ultimately passed to the Linnaean Society, founded by him in 1788, and of which he was the first President. He was elected F.R.S. in 1785, and in 1786 started on a year's continental tour, Italy being among the countries he visited. A description of his tour was published in three volumes in 1793. In 1790 he began the publication of his most celebrated work, the *English Botany*, commonly known as Sowerby's, from the name of the illustrator. Smith, who was knighted in 1814, died at Norwich in 1828.]

1793. SKETCH OF A TOUR ON THE CONTINENT IN THE YEARS 1786 AND 1787.

[Dante's account of Count Ugolino—Sir Joshua Reynolds' picture]

PISA.—'Il forestiero erudito, o sieno compendiose notizie spettanti alla città di Pisa' (Pisa 1773), begins with an entertaining compendious sketch of the history of this ancient republic. Dante is here accused of blackening the character of the Pisans with respect to Count Hugolino's history. Some of the children of this unfortunate traitor to his country were not in their infancy, but actively partook of their father's guilt, and therefore perished with him. Our great Sir Joshua Reynolds has perpetuated their catastrophe, as related by Dante, in one of his finest pictures.¹ It is a mistaken idea, however, that the family was all destroyed.

(Enumeration of guide-books and local publications, vol. iii. pp. 246-7.)

1812. Sept. LETTER TO WILLIAM ROSCOE (from Norwich).

[MSS. of Dante at Holkham]

We have been spending ten days at Holkham, and I write now at the earnest desire of Mr. Coke² to try to persuade you to come to see him.³ . . . To contemplate his pictures and statues, to rummage amongst his books, drawings, and manuscripts and prints (where we every day find treasures unknown before) is extremely agreeable. . . . I found a case of the *earliest* printed books which no one had examined since the time of his great uncle, Lord

¹[Exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1733—see above, p. 343.]

²[Thomas William Coke (1752-1842), 'Coke of Norfolk,' created Earl of Leicester, 1837.]

³[Roscoe resided at Hoikham for a time c. 1820, and made a catalogue of the books and MSS., which was intended for publication, but was never printed.]

Leicester.¹ Such MSS. of Dante,² drawings of the old masters, treasures of European history—you have no idea!

(*Memoirs and Correspondence of James Edward Smith*, 1832, vol. ii. pp. 345-6.)

ISAAC D'ISRAELI

(1766-1848)

[Isaac D'Israeli, whose father came from Italy to settle in England in 1748, was born at Enfield in 1766. He was educated at a school near his home, and afterwards under a tutor at Amsterdam. On his return to England he studied regularly at the British Museum, and in 1791 published the first volume of his *Curiosities of Literature*, of which the second volume was issued in 1793, the third in 1817, the fourth and fifth in 1823, and the sixth in 1834. The success of this work led to the compilation of several others of a similar kind, among them *The Calamities of Authors* (1812-13), *The Quarrels of Authors* (1814), and *Amenities of Literature* (1840). Between 1828 and 1830 D'Israeli published his *Commentaries on the Life and Reign of Charles I.*, in five volumes, in recognition of which he was created D.C.L. at Oxford in 1832. He died at Bradenham, in Buckinghamshire, in 1848. His eldest son was Benjamin D'Israeli, afterwards Lord Beaconsfield. References to Dante are frequent in the *Curiosities of Literature*, showing that D'Israeli had studied the *Commedia* and the literature of the subject with some care.]

1793. CURIOSITIES OF LITERATURE. VOLUME II.

[Dante's *Inferno* accepted as a literal narrative]

WHEN Dante published his *Inferno*, the simplicity of the age accepted it as a true narrative of his descent into hell. When the *Utopia* of Sir Thomas More was first published, it occasioned a pleasant mistake. This political romance represents a perfect, but visionary republic, in an island supposed to have been newly discovered in America. 'As this was the age of discovery,' says Granger, 'the learned Budaeus, and others, took it for a genuine history; and considered it as highly expedient, that missionaries should be sent thither, in order to convert so wise a nation to Christianity.' It was a long while after publication that many readers were convinced that *Gulliver's Travels* were fictitious.

(*Literary Blunders*, ed. 1866, vol. i. p. 320.)

1817. CURIOSITIES OF LITERATURE. VOLUME III.

[Anecdote of Dante]

Poggius relates of Dante, that he indulged his meditations more strongly than any man he knew! whenever he read, he was only

¹[Thomas Coke (c. 1695-1759), created Earl of Leicester, 1744. He was the founder of the Coke collection at Holkham.]

²[These MSS. (seven in number) were acquired c. 1716-8 (see above, pp. 195-6).]

alive to what was passing in his mind; to all human concerns, he was as if they had not been! Dante went one day to a great public procession; he entered the shop of a bookseller to be a spectator of the passing show. He found a book which greatly interested him; he devoured it in silence, and plunged into an abyss of thought. On his return he declared that he had neither seen, nor heard, the slightest occurrence of the public exhibition which had passed before him.

(*Anecdotes of Abstraction of Mind*, ed. 1866, vol. ii. pp. 59-60.)

[Gray's indebtedness to Dante and Milton]

Gray appears to me to be indebted to Milton for a hint for the opening of his *Elegy*: as in the first line he had Dante¹ and Milton in his mind, he perhaps might also in the following passage have recollected a congenial one in Comus, which he altered. Milton, describing the evening, marks it out by

What time the *laboured ox*

In his loose traces from the furrow came,
And the *swinkt hedger* at his supper sat.

Gray has

The *lowing herd* wind slowly o'er the lea
The *ploughman* homewards plods his weary way.

(*Poetical Imitations and Similarities*, ed. 1866, vol. ii. pp. 108-9.)

1823. CURIOSITIES OF LITERATURE. VOLUME IV.

[Dante blamed for writing in Italian]

Latin was the literary language of Europe. The vernacular idiom in Italy was held in such contempt that their youths were not suffered to read Italian books, their native productions. Varchi tells a curious anecdote of his father sending him to prison, where he was kept on bread and water, as a penance for his inveterate passion for reading Italian books! Dante was reproached by the Italians for composing in his mother-tongue, still expressed by the degrading designation of *il volgare*; and to translate was contemptuously called *volgarizzare*; which the 'resolute' John Florio² renders 'to make common;' Petrarch rested his fame on his Latin poetry, and called his Italian *nugellas vulgares*!

(*Modern Literature*, ed. 1866, vol. ii. p. 383.)

[The origin of Dante's *Inferno*]

Nearly six centuries have elapsed since the appearance of the great work of Dante, and the literary historians of Italy are even

¹[*Purg.* viii. 6.]

²[See above, pp. 84 ff.]

now disputing respecting the origin of this poem, singular in its nature and in its excellence. In ascertaining a point so long inquired after, and so keenly disputed, it will rather increase our admiration than detract from the genius of this great poet; and it will illustrate the useful principle, that every great genius is influenced by the objects and the feelings which occupy his own times, only differing from the race of his brothers by the magical force of his developments: the light he sends forth over the world he often catches from the faint and unobserved spark which would die away and turn to nothing in another hand.

The *Divina Commedia* of Dante is a visionary journey through the three realms of the after-life existence; and though, in the classical ardour of our poetical pilgrim, he allows his conductor to be a Pagan, the scenes are those of monkish imagination. The invention of a *Vision* was the usual vehicle for religious instruction in his age; it was adapted to the genius of the sleeping Homer of a monastery, and to the comprehension, and even to the faith of the populace, whose minds were then awake to these awful themes.

The mode of writing visions has been imperfectly detected by several modern inquirers. It got into the *Fabliaux* of the *Jongleurs* or Provençal bards, before the days of Dante; they had these visions or pilgrimages to Hell; the adventures were no doubt solemn to them—but it seemed absurd to attribute the origin of a sublime poem to such inferior, and to us even ludicrous inventions. Every one, therefore, found out some other origin of Dante's *Inferno*—since they were resolved to have one—in other works more congenial to its nature; the description of a second life, the melancholy or the glorified scenes of punishment or bliss, with the animated shades of men who were no more, had been opened to the Italian bard by his favourite Virgil, and might have been suggested, according to Warton, by the *Somnium Scipionis* of Cicero.¹

But the entire work of Dante is Gothic; it is a picture of his times, of his own ideas, of the people about him; nothing of classical antiquity resembles it; and although the name of Virgil is introduced into a Christian Hades, it is assuredly not the Roman, for Dante's Virgil speaks and acts as the Latin could never have done. It is one of the absurdities of Dante, who, like our Shakspeare, or like Gothic architecture itself, has many things which 'lead to nothing'² amidst their massive greatness.

Had the Italian and the French commentators who have troubled themselves on this occasion known the art which we have happily

¹[See above, pp. 281, 283.]

²[From Gray's *Long Story* :—

'Rich windows that exclude the light,
And passages, that lead to nothing' (st. 2).]

practised in this country, of illustrating a great national bard by endeavouring to recover the contemporary writings and circumstances which were connected with his studies and his times, they had long ere this discovered the real framework of the *Inferno*.

Within the last twenty years it had been rumoured that Dante had borrowed or stolen his *Inferno* from 'The Vision of Alberico,' which was written two centuries before his time. The literary antiquary, Bottari, had discovered a manuscript of this Vision of Alberico, and, in haste, made extracts of a startling nature. They were well adapted to inflame the curiosity of those who are eager after anything new about something old; it throws an air of erudition over the small talker, who otherwise would care little about the original! This was not the first time that the whole edifice of genius had been threatened by the motion of a remote earthquake; but in these cases it usually happens that those early discoverers who can judge of a little part, are in total blindness when they would decide on a whole. A poisonous mildew seemed to have settled on the laurels of Dante; nor were we relieved from our constant inquiries, till il Sigr. Abbate Cancellieri at Rome published, in 1814, this much talked-of manuscript, and has now enabled us to see and to decide, and even to add the present little article as an useful supplement.

True it is that Dante must have read with equal attention and delight this authentic *vision* of Alberico; for it is given, so we are assured by the whole monastery, as it happened to their ancient brother when a boy; many a striking, and many a positive resemblance in the *Divina Commedia* has been pointed out; and Mr. Cary, in his English version of Dante, so English, that he makes Dante speak in blank verse very much like Dante in stanzas, has observed, that 'the reader will, in these marked resemblances, see enough to convince him that Dante *had read this singular work.*'¹ The truth is, that the Vision of Alberico must not be considered as a *singular* work—but, on the contrary, as the prevalent mode of composition in the monastic ages. It has been ascertained that Alberico was written in the twelfth century, judging of the age of a manuscript by the writing. I shall now preserve a vision which a French antiquary had long ago given. . . . He has not told us the age in which it was written. This vision, however, exhibits such complete scenes of the *Inferno* of the great poet, that the writer must have read Dante, or Dante must have read this writer. The manuscript, with another of the same kind, is in the King's library at Paris, and some future researcher may ascertain the age of these Gothic compositions; doubtless they would be found to

¹[Cary's remarks on the Vision of Alberico were first printed in his second edition (1819) in a note to his *Life of Dante*.]

belong to the age of Alberico, for they are alike stamped by the same dark and awful imagination, the same depth of feeling, the solitary genius of the monastery! . . .¹

In these extraordinary productions of a Gothic age we may assuredly discover Dante; but what are they more than the framework of his unimitated picture! It is only this mechanical part of his sublime conceptions that we can pretend to have discovered; other poets might have adopted these 'Visions;' but we should have had no *Divina Commedia*. Mr. Cary has finely observed of these pretended origins of Dante's genius, although Mr. Cary knew only the Vision of Alberico, 'It is the scale of magnificence on which this conception is framed, and the wonderful development of it in all its parts, that may justly entitle our poet to rank among the few minds to whom the power of a great creative faculty can be ascribed.' Milton might originally have sought the seminal hint of his great work from a sort of Italian mystery. In the words of Dante himself,

Poca favilla gran fiamma seconda
Il. Paradiso, can. i. [l. 34].
 —From a small spark
 Great flame hath risen.

Cary.

After all, Dante has said in a letter,² 'I found the *original* of *my hell* in the world which we inhabit;' and he said a greater truth than some literary antiquaries can always comprehend!

(*The Origin of Dante's Inferno*, ed. 1866, vol. ii. pp. 421 ff.)

[Anecdote of Cecco d' Ascoli and Dante's cat]

A story is recorded of Cecco d' Ascoli and of Dante, on the subject of natural and acquired genius. . . . Cecco maintained that nature was more potent than art, while Dante asserted the contrary. To prove his principle, the great Italian bard referred to his cat, which, by repeated practice, he had taught to hold a candle in its paw while he supped or read. Cecco desired to witness the experiment, and came not unprepared for his purpose; when Dante's cat was performing its part, Cecco, lifting up the lid of a pot which he had filled with mice, the creature of art instantly showed the weakness of a talent merely acquired, and dropping the candle, flew on the mice with all its instinctive propensity. Dante was himself disconcerted; and it was adjudged that the advocate for the occult principle of native faculties had gained his cause.

(*Anecdotes of the Fairfax Family*, ed. 1866, vol. ii. p. 464.)

¹[D'Israeli here prints an epitome of the so-called Vision of Charles the Bald which is given in the Chronicles of Saint Denis.]

²[Not in any of the letters now accepted as authentic.]

[The Academy of the Colombaria and their motto from Dante]

Recently, at Florence, the *accademia* called the *Colombaria*, or the 'Pigeon-house,' proves with what levity the Italians name a literary society. The founder was the Cavallero Pazzi, a gentleman, who abhorring noise, chose for his study a garret in his palazzo. . . . There he assembled the most ingenious Florentines to discuss obscure points, and to reveal their own contributions in this secret retreat of silence and philosophy. To get to this cabinet it was necessary to climb a very steep and very narrow staircase, which occasioned some facetious wit to observe, that these literati were so many pigeons who flew every evening to their dovecot. The Cavallero Pazzi, to indulge this humour, invited them to a dinner entirely composed of their little brothers, in all the varieties of cookery; the members, after a hearty laugh, assumed the title of the *Colombaria*, and invented a device consisting of the top of a turret, with several pigeons flying about it, bearing an epigraph from Dante, *Quanto veder si può*,¹ by which they expressed their design not to apply themselves to any single object.

(*Ridiculous Titles assumed by Italian Academies*, ed. 1866, vol. ii. pp. 483-4.)

1823. CURIOSITIES OF LITERATURE. VOLUME V.

[Proverbs used by Dante]

I give an example of the philosophy of proverbs of peculiar interest; for it is perpetuated by Dante, and is connected with the character of Milton. When the families of the Amidei and the Uberti felt their honour wounded in the affront the younger Buondelmonte had put upon them, in breaking off his match with a young lady of their family, by marrying another, a council was held, and the death of the young cavalier was proposed as the sole atonement for their injured honour. But the consequences which they anticipated, and which afterwards proved so fatal to the Florentines, long suspended their decision. At length Moscha Lamberti suddenly rising, exclaimed, in two proverbs, 'that those who considered everything would never conclude on anything!' closing with an ancient proverbial saying—*cosa fatta capo ha!* 'a deed done has an end!' The proverb sealed the fatal determination, and was long held in mournful remembrance by the Tuscans; for, according to Villani, it was the cause and beginning of the accursed factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines. Dante has thus immortalised the energetic expression in a scene of the *Inferno*.

¹[*Purg.* xx. 23.]

Ed un, ch' avea l' una e l' altra man mozza,
 Levando i moncherin per l' aura fosca
 Sì che 'l sangue facea la faccia sozza,
 Gridò: Ricorderati anche del Mosca,
 Che dissi, lasso: *Capo ha cosa fatta*,
 Che fu 'l mal seme della gente Tosca.¹

This Italian proverb was adopted by Milton; for when deeply engaged in writing 'The Defence of the People,' and warned that it might terminate in his blindness, he resolutely concluded his work, exclaiming with great magnanimity, although the fatal prognostication had been accomplished, *cosa fatta capo ha!* Did this proverb also influence his awful decision on that great national event, when the most honest-minded fluctuated between doubts and fears?

Of a person treacherously used, the Italian proverb says that he has eaten of

Le frutte di fratre Alberigo—

The fruit of brother Alberigo.

Landino, on the following passage of Dante, preserves the tragic story:—

Io son fratre Alberigo,
 Io son quel dalle frutta del mal orto
 Che qui reprendo, &c.²

Canto xxxiii.

This was Manfred, the Lord of Faenza, who, after many cruelties, turned friar. Reconciling himself to those whom he had so often opposed, to celebrate the renewal of their friendship he invited them to a magnificent entertainment. At the end of the dinner the horn blew to announce the dessert—but it was the signal of this dissimulating conspirator! and the fruits which that day were served to his guests, were armed men, who, rushing in, immolated their victims.

(*The Philosophy of Proverbs*, ed. 1866, vol. iii. pp. 60-1.)

1834. CURIOSITIES OF LITERATURE. VOLUME VI.

[Boccaccio's 'sentimental life' of Dante]

We have two Lives of Dante, one by Boccaccio and the other by Leonardo Aretino, both interesting: but Boccaccio's is the *sentimental life!* Aretino, indeed, finds fault, but with all the tenderness possible, with Boccaccio's affectionate sketch, *Origine, Vita, Studi e Costumi del clarissimo Dante*, &c. 'Origin, Life, Studies and Manners, of the illustrious Dante,' &c. 'It seems to

¹[*Inf.* xxviii. 103-8. Cary's translation is appended.]

²[*Inf.* xxxiii. 118-21. Cary's translation is appended.]

me,' he says, 'that our Boccaccio, *dolcissimo e suavissimo uomo*, sweet and delightful man! has written the life and manners of this sublime poet as if he had been composing the *Filocolo*, the *Filostrato*, or the *Fiammetta*,' the romances of Boccaccio—'for all breathes of love and sighs, and is covered with warm tears, as if a man were born in this world only to live among the enamoured ladies and the gallant youths of the ten amorous days of his hundred novels.'

Aretino, who wanted not all the feeling requisite for the delightful 'costumi e studi' of Boccaccio's Dante, modestly requires that his own life of Dante should be considered as a supplement to, not as a substitute for, Boccaccio's. Pathetic with all the sorrows, and eloquent with all the remonstrances of a fellow citizen, Boccaccio, while he wept, hung with anger over his country's shame in its apathy for the honour of its long-injured exile. . . . Boccaccio, indeed, was overcome by his feelings. He either knew not, or he omits the substantial incidents of Dante's life; while his imagination throws a romantic tinge on occurrences raised on slight, perhaps on no foundation. Boccaccio narrates a dream of the mother of Dante so fancifully poetical, that probably Boccaccio forgot that none but a dreamer could have told it. Seated under a high laurel-tree, by the side of a vast fountain, the mother dreamt that she gave birth to her son; she saw him nourished by its fruit, and refreshed by the clear waters; she soon beheld him a shepherd; approaching to pluck the boughs, she saw him fall! When he rose he had ceased to be a man, and was transformed into a peacock! Disturbed by her admiration, she suddenly awoke; but when the father found that he really had a son, in allusion to the dream he called him Dante—or *given! e meritamente; perocchè ottimamente, siccome si vedrà procedendo, seguirà al nome l'effetto*: 'and deservedly! for greatly, as we shall see, the effect followed the name!'

* * * *

Boccaccio has beguiled my pen for half-an-hour with all the loves and fancies which sprung out of his own affectionate and romantic heart. What airy stuff has he woven into the 'Vita' of Dante! this *sentimental biography*! . . . But let it not be imagined that the heart of Boccaccio was only susceptible to amorous impressions—bursts of enthusiasm and eloquence, which only a man of genius is worthy of receiving, and only a man of genius is capable of bestowing—kindle the masculine patriotism of his bold, indignant spirit! Half a century had elapsed since the death of Dante, and still the Florentines showed no sign of repentance for their ancient hatred of their persecuted patriot, nor any sense of the memory of the creator of their language, whose immortality had become a

portion of their own glory. Boccaccio, impassioned by all his generous nature, though he regrets he could not raise a statue to Dante, has sent down to posterity more than marble, in the 'Life.' I venture to give the lofty and bold apostrophe to his fellow-citizens; but I feel that even the genius of our language is tame by the side of the harmonised eloquence of the great votary of Dante!

'Ungrateful country! what madness urged thee, when thy dearest citizen, thy chief benefactor, thy only poet, with unaccustomed cruelty was driven to flight! . . . Your Dante Alighieri died in exile, to which you unjustly, envious of his greatness, destined him! A crime not to be remembered, that the mother should bear an envious malignity to the virtues of a son! Now cease to be unjust! He cannot do you that, now dead, which living he never did do to you! He lies under another sky than yours, and you never can see him again, but on that day, when all your citizens shall view him, and the great Remunerator shall examine, and shall punish! If anger, hatred, and enmity are buried with a man, as it is believed, begin then to return to yourself; begin to be ashamed to have acted against your ancient humanity; begin, then, to wish to appear a mother, and not a cold negligent step-dame. Yield your tears to your son; yield your maternal piety to him whom once you repulsed, and, living, cast away from you! At least think of possessing him dead, and restore your citizenship, your award, and your grace, to his memory. He was a son who held you in reverence, and though long an exile, he always called himself, and would be called a Florentine! He held you ever above all others; ever he loved you! . . . Seek then to be the true guardian of your Dante, claim him! Show this humane feeling, claim him! . . . Alas! what comfort am I bringing you! I almost believe, that if the dead could feel, the body of Dante would not rise to return to you, for he is lying in Ravenna, whose hallowed soil is everywhere covered with the ashes of saints. Would Dante quit this blessed company to mingle with the remains of those hatreds and iniquities which gave him no rest in life? The relics of Dante, even among the bodies of emperors and of martyrs, and of their illustrious ancestors, is prized as a treasure, for there his works are looked on with admiration; those works of which you have not yet known to make yourselves worthy. His birthplace, his origin remains for you, spite of your ingratitude! and this Ravenna envies you, while she glories in your honours, which she has snatched from you through ages yet to come!'

Such was the deep emotion which opened Boccaccio's heart in this sentimental biography, and which awoke even shame and confusion in the minds of the Florentines; they blushed for their old hatreds, and, with awakened sympathies, they hastened to honour

the memory of their great bard. By order of the city, the *Divina Commedia* was publicly read and explained to the people. Boccaccio, then sinking under the infirmities of age, roused his departing genius: still was there marrow in the bones of the aged lion, and he engaged in the task of composing his celebrated Commentaries on the *Divina Commedia*.

(*Sentimental Biography*, ed. 1866, vol. iii. pp. 414 ff.)

1838. Sept. 29. LETTER TO WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR (from Wycombe).

[Landor on Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio]

I have just now closed your *Pentameron*, to be opened however hereafter. . . . In the present imaginary conversations you have if possible excelled yourself; so perfectly have you personated the spirits of your two great actors, such novelty have you given to a searching and exquisite criticism on the three finest geniuses of modern literature. You have shown the caustic smile of Petrarch on Dante; and surely Boccaccio himself would have laughed heartily, as at least I did, at the lovely girl so kindly watchful over our corpulent sentimentalist girthing his mule.

(*Works and Life of W. S. Landor*, vol. i. p. 387.)

1840. AMENITIES OF LITERATURE.

[Caedmon, Dante, and Milton]

The harangue of Satan to his legions by the Saxon monk cannot fail to remind us of the first grand scene in the *Paradise Lost*, however these creations of the two poets be distinct. . . . The locality is not unlike, 'There they have at even, immeasurably long, each of all the fiends a renewal of fire, sulphur charged; but cometh ere dawn the eastern wind frost, bitter-cold, ever fire or dart.' This torment we find in the hell of Milton—

The bitter change

Of fierce extremes, extremes by change more fierce,
From beds of raging *fire* to starve in *ice*.

The parching air

Burns *frore*, and *cold performs the effect of fire*.
Paradise Lost, ii. 594.

The *Inferno* of Dante has also 'its eternal darkness for the dwellers in fierce *heat* and in *ice*.' It is evident that the Saxon, the Italian, and the Briton had drawn from the same source.

(*Caedmon and Milton*, ed. 1867, pp. 42-3.)

[Dante the classic of modern Italy]

It was Italy, the Mother and Nurse of Literature (as the filial zeal of her sons has hailed her), which first opened to the nations of Europe the possibility of each creating a vernacular literature, reflecting the image not of the Greeks and of the Romans, but of themselves. Three memorable men, of the finest and most contrasted genius, appeared in one country and at one period. With that contempt for the language of the people in which the learned participated, busied as they were at the restoration of letters by their new studies and their progressive discoveries, Petrarch contemned his own Italian *Rime*, and was even insensible to the inspiration of a mightier genius than his own,—that genius who, with a parental affection, had adopted the orphan idiom of his fatherland; an orphan idiom, which had not yet found even a name; for it was then uncertain what was the true language of Italy. Dante had at first proposed to write in Latin; but with all his adoration of his master Virgil, he rejected the verse of Virgil, and anticipated the wants of future ages. A peculiar difficulty, however, occurred to the first former of the vernacular literature of Italy. In the state of this unsettled language—composed of fragments of the latinity of a former populace, with the corruptions and novelties introduced by its new masters—deformed by a great variety of dialects—submitted, in the mouths of the people, to their caprices, and unstamped by the hand of a master—it seemed hopeless to fix on any idiom which, by its inherent nobleness, should claim the distinguished honour of being deemed Italian. Dante denied this envied grace to any of the rival principalities of his country. The poet, however, mysteriously asserted that the true Italian *volgare* might be discovered in every Italian city; but being common to all, it could not be appropriated by any single one. Dante dignified the *volgare illustre* which he had conceived in his mind, by magnificent titles; ¹—it was ‘illustrious,’ it was ‘cardinal,’ it was ‘aulic,’ it was ‘courtly,’ it was the language of the most learned who had composed in the vulgar idiom, whether in Sicily, in Tuscany, in Puglia, even in Lombardy, or in the marshes ² of Ancona! . . . Dante, in his musings, had thrown a mystical veil over the Italian language; but the poet presciently contemplated, amid the distraction of so many dialects, that an Italian style would arise which at some distant day would be deemed classical. Dante wrote, and Dante was the classic of his country. The third great master of the vernacular literature of Italy was Boccaccio, who threw out the fertility of his genius in the *volgare* of nature herself. This Shakspeare of a hundred tales transformed himself into all the

¹[In his *De Vulgari Eloquentia.*]

²[*Sic*—for ‘marches.’]

conditions of society; he touched all the passions of human beings, and penetrated into the thoughts of men ere he delineated their manners. . . . The Italian literature thus burst into birth and into maturity; while it is remarkable of the other languages of Europe, that after their first efforts they fell into decrepitude. Our Saxon rudeness seems to have required more hewing and polishing to be modelled into elegance, and more volubility to flow into harmony, than even the genius of its earliest writers could afford. Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio were the contemporaries of Gower, of Chaucer, and of 'the Ploughman;' they delight their nation after the lapse of many centuries; while the critics of the reign of Elizabeth complained that Piers Ploughman, Chaucer, and Gower then required glossaries.

(*Origin of the Vernacular Languages*, ed. 1867, pp. 101-3.)

[Chaucer and Dante]

When Chaucer wrote, the classics of antiquity were imperfectly known in this country—the Grecian muse had never reached our shores; this was, probably, favourable to the native freedom of Chaucer. The English poet might have lost his raciness by a cold imitation of the Latin masters; among the Italians, Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, Chaucer found only models to emulate or surpass. Hence the English bard indulged that more congenial abundance of thoughts and images which owns no other rule than the pleasure it yields in the profusion of nature and fancy. A great poet may not be the less Homeric because he has never read Homer.

(*Chaucer*, ed. 1867, p. 164.)

[Spenser, Dante, and Goethe]

Our gentle Spenser was often satisfied with rivalling without surpassing his originals, which Milton and Gray ever did when they copied. It seems, therefore, unreasonable to assert that Spenser has combined the daring sternness of Dante, with the wild fantasy of Goethe. Yet their lofty creations have not gone beyond those of Spenser's personifications of Despair—of Fear—of Confusion—of Astonishment—

(*The Faery Queen*, ed. 1867, p. 480.)

[The allegory of the three beasts in the *Divina Commedia*]

Dante opened his great work in the darkness of an allegory; but how the erratic commentators have lost their way in 'le tenebre della *Divina Commedia*!' What are the three allegorical animals which open 'the Vision'? The double sense remains inexplicable from its abundant explanations. Are these animals personifications of three great passions? Is the gay panther the type of luxurious pleasure,

the lion of ambition, the she-wolf of avarice? But what if the spotted panther should be the representative of Dante's own Florence, and its spots indicate the Neri and the Bianchi factions? The hungry lion, with its lofty head, would then be superb France, and the lean she-wolf, never satiate, be devouring Rome. Yet a later revelation from Niebuhr, according to his Platonic ideas, sees but three metaphysical beings, the types of the soul, the understanding, and the senses. Should some future allegorister discover, by his historical, political, and ethical fancies, that the three animals were designed, one for a wavering and maculated Ghibelline, and the others for the resolute papal Guelphs, the probability would be much the same.

(*Allegory*, ed. 1867, pp. 491-2.)

[Why Dante called his poem a Comedy]

To this day we remain still unsatisfied what Dante meant by calling his great poem a *Commedia*. Dante throws the same sort of mystery over the species of his poem as he has done over the creation of a classical diction for his own Italy. According to his interpretation,¹ the lofty style was denominated tragic, and in opposition to it he has called his work *Commedia*, as of a more humble style; and on another occasion he describes comedy as something that begins sadly and ends happily, as we find it in his great poem. We must, however, accept the definition as very obscure, when we consider that both his subject and his diction so often led him to sublimity of conception and expression; but the style of criticism was yet unformed in the days of the Italian Homer.

(*The First Tragedy and the First Comedy*, ed. 1867, pp. 502-3.)

ANONYMOUS

1793. ANNUAL REGISTER. HISTORY OF EUROPE.—THE AFFAIRS OF FRANCE.

[The threshold of Hell]

THE first event² that presents itself to our attention, is among the most atrocious and disgraceful acts that have stained the annals of the world. We tremble to draw aside the veil, and unfold the horrid crime. Over the bloody threshold we hesitate to advance; and the same inscription which the poet read on the outward gate of hell, seems here engraved to turn us aside from such a path of horror,

¹[In his letter to Can Grande.]

²[The execution of Louis XVI.]

Per me si v`a nella citt`a dolente ;
 Per me si v`a nell' eterno dolore ;
 Per me si v`a per la perduta gente.¹

. . . We conduct the reader to the prison of the temple, the bar of the convention, and the fatal scaffold. . . .

(pp. 189-90.)

FLAXMAN'S DESIGNS FROM DANTE

1793. In this year was published at Rome *La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri, cio`e l' Inferno, il Purgatorio ed il Paradiso, composto da Giovanni Flaxman Scultore Inglese, ed inciso da Tommaso Piroli Romano*. These compositions from Dante by John Flaxman were executed at Rome as a commission from Thomas Hope of Amsterdam (who afterwards settled in England). The first English edition was published in London in 1807, with extracts from Boyd's translation in illustration of the plates (see vol. ii. pp. 56-7).

HENRY CONSTANTINE JENNINGS

(1731-1819)

[Jennings, the well-known eccentric virtuoso, began life in the army at the age of seventeen. He soon, however, resigned his commission and went to Italy, where he spent eight years. He received the nickname of 'Dog Jennings,' from a famous antique marble dog, which he discovered and bought in Rome for a trifle, and afterwards sold at Christie's for a thousand guineas. This dog, of which Jennings remarked, 'a fine dog it was, and a lucky dog was I to purchase it,' was the subject of an entertaining conversation between Johnson and Burke, recorded by Boswell under April 3, 1778. Jennings lost his fortune through horse-racing, and died at the age of 88 within the rules of the King's Bench.² His translations from Dante (consisting of the episodes of Paolo and Francesca, and Ugolino, accompanied by some very whimsical notes) were privately printed in 1794, and published in 1798.]

1794. A TRANSLATION OF THE FIFTH CANTO OF DANTE'S INFERNO, AND OF THE ENTIRE SCENE AND NARRATIVE OF HUGOLINO.³

['The little Novel of Francesca,' and 'the consummately pathetic Narrative of Hugolino']

DANTE'S Poem of Inferno, Purgatorio, and Paradiso, is, certainly *Poetry*: and though written at so early and uncultivated a Period as that of the thirteenth Century, is equal to any Thing that could reasonably be expected from so

¹[*Inf.* iii. 1-3.]

²[An amusing description of Jennings in his old age is given in the *Personal Memoirs of Prÿse Lockhart Gordon*, vol. ii. pp. 103-18 (1830).]

³[Privately printed; this translation, separately paged, was published, in 1798, in a volume composed of similar detached pieces, all separately paged, entitled *Summary and Free Reflections, in which the great Outline only, and Principal Features, of several Interesting Subjects, are impartially traced and candidly examined.*]

grating a Subject, even at the best Times of modern Literature. It is, however, upon the whole, a painful Undertaking to read it regularly through: for, independent of the manifold Repetition, and uninteresting and extravagant Variation of the same nauseous Descriptions; the principal Object of its Merit, at the Time it was written, consisted in the Satire, aimed against the surviving Reputation of such of his Enemies as were departed during the busiest Period of the Author's Life, which, considering too the gothic Language it is written in, has by a Lapse of Five Hundred Years, almost precluded any just Claim to its present Power of amusing, if its Reader be not a meer Antiquarian.

I except, however, the following Canto, and the consummately pathetic Narrative of Hugolino, with, perhaps, Half a Dozen more short Passages; and it is for the above Reasons, that this Canto only, and the Hugolino, are attempted.

The first is comprised in a consistent *ensemble*, and besides the little Novel of Francesca (the most elegant in the whole Piece), it conveys a sufficient Idea of Dante's Management throughout the Poem. The Hugolino is unique in its kind. . . .¹

The Fifth Canto of Dante's Inferno.

In which Virgil is supposed to accompany him, as Mystagogue, down the different Cloisters allotted to the respective Delinquencies of the Damned. . . .

From Hell's first dreary Mansion, to the next
 We now descended: less, but fuller far
 Of pungent Woes: for, at its Entrance sat,
 Ruthlessly grinning a contemptuous Smile,
 Inexorable Minos,² dooming right:
 For such th' imposing Terror of his Brow,
 That, self-convicted the Delinquents yield,
 Confess their Errors, and obey their Doom.

At Sight of us, Minos, his awful Task
 Suspending, thus alarm'd in' affrighted Sense.

Advent'rous Stranger, wide tho' th' Entrance be,
 Yet, thy Return consider well, and well

¹[Dated, Sept. 13, 1794.]

²I have purposely omitted the quaint Idea of his manifesting the Degree of Depth that the Delinquents were respectively condemned to, by the Number of Turns, with which he, at every Sentence passed upon them, entwined his own Body with his tail; being rather shocked to think that so elegant a Poet should have so wantonly given him One, and of such enormous Length as to go so many Times round him. Milton has however, borrowed it, as he has the Word *grinning*, though I grant he has applied the latter nobly. I could not here avoid it, consistently with my intention of adopting Dante's phraseology where I could.

Thy Guide examine : to whom Virgil, thus,
 Retorts th' insulting Caution : Churlish Judge,
 Thy Aid we ask not, for, the mighty Power
 Who our exploring March deigns to direct,
 Not thee alone, but, Fate itself controles :
 Onward we pass in thy Despite : and now,
 The doleful and despairing Notes begin,
 From every Quarter, to assail our Ear,
 Re-echo'd through the dark and dismal Chasm,
 Tho' often lost in the distracting Burst
 Of adverse Winds, likest the raging Sea.

Th' infernal and relentless Hurricane
 Ordain'd the Scourge of those, who, deaf to Reas'n,
 Indulge in vicious Sensuality ;
 From Bound to Bound, in all Directions hurls
 The suffering Ghosts, each against other dash't,
 Themselves, and their Creator's Ordinance,
 Still execrating ; and as on they pass,
 The Track of their inflammatory Sighs,
 Ev'n as the Vessels¹ Wake tinges the Air.
 Now, of my Guide, Intelligence I ask
 Of this distracted Throng. . . .
 Two 'mongst the Rest, inseparably link't,
 And elegant in Form mi' Attention fix't. . . .
 On their Approach, ye gentle Shades, I cried,
 If None forbid, with a congenial Mind,
 Deign Conference awhile : the friendly Lure
 Succeeds, and, e'vn as Doves to the lov'd Nest,
 With steady Wing, obey great Nature's Call ;
 So, through the troubled Air, from Dido's Band,
 The lightsom Pair advance : O gracious Being,
 The Fairest then began, that through these Realms,
 Dreary and dark, benignly visit'st thus,
 Delinquent Shades, Victims of hapless Love ;
 Were but the God of Nature still our Friend,
 Thy Peace and Happiness shou'd be our Prayer,
 Since for our Mis'ry thou can'st feel a Pang.
 Where Po with Ocean joins, the Seat is plac't
 That gave me Birth, rear'd and respected there

¹I trust, the Analogy will be allowed, though not in Dante, as likewise the having ascribed the Track itself (which, I confess, is there only by very equivocal Suggestion) to the raging Heat of a Condition so agitated in every Sense. I have, as nearly as our Idiom would permit, in all other Parts, kept to the Original, excepting the Omission of some few,* that I thought injurious to the Poem, which is longer by thirty-five Lines than my Translation.

* [Sic.]

I long remain'd, nor destitute of Charms,
 Since Love, th' Incendiary of gentle Minds,
 Inflam'd his gen'rous Heart with mine, but Oh!
 Atrocious Fate, offensive ev'n to Thought,
 Love soon betray'd us to a shameful Death. . . .
 One fatal Day, Amusement all our Aim,
 Alone, and unsuspecting, the sweet Tale
 Of Love enthralled Launcelot was our Theme:
 Oft' by his Suff'rings, were our Tears enforc't,
 Our Countenance impassion'd and inflam'd,
 Yet; one sole Period, truly was the Cause
 Of our Defeat: the Smile, the heav'nly Smile!
 Of the long lov'd Genevra, when we read,
 Kiss't by her glorious Lover: he, from whom
 Not Death itself cou'd part me, tremblingly
 My trembling Lips impress't, with a like Kiss.
 Pander! the Book, Pander its Writer was:
 That day we read no more.¹

The Reader is now to suppose, that he has laboured through, nearly, thirty-two Cantos of the *Inferno*, with the secret History of its delinquent Inhabitants, and the respective Modes of Punishment allotted to the several Cloisters they were condemned to: many of them, whimsical and ludicrous in the extreme: not to mention the low Wit and puerile Tricks, of the ministerial Underlins employed in them. . . . And, that he is now arrived near the End of the last Canto but two, that of the *frozen Region*, where he will be highly gratified for his Trouble, by the transcendently fine and pathetic Narration of Hugolino's earthly Sufferings and condign Vengeance on Ruggiero, Arch-Bishop of Pisa, who had so wantonly been *his* living Tormentor—I say transcendently fine, for such, it truly is in the Original.

The Narrative of Count Hugolino,

Taken from the End of Dante's 32d Canto of *Inferno*, and the greater Part of the 33d Canto, and here united so as to form one consistent *Ensemble*.

Two, in a Pit of Ice, we, now, behold,
 Grappled so close, that, to the under Head,
 One seem'd a Cov'ring, but, on nearer View,
 Greedy Devourer prov'd, of th' others Flesh. . . .
 O, thou Brute,

¹ This melancholy Event . . . seems to be recorded by Dante, with the sole View of illustrating by actual, and then recent Example, the dangerous Practice of young People's reading Romances together in Private; and still more so, where there already exists an Inclination between the Parties, as in the present Instance.

I cried, who thus, thy still unsated Wrath
 Beastily shew'st, explain, if Words can do't,
 What Provocation adequate to this
 Was giv'n; for, cou'd I think such Vengeance Just,
 On my Return to Earth, thy Injuries,
 To all, I'd manifest. His gory Mouth,
 From the raw Neck, he rais'd, and with the Hair
 O' th mangl'd Head, wiping it, thus replied. . . .

I' th' dismal Dungeon, which from my hard Doom,
 Henceforth the Tow'r of Famine shall be nam'd,
 Through a small Cleft, the morning Light appear'd,
 When, from a Dream,¹ that my impending Woes,
 Portentously, unveil'd, sudden I 'woke.

The Hour of hungry Expectation now,
 Approaching; my dear Boys, with me entrapt,
 Their scanty Meal solicit, and announce,
 Of sharpest Anguish, the first boding Pang,
 By their own Dreams suggested; Bread, they cry,
 But, in its Place, alas! horrible Sound,
 The grating Locks I hear, barring Access,
 To th' outer, gloomy Entrance of the Tow'r.

Too plainly, in my alter'd Countenance,
 My Body fix't and motionless, appear
 The Agony of suff'ring Indignation,
 With desperate Resignation mix't: they weep,
 Poor Innocents! my Senses, petrified,
 Knew no Relief, but in Dispair; at length,
 My sweet Anselmo cries, what Looks are those!
 What ails my alter'd Father? still I sat
 With tearless Eye and silent, all the Day,
 And all the livelong Night; the next day's Sun
 Appearing through the Cleft, my own sad Looks
 Repeated in each haggard Countenance,
 With Horror now I see: and angrily,
 By meer Distraction mov'd, both Hands I bite:
 My dearest Children, by th' Appearance struck,
 Thus feelingly address their tortur'd Sire.
 If, the ungovernable want of Food
 Urges that desperate Act, behold us fix't,
 The lesser Ill to chuse, these hapless Limbs,
 From thee, with Flesh were cloth'd, to thee again

¹ Besides uniting the End of one Canto with the beginning of another, so as to make one little *Ensemble*, I have taken the liberty to omit the Dream alluded to, and of Course, the Persons mentioned in it: as the first did but anticipate the Catastrophe, and the last, as meer Assistants, are now totally uninteresting.

Our miserable Substance we resign.
 Effectually! thus quieted, that whole Day
 And all the next, not to awaken Griefs,
 We silent sat, the fourth, my Gaddo screams,
 Father assist me; Dying at my Feet!
 I' th fifth Day and the Sixth, my other three
 Remaining Children separately drop't,
 Full in my View: for yet I kept my Sight.
 It fail'd at length, and faintly reeling down
 O'er their cold Bodies, still their Names I call'd
 For three, long, racking Days: Inanity,
 Than ev'n my Griefs more potent, Grief, at length
 Ended. He now, most like a famish't Dog,
 Sternly, his Meal resum'd. O Pisa, Pisa!
 Reproach of that harmonious Terret'ry
 Where you exist unpunish't. Hugolin
 Suppose a Traitor; what Delinquency
 Cou'd the poor Boys involve in his hard Fate:
 O Pisa, Pisa! opprobrious Pisa.

(pp. 1 ff.)

SIR UVEDALE PRICE

(1747-1829)

[Uvedale Price, son of Robert Price of Foxley, in Herefordshire, was born in 1747. He was educated at Eton (where he became intimate with Charles James Fox), and Christ Church, Oxford. In 1767-8 he and Fox made a tour in Italy, visiting Florence (where they studied Italian together under a master), Rome, Venice, and Turin. Price, who was an ardent advocate of the 'natural and picturesque' in the laying out of grounds, and who, according to Scott, 'converted the age to his views,' was created a Baronet in 1828, and died at Foxley in the following year. In his best-known work, *An Essay on the Picturesque*, published in 1794, he instances Dante as a master of the sublime and terrible.]

1794. AN ESSAY ON THE PICTURESQUE.

[The sublime and terrible in Dante]

I WILL beg leave to remind those who reject Mr. Burke's doctrine, of a few instances, in which if terror be not the cause of the sublime, I have no idea of any cause of any effect. . . . Whenever Dante is mentioned, the inscription over the gates of hell, and the Conte Ugolino, are among the first things which occur. Milton's *Paradise Lost* is wrought up to a higher pitch of awful terror than any other poem. . . . Shakspeare has furnished a more ample proof of the sublime effect of unremitting terror.

(Ed. 1810, vol. i. pp. 95-8.)

[Dante quoted]

Those who are real connoisseurs in any art, can give the most unwearied attention to what the general lover is soon tired of. Both are struck, though not in the same manner or degree, with the *whole* of a scene; but the painter is also eagerly employed in examining the *parts*, and all the artifice of nature in composing such a whole. The general lover stops at the first gaze; and I have heard it said by those, who in other pursuits shewed the most discriminating taste, ‘Why should we look at these things any more—we have seen them.’

Non ragionar di lor; ma guarda e passa.¹

(Ed. 1810, vol. i. p. 295 note.)

1828. July 21. LETTER TO SAMUEL ROGERS (from Foxley).

[Cary’s fame as ‘the translator of Dante’]

I have had a very obliging and satisfactory letter from the translator of Dante² (a title he may well be proud of), written in a remarkably simple, natural style. I shall be very glad to cultivate his acquaintance whenever I have an opportunity; next time I come to town you must be the go-between.

(*Rogers and his Contemporaries*, ed. Clayden, vol. ii. p. 24.)

ROBERT GRAY

(1762-1834)

[Robert Gray, the son of a London silversmith, was born in 1762. He was educated at St. Mary Hall, Oxford (M.A. 1787; D.D. 1802). After holding several important livings, besides being Canon of Durham (1804), he was in 1827 made Bishop of Bristol. He died at Clifton in 1834. Gray was the author of several theological works, of which the best known is his *Key to the Old Testament and Apocrypha* (1790). In 1791-2 he made a tour through Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, in the account of which (published in 1794) he several times mentions Dante.]

1794. LETTERS DURING THE COURSE OF A TOUR THROUGH GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND ITALY, IN THE YEARS MDCCXCI, AND MDCCXCII.

[Edition of Dante in the Brera library at Milan]

LETTER XXIII. From Milan.—The Brera, which was a convent of the Jesuits, contains a very capital library, part of which formerly belonged to that society. Among the books, of which we took a cursory view, were a fine copy of the

¹[*Inf.* iii. 51—misquoted.]

²[H. F. Cary, the third edition of whose translation of the *Divina Commedia* was published three years later (1831).]

Vulgate, printed at Mayence in 1562; a *Catholicon*, published in 1560; and a beautiful edition of Dante, which appeared in 1477.¹
(p. 278.)

[Dante and Florence]

Letter xxvi. From Florence.—The arts and sciences nowhere flourished more than at Florence; witness the names of Michael Angelo, Galilaeo, Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Guicciardin, Machivel, Magliabechi, Brunelleschi, Alberti, &c. all of whom were born or encouraged at Florence. . . . The present generation of Florentines is not distinguished by the number of its philosophers, poets, or artists. The people have the reputation of being friendly and benevolent; and, perhaps, they are less corrupt than in other parts of Italy. Dante thought it to be equal to any city in the world. He looked on it with affection as the place of his nativity. It is certainly, however, a delightful city, and strangers who settle in Italy, will, perhaps, do well to prefer it to any place.

(pp. 321-3.)

[Dante and the Sienese dialect]

Letter xxvii. From Sienna.—Sienna is somewhat of a solitary town, situated in a very beautiful country. The English often chuse it for a residence. In the time of Dante its polite inhabitants enjoyed the reputation of speaking the Italian language in great purity,² and they have retained the reputation ever since. Hence it is resorted to as a school, in which are studied the graces of the Italian tongue.

(p. 345.)

MARY BERRY

(1763-1852)

[Mary Berry, known to fame as the intimate friend of Horace Walpole during the last ten years of his life, was born at Kirkbridge in Yorkshire in 1763. She and her sister Agnes first made Horace Walpole's acquaintance in 1788, when he was more than seventy, and in the next year they settled close to him at Strawberry Hill. During their frequent absences from home Walpole addressed to them (chiefly to Mary) more than 160 letters. There is a tradition that when he succeeded his nephew as fourth Earl of Orford in 1791, Walpole offered 'his heart and his coronet' to Mary Berry. After his death Miss Berry edited his 'Works' (1798), and the letters written to him by Mme. du Deffand (1810). She survived him for fifty-five years, and died unmarried in her ninetieth year in 1852. In one of her letters to Walpole Miss Berry applies to France Dante's invective against Pisa.]

¹[Probably the edition printed at Milan in that year, commonly known as the 'edizione nidobeatina;' but possibly the Venice edition of 1477.]

²[As a matter of fact Dante himself condemns the Sienese dialect in his *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (i. 13).]

1794. Oct. 1. LETTER TO LORD ORFORD (from Prospect House, near Broadstairs).

[A Dantesque invective against France]

IN vain you may say 'Begone *my cares*, I give you to the winds,' we shall certainly not be *blown* away from you, for it has been the finest calm, clear weather for these last three days at the Prospect House, that can be conceived, and the sea is so covered with our vessels, of all sizes, from seventy-fours to fishing-boats, that you have as little chance of getting rid of us by a French privateer; tho' at this instant, from my window, I can clearly see that hostile coast. I always long to exclaim to it, in the words of Dante—

O Francia, Francia, vituperio delle genti!

an epithet which may certainly now be applied to it with more justice, than to the former peccadillos of poor, little, insignificant Pisa, to whom the author addressed it.¹

(*Extracts from the Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry*, ed. 1866, vol. i. p. 446.)

WILLIAM TOOKE

(1744-1820)

[William Tooke, born in London in 1744, was Chaplain of the English Church at Cronstadt from 1771 to 1774. In the latter year he accepted the chaplaincy at St. Petersburg, where he remained until 1792. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1783. After his return to England he published several works on Russian history, including a *History of Russia from Rurik to Catherine II* (1800). In 1795 he issued two volumes of *Varieties of Literature*, in a chapter of which he discusses Dante in relation to the sculptor Niccola Pisano. Tooke, who was principal editor of the new edition of the *New and General Biographical Dictionary* published in 1798, died in London in 1820.]

1795. VARIETIES OF LITERATURE, FROM FOREIGN LITERARY JOURNALS AND ORIGINAL MSS. NOW FIRST PUBLISHED.²

[Dante and Niccola Pisano]

THE most capital of the works of Nicholas of Pisa are the historical carvings on the pulpit of the cathedral at Pisa, and the representation of hell on the porch of the cathedral at Orvieto. . . . In the picture of hell every species of horror and torment is presented to the sight. Some of the damned are seen

¹['Ahi Pisa, vituperio delle genti . . .,' *Inf.* xxxiii. 79. Miss Berry had spent a winter at Pisa.]

²[Published anonymously.]

tearing their own faces with their long sharp nails; others are entwined and gnawed by hideous serpents; others again pinched and torn by grisly spectres, and in the countenance and limbs of all are variously exhibited the expressions of pain and rage and despair. Some persons are of opinion that he drew these horrid images from the *Inferno* of Dante: but according to the calculation of Vasari, Dante was then either quite a child, or not yet born.¹ And what disparagement would it be to him if he were indebted for these terrible ideas to the reading of Dante! Would the great gulf between thoughts and execution be thereby filled up? This is beyond the reach of any moderate artist; nor is any ordinary genius capable of being so thoroughly imbued with the grand and sublime ideas of a poet, as to express them with sentiment and energy in marble or bronze. . . . When now the sculptor had once made a beginning to improve his art by the study of the antique, and this with such good success, it is not to be comprehended, why the painter had not recourse to the same means; at least how he came to remain at such a distance behind in drawing. It is still more wonderful, that Dante and Petrarch, men of the finest taste and the loftiest fancy, who had the works of the Pisanese sculptor and his son² before their eyes, and might compare with them the stiff painting of Cimabue and Giotto, yet celebrate these to the stars.³ How could they do this without being blinded by an universal prejudice?

(*On the Restoration of the Art of Sculpture*, vol. ii. pp. 566-9.)

WILLIAM ROSCOE

(1753-1831)

[William Roscoe, whose father was a market gardener and tavern keeper, was born in Liverpool in 1753. In 1769 he was articled to an attorney, and five years later he commenced practice with a partner in Liverpool. His attention had early been attracted to Italian literature, and in 1790 he set to work upon *The Life of Lorenzo de Medici*, which was published at Liverpool in 1795, and was an immediate success. In the following year Roscoe retired from the law and devoted himself to literature. Besides the life of Lorenzo his best-known works are *The Life and Pontificate of Leo the Tenth* (1805), the *Butterfly's Ball*, 'a nursery classic in verse' (1806), and an edition of the works of Pope (1824). In 1806 Roscoe was elected M.P. for Liverpool, but he was not re-elected after the dissolution in the following year. In 1816, owing to a run on a bank in which he was a partner, he was obliged to sell his library, which contained a valuable collection of Italian literature (see below, p. 532). A portion of the library, including a selection of the Italian books, was purchased by friends and presented to the Liverpool Athenæum, where they now form the Roscoe Collection. Roscoe spent some time at Holkham about the year 1820, where he catalogued the Coke Collection of books and MSS. (see above, pp. 195-6, 503 n.). He died in Liverpool in 1831.]

¹[Niccola Pisano was born c. 1206, and died in 1278, when Dante was only 13.]

²[Giovanni Pisano (c. 1250-c. 1328).]

³[*Purg.* xi. 94-6.]

1795. THE LIFE OF LORENZO DE MEDICI, CALLED THE MAGNIFICENT.

[Dante's *Commedia* 'a piece of Gothic architecture']

IN taking a retrospect of the state of letters in Italy, it is impossible not to be struck with the great superiority which that country possessed over the rest of Europe. 'To the *Commedia* of Dante, the sonnets of Petrarca, and the *Decamerone* of Boccaccio, three little books written for the purposes of satire, of gallantry, and of feminine amusement, we are to trace the origin of learning, and true taste in modern times.'¹

Whether Dante was stimulated to his singular work by the success of his immediate predecessors, the Provençal poets, or by the example of the ancient Roman authors, has been doubted. The latter opinion seems, however, to be the more probable. In his '*Inferno*,' he had apparently the descent of Aeneas in view. 'Virgil is the guide of Dante through these regions of horror.'² In the rest of his poem there is little resemblance to any antecedent production. Compared with the *Aeneid*, it is a piece of grand Gothic architecture at the side of a beautiful Roman temple. Dante was immediately succeeded by Boccaccio and by Petrarca, not as imitators, but as originals in the different branches to which their talents led them. Though they followed Dante, they did not employ themselves in cultivating the ground which he had broken up, but chose each for himself a new and an untried field, and reaped a harvest not less abundant.

The merits of these writers have been frequently recognised and appreciated, but perhaps by no one with more accuracy than by Lorenzo himself. In attempting to shew the importance and dignity of the Italian tongue, he justly remarks, that the proofs of its excellence are to be sought for in the writings of the three authors before mentioned; 'who,' says he, 'have fully shewn with what facility this language may be adapted to the expression of every sentiment.' He then proceeds as follows:³ 'If we look into the *Commedia* of Dante, we shall find theological and natural subjects treated with the greatest ease and address. We shall there discover those three species of composition so highly com-

¹ Andres, dell' origine e progressi d' ogni letteratura, i. 339.

² Landino considered Dante as a close imitator of Virgil. (Land. Disput. Camal. lib. 4. Ed. 1508.) Even the form of his hell and purgatory, the first of which resembled the cavity of an inverted cone, the other the exterior of an erect one, may perhaps be traced to the following passage:

'Tum Tartarus ipse
Bis patet in praeceps tantum, tenditque subumbras,
Quantus ad aetherium coeli suspectus Olympum.'
En. lib. vi.

³ Com. di Lorenzo sopra alcuni de' suoi sonetti, ap. Ald. 1554.

mended in oratory, the simple, the middle style, and the sublime; and shall find in perfection, in this single author, those excellences which are dispersed among the ancient Greek and Roman writers. . . .'

(Chap. v. ed. 1847, pp. 171-2.)

[The reality of Dante's descriptions]

The simple description of natural objects is perhaps to a young mind the most delightful species of poetry, and was probably the first employment of the poet. . . . In this department Virgil is an exquisite master. Still more lively are the conceptions of Dante, still more precise the language in which they are expressed. As we follow him, his wildest excursions take the appearance of reality. Compared with his vivid hues, how faint, how delicate is the colouring of Petrarca!

(*Ibid.* p. 178.)

[Dante's sonnets]

It may be justly doubted whether the Italian poesy has, upon the whole, derived any great advantage from the frequent use of the sonnet. Confined to so narrow a compass, it admits not of that extent and range of ideas which suggest themselves to a mind already warm with its subject. On the contrary, it illustrates only some one distinct idea, and this must be extended or condensed, not as its nature requires, but as the rigid laws of the composition prescribe. . . .

To these restraints, however, the stern genius of Dante frequently submitted. In his 'Vita Nuova' we have a considerable number of his sonnets, which bear the distinct marks of his character, and derogate not from the author of the 'Divina Commedia.'¹ These sonnets are uniformly devoted to the praises of his Beatrice; but his passion is so spiritualized, and so remote from gross and earthly objects, that great doubts have arisen among his commentators, whether the object of his adoration had a substantial existence, or was anything more than the abstract idea of

¹ If written in latter times, some of these sonnets might have been thought to border on impiety. Thus the poet addresses the faithful—in love:

'A ciascun' alma presa, e gentil core,
Nel cui cospetto viene il dir presente,
In ciò che mi rescivan suo parvente,
Salute in lor signore—cioè Amore.'

And again, in allusion to a well-known passage:

'O voi che per la via d' amor passate,
Attendete e guardate,
S' egli è dolore alcun quanto 'l mio grave.'

Vita Nuova di Dante, Fir. 1723.

wisdom or philosophy. Certain it is, that the abstruse and recondite sense of these productions seems but little suited to the comprehension of that sex to which they are addressed, and ill calculated to promote the success of an amorous passion. The reputation of Dante as a poet is not, however, founded on this part of his labours; but Petrarca, whose other works have long been neglected, is indebted to his sonnets and lyric productions for the high rank which he yet holds in the public estimation. . . .

Without possessing the terseness of those of Dante, or the polish and harmony of those of Petrarca, the sonnets of Lorenzo de Medici have indisputable pretensions to high poetical excellence. It is indeed to be regretted, that, like those of his two celebrated predecessors, they are almost all devoted to one subject—the illustration of an amorous passion. . . . If the productions of Dante resemble the austere grandeur of Michael Agnolo, or if those of Petrarca remind us of the ease and gracefulness of Raffaello, the works of Lorenzo may be compared to the less correct, but more animated and splendid labours of the Venetian school.

(Chap. v. ed. 1847, pp. 188-90.)

[The satirical element in the *Divina Commedia*]

The Italian language had not yet been applied to the purpose of satire, unless we may be allowed to apply that name to some parts of the 'Commedia' of Dante, or the unpublished poem of Burchiello before noticed.¹ The 'Beoni' of Lorenzo de Medici is perhaps the earliest production that properly ranks under that title.

(*Ibid.* p. 197.)

[Lorenzo compared with Dante]

The poetical merits of Lorenzo de Medici were perceived and acknowledged by his contemporaries. . . . Pico of Mirandula, in a letter addressed to Lorenzo, has entered into a full discussion of the character of his writings, comparing them with those of his predecessors Dante and Petrarca, and contending that they unite the vigour of thought apparent in the former, with the harmony and polish of the latter. Succeeding critics have, however, appealed against a decision, which seems to attribute to Lorenzo de Medici a superiority over the great masters of Tuscan poetry; and have considered the opinion of Pico either as an instance of courtly adulation, or as a proof of the yet imperfect taste of the age. . . . That Pico was not deficient in the qualifications of a critic may

¹Besides his sonnets, Burchiello is also the author of a satire in terza rima, in which he has attempted to imitate the manner of Dante. . . . App. No. xviii.

appear even from the very letter which has been cited as an impeachment of his taste. For although he there treats the writings of Dante and Petrarca with great severity, and asserts not only the equality, but, in a certain point of view, the superiority of those of Lorenzo, yet he clearly proves that he had attentively studied those productions, and by many acute and just observations demonstrates, that he was well qualified to appreciate their various merits and defects.

(Chap. v. ed. 1847, pp. 205-6.)

[Politian on Dante]

It may be allowed to point out one tribute of respect to the poetical character of Lorenzo, which may serve at the same time to illustrate a passage in an author, who, though a modern, deserves the appellation of classical. This will be found at the close of the 'Sylva' of Politiano, entitled 'Nutricia.' . . .

Nec tamen *Aligerum* fraudarim hoc munere *Dantem*
 Per Styga, per stellas, mediique per ardua montis
 Pulchra *Beatricis* sub virginis ora volantem.
 Quique cupidineum repetit *Petrarcha* triumphum.
 Et qui bis quinque centum argumenta diebus
 Pingit et obscuri qui semina monstrat amoris:
 Unde tibi immensae veniunt praeconia laudis,
 Ingeniis, opibusque potens, *Florentia* mater. . . .

Nor *Alighieri*, shall thy praise be lost,
 Who from the confines of the Stygian coast,
 As *Beatrice* led thy willing steps along,
 To realms of light, and starry mansions sprung;
 Nor *Petrarch* thou, whose soul dissolving strains,
 Rehearse, O love! thy triumphs and thy pains;
 Nor *He*,¹ whose hundred tales the means impart,
 To wind the secret snare around the heart,
 Be these thy boast, O *Florence*! these thy pride,
 Thy sons! whose genius spreads thy glory wide. . . .
 (*Ibid.* pp. 207-8.)

[Contrast between the Latin and Italian works of Dante]

Of the improvement that took place in the Italian language in the fourteenth century, of its rapid and unexpected decline in that which succeeded, and of its restoration under the auspices of Lorenzo de Medici, some account has already been given; but in tracing the history of the revival and progress of the ancient lan-

¹ Boccaccio.

guages, we shall find, that as they were influenced by other causes, they neither flourished nor declined with the study of the national tongue. . . .

In assigning the reason for this remarkable distinction, we must again recur to the times of Dante, of Petrarca, and of Boccaccio; and observe the effects produced by the exertions of those great men, whose talents throw a lustre over a period which would otherwise be involved in total darkness. In estimating their labours, we shall find that their various attempts to reduce into form their native language, and to revive the study of the ancient tongues, were not only attended with different degrees of success, but were followed by consequences precisely the reverse of those which might have been expected. . . .

'It is not to be denied,' says a very judicious critic of that period,¹ 'that both Dante and Petrarca were warm admirers of the ancients; but the Latin writings of Dante, like a picture that has lost its colour, exhibit little more than an outline. Happy indeed had it been, had this author been enabled to convey his sentiments in Latin as advantageously as he has done in his native tongue. . . .'

Whilst such was the fate of the Latin productions of these authors, their Italian writings were the objects rather of adoration than applause. No longer confined to the perusal of the closet and the gratification of an individual, the poems of Dante and of Petrarca were read in public assemblies of the inhabitants of Florence, and their beauties pointed out, or their obscurities illustrated, by the most eminent scholars of the time. No sooner was the art of printing discovered, than copies of them were multiplied with an avidity which demonstrates the high esteem in which they were held. Even the prolix annotations with which these early editions were generally accompanied, if they do not for the most part display the talents of the critic, are a proof of the celebrity of the author. This observation is not, however, applicable to the commentary of Dante by Landino,² who, with a laudable perseverance, has preserved the remembrance of many historical facts, and related many circumstances indispensably necessary to the explanation of the '*Divina Commedia*.' His industry in the execution of a task so grateful to his countrymen was rewarded by the donation of a villa, or residence, on the hill of Casentino, in the vicinity of Florence, which he enjoyed under the sanction of a public decree. Whilst the annotator was thus compensated, the exiled poet was,

¹ Paulus Cortesius, *De Hominibus doctis*, p. 7, ed. Flor. 1734.

² [Cristoforo Landino; his commentary was published in 1481, in the first Florentine edition of the *Divina Commedia*. Roscoe's own copy of this edition fetched fifteen guineas at his sale in 1816.]

upwards of a century after his death, restored to his family honours, with the same formalities as if he had been still living; his descendants were permitted to enjoy the possessions of their illustrious ancestor, and his bust, crowned with laurels, was raised at the public expense.

(Chap. vii. pp. 239-41.)

[Dante and Giotto]

The glory of Cimabue was obscured by that of his disciple Giotto, who, figuring the sheep which it was his business to tend, became the best painter that Italy had produced :

‘Credette Cimabue nella pittura,
Tener lo Campo; ed ora ha Giotto il grido,
Sì che la fama di colui oscura.’

Dante, Purg. cant. xi.

Boccaccio has introduced this celebrated painter with great approbation in one of his novels; a singular conversation is said to have occurred between him and Dante. . . . Benvenuto da Imola, one of the commentators of Dante, relates, that whilst Giotto resided at Padua, Dante paid him a visit, and was received by him with great attention. Observing, however, that the children of Giotto bore a great resemblance to their father, whose features and appearance were not very prepossessing, he inquired how it came to pass that his pictures and his children were so very unlike to each other, the former being so beautiful, the latter so coarse. ‘Quia pingo de die, sed fingo de nocte,’ said the painter. *Manni, Illust. del Bocc.* p. 417.

(Chap. ix. pp. 301-2.)

1816. CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY OF WILLIAM ROSCOE.

[Roscoe's library, which was sold by Winstanley, in Liverpool, on Aug. 19 and thirteen following days, consisted of nearly 2000 items. The sale realised over £5000. The collection contained 16 Dante items, including nine editions of the *Divina Commedia*, of which three belonged to the fifteenth century, viz. Florence (Nicholo della Magna), 1481, with two of the plates, drawings in Indian ink, and ‘an original folio drawing by Botticelli of the Inferno, Purgatorio and Paradiso’ (sold for £15 15s.); Bressa (Boninus de Boninis), 1487 (£5 5s.); Venice (Piero de Zuanne di Quarengii), 1497 (£5 5s.); and five of the sixteenth century, viz. Venice (Aldus), 1502 (£2 14s.); Venice (Aldus), 1515 (£1 14s.); Venice (Bernardino Stagnino), 1512 (£3 11s.); Venice (Marcolini), 1544 (£4 14s. 6d.); Venice (Sessa), 1564, with the woodcuts ‘richly illuminated in gold and ultramarine’ (£23 2s.); also a copy of Lombardi's edition, Rome, 1791, with Flaxman's designs engraved by Piroli (£18 7s. 6d.). Roscoe also possessed a copy of the *editio princeps* (in Trissino's translation) of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, Vicenza, 1529 (16s.), and the series of *Carmina illustrium poetarum Italorum*, 11 vols. Florence, 1719-26, which contains the *editio princeps* of Dante's Latin Eclogues (£8 18s. 6d.).]

1820. LETTER TO —— (from Chat Moss).

[Translation of *Ball.* vi.]

During my visit here, I have passed many delightful hours in reading Italian poetry . . . at present I shall only refer to a little detached piece of the celebrated Dante, in which he seems to have sketched the first idea of his Beatrice, whom he has also introduced in his 'Paradiso' as his guide through the celestial regions, and whom he appears to have regarded with a warmth and delicacy of passion far beyond what is found in the writings of any other poet, even of Petrarca himself.

From the Italian of Dante Alighieri.¹

'Of loveliest feature and of lightest form,
A stranger here, to glad your sight I come,
With interview of heaven—pleas'd to perform
The task assign'd—then seek my native home—
Scattering delight where'er my course I bend.
That whoso sees me, and refrains from love,
Of love is all insensible,—for when
Nature, from Him whose gracious will did send
Me here, entreated I might be, oh! then
To perfect me with beauty all things strove:
The stars rain'd lustre in my eyes, that beam'd
With mild attemper'd light, and heavenly charms
In earthly mould were first to mortals shown:
Yet not alike on all this radiance flam'd;
His heart alone the glow celestial warms,
Who from another's bliss derives his own.'—
This sentence once 'twas mine to trace,
Bright beaming from an angel's face,
But by too ardent passion fir'd
I nearly at the sight expir'd;
Nor for the deep and hopeless wound,
Sent from those eyes of heavenly blue—
By one whose power too well I knew,
Have I as yet a balsam found.

(*Life of William Roscoe*, vol. ii. pp. 246-7.)

GEORGE ELLIS

(1753-1815)

[George Ellis, the founder with Canning of the *Anti-Jacobin*, was born in 1753. He was the editor of several well-known collections of 'Specimens,' including *Speci-*

¹[The poem here translated is *Baliata* vi. : 'Io mi son pargoletta bella e nuova.']

mens of the Early English Poets (originally issued in 1790, and subsequently enlarged), and *Specimens of Early English Romances in Metre* (1805). He also edited Way's translations of select *Fabliaux*, to which he contributed the preface and notes (1796). Ellis was an intimate friend of Scott, who addressed to him the fifth canto of *Marmion*. He was member for Seaford from 1796 to 1802, and died in 1815.]

1796. *FABLIAUX, OR TALES, ABRIDGED FROM FRENCH MANUSCRIPTS OF THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES, BY M. LE GRAND, SELECTED AND TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH VERSE,*¹ WITH A PREFACE, NOTES, AND APPENDIX.

[Dante's use of the terms *oc* and *oil*]

IN the Provinces to the south of the Loire, the affirmative *yes* was expressed by the word *oc*, in the north it was called *oil* (*oui*), and hence Dante has named the southern language *langue d' oc*, and the northern *langue d' oil*.²

(*Preface*,³ p. xxiv.)

BENJAMIN HOBHOUSE

(1757-1831)

[Benjamin Hobhouse, father of Byron's friend, John Cam Hobhouse⁴ was born at Bristol, in 1757. He was educated at Bristol Grammar School, and at Brasenose College, Oxford (M.A. 1781); was called to the bar at the Middle Temple, 1781; M.P. for Bletchingley, 1797; for Grampound, 1802; for Hindon, 1806-18; Secretary to Board of Control, 1803; Chairman of Committees, 1805; created a Baronet, 1812; died in London in 1831. Hobhouse, who was F.R.S. and F.S.A., was the author of several legal treatises, as well as of an account of his travels in France and Italy in 1783-5 in which he refers to Dante.]

1796. *REMARKS ON SEVERAL PARTS OF FRANCE AND ITALY, &C. IN THE YEARS 1783, 1784, AND 1785.*

[Picture of Dante in the Cathedral at Florence]

FLORENCE.—Poetry and the fine arts are held in great esteem. The memory of those who have excelled in them is preserved in the cathedral. On the walls is an indifferent, but very extraordinary picture of Dante,⁵ surrounded by the purgatory and hell, of which he sings in his poem. It is remarkable that this honour should be conferred on him, since he died in exile.

(*Letter xxvii*, p. 144-5.)

¹[The translation is by Gregory Lewis Way; the original was edited by Pierre Jean Baptiste Legrand d'Aussy.]

²[In the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, i. 8, 9, 10.]

⁴[See vol. ii. pp. 269-72.]

³[By George Ellis.]

⁵[By Domenico di Michelino.]

CHARLES LAMB

(1775-1834)

[Charles Lamb, whose father was clerk and servant to one of the benchers of the Inner Temple, was born in the Temple in 1775. He was educated at Christ's Hospital (1782-9), where he formed a lasting friendship with Coleridge. On leaving school Lamb was for three years employed in the South Sea House. In 1792 he was appointed to a clerkship in the India House, of the staff of which he remained a member for thirty-three years, until 1825, when he retired with a pension. He died at Edmonton in Dec. 1834. The *Essays of Elia*, Lamb's best-known work, were contributed to the *London Magazine* between 1820 and 1822, and reprinted in a volume in 1823. A collection of his miscellaneous writings in prose and verse in two volumes was published in 1818; besides which he published *Tales from Shakespeare* (1807), written by himself and Mary Lamb, and *Specimens of English Dramatic Poets* (1808).

Lamb's acquaintance, such as it was, with Dante, 'that dark Italian Hierophant,' as he calls him, was due entirely to his friendship with Cary, by the aid of whose 'polar-star translation' Lamb 'scrambled through the *Inferno*' with his sister in 1833, about fifteen months before his death. After Cary's appointment in 1826 to the assistant-keepership of printed books at the British Museum, Lamb used often to visit him there, and for some time he and Mary Lamb dined regularly with Cary at the Museum every third Wednesday in the month. One of Lamb's last letters (Oct. 1834) was written to Cary to express contrition for a 'shameful violation' of Cary's hospitality at the Museum.]

1796. June 10. LETTER TO SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE.

[Book ix of Southey's *Joan of Arc* conceived by Lamb to be in 'the manner of Dante']

WITH *Joan of Arc* I have been delighted, amazed. I had not presumed to expect any thing of such excellence from Southey. . . . Page 361, all the passage about Love (where he seems to confound conjugal love with creating and preserving love) is very confused, and sickens me with a load of useless personifications; else that ninth Book is the finest in the volume—an exquisite combination of the ludicrous and the terrible: I have never read either, even in translation, but such I conceive to be the manner of Dante or Ariosto.

(*Works*, ed. Lucas, vol. vi. pp. 13-14.)

1797. Feb. 13. LETTER TO SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE.

[Lamb's 'laugh of horror' at Dante's Ugolino]

By the way, I spoke far too disparagingly of your lines,¹ and I am ashamed to say, purposely. . . . When I laughed at the 'miserable man crawling from beneath the coverture,' I wonder I did not perceive that it was a laugh of horror—such as I have laughed at Dante's picture of the famished Ugolino.

(*Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 96.)

¹[Certain lines contributed by Coleridge to the second book of Southey's *Joan of Arc*.]

1811. ON THE GENIUS AND CHARACTER OF HOGARTH.¹

[The 'staring despair' of Reynolds' picture of Ugolino]

I would ask the most enthusiastic admirer of Reynolds, whether in the countenances of his *Staring* and *Grinning Despair*, which he has given us for the faces of Ugolino and dying Beaufort, there be anything comparable to the expression which Hogarth has put into the face of his broken-down rake in the last plate but one of the *Rake's Progress*, where a letter from the manager is brought to him to say that his play 'will not do'?

(*Works*, ed. Lucas, vol. i. p. 75.)

1813. REYNOLDS AND LEONARDO DA VINCI.²

[The lack of dignity in Reynolds' Ugolino]

The portraits which least pleased me were those of boys as infant Bacchuses, Jupiters, &c. But the Artist is not to be blamed for the disguise. No doubt the parents wished to see their children deified in their lifetime. . . . *But the great historical compositions, where the Artist was at liberty to paint from his own idea—the Beaufort and the Ugolino*; why then, I must confess, pleading the liberty of Table-Talk for my presumption, that they have not left any very elevating impressions on my mind. Pardon a ludicrous comparison . . . placed opposite to each other as they are in the Gallery,³ as if to set the one work in competition with the other, they did remind me of the famous contention for the prize of deformity, mentioned in the 173d number of the *Spectator*. The one stares and the other grins; but is there common dignity in their countenances?

(*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 150.)

1820. LAMIA, ISABELLA, THE EVE OF SAINT AGNES, AND OTHER POEMS. BY JOHN KEATS.⁴

[Keats' diction in the *Pot of Basil* compared with that of Dante]

The finest thing in the volume is the paraphrase of Boccaccio's story of the Pot of Basil. . . . The spirit of her lover appears to Isabella in a dream, and discovers how and where he was stabbed,

¹[First published in *The Reflector*, No. iii.]

²[First published in *The Examiner*, 6 June, 1813.]

³[The Shakespeare Gallery in Pall Mall, where an exhibition of one hundred and forty-two of Sir Joshua Reynolds' pictures was held in 1813.]

⁴[First published in *The New Times*, 19 July, 1820. This review is conjecturally assigned to Lamb by his editor; but the reference to Dante, which seems to imply more intimate knowledge of Dante than Lamb possessed, at any rate at this date, makes the ascription doubtful.]

and the spot where her brothers have buried him. To ascertain the truth of the vision, she sets out to the place, accompanied by her old nurse, ignorant as yet of her wild purpose. Her arrival at it, and digging for the body, is described in the following stanzas, than which there is nothing more awfully simple in diction, more nakedly grand and moving in sentiment, in Dante, in Chaucer, or in Spenser.

(Works, ed. Lucas, vol. i. p. 201.)

1820. CHRIST'S HOSPITAL FIVE AND THIRTY YEARS AGO.¹

[The 'disfigurements in Dante']

I was a hypochondriac lad; and the sight of a boy in fetters, upon the day of my first putting on the blue clothes, was not exactly fitted to assuage the natural terrors of initiation. I was of tender years, barely turned of seven; and had only read of such things in books, or seen them but in dreams. I was told he had *run away*. This was the punishment for the first offence.—As a novice I was soon after taken to see the dungeons. These were little, square, Bedlam cells, where a boy could just lie at his length upon straw and a blanket—a mattress, I think, was afterwards substituted—with a peep of light, let in askance, from a prison-orifice at top, barely enough to read by. Here the poor boy was locked in by himself all day, without sight of any but the porter who brought him his bread and water—who *might not speak to him*;—or of the beadle, who came twice a week to call him out to receive his periodical chastisement, which was almost welcome, because it separated him for a brief interval from solitude:—and here he was shut up by himself *of nights*, out of the reach of any sound, to suffer whatever horrors the weak nerves, and superstition incident to his time of life, might subject him to. This was the penalty for the second offence. Wouldst thou like, Reader, to see what became of him in the next degree?

The culprit, who had been a third time an offender, and whose expulsion was at this time deemed irreversible, was brought forth, as at some solemn *auto da fé*, arrayed in uncouth and most appalling attire, all trace of his late 'watchet-weeds' carefully effaced, he was exposed in a jacket, resembling those which London lamp-lighters formerly delighted in, with a cap of the same. The effect of this divestiture was such as the ingenious devisers of it could have anticipated. With his pale and frightened features, it was as if some of those disfigurements in Dante had seized upon him. In this disguise he was brought into the hall (*L.'s favourite*

¹[Originally contributed to the *London Magazine*, and reprinted in *Elia—Essays that have appeared under that signature in the 'London Magazine.'* (1823).]

state-room), where awaited him the whole number of his school-fellows, whose joint lessons and sports he was thenceforth to share no more; the awful presence of the steward, to be seen for the last time; of the executioner beadle, clad in his state robe for the occasion; and of two faces more, of direr import, because never but in these extremities visible. These were governors; two of whom, by choice, or charter, were always accustomed to officiate at these *Ultima Supplicia*; not to mitigate (so at least we understood it), but to enforce the uttermost stripe. . . . The scourging was, after the old Roman fashion, long and stately. The lictor accompanied the criminal quite round the hall. . . . After scourging, he was made over, in his *San Benito*, to his friends, if he had any (but commonly such poor runagates were friendless), or to his parish officer, who, to enhance the effect of the scene, had his station allotted to him on the outside of the hall gate.

(*Works*, ed. Lucas, vol. ii. pp. 16-17.)

1821. WITCHES, AND OTHER NIGHT FEARS.¹

[The horror of Dante's devils]

Gorgons, and Hydras, and Chimaeras dire—stories of Celaeno and the Harpies—may reproduce themselves in the brain of superstition—but they were there before. They are transcripts, types—the archetypes are in us, and eternal. How else should the recital of that, which we know in a waking sense to be false, come to affect us at all? or

—Names, whose sense we see not,
Fray us with things that be not?²

Is it that we naturally conceive terror from such objects, considered in their capacity of being able to inflict upon us bodily injury?—O, least of all! These terrors are of older standing. They date beyond the body—or, without the body, they would have been the same. All the cruel, tormenting, defined devils in Dante—tearing, mangling, choking, stifling, scorching demons—are they one half so fearful to the spirit of a man, as the simple idea of a spirit unembodied following him—

Like one that on a lonesome road
Doth walk in fear and dread,
And having once turn'd round, walks on
And turns no more his head;
Because he knows a frightful fiend
Doth close behind him tread.³

(*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 68.)

¹[Originally contributed to the *London Magazine* and reprinted in *Elia—Essays that have appeared under that signature in the 'London Magazine.'* (1823).]

²[From Spenser's *Epithalamium* (ll. 343-4).]

³Mr. Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner*.

1823. Feb. 17. LETTER TO BERNARD BARTON.

[The 'stupendous power' of Dante]

I once quoted two lines from a translation of Dante, which Hazlitt very greatly admired, and quoted in a book as proof of the stupendous power of that poet; but no such lines are to be found in the translation, which has been searched for the purpose.¹ I must have dreamed them, for I am quite certain I did not forge them knowingly. What a misfortune to have a lying memory!

(Works, ed. Lucas, vol. vii. p. 598.)

1823. Sept. 2. LETTER TO BERNARD BARTON.

[Cary, 'the Dante-man']

Mr. Cary, the Dante-man, dines with me to-day. He is a model of a country parson,² lean (as a curate ought to be), modest, sensible, no obtruder of church dogmas, quite a different man from Southey, —you would like him.

(Ibid. vol. vii. p. 619.)

1823. Oct. LETTER OF ELIA TO ROBERT SOUTHEY, ESQUIRE.

[Leigh Hunt's 'Story of Rimini' taken from Dante]

You have been pleased to compliment me at the expense of my companions. I cannot accept your compliment at such a price. The upbraiding a man's poverty naturally makes him look about him, to see whether he be so poor indeed as he is presumed to be. You have put me upon counting my riches. Really, Sir, I did not know I was so wealthy in the article of friendships. There is —, and —, whom you never heard of, but exemplary characters both, and excellent church-goers; and N.,³ mine and my father's friend for nearly half a century; and the enthusiast for Wordsworth's poetry, T.N.T.;⁴ . . . and W.,⁵ the light, and warm-as-light hearted Janus of the London; and the translator of Dante, still a curate, modest and amiable C.;⁶ and Allan C.,⁷ the large-hearted

¹[It has been suggested that the lines are those quoted by Hazlitt in his *Round Table* essay 'On Posthumous Fame':—

'Because on earth their names

In Fame's eternal volume shine for aye.' (See Lucas *in loc.*)

²[Cary was at this time curate of the Savoy Chapel, but resided at Chiswick.]

³[Randal Norris, for many years Sub-Treasurer and Librarian of the Inner Temple. After his death in 1827 Lamb wrote to H. C. Robinson: 'He was my friend and my father's friend all the life I can remember.']

⁴[Thomas Noon Talfourd.]

⁵[Thomas Griffiths Wainewright, afterwards transported for forgery.]

⁶[H. F. Cary.]

⁷[Allan Cunningham.]

Scot; and P——r,¹ candid and affectionate as his own poetry. . . . Accident introduced me to the acquaintance of Mr. L. H.² . . . I was admitted to his household for some years, and do most solemnly aver that I believe him to be in his domestic relations as correct as any man. He chose an ill-judged subject for a poem;³ the peccant humours of which have been visited on him tenfold by the artful use, which his adversaries have made, of an *equivocal term*. The subject itself was started by Dante, but better because brieflier treated of. But the crime of the Lovers, in the Italian and the English poet, with its aggravated enormity of circumstance, is not of a kind (as the critics of the latter well knew) with those conjunctions, for which Nature herself has provided no excuse, because no temptation.

(*Works*, ed. Lucas, vol. i. pp. 229 ff.)

1827. July. LETTER TO ——⁴

['Dante Cary']

In this letter, written to an unknown correspondent, Lamb says, concerning Emma Isola's Latin, that they made Cary laugh by translating 'blast you'! by 'Deus afflet tibi.' He adds, 'How some parsons would have goggled, and what would Hannah More say? I don't like clergymen, but here and there one. Cary, the Dante Cary, is a model, quite as plain as Parson Primrose, without a shade of silliness.'

(*Ibid.* vol. vii. p. 975.)

1830. May 12. LETTER TO EDWARD MOXON.

['The translator of Dante']

I dined with your and my Rogers, at Mr. Cary's, yesterday. . . . I wish you would call on the translator of Dante, at the British Museum, and talk with him. He is the pleasantest of clergymen.

(*Letters*, ed. Ainger, 1904, vol. ii. p. 266.)

1833. Jan. LETTER TO JOHN FORSTER.

Orders

Go to Dilke's or Let Mockson, and ax him to add this to what I sent him a few days since.

¹[Bryan Waller Procter.]

²[Leigh Hunt.]

³[*The Story of Rimini* (published in 1816), which is based upon the episode of Paolo and Francesca in the fifth canto of the *Inferno* (see vol. ii. p. 116).]

⁴[Date and addressee doubtful.]

Requests

Come down with M. and *Dante*¹ and L.E.L. on Sunday.
(*Works*, ed. Lucas vol. vii. p. 895.)

1833. Feb. 15. LETTER TO LOUISA BADAMS.

[Lamb reading the *Inferno* with the help of Cary]

Mary, Emma,² and I have got thro' the *Inferno* with the help of Cary—and Mary is in for it. She is commencing Tasso.
(*Letters*, ed. Ainger, 1904, vol. ii. p. 296.)

1833. Sept. 9. LETTER TO REV. H. F. CARY.

[Cary's 'polar-star translation']

You will be amused to hear that my sister and I have, with the aid of Emma,² scrambled through the *Inferno*, by the blessed furtherance of your polar-star translation. I think we scarce left anything unmade out. But our partner has left us, and we have not yet resumed. Mary's chief pride in it was that she should some day brag of it to you. Your *Dante* and Sandys' *Ovid* are the only helpmates of translations. Neither of you shirk a word. Fairfax's *Tasso* is no translation at all. 'Tis better in some places, but it merely observes the number of stanzas; as for images, similes, &c., he finds 'em himself, and never troubles Peter for the matter.

(*Works*, ed. Lucas, vol. vii. p. 917.)

1834. May 10. LETTER TO THOMAS MANNING.

[Charles and Mary Lamb reading the *Purgatorio*]

I struggle to town rarely, and then to see London, with little other motive—for what is left there hardly? The streets and shops entertaining ever, else I feel as in a desert, and get me home to my cave. Save that once a month I pass a day, a gleam of my life, with Cary at the Museum (He is the flower of clergymen) and breakfast next morning with Robinson.³ I look to this as a treat. It sustains me. C. is a dear fellow, with but two vices, which in any less good than himself would be crimes past redemption. He has no relish for Parson Adams—hints that he might not be a very great Greek scholar after all (does Fielding hint that he was a Parson?)—and prefers 'Ye shepherds so cheerful and gay,' and 'My banks they

¹[No doubt Cary.]

²[Emma Isola, Lamb's adopted daughter, recently married to Edward Moxon, the publisher.]

³[Henry Crabb Robinson, the diarist (1775-1867).]

are furnished with bees,' to 'The Schoolmistress.'¹ I have not seen Wright's,² but the faithfulness of C., Mary and I can attest. For last year, in a good interval, I giving some lessons to Emma, now Mrs. Moxon, in the *sense* part of her Italian (I knew no words), Mary pertinaciously undertook, being 69, to read the *Inferno* all thro' with the help of his Translation, and we got thro' it with Dictionaries and Grammars, of course to our satisfaction. Her perseverance was gigantic, almost painful. Her head was over her task, like a sucking bee, morn to night. We were beginning the *Purgatory*, but got on less rapidly, our great authority for grammar, Emma, being fled, but should have proceeded but for this misfortune.

(*Letters*, ed. Ainger, 1904, vol. ii. p. 314.)

1834. October. LETTER TO REV. H. F. CARY.

[Dante, the 'dark Italian Hierophant']

I protest I know not in what words to invest my sense of the shameful violation of hospitality which I was guilty of on that fatal Wednesday. Let it be blotted from the calendar. Had it been committed at a layman's house, say a merchant's or manufacturer's, a cheesemonger's or greengrocer's, or, to go higher, a barrister's, a member of Parliament's, a rich banker's, I should have felt alleviation, a drop of self-pity. But to be seen deliberately to go out of the house of a clergyman drunk! a clergyman of the Church of England too! not that alone, but of an expounder of that dark Italian Hierophant, an exposition little short of *his* who dared unfold the Apocalypse: divine riddles both; and (without supernal grace vouchsafed), Arks not to be fingered without present blasting to the touchers.

(*Works*, ed. Lucas, vol. vii. pp. 938-9.)

JOSEPH COOPER WALKER

(c. 1762-1810)

[Joseph Cooper Walker, Irish antiquary and writer on the Italian drama, was born, probably in Dublin, about 1762. Being of delicate health, he lived for many years in Italy, where he studied Italian literature, especially the drama. On his return to Ireland he settled at St. Valeri, Bray, co. Wicklow, where he died in 1810. Walker, who was one of the original members of the Royal Irish Academy (founded in 1785), wrote several important works on Irish antiquities, besides two books on

¹[Three poems by William Shenstone.]

²[Ichabod Charles Wright, whose translation of the *Inferno* had been published in the previous year.]

Italian drama. In one of the latter, his *Historical Memoir of Italian Tragedy*, published anonymously in 1799, he makes frequent reference to Dante and to Dante literature.]

1797. March 25. LETTER TO THOMAS PERCY, BISHOP OF DROMORE (from St. Valeri, Bray).

[Chaucer and Dante]

AS I have not a copy of Chaucer here, the sample of his blank verse was very acceptable to me. Thus I find that the father of English poetry was also the inventor of English blank verse. Lord Surrey, like Trissino, was only the first to employ it 'in longer works.' Chaucer probably took the hint from his contemporaries Dante and Boccaccio. With Dante we know that he was personally acquainted.¹ Here a new field of inquiry is opened. The more I consider the subject the more curious I find it.

(Nichols' *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. vii. p. 739.)

1799. Jan. 19. LETTER TO JOHN PINKERTON.

[Rogers' translation of the *Inferno*]

Did you ever see a translation in blank verse of the *Inferno*? I think when I was a boy I saw one in Cadell's window;² but my memory may deceive me, as I was then very young, giddy, and indifferent to the charms of the Italian muse.

(*Literary Correspondence of John Pinkerton*, vol. ii. p. 43.)

1799. Feb. 26. LETTER TO JOHN PINKERTON.

[French and English translations of the *Inferno*]

The French (prose) translation of the *Inferno*³ I possess, and have read with pleasure. An edition of Dante, with a selection of notes from Landino and Vellutello, would be a pleasant thing. I, with a degree of patience which ought to atone for all my sins, waded through the respective commentaries of those two gentlemen. If my friend, Boyd, was encouraged, he would complete the translation, so happily begun, of the *Commedia*.⁴ I am sure you will be pleased to hear that our friend, Bishop Percy, has taken poor Boyd by the hand, and already presented him to a living of 130*l.* a year.

(*Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 46-7.)

¹[Dante died in 1321; Chaucer was born c. 1340. Walker doubtless was thinking of Petrarch, whom Chaucer is supposed to have met on his visit to Italy.]

²[Doubtless the version by Charles Rogers, printed (anonymously) in 1782 (see above, pp. 382 ff.).]

³[Presumably that by Moutonnet de Clairfons, published in 1776.]

⁴[Henry Boyd had published a translation of the *Inferno* in 1785; his complete translation of the *Commedia* was published in 1802 (see above, pp. 410 ff.).]

1799. June 24. LETTER TO JOHN PINKERTON.

[Boyd's translation of the *Commedia*]

I must confess that Boyd is sometimes too paraphrastical. His fancy is too luxuriant; but he is certainly *un vero poeta*. Now, as I am not a *vero poeta*, my versions are more literal, but not so pleasing to the mere English reader. . . . As Boyd is not rich and has a large family, I am endeavouring to get him a purchaser for a translation of the whole *Commedia*.¹ He has almost got out of purgatory. A better creature does not exist.

(*Literary Correspondence of John Pinkerton*, vol. ii. pp. 66-7.)

1799. HISTORICAL MEMOIR OF ITALIAN TRAGEDY.²

[The alleged origin of Dante's *Commedia*]

So early as the year 1304, Vasari describes an attempt at a dramatic exhibition in Florence . . . which is said to have given birth to the *Commedia* of Dante. But neither Crescimbeni, nor Tiraboschi, will allow the revival of the dramatic art in Italy to commence with that feeble essay.

(pp. 1-2.)

[Dante and Ezzelino]

In Ezzelino the tyrant of Padua Baruffaldi found an hero
Damn'd to everlasting fame,
in the Inferno of Dante—

E quella fronte, ch' ha 'l pel così nero
E Azzolino.

Canto xii. [ll. 109-10.]

Some of the most interesting particulars of the life of this sanguinary tyrant, may be found in M. de Clairfons' valuable notes on his translation of the *Inferno*, *L' Enfer, Floren.* 1776.

(pp. 245-6.)

[Savioli's sonnet on the tomb of Dante]

My friend Mr. Boyd,³ the admirable translator of Dante's *Inferno*, has favoured me with a translation of Count Savioli's⁴

*Sonetto sul Sepolcro di Dante Alighieri.*⁵

E qui lontano dalla patria ingrata,
Onde concittadino odio t' escluse,
Giaci straniero peso. A la gelata
Pietra angusta mi prostro, che ti chiuse.

¹[See previous note.] ²[Published anonymously.] ³[See above, p. 544 n.]

⁴[Lodovico Savioli (1729-1804); the sonnet was published in his *Amori* (Bassano, 1765).]

⁵The biographers of Dante are indebted to Count Savioli for the discovery of a decree, by which the father of Italian poetry was condemned to be burnt alive!

Ma deh ne l' ardua via per te segnata,
 Deh primo alunno de le tosche muse
 Dimmi, è pur ver che Beatrice amata
 Fa la tua scorta, e 'l dolce stil t' infuse ?
 E s' è pur vero, o padre, e s' io discerno
 Chiaro ne' carmi il tuo bel foco antico,
 Colei qual era, e con che forza amasti ?
 Ardo anch' io da molt' anni ; oggetto a i casti
 Voti è una dea ; ma con chi piango, e dico !
 Dorme il cenere sacro un sonno eterno.

Far from proud Tuscany's ungrateful soil,
 Here sleeps thy corse, by civil hate expel'd,
 Poor emigrant ! by thy chill tomb awhile
 I'll lay me down, where rest thy bones conceal'd.
 But in that arduous path by thee explor'd,
 Prime foster-child of Arno's tuneful choir,
 Say, did thy love a guiding hand afford,
 And wake in other worlds thy vent'rous lyre ?
 As yet, O father, in thy living strains
 I mark the fervor of thy antient fire,
 Where, deathless as her charms, thy passion glows,
 Like thee, I burn, and breathe my fruitless vows,
 To one whose fate awakes my plaintive lyre ;
 Her sacred dust eternal sleep detains.

(pp. 259-61.)

[The story of Ugolino]

In 1779 appeared anonymously at Bassano, Ugolino, Conte de Gherardeschi. But the horror attending the circumstances of a man dying of hunger through five long acts, disgusted the readers and the auditors, and the play fell to the ground. It requires the genius of a Dante, or a Reynolds¹ to seize on the true pathetic point of time in this interesting story.

(p. 275.)

[The 'gloomy genius' of Dante]

In the Versi of the Abate Monti,² the little poem entitled *Entusiasmo Malinconico*, is worthy the vigorous pencil, and gloomy genius of his favourite Dante : even the 'black melancholy' of Pope, breathing her horrors o'er the deep woods, and falling waters of the Paraclete, must yield, in sublimity, to the *Entusiasmo Malinconico* of our author.

(p. 331)

¹[The reference is to Reynolds' picture of Ugolino (see above, p. 343).]²[Vincenzo Monti (1754-1828).]

1805. LETTER TO REV. HENRY JOHN TODD.

[Dante's use of the term 'Comedy']

It is to be lamented that Spenser's *nine Comedies*, so much extolled by Harvey, are lost. It is supposed that they were not dramatick poems, but a series of lines in nine divisions like the *Tears of the Muses*, and that to each division was given the denomination of *Comedy*; the author using that term in the wide sense in which it was employed by Dante, Boccaccio and other Italian writers.

(*Works of Edmund Spenser*, ed. Todd, 1805, vol. i. p. xlv. note.)

1805. AN HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE REVIVAL OF THE DRAMA IN ITALY.

[Lord Carlisle's translation of the Ugolino episode]

While still young, and undetermined in regard to any particular literary pursuit, I was led, by the voice of fame, to seek out a translation of the pathetic tale of Ugolino, by the present Earl of Carlisle.¹ The powerful interest and exquisite beauties of the story, heightened by the excellence of the version, directed my attention to Dante,—and Dante led me on.²

(pp. xi-xii.)

[Dante and the buffoons at the court of Can Grande]

It would seem that the histriones [of the Middle Ages] were mere buffoons, such as used to frequent the convivial meetings of the Romans, and sometimes appeared at the table of the munificent Can Grande in the time of Dante. Tiraboschi relates that Can observing that these buffoni drew off the notice of his court from Dante, who was then his guest, asked, perhaps tauntingly, how it happened that they should be so much admired, and command such general attention, while Dante sat at his table unheeded? To this the poet, 'proud and full of his wrongs,' haughtily replied, 'You will cease to wonder, when you consider, that similarity of manners is the strongest bond of attachment.'

(p. 3.)

[Dante's obligations to the Troubadours]

To the Troubadours, the obligations of Dante (Vid. *Trat. de Volg. Eloq. cap. 6, et cap. 13, della traduzione di Trissino. Purg. Cant. xxvi*) and Petrarca are infinite.

(p. 11.)

¹[See above, pp. 334-6.]²[To the study of the literature of Italy.]

[Supposed reference by Dante to the theatre of his day]

As a proof of the existence of a stage in Italy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we might observe that several of the Troubadours who frequented the Italian courts in those ages, are entitled *Comici*, by their historian Nostradamus. Dante, too, seems to allude to the theatrical exhibitions of his time, in the following passage in his *Paradiso* :

Da questo punto vinto mi concedo
 Più, che giamai da punto di suo thema
 Soprato fosse comico, o tragedo.
 (Cant. xxx. st. 8.)

No actor yet when first the stage he trod,
 Ere found such terror freeze his curdling blood,
 As I, appall'd by this unusual light.

Dante's words, however, only admit of an inference in favour of my position or hypothesis; but the *Cronica Bolognese*, of the same period, expressly mentions *i giuochi di scena*, among the amusements of the day.

(p. 14.)

[Dante and Can Grande]

Boccaccio affirms that Can Grande was one of the 'più nobili e magnifici signori d' Italia.' *Giorn. i. Nov. 7.* This munificent patron of letters had the honour to receive and protect Dante in his exile. He is immortalized in the *Parad. cant. 17* [ll. 70 ff.].
 (p. 29.)

[The 'gloomy and sublime genius' of Dante]

Vasari ascribes to Lorenzo de' Medici the invention of a species of Pageant, or popular Pantomime, interspersed with songs, intitled, *La Mascherata*. . . . Of this description was Il Carro della Morte, a celebrated pageant, which would seem to have been the production of a genius not less gloomy and sublime than that of Dante.

(p. 99.)

[Meaning of the term 'Comedy' as used by Dante]

The title of *Comedy*, was formerly of a signification much more extensive than that which it bears at present. It regarded simply the external form; it was properly applied to every poem composed in dialogue, provided that throughout the whole, the conversation was carried on by the characters themselves, without the intervention of the poet. Of this nature were the *Divina Commedia* of Dante, and the *Ameto* of Boccaccio.

(p. 101.)

[Dante's description of the choral dance]

We are taught by Dante the manner in which the choral dance is performed. The singer stood in the centre, and the dancers moved round with a measured step,

Come stelle vicine a fermi poli.

Parad. Cant. x. st. 26.

and, at the conclusion of every stanza, they paused, and sung the burthen in chorus.

(p. 131.)

[The *terza rima* invented by Dante]

The first of the various modes of versification used on the Italian stage at the revival of the drama, seems to have been the *terza rima*, invented by Dante . . .—a measure which, though never used in common conversation, imposes less constraint on the writer, than the jingling couplet, or the stately ottava, and approaches nearer to colloquial ease.

(p. 160.)

[Merian's memoir on Dante]

M. Merian¹ certainly exhibits the clearest and most comprehensive view of the Divina Commedia which has yet been offered to the public. In proportion as his memoir shall be diffused, Dante will be better understood, and more generally admired. M. Merian has rent, or removed, the veil which so long concealed his beauties, and brought to light

la Dottrina, che s' asconde

Sotto 'l velame degli versi strani.²

To the beauties of this wonderful poet, my friend Mr. Boyd has given new lustre. And his bold and energetic pencil would seem to have passed into the hands of the author of *The Pursuits of Literature*,³ when he undertook to sketch his character as a poet and a man.

(p. 261.)

SIR RICHARD CLAYTON

(d. 1828)

[Sir Richard Clayton, a native of Northall in Lancashire, was admitted a member of the Inner Temple in 1762, and was called to the bar in 1771. He was created a Baronet in 1774, was Recorder of Wigan (1815-28), Constable of Lancaster Castle,

¹[Johann Bernhard Merian, a native of Basle (b. 1723). His *Mémoire sur Dante* (Berlin, 1784), was translated into Italian by G. Polidori, and printed at the beginning of Zotti's London (1809) edition of Dante's *Canzoni e Sonetti*.]

²[*Inf.* ix. 62-3.]

³[T. J. Mathias (see below, pp. 556 ff.).]

and British Consul at Nantes, where he died in 1828. He was the author of translations of various Italian and French works, among the latter being Ten Hoven's *Mémoires Généalogiques de la Maison de Medicis* (La Haye, 1773-5), in which occur several interesting references to Dante, with quotations from the *Commedia* in the original. De Quincey praises this translation, and states that Clayton has improved on the work of his author.]

1797. MEMOIRS OF THE HOUSE OF MEDICI. FROM THE FRENCH OF M. TENHOVE, WITH NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS BY SIR RICHARD CLAYTON.

[The 'absurdities' of the *Divina Commedia*]

DANTE, Petrarch, and Boccaccio have immortalized themselves by the force of their own abilities; or, if they owed anything to other assistance, it could only have been derived from the Latin school. Strangers almost to the names of the ancient Grecian authors, they were ignorant of the purest sources of instruction, and unacquainted with works, which are stamped with the most beautiful impressions of nature, and will serve as models to every nation capable of elegance or sentiment.

Durante Alighieri, in modern pronunciation Dante, had been dead half a century before the birth of Cosmo de' Medici. His principal work was formed on the most extraordinary plan, with three divisions, under the titles of Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise, and will continue for ever to be the first classic production of his country.—Alone and without an equal, he stretches forward at the head of all its writers, and the rich picture which he has left, mellowed by time still captivates the connoisseur. . . . Dante, by his title of 'Comedia,' to which he added the epithet 'divina,'¹ meant to indicate merely the nature of his poem, which was less epic than dramatic. In fact, it consists of conversations between the poet and his guide, evil spirits, angels, the damned, sinners in a state of purgatory, and the blessed. To the want of a correct taste his absurd and burlesque images are to be attributed; and in a work of such sublimity and such seriousness, the disparity is shocking. . . . Even Scarron would be puzzled to discover, in his most ludicrous compositions, an idea more peculiarly proper for them, than the punishment which the Italian poet has assigned to pretended sorcerers and prophets. From their profane desire of looking into futurity he has condemned them to a distorted shape, and placed their faces over their shoulders. Tiresias, and the prophetess Manto, shed tears, which trickle down their backs, and their hair, by this poetical transfiguration, covers their breasts.

¹[Dante himself did not so call his poem; the epithet was added subsequently. It appears in some of the oldest MSS., and in Boccaccio's *Vita di Dante*. The first printed edition bearing the title *Divina Commedia* is the Venice one of 1555.]

Mira, ch' ha fatto petto delle spalle :
 Perchè volle veder troppo davante
 Dirietro guarda, e fa ritroso calle.
 Vedi Tiresia. . . .
 E quella, che ricuopre le mammelle
 Che tu non vedi, con le trecce sciolte
 Manto fu. . . .

Dante dell' Inferno, Cant. 20, 37-55.

Malebranche, Malacoda, Libicocco, Calcabrina,¹ and Scarmiglione Farfoletto,² are as ridiculous as they are frightful.

Per l' argine sinistro volta dienno :
 Ma prima avea ciascun la lingua stretta,
 Co' denti, verso lor duca, per cenno,
 Ed egli avea del cul fatto trombetta.

Dante dell' Inferno, Cant. 21, 136-9.

Satan himself is the character of all others the most horribly grotesque that ever occurred to the mind of man. This infernal being, of gigantic appearance, up to the middle in the ice of Styx,³ seems to be making violent and useless efforts to disengage himself, flapping with indignation his dirty leathern wings, of an immense size; and to complete the caricature, has three faces, one a livid yellow, another black, and the third of a scarlet colour. From six enflamed and blood-shot eyes fall streams of tears; three mouths pour forth torrents of blood, and in each he holds a hardened sinner. Judas occupies the post of honour in the centre, and to his astonishment discovers Brutus and Cassius in the other two.

Lo 'mperador del doloroso regno

Da mezzo 'l petto uscia fuor della ghiaccia :⁴ etc.

Could Dante have been ignorant of the established opinions in the Grecian and Roman republics, that the assassin of the tyrant who had usurped the sovereignty of his country was entitled to its gratitude? Could he be ignorant, that six hundred years after the fall of Hipparchus, the Athenians celebrated the festival of his murderers, and commemorated it in song? . . . If this circumstance of Grecian history was unknown to Dante, could he have been ignorant, that at Rome after the expulsion of her kings, the law of Tyrannicide was express and clear; that the action, which from its atrocity could never be approved, and ought by every honest man to be detested, an over-powering patriotism had considered as divine; that the memories of Brutus and Cassius had been long

¹[Calcabrina.]

²[Farfarello, an independent devil, distinct from Scarmiglione.]

³[Not Styx, but Cocytus.]

⁴[Clayton quotes *Inf.* xxxiv. 28-67.]

dear to the country ; and that they have been unanimously reckoned to have been heroes, the first of men, and the last of the Romans? The greatest absurdities are, however, sometimes the offspring of the sublimest talents, which have the privilege of committing them with impunity.—A great genius can only wander into extravagance, an inferior one never ventures to such a distance.—Notwithstanding Dante's egregious foibles he soon recovers his sublime situation, and by his thunder awakens his readers, that his absurd ideas or scholastic metaphysics had lulled with indifference to sleep. Like a vessel in a stormy ocean, at one moment he scales the heavens, in another he is buried in the waves beneath, till on the tenth succeeding one he mounts yet higher than he did before. On whatever part of the poem the eye is thrown by accident, it meets immediately with passages, that vie in beauty with the most finished productions of Greece and Rome. Paradise itself, the most feeble division of the work, sparkles with gems inferior but in number to those in Hell and Purgatory. Here indeed his warmest admirers will find some languid intervals, his vivid fire barely glitters, and his genius appears to be extinguished. Tedious and insipid allegories also frequently return, but, what spreads a mortal chill over this part of the poem, is an improper abuse of many metaphorical passages from scripture. The spiritual happiness of heaven is described in such a manner as either to make no impression whatever on the mind, or one that is obscure, indecisive, and unintelligible. Its joys are such as are inconceivable, and inapplicable to the human soul hereafter, as well as in its present state. Sometimes we are 'Stars, but babbling speaking stars, which shine with less or greater glory, turning on themselves with rapidity; which are absorbed in the sun; which issue out of it again; and which dance to the harmony of the spheres.' At others, we are told of 'Sarah, Rebecca, St. Bernard, St. Thomas Aquinas, Comestor, Bonaventure, and the Abbè Ioachim clothed in white robes, sitting upon benches, and chanting hosannahs without end.'

The superb ear of the two Tuscan orators would disgrace even the most vulgar language, against which Dante is not enough upon his guard. A mean sentiment clothed in graceful language is more easily overlooked than a brilliant one vulgarly expressed. Yet for Dante much is to be said. The great artist could not find an instrument ready for his use. The Italian idiom was then poor and abject, and he is justly reckoned the creator of the language; or, if this is too warm an eulogium, he certainly drew it from the dust, in which it scarcely crawled. They who have studied it, and who are acquainted with its miserable state, will see with pleasure how he has forced it forwards; how, instead of bending to it, he has led it captive, raised it to the height of his own ideas, and

enriched it with a manly vigour from the force of his own conceptions.—Force of language is to be found only with a force of conception, and no mortal ever exceeded Dante in it. Not only his own towering imagination inspired him with a grandeur of expression, but also the singular absurdity of his subject. Ariosto and Tasso have both borrowed many of his verses, which are not to be distinguished like those which Virgil has adopted from Ennius and Pacuvius, by their rust, but by an air of majesty, of uncultivated nature in her greatest exertions, which is peculiar to him. All the succeeding Italian versifiers are his disciples, and they may be truly styled,

la bella scuola
Di quel signor dell' altissimo canto
Che sovra gli altri, com' aquila, vola.
Dante dell' Inferno, Cant. 4, 94.

In one of his letters he boasts that rhyme had never fettered him;¹ but he forgets to acknowledge, that he often changed the received sense of the words he used, and that, like Homer, he laid every dialect under contribution his language would admit.—It is a bold assertion, and the fact is scarcely credible. Rhyme is so fierce a tyrant, that a great poet, manacled with its yoke, is an imprisoned eagle, which fastens with its beak upon the bars of its iron cage, whilst it fixes its steady eye upon the sun.

An ancient Florentine historian² reports that Dante was interred at Padua,³ the place of his exile, with great honour, and in the habit of a poet: 'A grande honore e in habito di poeta;' but he has not given us a description of his dress. Amongst the multitude of the Jesuit Harduin's Paradoxes, which he attempted to establish with an insolence to be matched only by their extravagance, he has questioned the authenticity of the 'Divina Commedia.'⁴ Notwithstanding the reality of its author is a fact as well founded as it is possible to be, he supposed it to have been a forgery of the early part of the fifteenth century. The contemporaries of the true Alighieri, he says, commended his person, without saying anything of his poem; and when others have mentioned it, he concludes, they were imposed upon themselves, and have also imposed upon us. In short he considers it as a personal invective against the Roman Pontiff by one of Wickliffe's disciples. . . .

Let us keep in mind the age in which Dante lived, and we shall

¹[Not in one of his letters—the boast is recorded by the anonymous author of the so-called *Ottimo Comento* on the *Divina Commedia*.]

²Villani.

³[Not Padua, but Ravenna, as Villani correctly states.]

⁴[In his *Doutes proposés sur l'âge du Dante*, printed in the *Mémoires de Trévoux*, Aug. 1727. (See above, pp. 217-18.)]

run little risk of undervaluing his talents, or doing injustice to his merit. There are indeed before him Italian versifiers, but what poets? Incoherent, confused, and such as he could neither have stooped to copy, nor to imitate. Yet he speaks himself of two Tuscan poetical authors, Guito Bonati¹ of Arezzo and Guido Guinicelli, who had some ingenuity, enjoyed some reputation in their own times, and had babbled in rhyme.

. . . The two Cavalcanti deserve rather more attention. . . . Dante has placed the elder in that part of hell, where the Emperor Frederic II and Farinata Uberti, with other heretics and unbelievers, are stretched in burning tombs.—Shade of immortal Dante, if hell gapes for those who only err, what mortal shall escape?—The true Christian is the honest conscientious man, the unbelievers and the heretics are the wicked! . . .

The majesty of Dante would not be easily preserved by a translation into almost any modern verse;² yet Mons. Ducis, in his tragedy of *Romeo and Juliet*, has imitated with wonderful success the Italian poet's horrible episode of Count Ugolino,³ and his children, so well known, and so much celebrated. . . .

The Latin Poems, and 'Lou cantar Provensales,' or Provencale Ballads, had been Dante's real model, and in gratitude he has placed in Purgatory one of the most famous Troubadors. Who are you? demands the Poet from a shade; and in his native jargon the shade replies, 'Jeu suis Arnault che plor e vai cantan.' . . .⁴

(Vol. i. Chap. ii. pp. 87 ff.)

[Landino's commentary on the *Divina Commedia*]

Amongst the writers in the age of the Medici, Christoforo Landino, the useful, but prolix commentator on Dante, ought not to be forgotten or omitted. Dante's immortal work is undoubtedly obscure, and will never be perfectly understood by many of its

¹[Not Guido Bonatti, who was a soothsayer of Forli, but Guittone d' Arezzo. The passage referred to is *Purg.* xi. 91-9, which is printed by Clayton.]

²I admit the difficulty of translating Dante, yet there are two Poets of our own country who are eminently qualified for such an undertaking. One * has already given the public three Cantos of the *Inferno*, in Dante's own manner, and the other † has favoured the world with some exquisite versions of Italian Poetry, in his valuable history of the Life of Lorenzo de' Medici.

³Exclusive of Mr. Boyd's ‡ translation in the course of his work, this pathetic story has been attempted in blank verse by Mr. Richardson,§ and by a noble Lord || in rhyme.—I am pleased with the former, and I admire the latter.

⁴[*Purg.* xxvi. 142.]

* [William Hayley (see above, pp. 359 ff.).]

† [William Roscoe (see above, pp. 526 ff.).]

‡ [See above, pp. 410 ff.]

§ [See above, pp. 198-9.]

|| [Earl of Carlisle (see above, pp. 334-6).]

readers, notwithstanding Landino has explained many of its difficulties, and thrown great light on the dark passages. His commentary¹ was dedicated to the State, and his labours were rewarded with a villa. A villa for notes.—It was the hour of enthusiasm!—On the new Commentary, Dante, who had been dead near two centuries, was recalled from his exile by a singular and formal process of the Senate; his forfeited goods were restored to his descendants; he was declared, with his posterity, capable of receiving all honours and offices, and his bust was crowned with laurel. The fanaticism of Marsilio Ficino was even more absurd, and the Platonic philosopher appeared under a temporary and joyous derangement of his understanding. ‘Father Apollo,’ he exclaims, ‘has at last, my Dante, listened to my lamentations, and commiserated thy exile. Mercury has been directed by him to assume the form of the pious Christoforo Landino, to awaken thee gently with his wand, and convey thee on his wings to Florence. Whilst thou art crowned with laurel, the gates of Heaven open at the sound, the empyreal blaze of glory for the first time illuminates the world. From whence proceeds the ravishing harmony that captivates our ears? Poets and the Muses, whose celestial voices have never been before heard, are now joining in congratulations, Dominions in the globe of Phoebus are now partaking of the concert, Archangels from the globe of Mercury are answering them in hymns, and singing, Glory to Apollo, Glory to the Muses, Glory to the Graces, and peace, and happiness, and joy to Florence!’²

(Vol. i. Chap. v. pp. 341-2.)

WILLIAM SEWARD

(1747-1799)

[William Seward, who was no relation, though a friend, of Anna Seward, the ‘Swan of Lichfield,’ was the son of a wealthy brewer in London, where he was born in 1747. He was educated at Harrow and Charterhouse, whence he went in 1764 to Oriel College, Oxford, having entered at Lincoln’s Inn in 1762. On leaving the University (without a degree) Seward travelled for some time in Italy. When he returned to England he resided always during the winter in London, where he became intimate with the Thrales, Dr. Johnson and the Burneys. He died in London in 1799. Seward, who was widely read, was the author of various compilations, of which the best known is his *Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons*, originally published anonymously in 1795-7, and several times reprinted. In this work are some interesting references to Dante.]

¹[First published with the Florentine edition of the *Divina Commedia* in 1481.]

²[This is extracted from the Latin Epistle of Ficino prefixed to Landino’s Commentary.]

1798. ANECDOTES OF DISTINGUISHED PERSONS, CHIEFLY OF THE PRESENT AND TWO PRECEDING CENTURIES.¹

[Fuseli and Milton : Michael Angelo and Dante]

UT pictura poesis erit, has been often said, and *pictor ut poeta* perhaps occasionally thought. Mr. Garrick used to call Salvator Rosa the Shakespeare of Painting, and might not the name of the Milton of Painting be transferred to our Mr. Fuseli. . . .? Who appears so fit to transmit and convey the ideas of Milton, as the Painter that seems possessed with the same sublimity and force of imagination which inspired the Poet? Who but Michael Angelo could have pourtrayed the gigantic ideas of Dante?

(Vol. i. pp. 460-1.)

[Dante's praise of Giotto]

No painter ever received greater praise than Giotto; Dante,² Petrarch, and Politian, all combined to celebrate his talents in the highest strain of panegyric. He was assuredly the best Painter they had seen; so that any one who reads what they have said of him, would have supposed him equal to Raphael or Michael Angelo.

(Vol. iii. pp. 8-9.)

[Michael Angelo and Dante]

Dante was the favourite poet of Michael Angelo, and he appears to have transfused into his works many of that writer's magnificent and sublime images.

(Vol. iii. p. 49.)

[Sir Joshua Reynolds' picture of Ugolino]

The late President of the Royal Academy³ carried his veneration for Michael Angelo so far, that he used to seal his letters with his head; and in the picture which he painted of himself for the Royal Academy, has represented himself standing near the bust of Michael Angelo, whose manner he perhaps never imitated so successfully, as in his picture of the Death of Count Ugolino.⁴

(Vol. iii. p. 51.)⁵

¹[Fourth edition, considerably enlarged, and newly arranged and digested.]

²[*Purg.* xi. 95.]

³[Sir Joshua Reynolds, d. 1792.]

⁴[Exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1773 (see above, p. 343).]

⁵[In this same volume (pp. 310-11) Seward repeats the story about Francis I and Dante's reference to Hugh Capet as the son of a butcher which is related by Desmaizeaux (see above, pp. 221-2).]

THOMAS JAMES MATHIAS

(c. 1754-1835)

[Thomas James Mathias, son of Vincent Mathias, sub-treasurer in the household of Queen Charlotte, was educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge (Scholar 1771, Fellow 1776, M.A. 1777). While at Cambridge he was private tutor to Spencer Perceval, the future prime minister. In 1782 he succeeded his father as sub-treasurer to Queen Charlotte, and afterwards became treasurer, and also librarian at Buckingham Palace (c. 1812). In 1817, for reasons of health, he left England for Southern Italy, where he passed the remainder of his life. He died at Naples in 1835. Mathias who was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1795, is best known as the author of the *Pursuits of Literature* (1794-7), an anonymous satire on contemporary authors, and as the editor of *The Works of Thomas Gray* (1814). He was an accomplished Italian scholar, ranking as 'the best English scholar in that language since the time of Milton.' He is said to have originally learned Italian from Agostino Isola, the Italian teacher at Cambridge appointed by Gray in 1768 (see above, pp. 358-9), and he perfected himself in the language during a residence of nearly twenty years in Italy. His most important publications in Italian were two series of *Componimenti Lirici de' più illustri Poeti d' Italia* (London, 1802, and 1808; reprinted at Naples in 1819), in which several of Dante's lyrical poems were for the first time printed in England; *Canzoni Toscane* (Lond. 1805); *Canzoni e Prose Toscane* (Lond. 1808); *Poesie Liriche Toscane* (Lond. 1810 and 1816, Florence 1817, Naples 1819 and 1830); and *Poesie di Scrittori illustri Inglesi, recate in verso Italiano* (Naples, 1830), which includes Italian versions of Milton's *Lycidas* (originally privately printed in London in 1812), Thomson's *Castle of Indolence*, Spenser's *Mutabilitie*, etc. He addressed Italian *Canzoni*, among others, to William Roscoe and to Norton Nicholls, the friend of Gray, a memoir of whom he included in his edition of the works of Gray. Mathias also rendered great service to Italian letters in England by his editions of the works of Crescimbeni (Lond. 1803), Tiraboschi (Lond. 1803), and Gravina (Lond. 1806), on Italian literature.]

1798. THE PURSUITS OF LITERATURE. A SATIRICAL POEM IN FOUR DIALOGUES.¹ WITH NOTES. FIFTH EDITION.

[The language and style of Dante]

INTRODUCTORY Letter to a Friend.²—I would not have any one think, that an appeal to the higher poets of modern Italy is either trifling or disgraceful. No man ever felt the power of poetry, if he refused his homage to Dante, Petrarch, Ariosto, and Tasso; I mean, if their language was familiar to him.

In their primal poet there is an originality and a hardihood of antiquity. The soul of Dante was dark and sullen: it was proud, and full of his wrongs.

Frons laeta parum et dejecto lumina vultu.

He passed through imaginary realms without the sun, to the confines of light and hope. The day shone full upon him, and the beams were from on high. His draught of men and their passions

¹[The First Dialogue was originally published in 1794, the Second and Third in 1796, and the Fourth in 1797. A sixteenth edition of the work appeared in 1812.]

²[This *Introductory Letter* was first prefixed to the fifth edition.]

is eternal. His language was like himself, deep and full of matter ; its strength and harmony may be best expressed by his Tuscan brother :

Aspro con cento, orribile armonia
D' alte querele, d' ululi, e di strida,
Istranamente concordar s' udia.

Ariosto, O.F. c. 14.

(Ed. 1801, pp. 24-5.)

[The 'melancholy strain' of Dante]

The well-wishers to their country are, above all things, desirous of the steady light of Literature, and of the dayspring from on high. Yet whatever they or we may hope, the horizon may perhaps be now illuminated with its departing beams. I will yet strive to be full of hope ; though in some passing moments of dejection, the strain of the Florentine poet, in all its melancholy harmony, dwells upon my ear :

Pensa, che questo dì mai non raggiorna !

'Pause ; and reflect, that a day like this may never dawn again.'
Dante Parad.¹

(*Ibid.* p. 30.)

[Dryden wielding the pencil of Dante]

Dryden paints the horrors of anarchy, sedition, rebellion, and democracy, with the pencil of Dante, or of Michael Angelo ; and he gives the speeches of his heroes with the strength, propriety, and correctness of Virgil.

(*Ibid.* p. 34.)

1801. THE PURSUITS OF LITERATURE. A SATIRICAL POEM IN FOUR DIALOGUES. WITH NOTES. ELEVENTH EDITION, WITH THE CITATIONS TRANSLATED.²

[Pathos in Rousseau and Dante]

I never read the Eloisa of Rousseau without the pathetic exclamation of Dante :

Per più fiate gli occhi ci sospinse
Quella lettura, e scolorocci il viso ;
Ma solo un punto fu quel che ci vinse
Quando leggemmo, cominciai, *Ahi, lasso !*
Quanti dolci pensier, quanto desio
Menò costoro al doloroso passo !

¹[Actually, *Purg.* xii. 84.]

²[The eleventh edition was the first in which the quotations were translated ; but three editions of *Translations of the passages quoted in the Pursuits of Literature* had appeared in 1798.]

‘That work often affected us, and our cheeks turned pale as we were reading it; but there was one circumstance which quite subdued us. As we were proceeding, I exclaimed, Alas! what softness of sentiment, what extasy of rapture, conducted these wretched souls to the paths of sorrow.’¹

Dante *Inf.* c. 5.

(*Notes to Dialogue i.* pp. 57-8.)

[Dante’s description of a storm]

At this very hour, when the public mind was darkened that it could not discern, when in every quarter of the heaven appeared vapour, and mist, and cloud, and exhalation :

La piova maladetta, fredda, e greve,
(Regola e qualità strana, e nuova)
Grandine grossa, e acqua tinta, e neve,
Per l’ aer tenebroso si riversa!²

‘It was a storm of accursed quality; of rain, cold, heavy, and frequent, with hail stones and sleet, and thick discoloured snow, pouring down in torrents through the darkened regions of the air.’
Dante *Inf.* C. 6. From what other Poet, ancient or modern, could I draw forth such expressions?—At this very hour the morning horizon began suddenly to redden.

(*Preface to Dialogue iii.* pp. 170-1.)

[Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch]

The Latian genius vindicates his state,
And proudly hails the great *Triumvirate*,³
Lords of the lyre, and fathers of the song,
In Fancy’s order as they pass along.

(*Dialogue iii.* ll. 265-8, p. 234.)

[Motto from Dante]

L’ ombra sua torna ch’ era dipartita.

‘His shade, which had left us for a season, is now on his return.’
Dante.⁴

(*Preface to Dialogue iv.* p. 243.)

[The ‘awful strain’ of Dante]

When I consider the *future* condition of Europe under the revolutionary tyranny of France, in principles, morals, and government, I muse upon the awful strain of the Florentine poet :

¹[This quotation is made up from *Inf.* v. 130-3 and 112-14.]

²[*Inf.* vi. 8-11, adapted.]

³Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch.

⁴[*Inf.* iv. 81.]

Si trapassammo per sozza mistura
 Dell' ombre e della pioggia, a passi lenti,
 Toccando un poco *la vita futura!*

'Thus with slow and wandering steps we passed through *the palpable obscure*, through the solid temperament of darkness, mixed with drizzling rain. Our talk was of the life to come.'¹

Dante Inf. Cant. 6.

(*Preface to Dialogue iv. p. 259.*)

[Burke compared to Dante]

Mr. Burke gave it as his opinion, in his 'Two Letters on the Proposals for peace' (1796) that there are 400,000 political citizens in Great Britain, of whom 80,000 are pure Jacobins, and the other four-fifths perfectly sound, &c. &c. In this particular instance I shall only say of this great and venerable man, what one of Dante's Commentators says on a passage in the *Purgatorio*: 'Per verità, è un gran capriccio; ma in ciò segue il suo stile.' Dante, Shakspeare, Milton, and Burke, all abound in similar *capriccios*.

(*Notes to Dialogue iv. p. 399.*)

[Fuseli and Dante]

Who may speak of the secrets of the abyss *thus* [in 'the Milton Gallery'] disclosed by this mighty Painter [Fuseli] under the mingled inspiration of Dante, Michael Angelo, and his great Original? Dante alone: he indeed might say in language labouring for a vent:

S' io avessi le rime e aspre e chioce,
 Come si converrebbe al tristo buco,
 Io premerci di mio concetto il suco
 Più pienamente; ma perch' io non l' abbo,
 Non senza tema a dicer mi conduco,
 Che non è impresa da pigliare a gabbo
 Descriver fondo a tutto l' Universo.

'If I were master of those harsh and rugged rhymes, which are adapted to the melancholy cavernous entrance, I would express the very inmost sap of my conceptions; but as I feel myself wanting, it is not without fear and apprehension that I speak, for it is no ordinary enterprise to paint to the world at large the wonders of 'The Abyss!'²

Inf. c. 32.

(*Ibid. p. 442.*)

¹[*Inf. vi. 100-2.*]

²[*Inf. xxxii. 1-8, mistranslated.*]

1802. *COMPONIMENTI LIRICI DE' PIÙ ILLUSTRI POETI D' ITALIA, SCELTI DA T. J. MATHIAS.*¹ 3 VOLL.

[In this work Mathias prints (for the first time in England) the third Canzone in the *Vita Nuova* (Canz. iv.) 'Gli occhi dolenti per pietà del core' (vol. i. pp. 3-7), and the twenty-fourth Sonnet in the *Vita Nuova* (Son. xxiv.) 'Deh, pellegrini, chè pensosi andate' (vol. iii. p. 137).]

1808. *AGGIUNTA AI COMPONIMENTI LIRICI DE' PIÙ ILLUSTRI POETI D' ITALIA, SCELTI DA T. J. MATHIAS.*² 3 VOLL.

[In this work Mathias prints (for the first time in England) the first Canzone in the *Vita Nuova* (Canz. i.) 'Donne, ch' avete intelletto d' Amore' (vol. i. pp. 5-9); and the second Canzone in the *Convivio* (Canz. vii.) 'Amor, che nella mente mi ragiona' (vol. i. pp. 9-14). He also prints *Brevi Notizie di Dante Alighieri*, written by himself in Italian.]

1809. *MEMOIR OF THE REV. NORTON NICHOLLS.*

[Nicholls, Gray, and Dante]

At the time when Mr. Nicholls became a student in Trinity Hall, the University of Cambridge was the chosen residence of Mr. Gray. . . . It was natural to feel a gratification in being a member of the same learned society with him; and it was natural also to aspire (if possible) even to a distant intercourse with such a man. . . . By the intervention of a common friend, Mr. Nicholls, when between eighteen and nineteen years of age, was introduced to Mr. Gray. I remember he told me, what an awe he felt at the time, at the lightning of his eye, at that *folgorante sguardo*, as the Tuscans term it; but Mr. Gray's courtesy and encouraging affability soon dispersed every uneasy sensation, and gave him confidence.

Shortly after this Mr. N. was in a select company of which Mr. Gray was one; and, as it became his youth, he did not enter into the conversation, but listened with attention. The subject, however, being general and classical, and as Mr. Nicholls, even at that early period, was acquainted not only with the Greek and Latin but with many of the best Italian poets, he ventured with great diffidence to offer a short remark, and happened to illustrate what he said by an apposite citation from Dante. At the name of Dante, . . . Mr. Gray suddenly turned round to him and said, 'Right: but have you read Dante, Sir?' 'I have endeavoured to understand him,' replied Mr. N. Mr. Gray, being much pleased with the illustration and with the taste which it evinced, addressed

¹[Londra: presso T. Becket, Pall-Mall; dalla Stamperia di Bulmer e Co. Cleveland-Row, St. James's.]

²[Londra: presso T. Becket; dalla Stamperia di Gugl. Bulmer e Co.]

the chief of his discourse to him for the remainder of the evening, and invited him to his rooms in Pembroke Hall.¹

1812. LICIDA DI GIOVANNI MILTON. MONODIA PER LA MORTE DEL NAUFRAGATO EDUARDO KING, TRADOTTA DALL' INGLESE DA T. J. MATHIAS.²

[Imitation of Dante—'The Pilot of the Galilean Lake']

Alfin da Galilea³
 Ultimo giunse, ed ultimo partio,
 Quei che afferrò due chiavi⁴
 E poderose e gravi,
 Nè di stesso metal, nè di lavoro,
 O che chiuda, o disserrì, è il ferro e l' oro :
 Fiero crollò la sua mitrata chioma
 Quel celestial nocchiero⁵
 Della santa palude,
 E s' inteser da lui parole crude :
 'Anzi che perder te, giovin pastore,
 Quanti si può di quei
 Che sol con ventre ingordo,
 D' ingegno sozzo e lordo,
 Osano a rampicar nel chiuso ovile !
 Su gli occhi lor mai non lampeggia il cielo ;
 Ma, al banchettar delle tosate lane,
 Fanno oltraggio ai più degni convitati :
 (Oh senza lume ! oh bocche, oh gole immonde !)
 Nè prendono il vincastro, nè pur sanno
 La millesima parte delle cure
 Che sente un buon pastor santo e fedele.
 Oh, vane mie querele !
 A lor che tocca ?—gente sorda e bassa !
 Ne' lor sciocchi diporti oziosi stanno,
 Su zampogne di strame aspro-stridenti
 Tintin suonando⁶ con lor folle nota.
 Alzano in su le smorte pecorelle⁷

¹[For Norton Nicholls' own account of this incident, see below, pp. 677-8.]

²[Privately printed; it was published in 1816 in *Poesie Liriche Toscane*.]

³Tutto questo passaggio è scritto nel gusto e nello stile di Dante, donde Milton prese molte delle sue idee.

⁴Dante nel Canto 13 dell' Inferno, così scrive: 'Io son colui che tenni ambo le chiavi, Serrando e disserrando.'—E nel Canto 27: 'Lo ciel poss' io serrare e disserrare, Come tu sai, però son due le chiavi.'

⁵[*Purg.* ii. 43.]

⁶[*Par.* x. 143.]

⁷Il poeta Fiorentino dice che, ne' suoi tempi, il *Papa* era divenuto *Lupo*, e che le dottrine del Vangelo erano perdute o scurate nelle favole, ne' sogni e nelle ciance de' predicanti. V. *Paradiso*, C. 9 e C. 29.

Famelici gli sguardi,
 E a passi pigri e tardi
 Erran pasciute sì, ma sol di vento.¹
 * * * *

Sì, Licida affondò, ma sorse in gloria
 Con immortal vittoria,
 Mercè di Quel Possente²
 Che fe' dell' onde suol mentre passava.
 * * * *

(pp. 14 ff.)

1814. NOTE TO GRAY'S 'SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE USE OF RHYME.'

[Saying of Dante applied to Gray]

If any apology could be conceived to be necessary for the minuteness of these discussions by Mr. Gray, we might adapt the words of the primal poet of Italy to such laborious and happy investigations:

Senti ben *la virtù di quella corda*
 Che ciò che scocca drizza in segno lieto :
 È vero, che la forma non s' accorda
 Molte fiate all' intention dell' arte,
 Poichè a risponder la materia è sorda.³

*Dante Parad. C. 1. v. 125.**(Works of Gray, vol. ii. p. 44.)*

1814. NOTE TO GRAY'S 'SOME REMARKS ON THE POEMS OF LYDGATE.'

[Dante's title for Virgil applied to Gray]

It is much to be regretted, that no other observations, relating to the subject of any intended History of English Poetry, have been found among the manuscripts of Mr. Gray.

Qui pose fine 'al bel ragionamento
L' alto Dottore—

E nuova sete invano ancor ci fruga.

*Dante Purgat.⁴**(Ibid. vol. ii. p. 80.)*

1814. POSTSCRIPT TO GRAY'S WORKS.

[Gray's knowledge of Dante]

The language of modern Italy, in prose and in poetry, made a very favourite part of Mr. Gray's study. He was accurately and

¹[*Par. xxix. 106-7.*]²S' intende N.S. Gesù Cristo. 'Vidi venire Un Possente Con segno di vittoria incoronato.' V. Dante; *Inferno C. 4.*³[Loosely quoted.]⁴[xviii. 1-2, 4; adapted.]

intimately conversant with the higher Tuscan poets, whom *he* might be allowed to call *his* great progenitors or precursors. His genius was eminently formed and disposed to accompany that traveller,¹ who returned from the nethermost abyss, from the abodes of terrour, of sorrow, and of despair, who, having read the record on the portal of the Inferno, dared also to make, what a kindred poet in after ages styled *the eternal blazon*.² . . . If indeed the veil of classical reverence and of pardonable prejudice can be awhile removed, and if with honest unshrinking criticism we consider the subject as exemplified in Greece, and in Italy ancient and modern, and weigh the merits of *any single* composition of Pindar, of Horace, of Dante, of Petrarch, or of any of their successors, it will fade before that excellence which encompasses, with an uncommunicable brightness, *The Bard of Gray*. An attentive and competent judge will be inclined to attribute this not only to Gray's genius, which was second to none, but to the peculiar turn of his poetical studies. Before him, with the exception of Milton, no English poet had taken *equal* draughts from the Ilyssus and from the Arno . . . no one had read with equal discernment the odes of Pindar, the choral harmonies of the Greek tragedians, and all the higher *canzoni* of Dante, and of Petrarch, and of their illustrious successors.

(*Works of Gray*, vol. ii. pp. 606-8.)

[Dante and Petrarch the creators of the Italian language]

After some feeble momentary gleams from Guittone of Arezzo, Cino of Pistoja, and a very few others of less note in that age, Dante, with Petrarch not far from his side, burst forth, and with an originality of genius and of conception, created and exhibited at once the full power of his language in force, in softness, and in dignity.

(*Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 610-11.)

[Dante and the other great poets of Italy free from 'conceits']

To persons who are accurately versed in the language, the literature, and in the poetry of modern Italy, it cannot but be surprising, that it should be peremptorily and ignorantly regarded as the language of *conceit*, and of *false thought*; and that its votaries should be marked as admirers of tinsel and not of gold. Of what authors, and of what poets, do these objectors speak? In charity to their knowledge and to their judgment it must be supposed, that they speak not of Dante, of Petrarch, of Poliziano, of Lorenzo, of Bembo, of Ariosto, of Tasso. . . .

(*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 611.)

¹[Dante.]

²[*Hamlet*, i. 5.]

[The indebtedness of their successors to Dante and Petrarch]

The greatest poets of modern Italy in every age, Ariosto, Tasso, and their successors, have in their works adopted and incorporated phrases (and even entire lines) from the fathers of their verse, the primal glory of the Tuscan literature, Dante and Petrarch: nor was this imputed to imitation. In mere language, what was once *well* expressed by *the two Florentines* with energy, with softness, or with majesty, was considered and deemed, by the higher poets and critics of that illustrious nation, as fixed and as common to all who had sense, and spirit, and judgment to use them; and they regarded the casual, or the deliberate, adoption of such phrases or of such lines, not as servile imitation, not as poverty of invention, but as an homage to the great creators of their language, and to the authors and finishers of their harmonious expression. Spenser, Shakspeare, and Milton, were to Gray, and should be to his successors, what Dante and Petrarch were to Ariosto and Tasso. It will be no injury to true criticism to adopt the liberal spirit of Italy in this matter, and poetry in England may again send forth, what Milton would call, 'mellifluous streams,' when drawn from the original fountains of the Ilyssus and of the Arno.

(*Works of Gray*, vol. ii. pp. 620-1.)

[Gray in his solitude compared to Dante]

There are persons, whose judgment and whose experience incline them to think . . . that the retirement of *private* life is the true scene in which transcendent abilities such as Gray's can alone appear in their proper dimensions. . . . Such persons will call to mind what has been performed *in the depths of privacy*: they will recollect the retirement and the labours of *The Mantuan* on the shores of his beloved Parthenope; they will remember the work planned and perfected by the great *Florentine* in his banishment; nor will *That Poet*¹ pass unnoticed, who from the recesses of Valclusa commanded the admiration of his own and of succeeding ages.

(*Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 627-8.)

WILLIAM TAYLOR

(1765-1836)

[William Taylor was the son of a manufacturer of Norwich, where he was born in 1765. In order to qualify him for the foreign correspondence of the business his father sent him abroad, where he mastered French, Italian, and German, and became an enthusiast for German literature. On the dissolution of his father's firm in

¹[Petrarch.]

1791, Taylor devoted himself to literary pursuits. He had already made a name by his translation in 1790 of Bürger's *Lenore*, of which Scott made use in his version (1796.) In the same year he had translated Lessing's *Nathan* and Goethe's *Iphigenia*, but these were not published till later. In 1793 he began to contribute critical articles to the *Monthly Review*, and between this date and 1824 he wrote some 1750 articles for various magazines and reviews. In 1798 he became intimate with Southey, with whom he corresponded for many years. Among his friends of the younger generation was George Borrow, who learned German from him, and afterwards introduced him into *Lavengro*. In 1828-30 Taylor produced his most important work, the *Historic Survey of German Poetry*, in three volumes, which was severely reviewed by Carlyle in the *Edinburgh Review*, where he characterised the *Survey* as 'one great Error.' Taylor frequently refers to Dante in his writings, but without much appreciation.]

1798. July. MONTHLY REVIEW. MEMOIRS OF THE HOUSE OF MEDICI. FROM THE FRENCH OF MR. TENHOVE, BY SIR RICHARD CLAYTON.¹

[The 'tediousness' and 'absurdities' of the *Divina Commedia*]

THE second chapter is occupied by the literary history of the age of Cosmo. *Dante*, perhaps, is overrated; his sublime metaphors and strong lines will not atone for the tediousness of his orthodox conversations, for the nauseous infusion of burlesque absurdities, and for the incongruous Paganism of his mythology: such fine passages as the majestic interview with Cavalcanti's shade, and the pathetic story of Ugolino, seldom occur. Boyd's translation² often improves this poet. . . .

Michelagnolo's statue of Moses, and his painting of the last judgment, (which abounds with traces of the perusal of Dante,) are the most known of his sublime productions.

(Vol. xxvi. pp. 243, 249.)

1799. March 25. LETTER TO ROBERT SOUTHEY (from Norwich).

[Southey's *Joan of Arc* 'worthy of Dante']

I have received your second volume of poems, and have read them all with great pleasure. . . . The 'Vision of Joan of Arc' is worthy of Dante; but this will seem to you rather a phrase than a praise, after the opinion I intimated of that poet in the reviewal³ of Clayton's 'Tenhove's Memoirs of the Medici,' yet I know not how to convey better the sort of impression it made on me.

(*Memoir of the Life and Writings of the late William Taylor of Norwich*, vol. i. p. 267.)

¹[See above, pp. 548 ff.]

²[See above, pp. 410 ff. Clayton gives Boyd's version of several of the quotations from the *Commedia*.]

³[In vol. xxvi. (1798) of the *Monthly Review* (see previous extract).]

1805. December. MONTHLY REVIEW. THE SONG OF THE SUN. A POEM OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY; FROM THE MORE ANTIEN ICELANDIC COLLECTION CALLED THE EDDA. IMITATED BY THE REV. JAMES BERESFORD.¹

[The 'absurdities' of the *Inferno* and *Paradiso*]

According to the Memoir prefixed to this poem, Saemundar, author or compiler of the most ancient Edda, from which the Song of the Sun is taken, was born in the southern quarter of Iceland, about the year 1054: left his country when a boy for the purpose of travelling in quest of information and learning; was discovered by St. Jonas, Bishop of Hóla in Iceland, as he was on his journey to Rome; and was induced to accompany him in his tour, and to return with this prelate to his own country, in A.D. 1076. Hence it is probable that the prominent ideas of Saemundar, in his Song of the Sun, were not the fruit of 'invention which luxuriates in a new creation,' but were little more than the fancies which he had collected from the Italian priests: who, perhaps, suggested to Dante, in a subsequent period, the absurdities of his *Inferno* and *Paradiso*.²

(Vol. xlviii. p. 414.)

1823. August. MONTHLY REVIEW. FOSCOLO'S ESSAYS ON PETRARCH.³

[Dante and Petrarch compared]

Until our own times, Petrarch was even deemed superior to Dante by most of the wits and critics of Italy, especially since the lively and polished age of Leo the Tenth: but such an opinion is fast losing ground, owing to the efforts of a more hardy and vigorous spirit of criticism, which has lately begun to prevail both in Italy and elsewhere. . . .

Petrarch himself affected to mingle Dante indiscriminately with others who were eclipsed by his own fame.

Ma ben ti prego, che in la terza spera,
Guitton saluti, e Messer Cino, e Dante,
Franceschin nostro, e tutta quella schiera, &c.

. . . The parallel between Petrarch and Dante teaches an important lesson to humanity, while it affords a striking contrast. Both were founders of the literature and poetry of their country: both acted a distinguished part in the historical drama of their age; and they were nearly contemporary with each other:—yet Petrarch basked in the smiles of princes, was the favourite of the

¹[1764-1840.]

²[See an article on the same subject in the *Annual Review* for 1805 (below, pp. 675-6).]

³[See vol. ii. pp. 167 ff.]

people, was surrounded with temporary honours, and tasted an earnest of his future fame; while the proscribed and persecuted Dante was compelled to beg his way from court to court, and to experience,

‘How salt the savour is of other’s bread,
How hard the passage to descend and climb
By other’s stairs.’¹

(Cary’s *Trans.*)

Still we behold him preserving a noble pride and equanimity in the midst of all his sufferings; exclaiming, with equal fearlessness and truth,

‘Conscience makes me firm.
The boon companion who her strong breast-plate
Buckles on him who feels no guilt within,
And bids him on and fear not.’²

On the contrary, Petrarch’s discontent and wretchedness but too loudly make themselves heard in a tone of querulous sorrow and complaint, which manifests the feebleness and inferiority of his mind even in the midst of all his prosperity, and all the flatteries of the great.

(Vol. ci. pp. 397-8.)

NATHAN DRAKE

(1766-1836)

[Nathan Drake, whose father was an artist, was born at York in 1766. He was brought up to the medical profession and practised as a physician at Sudbury and Hadleigh in Suffolk, where he died in 1836. Drake devoted much of his time to literature as well as to medicine, and was the author of several volumes of miscellaneous essays, besides a work on *Shakespeare and his Times*, which was published in 1817. His most successful collection of essays was his *Literary Hours*, published in 1798, of which a second edition appeared in 1800, a third in 1804, and a fourth in 1820. In one of these essays Drake credits Dr. Darwin, the author of the *Botanic Garden*, with ‘an imagination wild and terrific as that of Dante.’]

1798. LITERARY HOURS: OR SKETCHES CRITICAL AND NARRATIVE.³

[Motto from Dante]

E’ QUANTO à dir qual era, è cosa dura,
Questa ‘valle’ selvaggia ed aspra e forte
Che nel pensier rinnuova la paura.—
Tanto è amara, che pocco è più morte:
Ma per trattar del ben, ch’ i vi trovai,
Dirò del altre cose, ch’ i v’ ho scorte.

Dante.⁴

¹[*Par.* xvii. 58-60.]

²[*Inf.* xxviii. 115-17.]

³[In the third and fourth editions the sub-title was altered to *Sketches Critical, Narrative, and Poetical.*]

⁴[*Inf.* i. 4-9.]

The place I know not, where I chanc'd to rove ;
 It was a wood so wild, it wounds me sore
 But to remember with what ills I strove ;
 Such still my dread, that death is little more.
 But I will tell the good which there I found.
 High things 'twas there my fortune to explore.

Hayley.

(p. 55.)

[The sonnets of Dante and Milton]

Dante, though not the inventor of the sonnet, was the first illustrious Italian who succeeded in the composition of it. The same severe and sublime spirit which pervades his wonderful production, the *Comedia*, may be perceived in these smaller poems, though a few, written in early life, sparkle with pleasure, and youthful gaiety. A striking similitude exists between this great poet and our immortal Milton, whose sonnets partake much more of the genius of Dante than of Petrarch. Both were fond of the gloomy and the terrible, both were judges and lovers of music, both were deeply immersed in the politics of their times, and both felt the vengeance of irritated faction. That Milton was familiar with the writings of his great Predecessor a beautiful passage in his *Epistles* fully evinces.¹ . . .

The sonnets of Milton, like those of Dante, are frequently deficient in sweetness of diction and harmony of versification, yet they possess what seldom is discernible in compositions of this kind, energy and sublimity of sentiment.

(pp. 62-3.)

[Dante's Ugolino]

No efforts of genius . . . are so truly great as those which approaching the brink of horror, have yet, by the art of the poet or painter, by adjunctive and picturesque embellishment, by pathetic, and sublime emotion, been rendered powerful in creating the most delightful and fascinating sensations. . . . Many strong instances of emotions of this kind unmingled with the wild fictions of superstition, yet productive of the highest interest, might, had we room for their insertion, be quoted from Shakspeare, but perhaps the first specimen in the records of poetry is to be found in the works of an elder poet, in the *Inferno* of Dante.

A whole family perishing from hunger in a gloomy dungeon, would appear to partake too much of the *terrible* for either poetry or painting, yet has *Dante*, by the introduction of various pathetic touches rendered such a description the most striking, original and

¹[Drake here quotes the passage relating to Dante and Petrarch in Milton's Latin letter to Benedetto Buonmattai (see above, p. 124).]

affecting scene perhaps in the world, and *Sir Joshua Reynolds* by his celebrated picture of Ugolino,¹ has shewn that, through the medium of exalted genius, it is equally adapted to the canvas. *Michael Angelo* too, an enthusiastic disciple of Dante, and possessing similar powers, has likewise executed a Bas-Relief² on the subject.³

(pp. 247-8.)

[Boyd's translation of the *Inferno*]

Of the Italian poets we possess some good translations; the Ariosto of Hoole I think much superior to his Tasso, and the *Inferno* of that wonderful genius Dante is well laid open to the curiosity of the public by Mr. Boyd.⁴

(p. 474.)

[Motto from Dante]

Come d' Autunno si levan le foglie
L' una appresso dell' altra, infin che 'l ramo
Rende alla terra tutte le sue spoglie;
Similmente il mal seme—
Gittansi—ad una ad una—

Dante.⁵

(No. xix. ed. 1800.)

[Dr. Darwin compared to Dante]

Dr. Darwin⁶ has lately favoured the world with a poem perfectly original in its design, and whose versification is the most correct and brilliant in our language. Nothing can exceed the exquisite taste with which the diction of the *Botanic Garden*⁷ is selected; and the facility which the author enjoys of describing, without the smallest injury to the polish and melody of his lines, the most intricate objects of nature and of art, is truly astonishing. A playfulness of fancy, an unbounded variety of fiction, an imagination wild and terrific as that of Dante or Shakspeare, and an intimate knowledge of every branch of science and natural history, conspire to render this poem perfectly unique.

(No. xxix. ed. 1800.)

¹[See above, p. 343.]

²[See above, p. 199.]

³[Here follows Joseph Warton's paraphrase of the Ugolino episode, from his *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope* (see above, pp. 302-3).]

⁴This, however, and every previous version of Dante, has been thrown into the shade by the admirable translation of Mr. Cary, who has succeeded in giving to his copy the air and spirit of an original. [This note was added in the fourth edition in 1820.]

⁵[*Inf.* iii. 112-16.]

⁶[Erasmus Darwin (1731-1802), grandfather of the famous naturalist, Charles Darwin.]

⁷[Published in two parts,—the second, the *Loves of the Plants*, in 1789; the first, the *Economy of Vegetation*, in 1792.]

ANONYMOUS

1798. EXTRACTS FROM THE WORKS OF THE MOST CELEBRATED ITALIAN POETS. WITH TRANSLATIONS BY ADMIRER ENGLISH AUTHORS.¹

From the Inferno of Dante

[*Inferno* iii. 1-30: Italian text, with English translation of ll. 1-9 by Hayley,² and of the remainder by Boyd.³]

(pp. 30-3.)

Paul and Frances. From Dante

[*Inferno* v. 121-41: Italian text, with English translation by Boyd.³]

(pp. 36-9.)

From Dante's Inferno

[*Inferno* xxiv. 1-15: Italian text, with English translation by Boyd.³]

(pp. 48-9.)

From Dante's Inferno

[*Inferno* iii. 82-120: Italian text with English translation by Hayley.²]

(pp. 96-9.)

Hugolino. From the Inferno of Dante

[*Inferno* xxxii. 125-39, xxxiii. 1-90: Italian text, with English translation by Boyd.³]

(pp. 184-95.)

VINCENZO PERETTI

(fl. 1790)

1798. GUIDA ALLA PRONUNZIA, E ALL' INTELLIGENZA DELL' ITALIANO, O SIA RACCOLTA DI PROSE ITALIANE.

[Published in London, by T. Gillett. The author is described on the title-page as 'Professore di Lingua Italiana.' In Part II is given Giovanni Villani's account of Dante: 'Morte del Dante, e suo Carattere' (pp. 148-51).]

ANONYMOUS

1798. AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERARY HISTORY OF THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.

[Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, precursors of the Renaissance, and the first to write in the vulgar tongue]

ABOUT the era of the revival of letters, or, to speak more correctly, of the revival of classical and polite literature, there can be no dispute. Dante, Petrarch, and Boccace, were at once its earliest and most successful restorers. . . .

¹[There is also an Italian title-page:—*I Fiori del Parnasso Italiano; ovvero una Raccolta di Rime Estratta dall' Opere de' più Celebri Poeti Italiani.*]

²[See above, pp. 359 ff.]

³[See above, pp. 410 ff.]

The author has attempted at some length to explain and illustrate the principal causes to which in his opinion the re-appearance of learning may be properly attributed, its dawn in the eleventh, and an increasing radiance in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. For this seems the proper place to observe, that learning, however defined, the sciences, and in some respects the arts, had re-appeared before the age of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccace. To them we owe the introduction of classical studies, the first happy imitation of the Roman authors, and what was yet more important, the first successful cultivation of their vernacular tongue. Nor will it be denied that their age was marked by a corresponding progress of rapidity and success in the polite arts. It is this splendid assemblage of merit which has caused *theirs* to be considered as the exclusive period of reviving letters, though with considerable injustice of the two preceding centuries.

(*Preface*, pp. iii, xv-xvi.)

[Revival of Latin in the time of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio]

From the reign of Theodorick, or more certainly from the establishment of the Lombards, the knowledge of Greek seems almost entirely to have ceased in the west, and the fall of learning has the same date. Both began to revive at the same period; and while Dante, Petrarch, and Boccace offer the first specimens of classical composition in the Latin tongue, Barlaam and Leontius Pilatus awakened the desire of scholars towards Greek, and paved the way for their greater successors.

(*Part i. Chap. ii.* pp. 45-6.)

[The troubadours extinguished by Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio]

In a flourishing reign of two centuries such were the extent and prevalence of the Provençal Poetry, that the wits of every clime were content to borrow its language and adopt its fables. At last, in Italy, a set of men arose who resolved to cultivate their native tongue, and address themselves to their countrymen at large. At the head of these was Brunetti Latini the master, and Guy Cavalcanti the friend, of Dante; but it was that poet who, with Petrarch and Boccace, may be considered as having given a mortal blow, first to the honours, and ultimately to the existence, of the Troubadours.

(*Part ii. Chap. v.* pp. 180-1.)

[Dante and the poetical successors of Frederick II]

The honour of first appropriating the Italian to the purposes of poetry seems to rest with Frederic the Second, his two natural sons Enzo or Entius, and Mainfroy, and his minister Petrus de Vineis.

His successors in this undertaking have been celebrated by Dante ; but with the exception of Guy Cavalcanti, his poetical master, though he himself honours Guinicelli with his title of Father,¹ a deserved forgetfulness has invaded their works and almost their names.

(Part iii. Chap. ii. p. 259.)

ANONYMOUS : G. T.

1799. July. MONTHLY MAGAZINE. REMARKS ON THE PRINCIPAL ITALIAN POETS.²

[Depreciation of the *Divina Commedia*—Dante a lustreless glow worm]

I WAS lately much gratified with an account given in one of your miscellanies of modern Italian literature. The catalogue shewed, that the nature of the principal works it enumerated was such as renders them capable of being translated, by translating them into the English language, with little diminution of their spirit. And Italy does not, like France, pour forth works of such importance, as to make it unpleasant and inconvenient to wait for a translation. As I had spent much time and labour in acquiring the Italian, I naturally recurred, as a justification of myself, to those celebrated names, whose works are supposed incapable of translation ; and where, if anywhere, a foreigner is to meet his reward. But, on retracing in my mind the impression which these performances had left, I began to doubt, whether the comparative lustre, which the old poets of Italy enjoyed, by rising in an age of darkness, was not metamorphosed into positive splendour, by the grateful homage we are inclined to pay to the first sources of light, as eastern superstition bows to the rising sun, but walks almost without acknowledgement in his meridian effulgence. From these reflections I arose with undiminished respect for these day-stars of literature ; but with a full conviction that we had suffered our enthusiasm to obscure our judgement ; and because these poets were the first in the order of time, proclaimed them, also, the first in the scale of excellence. This, in my opinion, has been peculiarly the case with the Italian poets. We have permitted them to retain, by courtesy and prescription, a precedence to which they have no longer any real title. But, by this fictitious rank, many are induced to waste much labour and time in seeking the honour of their acquaintance ; which, like the titles conferred by deposed sovereigns, will be found neither to enrich nor dignify. With a view to save

¹[*Purg.* xxvi. 97.]

²[In the form of a letter to the Editor.]

some of your readers from this disappointment, I will, with your permission, sketch a general criticism of the works of the principal poets of Italy. And when I have done this, it will sufficiently appear why I pass over the minor works of the same poets, and still more, the minor poets of the same language. When we have discussed the characters of Dante, Petrarch, Ariosto, and the more respectable, though less hoary, names of Tasso and Metastasio, we shall have examined the principal claims of the Italian poetry to the attention of Europe. "Dante comes forward;—forward let him come: bring with him airs from heaven, or blasts from hell."¹ For the subject of his "*Commedia Divina*" is no less than an account of his travels through heaven, hell, and purgatory.—After what I have said, it would be superfluous again to adduce the causes, which have given celebrity to the early writers of Italy. I need only observe, that Dante owes more of his fame to such causes, and less to his own merit, than any of those I have mentioned. To do justice, however, to the taste of the present age (though perhaps at the expense of its sincerity), we must confess, that what we hear of Dante now, is more the echo of former fame, than the sound of present praise. "Le Dante (says Voltaire, I think in some of his letters)² pourra entrer dans les bibliothèques des curieux, mais il ne sera jamais lu;" for the obsolete phraseology, the inverted idiom, and obscure style of Dante, deter most foreigners from reading him in the original; and I have never yet heard of any, that have thought it worth while to "*do him*" into English verse. But he remains a poet, as I said, by prescription; every one allowing the title, without knowing anything of the claim; or, perhaps, *because* they know nothing of the claim. The plan of his work was, undoubtedly, extraordinary; but, with the plan, all eccentricity ends:—The execution is totally without interest; and what is still more singular, almost without novelty. He passes, indeed, the flaming bounds of space and time; but he plunges into no new creation of his own that may dictate a new and loftier language to his tongue.—It is mere earthly matter, in mere earthly words.—The author is the "little hero of his tale:" and the hero's only adventure is that of being the traveller and spectator, without ever forming a part of what passes, or serving at all to connect the parts that do pass under his observation, except as being the endless relator of them: and they are as distinct from each other, as he from them.—In hell, indeed, he frequently meets with an acquaintance, who generally proves to have been his enemy in some of the petty factions of Florence, or in some of the still more petty factions, of some of the still more petty states of Italy; and who, to a modern reader, are as un-

¹[*Hamlet*, i. 4.]

²[In his letter to Bettinelli (see above, p. 211).]

interesting and insignificant as John Doe and Richard Roe, those immortal heroes in the squabbles of Westminster. In the Inferno, however, there is, at least, some variety of folly. We are carried on from torment to torment:—and children who have been taught to find their amusement in seeing a fly spin round upon a needle, might find, perhaps, in the Inferno of Dante, a recreation for their riper years. It is singular, that in the continued contemplation of such a subject, as the place of eternal punishment for so great a part of the human race, he should not once be elevated into grandeur of description or sublimity of sentiment, unless you will confer the titles of grandeur and sublimity, on the idea of lazy souls being bitten to all eternity by fleas, and heretical souls being stifled and stunk to all eternity in a bog of ordure. The propriety or impropriety, the heterodoxy or orthodoxy of Dante's opinions I leave to Father G. Berti Agostiniano, who has most patiently discussed it:¹ but without entrenching on his province it may be said, a modern Christian would find but little pleasure in seeing the choicest spirits of antiquity,—the patriots, the sages of four thousand years, all languishing in an eternal limbo, or adaphorous existence, that is susceptible of neither pain nor pleasure.

I cannot pursue him through all the superstitious frivolity of this part of his work, or all the polemical disquisitions that form so large a portion of its succeeding divisions: for, as soon as we step out of the bounds of hell, we bid adieu to all that can amuse even the most puerile imaginations. Of *Il Purgatorio, et il Paradiso* the local ideas are very vague, and the intellectual, if possible, still more insipid. In the *Purgatorio* I recollect but one passage that arose to such animation, even of ridicule, as to provoke a laugh. In describing one of the inhabitants of this region he says, "To those who can, in the face of every man, read the word *omo*, the *m* would, in this man's, have been very distinct."²

Now, who, after puzzling himself over this notable distich, and after consulting the learned and laborious commentaries of the accurate Volpi,³ the tedious Venturi,⁴ the pious Father Berti,⁵ and the pompous Filippo Rosa Morando⁶ *Accademico Filarmonico*, and finding, at last, that the author means to describe a lean face, and to say, as some can read the word *omo* in a man's face, by the help of supposing each eye an *o*, the nose the middle stroke of the *m*, and the two temporal bones, the sides of the same

¹[In *Della dottrina teologica contenuta nella Divina Commedia*, in Zatta's ed. (Venice, 1757-8) of the *Commedia*.]

²'Chi nel viso degli uomini legge *omo*
Beni avria quivi conosciuto l' *emme*.'

—Cant. xxiii. v. 32.

³[Padua, 1727.]

⁴[Lucca, 1732—frequently reprinted.]

⁵[See above, note 1.]

⁶[Verona, 1751.]

letter, he is sure, that in the face he is describing, the *m*, at least, would be very conspicuous;—who, I say, on discovering this to be the meaning, would not spoil the legibility of his face by a laugh? In justice, however, let me say, that this very distich is preceded by one of those few traces of poetical spirit that is to be found in Dante:—"The hollow of the eye (says he) appeared as a ring without its gem."¹

The 8th canto of this part, opens in a manner that Gray has not thought unworthy of imitation in beginning his elegy:

—"The pilgrim hears from far the vesper bell,
That seems to mourn the now expiring day."²

A "gentle reader" might suppose, as an apology for Dante, that he conceived, in passing from hell to purgatory, and from thence to paradise, his subjects grew gradually more pleasing in themselves; and, consequently, his exertions to render them so became gradually less necessary; for, in truth, nothing but the torments of his hell could provide us with a relish for the insipidity of his heaven, or teach us to participate the pretty amusements of his 6th heaven, where the spirits of the blessed find their happiness in arranging themselves, by companies, into letters of the alphabet, and forming, together, sentences of wisdom, and axioms of morality.—"They sung, and wheeling, light, and made themselves, in their respective forms, a D, now an I, and now an L."³

The attention of these sainted sages, however, is not wholly engrossed by this profound practical philosophy, in which they are at once authors, types, and compositors. In the fifth heaven, they do not disdain to bend their attention on earthly affairs. Cantos 15, 16, 17, are almost exclusively occupied by a very reverend personage called Cocciguida:⁴—and, as we see his name announced in the argument of three successive cantos, we begin to hope for some permanent interest, to which we have hitherto been total strangers. We listen with tolerable patience to the whole detail of his family in all its generations; and waiting to hear what celebrated sage or hero of history he will prove, he concludes, by declaring himself no less than the great great grandfather of Dante!—"tritavo"—and like the shade of Anchises is seized, too, with prophetic spirit; and foretels the foundation of an empire!—No,—The banishment of Dante from Florence. These cantos are nearly all the relief we find from a continual disquisition on the old exploded doctrines of

¹ 'Parea l' occhiaje annella senza gemma.'

² 'ode squilla di lontano

Che paja 'l giorno pianger che si muore.'

Or D, or I, or L, in the figure,' etc., etc.

³ 'Volitando cantavan e facensi

Cant. xviii. v. 76.

⁴[*Sic*, for Cacciaguida.]

theology, and ancient metaphysics; as indeed might be expected from this engaging description of heaven by one of the hoping spirits in purgatory:—"Oh, if thou hast the noble privilege of being admitted to that *monastery*, where Christ is the *abbot*, oh, say to him, in my name, one single *pater noster*."¹

In his own tenets, he seems to have been a successful rival of Athanasius himself—witness the following address to the Virgin Mary, that opens the last canto of his *Paradiso*:—"Virgin mother, daughter of thy son! lowly, yet exalted above all created beings! ultimate object of eternal wisdom; thou art she who hast so ennobled nature, that her creator has not disdained to become one of her productions."²

He palliates the insipidity of his *Paradiso* in one of the most animated passages of his work; which is very pretty as an excuse for failing in the attempt, but would have been still more admirable as an apology for not undertaking it. I could point out other beauties that are sprinkled up and down the work; but though not "too tedious to mention," they are perhaps too trivial to particularize; and, like a glow-worm, would probably lose much of their lustre, if drawn from the darkness with which they are surrounded. Such, indeed, has been the fate of Dante himself. He shone with splendour in the unenlightened ages of Europe; but, when the vanity of his countrymen, or the obstinacy of the blind idolators of antiquity, will drag him forth into the blaze of modern literature and refinement, we cannot be surprized if he falls by a stroke of the sun.

After this critique on the "*Commedia Divina*" of Dante, I will not trouble the reader with remarks on his *Convito*³ or *Rime Liriche*. . . .

G. T.

April 30, 1799.

(Vol. vii. pp. 451-4.)

CHARLES DUNSTER

(1750-1816)

[Charles Dunster, the son of a Prebendary of Salisbury, was born in 1750. He was educated at Oriol College, Oxford (1767-1770), whence he migrated after taking his B.A. degree to Balliol (1771), and thence to Trinity (1773). In 1776 he became rector of Oddingley and Naunton Beauchamp in Worcestershire, and in 1789 of

¹ 'Oh se tu hai,' etc., c. xxvi. v. 127.

² 'Virgine Madre! Figlia del tuo Figlio.'

³ [Sic, for *Convito*.]

Petworth in Sussex, where he died in 1816. Dunster published several theological works, besides *Poems on Several Occasions* (1785), and an edition of *Paradise Regained* (1795). He supplied notes to H. J. Todd for his edition of Milton (published in 1801), among which are several (printed below) pointing out parallels between Milton and Dante. Copies of his edition of *Paradise Regained* and of Todd's edition of *Comus*, etc. (1798) with Dunster's MS. notes are preserved in the British Museum, but these contain no references to Dante. From the catalogue of the sale of Dunster's library it appears that he possessed two editions of the *Divina Commedia*, viz. the Padua edition, in 3 vols., of 1726-7, and the Roman edition, in 3 vols., of 1806.]

c. 1800. ANNOTATIONS ON MILTON'S PARADISE LOST.¹

[Parallels between Milton and Dante]

'LOUD Hosannas fill'd
The eternal regions.'

(*P. L.* iii. 348-9.)

Thus Dante represents the general song of the choral Angels through all the orders and hierarchies, *Parad. C.* xxviii. 94.

'Io sentiva osannar di coro in coro
Al punto fisso,' etc.

(*Todd*, ed. 1826, vol. ii. p. 230.)

'Eve separate he spies,
Veil'd in a cloud of fragrance, where she stood,
Half spied.' . . .

(*P. L.* ix. 424-6.)

Milton may here be referred to Dante's description of Beatrice, as she descends to him in the terrestrial Paradise, *Purg. C.* xxx. 28.

'Così dentro una nuvola di fiori,' etc.

(*Todd*, ed. 1826, vol. iii. p. 172.)

'His visage drawn he felt to sharp and spare;
His arms clung to his ribs; his legs entwining
Each other, till supplanted down he fell
A monstrous serpent on his belly prone.'

(*P. L.* x. 511-14.)

Milton's obligation to Dante, in this descriptive transformation, is obvious. See the *Inferno*, *C.* xxv. 105-128.

(*Todd*, ed. 1826, vol. iii. pp. 283-4.)

¹[Supplied in MS. to H. J. Todd, and printed by him in his edition of *Milton's Poetical Works*. (1801)—see below, pp. 586 ff.]

‘Four faces each
Had, like a double Janus; all their shape
Spangled with eyes more numerous than those
Of Argus.’

(P. L. xi. 128-31.)

It should be observed that Dante compares the eyes in the wings of Cherubim ¹ to those of Argus, *Purg.* xxix. 95.

‘Ognuno era pennuto di sei ali,
Le penne piene d’occhi; e gli occhi d’Argo,
Se fosser vivi, sarebber cotali.’

(Todd, ed. 1826, vol. iii. p. 350.)

SIR SAMUEL EGERTON BRYDGES

(1762-1837)

[Samuel Egerton Brydges, second son of Edward Brydges of Wootton, near Canterbury, was born in 1762. He was educated at the King’s School, Canterbury, and Queen’s College, Cambridge (1780-82). On leaving Cambridge he entered the Middle Temple, and was called to the bar in 1787, but he never practised, preferring to indulge his bent for literature and bibliography. In 1789 he urged his elder brother to claim the barony of Chandos, but the claim was finally rejected in 1803. From 1810 to 1818 Brydges, who was created a baronet in 1814, resided at Lee Priory, near Canterbury, where he issued from a private printing press numerous reprints of rare English tracts, etc., chiefly poetical. In 1812 he was elected M.P. for Maidstone, which he represented till 1818, after which date he resided almost entirely abroad, chiefly at Geneva, where he died in 1837. Besides poems and novels, which are of little merit, Brydges was the author of various bibliographical works of considerable value, including enlarged editions (1800, and 1824) of Phillip’s *Theatrum Poetarum Anglicanorum* (originally published in 1675). In 1834 he published an *Autobiography*, containing an account of his ‘Times, Opinions, and Contemporaries,’ which has a certain literary interest.]

1800. THEATRUM POETARUM ANGLICANORUM. CONTAINING THE NAMES AND CHARACTERS OF ALL THE ENGLISH POETS, FROM THE REIGN OF HENRY III. TO THE CLOSE OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH. BY EDWARD PHILLIPS, THE NEPHEW OF MILTON. FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1675, AND NOW ENLARGED BY ADDITIONS TO EVERY ARTICLE FROM SUBSEQUENT BIOGRAPHERS AND CRITICS.

[In this work, which was published anonymously, in the articles on Chaucer, Lydgate, and Sackville, Brydges introduces sundry references to Dante, but they are almost all at second-hand from Warton’s *History of English Poetry* (see above, pp. 279 ff.).]

¹[Dante is speaking, not of Cherubim, but of the four beasts which accompany the Procession in the Terrestrial Paradise.]

1805. CENSURA LITERARIA. VOLUME I.

[Portrait of Dante]

Virorum Doctorum de Disciplinis Benemerentium effigies XLIIII. A Philippo Galleo¹ Antwerpiæ, 1572. fol.

The portraits in the above work are 1. Aeneas Sylvius. . . . 5. Angelus Politianus. . . . 9. Clemens Marotus. . . . 12. Dantes Aligerius. 13. Erasmus Roterod. 14. Franciscus Petrarcha. . . . (pp. 357-8.)²

1807. CENSURA LITERARIA. VOLUME IV.

[‘The sublimities of Dante’]

It is said that Dr. Johnson in the latter part of his life expressed his chagrin at some appearance of alienation in his friends the Wartons. But how unreasonable he must have been to expect otherwise! Who can bear ridicule on a favourite pursuit? And still less, unjust ridicule? No taste could have been more dissimilar, than that of Johnson and the Wartons! No minds formed in more opposite moulds! The Wartons were classical scholars of the highest order, imbued with all the enthusiasm, and all the prejudices, if you will, of Greece and Rome, heightened by the romantic effusions of the ages of chivalry, by the sublimities of Dante and Milton, the wildness of Ariosto and Spenser, the beauties of Tasso and Petrarch. Johnson was a severe moralist, who, thinking merely from the sources of his own mind, endeavoured to banish all which he deemed the useless and unsubstantial eccentricities of the mind. He loved the ‘Truth severe,’ but he could not bear to see it

‘in fairy fiction drest.’

(pp. 89-90.)³

1810. THE BRITISH BIBLIOGRAPHER.

[Dante among the epic poets]

Bibliotheca Critica: Opinions of the Learned on the most celebrated Books and Authors, ancient and modern; comprehending the subjects of general science and universal erudition.

Such was the title to an extensive compilation projected many

¹[Philippe Galle (1537-1612).]

²[In vol. iii. pp. 343 ff. (published in 1807) Brydges reprints Churchyard’s *Praise of Poetrie* (first printed in 1595), which contains a reference to ‘Dant, Bocace, and Petrarke’ (see above, p. 54).]

³[In vol. ix. pp. 41 ff. (published in 1809) Brydges reprints Meres’ *Comparative Discourse of our English Poets, with the Greeke, Latine, and Italian Poets* (first printed in 1598), which contains a reference to Dante (see above, pp. 99-100).]

years ago by an ingenious young man trained to the law, but led astray by a taste for the *belles lettres*. . . . It may not be unsuitable to the plan of the *Bibliographer* to record the heads of this literary projection, so far as related to the poetical department.

Introduction.

Chapter I. Epic Poesy.

Homer,	Lucan,
Virgil,	Camoens,
Milton,	Apollonius Rhodius,
Spenser,	Boccacio,
Ariosto,	Glover,
Tasso,	Statius,
Dante,	Ossian.

* * * *

(Vol. i. p. 27.)¹

1814. RESTITUTA; OR, TITLES, EXTRACTS, AND CHARACTERS OF OLD BOOKS IN ENGLISH LITERATURE REVIVED.

[‘The sorrows of Dante’]

An eloquent *Essay on the Infelicity of Poets* would be full of the strongest interest, and the most affecting instruction. Then we should hang with agonizing sympathy over the sorrows of Dante and Petrarch and Tasso! Over the injuries, the hunger, and the despair of Spenser! Over the blindness, the dangers, and expected condemnation of Milton! Over the frenzy of Collins, the poisoned bowl of Chatterton, the desponding indignation of Burns, and the melancholy insanity of Cowper!

(p. 493.)

1824. THEATRUM POETARUM ANGLICANORUM: CONTAINING BRIEF CHARACTERS OF THE ENGLISH POETS, DOWN TO THE YEAR 1675. BY EDWARD PHILLIPS, THE NEPHEW OF MILTON. THE THIRD EDITION. REPRINTED AT THE EXPENCE, AND WITH THE NOTES, OF SIR EGERTON BRYDGES, BART.

[Chaucer and Dante]

Let us ask, what is there in the essentials of Poetry, to which the age of Chaucer was not as well suited, as any of our modern ages, deemed more refined?—Chaucer was preceded by *Dante*, *Petrarch*, and *Boccaccio*, with whose writings he was familiar. But long before these, there was in the habits, manners, and com-

¹[In vol. i. p. 279, Brydges quotes a passage from the *Polimanteia* (first printed in 1595³ of William Covell, which contains a reference to Dante (see above, p. 94).]

positions of the *Troubadours* a poetic spirit, which not only in force but in elegance far surpassed that of many succeeding ages.

(*Editor's Preface*, p. xi.)

[Immortal Dante]

When the spring of poetry within Gray swelled till an overwhelming sorrow burst it, the treasured sources, from which it had been impregnated, shewed themselves intermixed with every thought and expression; and the lofty tone of an ardent mind subdued by affliction displayed itself in those vivid pictures, in the visual embodiment of those shadowy movements of the mind, which danced before the eyes of Spenser, inspired Sackville, and immortalized Dante.

(*Ibid.* p. xxxvi.)

[Shelley and Dante]¹

Shelley was perhaps the best classic in Europe. The books he considered as the models of style in prose and poetry were *Plato* and the *Greek Dramatists*. He made himself equally master of the modern languages: *Calderon* in Spanish; *Petrarch* and *Dante* in Italian; and *Goëthe* in German, were his favourite authors. French he never read; and said he never could understand the beauty of *Racine's* verses.

(*Notes*, p. 132.)

1825. RECOLLECTIONS OF FOREIGN TRAVEL, ON LIFE, LITERATURE, AND SELF-KNOWLEDGE.

[Byron and Dante]²

I can never wonder that Lord Byron passed the last years of his life abroad, in spots where the scenery was so grand, and which were rendered interesting by so many historical associations of intense emotion. At *Ravenna* he mingled his imaginations with the spirit of *Dante*, who died, and was buried there. . . . I have been disappointed of seeing *Tasso's* birthplace, and *Petrarch's* tomb; but I have seen the vault at *Ferrara*, where poor *Tasso* was confined for seven years; and have lived for six months at Florence, where *Dante* was born.

(*Letter* ii. vol. i. pp. 29-30.)

[The lives of Dante and other great poets not led in peace and idleness]

I am not much disposed to think that a poet's life is well led in peace and indolence. I know not that the life of any great poet

¹[See vol. ii. pp. 214 ff.]

²[See vol. ii. pp. 31 ff.]

has been so led: certainly neither that of Dante, Petrarch, Ariosto, Tasso, Spenser, Camoens, Milton, Collins, Chatterton, Burns, nor Lord Byron.

(*Letter* iii. vol. i. p. 34.)

[Milton, Petrarch, and Dante]

The Italians have been the leaders in all that is affecting, lofty, and beautiful in poetry, since the revival of literature; and much of this must be attributed to climate and scenery. All the finest notes of *Milton* have their prelude in *Dante*. And as to *Petrarch*, I have never been able to find any one who bears even a faint resemblance to him in the *love sonnet*. . . . To me, nothing is more surprising than that there should be any difference of opinion about such poetry as that of *Petrarch* or of *Dante*.

(*Letter* viii. vol. i. pp. 105-6.)

[Byron surpassed in pathos only by Dante and Shakspeare]

Lord Byron has shown, in his latter poems, above all, perhaps, except Shakspeare or Dante, with what intense power he could seize on the most affecting features of the most pathetic images, and impart the impression to his readers.

(*Letter* xviii. vol. i. p. 207.)

[Wisdom and sincerity characteristics of Dante and other great poets]

Wisdom is general and unchangeable; and its thoughts are ratified by the sincerity of feeling. With what anxiety we search in the memorials, writings, and confidential relics of illustrious men for these results of compound and comprehensive mind! A rich intellect continues to mature such fruit to the last; and whenever the letters and papers of the truly eminent have been preserved, they are full of them. Gray's letters are full of them; Cowley's essays are full of them; . . . They are exuberant in Petrarch's voluminous correspondence, they are to be seen in fragments of Dante; and even Burns and Kirke White have many delightful specimens of them.

(*Letter* xli. vol. ii. pp. 132-3.)

1834. AUTOBIOGRAPHY, TIMES, OPINIONS, AND CONTEMPORARIES.

[Active lives led by Dante and other poets]

Poetry was never in fashion at Cambridge even in Gray's time; nothing was valued but mathematics. Gray was neglected, and often even affronted at this University, and it is strange that he continued to live on there; but it had many conveniences for a

single man of small income, and there was the attraction of rich libraries—and, above all, habit. Probably more stir in society would have brought out more fruits from a copious mind, which suffered its riches to expire within it. Dante, Petrarch, Tasso, Spenser, Milton, Dryden—all led active lives. Byron was always in action. Indolence infallibly produces ennui and feebleness.

(Vol. i. p. 36.)

[The character of Dante, Petrarch, and others as displayed in their works]

We can learn nothing with certainty from the mere compositions of an author, uncompar'd with his personal character and private nature; unless indeed there be that internal proof of sincerity, which very few have the force to throw into their writings. But the very greatest poets never put a character into their works distinct from their own: witness Dante, Petrarch, Tasso, Milton, and Byron.

(Vol. i. p. 91.)

[Pope compared with Dante, Petrarch, and other great poets]

Are not all Pope's illustrations drawn from observance? Even his beautiful 'Eloisa' is no original invention; it is the conception of a powerful and passionate fancy,—not invention. The genius is secondary, because it lies solely in the language and versification. But who can put it in the same class with the inventions of Dante, Petrarch, Ariosto, Tasso, Spenser, Shakspeare, and Milton?

(Vol. i. p. 127.)

[Dante, Milton, and others wrote their great works in retirement]

Probably talents improve more in the bustle of society than in retirement; but does genius improve more in this state of irritation? There, on the contrary,

Its plumes are ruffled, and sometimes impair'd.

Dante, Petrarch, Tasso, Milton, mingled occasionally in public affairs or public life; but all their great works were written in retirement.

(Vol. i. p. 234.)

[Byron, Dante, and Petrarch]

Byron came nearer to Dante than to Petrarch, than whom he was more vehement, and whose gentle and melodious sweetness, and tender melancholy, he has never fallen into. Dante was a greater genius than Petrarch, but still he who denies that Petrarch's genius was very beautiful and very brilliant, must have a frozen temperament and a most inapprehensive brain.

(Vol. i. p. 257.)

[The love of Dante and other poets for solitude]

He who talks and writes fine essays on solitude, and yet is always uneasy out of society, holds out false lights and deceitful lessons to the world. We desire, therefore, to know what have been the real feelings and habits of an author who puts forth such sentiments and opinions. We are sure that Milton, and Cowley, and Gray, and Beattie, and Cowper, loved solitude, and cannot doubt that Dante and Petrarch loved it.

(Vol. i. p. 345.)

[The ideal excellence of poetry attained by Dante, Shakspeare and a few others]

To make a perfect poem there must be an imaginary story in which all the characters, all the scenery, and all the combination of incidents, are the creation of the poet's brain; and these must have probability according to the laws of nature; and also be sublime, or pathetic, or beautiful. They must be told with the brilliance and believed presence of a dream. This is the ideal excellence of poetry, which, in fact, is scarcely ever reached except by a very few of the greatest poets, such as Dante, Petrarch, Shakspeare, Spenser, Milton, and Byron.

(Vol. i. p. 394.)

[Pope as a poet compared with Homer, Virgil, Dante and others]

Johnson asks in his arrogant way, 'If Pope is not a poet, who is?' This is easily answered. Fifty might be named at once without difficulty, beginning with Homer and Virgil, and going to Dante, Petrarch, Ariosto, Tasso, Spenser, Shakspeare, Milton, &c.

(Vol. ii. p. 147.)

[Byron and Dante]

If we could have anecdotes of poets congenial to the colours of their spiritual temperament, we might well delight in them. . . . Let us see Byron in the woods of Ravenna, talking to the ghost of Dante,¹ and forgetful of his own black misfortunes.

(Vol. ii. pp. 236-7.)

[Dante among the writers who wrote with rapidity]

Whether all our best writers have written with rapidity, is more than I will undertake to say; we know that Scott did so; and we know that Shakspeare must have done so. From the quantity which Spenser wrote, we must conclude that he also did so; as well as Petrarch and Dante. It is a fact also that Johnson did so.

(Vol. ii. p. 425.)

¹[An allusion to Byron's *Prophecy of Dante* (see vol. ii. pp. 43 ff.)]

MARIANA STARKE

(c. 1762-1838)

[Mariana Starke, whose father was for sometime Governor of Fort St. George in Madras, was born about 1762. Her early years were passed in India, and she utilised her Indian experiences in several plays, which were produced in London. From 1792 to 1798 she resided in Italy, whence she wrote her *Letters from Italy* (otherwise known as *Travels in Italy*) published in 1800, and several times re-printed. She revisited Italy in 1817-19, and on her return published *Travels on the Continent* (1820), and *Information and Directions for Travellers on the Continent* (seventh edition, 1829), which was enlarged and republished as *Travels in Europe for the use of Travellers on the Continent* in 1832. She died at Milan in 1838. Her *Letters from Italy* contain references to Dante, which were repeated for the most part in her subsequent guide-books.]

1800. TRAVELS IN ITALY,¹ BETWEEN THE YEARS 1792 AND 1798.

[Orcagna and Dante]

LETTER X (from Pisa, March 1798).—The second large picture in the southern arcade of the Campo-Santo, by Andrea Orcagna, is the universal judgment, in which Solomon is represented as dubious whether he may go to Heaven or Hell. The next picture, or rather a compartment of the last, represents Dante's Inferno, and was done by Bernardo Orcagna, Brother to Andrea.

(Ed. 1802, vol. i. p. 215.)

[Portrait of Dante in the Duomo at Florence]

Letter xiii (from Florence, March 1789).—Near the door of the Cathedral leading to the Via de' Servi is an antique portrait of Dante, the Father of Italian poetry, whose tomb, however, is at Ravenna, where he died in exile. This portrait is by Andrea Orcagna;² and so highly do the Florentines venerate the memory of Dante, that the place where he often used to sit in the Piazza del Duomo is carefully distinguished by a white stone.³

(Ibid. pp. 268-9.)

[Dante's mention of the Fonte Branda]

Letter xv (from Rome, January 1789).—The *Fonte Blanda* at Siena, made in 1193, is so famous for the quantity and quality of its water, as to be mentioned in the *Inferno* of Dante;⁴ and, indeed, there are few Cities, placed in so elevated a situation, that can boast such abundance of excellent water.

(Ibid. p. 324.)

¹[The running title is *Letters from Italy*.]²[Not by Orcagna, but by Domenico di Michelino; this picture, which was painted in 1466, is at present placed over the north door of the Cathedral.]³[The so-called 'Sasso di Dante'.]⁴[*Inf.* xxx. 78.—'Per fonte Branda non darei la vista'—it is doubtful whether Dante's reference is to the Sienese fountain of that name.]

JOHN WATKINS

(fl. 1792-1831)

[John Watkins, a native of Devonshire, where he for some years kept a school, was educated for the nonconformist ministry, but joined the Church of England about 1786. He went to reside in London about 1794, and devoted himself to literature. The date of his death is unknown; his last book was published in 1831. The most important of Watkins' numerous publications, which were chiefly biographical, was his *Universal Biographical and Historical Dictionary* (published in 1800, and several times reprinted), which contains a brief biography of Dante.]

1800. AN UNIVERSAL BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL DICTIONARY. CONTAINING A FAITHFUL ACCOUNT . . . OF THE MOST EMINENT PERSONS OF ALL AGES AND ALL COUNTRIES . . . COLLECTED FROM THE BEST AUTHORITIES.

[Biographical notice of Dante]

DANTE, a famous Italian poet, born at Florence in 1265. Dante was of an ambitious turn, and joined one of the factions which then disturbed Florence; but the party to which he belonged proving the weakest, he was banished. He then prevailed on the prince of Verona to make war on the Florentines, which did not answer his expectations; neither could he get himself recalled. He died at Ravenna in 1321. He wrote in his exile a triple poem on Paradise, Purgatory, and Hell, which shews a wonderful imagination; but the satirical spirit which he breathes is very bitter. He attacks the city of Florence, the French king, and the pope, in it, with great virulence, as the authors of his misfortunes, whereas, they proceeded from his own turbulent disposition. His works¹ were printed at Venice in 1564, in folio.

HENRY JOHN TODD

(1763-1845)

[Henry John Todd was the son of the Rev. Henry Todd, curate of Burtford, near Salisbury, where he was born in 1763. In 1771 he became a chorister at Magdalen College, Oxford; he was educated in the College School, and afterwards at the College, where he graduated in 1784. He afterwards was tutor and lecturer at Hertford College. Todd was ordained in 1785, and held various livings and preferments, including the librarianship at Lambeth and a royal chaplaincy. In 1820 he was presented to the rectory of Settrington in Yorkshire; in 1830 he was made a Prebendary of York, and in 1832 Archdeacon of Cleveland. He died at Settrington

¹[Not the 'works,' but the *Commedia*.]

in 1845. Todd was a voluminous writer. His best-known works include editions of the *Poetical Works of Milton* (1801) and of the *Works of Spenser* (1805), both of which were several times reprinted, and a new and enlarged edition of *Johnson's Dictionary* (1818). In his editions of Milton and Spenser Todd pointed out their 'obligations' to the *Divina Commedia*, which he seems to have studied closely for the purpose.]

1801. THE POETICAL WORKS OF JOHN MILTON. WITH THE PRINCIPAL NOTES OF VARIOUS COMMENTATORS. TO WHICH ARE ADDED ILLUSTRATIONS, WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE OF MILTON.¹

[Milton's love for Dante, Petrarch and other Italian Poets]

IT is to one of his Italian friends that Milton professes his love of the Italian language. 'Ego certè istis utrisque linguis [Greek and Latin] non extremis tantummodò labris madidus; sed, si quis alius, quantum per annos licuit, poculis majoribus prolutus, possum nonnunquam ad illum *Dantem* et *Petrarcham*, *aliosque vestros complusculos*, libentè et cupidè comessatum ire.'² Epist. B. *Bommathæo*. Prose Works, vol. iii. p. 325, ed. 1698.

(*Some Account of the Life and Writings of Milton*, ed. 1826, vol. i. p. 33 n.)

[Milton, Michael Angelo, and Dante]

The genius of Milton seems to have resembled more particularly that of Michael Angelo. It is worthy of notice, as it shows a strong coincidence of taste in the poet and the painter, that Michael Angelo was particularly struck with Dante; and that he is said to have sketched with a pen,² on the margin of his copy of the *Inferno*, every striking scene of the terrible and the pathetick; but this valuable curiosity was unfortunately lost in a shipwreck.

(*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 36.)

[Milton, Dante, and Petrarch]

If Milton had written generally in Italian, it has been supposed, by the late lord Orford,³ that he would have been the most perfect poet in modern languages; for his own strength of thought would have condensed and hardened that speech to a proper degree.⁴

¹[A second edition was published in 1809, and a third in 1826. A few of the notes printed above did not appear in the original edition of 1801, but were added in later issues. In his *Preface* Todd says: 'The obligations of our author to Dante, as well as some other Italian poets, hitherto little noticed, are pointed out.' The notes of previous editors (e.g. Peck, Bowle, Dunster, etc.) with quotations from Dante, reproduced by Todd, are not given here, but under their respective names (see above, pp. 239, 372-4, 577-8).]

²See 'A Sketch of the Lives and Writings of Dante and Petrarch, 1790,' p. 31. [The author of this work was Thomas Penrose (see above, pp. 459 ff.).]

³[Horace Walpole, fourth Earl of Orford, who died in 1797, four years before the publication of the first edition of Todd's work.]

⁴[This opinion is recorded by John Pinkerton in his *Walpoliana*, No. lvii. (second ed., n.d., vol. i. p. 36).]

The Academy Della Crusca consulted him on the critical niceties of their language. In his early days indeed he had become deeply enamoured of 'the two famous renowners of *Beatrice* and *Laura*.'¹

(*Some Account of the Life and Writings of Milton*, ed. 1826, vol. i. p. 247.)

[The alleged origin of Dante's *Inferno*]

It may be worth mentioning here, that Dante, according to the account of some Italian critics,² took the hint of his *Inferno* from a nocturnal representation of Hell, exhibited in 1304 on the river Arno at Florence.

(*Inquiry into the Origin of Paradise Lost*, vol. i. Appendix, p. v.)

[Milton's indebtedness to Aeschylus and Dante]

Nor shall we forget the hints from Aeschylus and Dante, which Milton finely interweaves in the character of his Prince of darkness.

(*Ibid.* vol. i. Appendix, p. xxxvii.)

[Milton, Dante, and Tasso]

'Smit with the love of sacred song,' Milton, I apprehend, might be influenced, in his 'long choosing and beginning late,' by other effusions of sacred poesy, in the language which he loved, and in the epick form, or similar subjects; besides those of Dante and, of Tasso. . . .

(*Ibid.* vol. i. Appendix, p. xlv.)

[Milton and Dante 'satirical']

The Limbo of Vanity. Milton's temper perhaps occasioned him to introduce this humorous, but improper description in his epick poem. Aubrey, in his manuscript *Life of Milton*, says that he was *satirical*. So was Dante.

(*Note to Addison's Observations on Paradise Lost*, vol. ii. p. xxxi.)

[Parallels between Milton and Dante]

"Hurl'd headlong flaming the ethereal sky."—

(*P. L.* i. 45.)

As Mr. Boyd³ the learned translator of the *Divina Commedia* of Dante remarks, Milton seems to have here particularly remembered the description of the Italian poet, *Purgat.* C. xii. 25.

¹Prose-Works, vol. i. p. 177, ed. 1698. [The passage occurs in *An Apology for Smectymnuus* (see above, pp. 125-6).]

²Warton's *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, vol. iii. p. 241. [See above, pp. 285-6.]

³[Henry Boyd's translation of the *Inferno* was published in 1785; of the whole *Commedia* in 1802 (see above, pp. 410 ff.).]

‘Vedea colui, che fu nobil creato,
Più d’ altra creatura, giù dal cielo,
Folgo-reggiando, scender da un lato.’

(Vol. ii. p. 24.)

“hope never comes
That comes to all.”—

(P. L. i. 66-7.)

Dante’s inscription over *the gates of hell* has been generally supposed to be here copied, *Inferno*, C. iii. 9.

‘Lasciate ogni speranza, voi che ’ntrate.’

. . . The following passage from Dante’s description of the damned may likewise be compared, *Inferno*, C. v. 44.

‘Nulla speranza gli conforta mai,
Non che di posa, ma di minor pena.’

(Vol. ii. p. 27.)

“Yet not for those,
Nor what the potent victor in his rage
Can else inflict, do I repent or change, . . .”—

(P. L. i. 94-6.)

Possibly Milton might recollect the unsubdued spirit of Capaneus in Dante, *Inferno*, C. xiv. 52.

‘Se Giove stanchi il suo fabbro, da cui
Crucciato prese la folgore acuta,
Onde l’ ultimo dì percosso fui,
O s’ egli stanchi gli altri, a muta a muta,
In Mongibello alla fucina negra,
Gridando, Buon Vulcano, ajuta ajuta ;
Sì com’ e’ fece alla pugna di Flegra,
E me saetti di tutta sua forza,
Non ne potrebbe aver vendetta allegra.’

(Vol. ii. pp. 30-1.)

“The seat of Desolation, void of light.”—

(P. L. i. 181.)

The latter part of the line before us is similar to an expression in Dante, *Inf.* C. v. 28.

‘I’ venni in luogo d’ ogni luce muto.’

(Vol. ii. pp. 38-39.)

"The glimmering of these livid flames"—

(*P. L.* i. 182.)

So Dante calls Charon, 'nocchier della livida palude,' *Inf.* C. iii. 98.

(Vol. ii. p. 39.)

. . . "eyes
That sparkling blaz'd."—

(*P. L.* i. 193-4.)

Dante describes Charon with eyes of burning coal, 'con occhi di bragia,' *Infern.* C. iii. 109.

(Vol. ii. p. 40.)

". . . in bulk as huge," etc.—

(*P. L.* i. 196 ff.)

So Dante, speaking of the devil, *Inferno*, C. xxxiv. 30.

'E più con gigante i' mi convegno,
Che i giganti non fan con le sue braccia.'

(Vol. ii. p. 40.)

"Torn from Pelorus,"—

(*P. L.* i. 232.)

Dante, *Purg.* C. xiv. 32.

'L' alpestro monte, ond' è tronco Peloro.'

(Vol. ii. p. 45.)

"Thick as autumnal leaves"—

(*P. L.* i. 302.)

In Dante the multitude of those who enter Charon's boat, is represented by the same image, *Inferno*, C. iii. 112.

'Come d' Autunno si levan le foglie,
L' una appressa dell' altra, infin che 'l ramo
Rende alla terra tutte le sue spoglie.'

Here the leaves lie *in heaps upon the ground*; but, in Milton, they *strow the brooks*, as his angels *covered the burning lake*.

(Vol. ii. pp. 49-50.)

"Stood like a tower:"—

(*P. L.* i. 591.)

I am persuaded Milton had Dante here in mind, *Purgator.* C. v. 14.

'Sta, come torre ferma.'

(Vol. ii. p. 78.)

“Long is the way
And hard, that out of Hell leads up to light;”
(*P. L.* ii. 432-3.)

Dante was here in Milton's mind; for the ascent from Hell is thus described, *Inferno*, C. xxxiv. 95.

‘La via è lunga, e ‘l cammino è malvagio.’
(*Vol.* ii. p. 136.)

“O shame to men!” &c.—
(*P. L.* ii. 496 ff.)

See a reflection of the same kind, which Mr. Boyd also notices, in Dante, *Purgat.* C. vi. 76 &c.

(*Vol.* ii. p. 142.)

“Of four infernal rivers,”—
(*P. L.* ii. 575.)

Milton imitates the Greek writers, who enumerate the following rivers in Hell: Styx, Acheron, Cocytus, Phlegethon, and Lethe. But the four first here join their streams in one vast lake, or the lake of fire, as it is called in Scripture; . . . while the last rolls far off from the rest, as in Dante, *Inferno*, C. xiv. 136, where the rivers of hell are described, with Lethe rolling at a distance. . . . Dante has called Phlegethon, from its fiery waves, ‘la riviera del sangue;’ and Acheron, as Milton calls it, ‘la trista riviera.’

(*Vol.* ii. pp. 147-8.)

“thence hurried back to fire.”—
(*P. L.* ii. 603.)

This circumstance of the damned's feeling the fierce extremes, is also in Dante, *Inf.* C. iii. 86.

‘I’ vegno, per menarvi all’ altra riva
Nelle tenebre eterne, in caldo e’n gielo.’

See also the *Purgatorio*, C. iii. 31.

(*Vol.* ii. pp. 149-50.)

“The one seem’d woman to the waist,” &c.—
(*P. L.* ii. 650 ff.)

Mr. Warton supposes, that this formidable shape of Sin derived its conformation from Dante's description of the monster Geryon; a monster, having the face of a man with a mild and benign aspect, but his human form ending in a serpent with a voluminous tail of

immense length, terminated by a sting, which he brandishes like a scorpion, *Inferno*, C. xvii. The subject of Dante is also a fabulous hell. See *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, vol. iii. p. 244.¹

(Vol. ii. p. 156.)

“Grinn’d horrible a ghastly smile,”—

(*P. L.* ii. 846.)

Mr. Carey,² in his late elegant and faithful translation of Dante’s *Inferno*, considers this passage of Milton, as derived from that poem, C. iv. 4.

‘Stavvi Minos orribilmente, e ringhia.’

(Vol. ii. pp. 172-3.)

“un-number’d as the sands
Of Barca or Cyrene’s torrid soil”—

(*P. L.* ii. 903-4.)

Mr. Carey observes that this simile is expanded from Dante’s *Inferno*, C. iii. 30.

‘Come la rena quando ’l turba spira.’

(Vol. ii. p. 177.)

“the empyreal Heaven,”—

(*P. L.* ii. 1047.)

The expression of Dante, *Inferno*, C. ii. 21.

‘Nel empireo ciel’ &c.

(Vol. ii. p. 192.)

“the copious matter of my song”—

(*P. L.* iii. 413.)

Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* Bk. iii. Cant. iv. ‘As thee, O Queene, the matter of my song;’ which Mr. Upton³ refers to Dante, *Paradis.* C. i. 12,

‘Sarà hora materia del mio canto.’

(Vol. ii. pp. 237-8.)

“Empedocles”—

(*P. L.* iii. p. 471.)

¹[See above, pp. 288-9.]

²[*Sic*; Cary’s version of the *Inferno* appeared in 1805-6, in two parts.—This note was added in a later edition.]

³[See above, pp. 308 ff.]

Empedocles occurs, among other Sages, in Dante's *Limbo*, *Inf.* C. iv. 138, which probably Milton here remembered.

(Vol. ii. p. 242.)

“The stairs were such as whereon Jacob saw”—

(*P. L.* iii. 510.)

Compare Dante, *Paradis.* C. xxii. 70.

‘Infin lassù la vide il patriarca
Jacob.’

(Vol. ii. p. 247.)

“a steep wilderness, whose hairy sides
With thicket overgrown, grotesque and wild,
Access denied;”—

(*P. L.* iv. 135-7.)

Dante, *Purg.* C. xxviii. Milton, in the present book, appears indeed to have repeatedly consulted this fine canto.

‘Dentro all’ antica selva, tanto ch’ io
Non potea rivedere ond’ io m’ entrassi.’

(Vol. ii. 281.)

“And of pure now purer air
Meets his approach,” &c.—

(*P. L.* iv. 153 ff.)

Dante, *Purg.* C. xxviii. 7.

‘Un’ aura dolce, senza mutamento
Avere in sè, mi ferìa per la fronte,
Non di più colpo, che soave vento.’

(Vol. ii. p. 283.)

“Rose a fresh fountain,” &c.—

(*P. L.* iv. 229 ff.)

Compare Dante, *Purg.* C. xxviii. 121.

‘L’ acqua, che vedi, non surge di vena,
Che ristori vapor, che giel converta,
Come fiume, ch’ acquista o perde lena;
Ma esce di fontana salda e certa.’

(Vol. ii. pp. 290-1.)

“airs, vernal airs,
Breathing the smell of field and grove attune
The trembling leaves,”—

(*P. L.* iv. 264-6.)

Compare Dante, *Purg.* c. xxviii. 106.

‘In questa altezza, che tutta è disciolta,
Nell’ aer vivo, tal moto percuote,
E fa sonar la selva, perch’ è folta :
E la percossa pianta tanto puote,
Che della sua virtute l’ aura impregna,
E quella poi girando intorno scuote.’

(Vol. ii. p. 295.)

“Imparadis’d”

(P. L. iv. 506.)

This word has been quoted by Bentley from Sidney’s *Arcadia*. It was common in Milton’s time: Drayton, the two Fletchers, Harrington, Donne, and Cleveland, also use it. The original is Dante, *Paradiso*, C. xxviii. 3.

‘Poscia che ’ncontro alla vita presente
De’ miseri mortali aperse ’l vero
Quella, che ’mparadisa la mia mente.’

(Vol. ii. p. 317.)

“towering”

(P. L. vi. 110.)

As in Dante, *Infern.* C. xxxi. 43.

‘Torreggiavan di mezza la persona
Gli orribili giganti.’

(Vol. ii. p. 463.)

“Visit’st my slumbers nightly,”—

(P. L. vii. 29.)

The poet might here remember the nightly visions of Beatrice to Dante, *Purgatorio*, C. xxx. 133.

(Vol. iii. p. 9.)

“So sang the Hierarchies :”—

(P. L. vii. 192.)

The three orders of Angels are also represented as formed into distinct choirs, and singing Hosannas to the Highest, in Dante’s *Paradiso*, C. xxviii.

(Vol. iii. p. 23.)

“and perpetual draw” &c.—

(P. L. vii. 306.)

Perpetual for *perpetually*. So Dante has used ‘eternal’ for ‘eternally,’ *Inferno*, C. iii. 8.

‘Dinanzi a me non fur cose create,
Se non eterne, ed io eterno duro.’

(Vol. iii. p. 33.)

“So charming left his voice,” &c.—

(P. L. viii. 2 ff.)

There is a beautiful passage in Dante, which Mr. Bowle¹ has likewise noticed; where the poet ‘meets in the milder shades of Purgatory’ his friend Casella the musician, whom ‘he woos to sing;’ and, the request being complied with, the ravishing effect of his song is thus described, *Infern.*² C. ii. 113.

‘Cominciò egli allor, sì dolcemente,
Che la dolcezza ancor dentro mi suona.’

Milton had undoubtedly been much pleased with this interview between Dante and Casella, as his *Sonnet to Henry Lawes* evinces.

(Vol. iii. pp. 75-6.)

“heard within
Noise, other” &c.—

(P. L. viii. 242 ff.)

Addison has pointed out the allusion, in this passage, to Virgil. . . . But I am inclined to think that Dante was in Milton’s mind, *Infern.* C. iv. 7.

‘Vero è, che ’n su la proda mi trovai
Della valle d’ abisso dolorosa,
Che tuono accoglie d’ infiniti guai :’

especially as the Angel adds,

‘Glad we return’d up to the coasts of light ;’

for so it follows at the close of the Canto in Dante :

‘Così n’ andammo insino alla lumiera,
Parlando cose,’ &c.

(Vol. iii. p. 95.)

“the soil
Bedropt with blood of Gorgon,”—

(P. L. x. 526-7.)

¹[See above, p. 373.]

²[So Bowle, but read *Purgat.*]

Milton was probably led to this allusion by Dante's terrific picture of the damned, *Inferno*, c. xxiv. 85.

‘Più non si vanti Libia con sua rena:
 Che, se Chelidri, Jaculi, e Faree
 Produce, e Cencri con Anfesibena,
 Nè tante pestilenzie, nè sì ree
 Mostrò giammai con tutta l' Etiopia,
 Nè con ciò, che di sopra 'l mar rosso ee.’

This strange transformation of men into serpents, so minutely described in this canto, could not have here escaped the notice of Milton.

(Vol. iii. pp. 284-5.)

“obstruct the mouth of Hell
 For ever,”—

(*P. L.* x. 636-7.)

Mr. Boyd, the learned and elegant translator of Dante's *Inferno*, is of opinion, that the sublime imagination of Dante, that the earthquake, which attended the crucifixion, overthrew the infernal ramparts, and obstructed the way to Hell, gave the hint to Milton, that Sin and Death first built the infernal bridge, whose partial ruin at least was the consequence of the resurrection. See the *Inferno*, C. xxiii.

(Vol. iii. p. 296.)

“In fellowships of joy,”—

(*P. L.* xi. 80.)

See Dante, *Paradiso*, C. xxiv. 1.

‘O sodalizio eletto alla gran cerca¹
 Del benedetto Agnello,’ &c.

(Vol. iii. p. 346.)

“then into hymns
 Burst forth, and in celestial measures mov'd,
 Circling the throne and singing,”—

(*P. R.* i. 169 ff.)

Milton, perhaps, at this time, had in mind Dante's representation of the Angels formed into choirs, and singing praises to the Eternal Father, in his *Paradiso*, C. xxviii.

(Vol. iv. p. 27.)

¹[Read *cena*.]

“my dolorous prison”—

(*P. R.* i. p. 364.)

Although the adjective *dolorous* be common in our old poetry, Milton, I am inclined to think, did not forget Dante's usage of it, in the *Inferno*, where Satan is called, *C.* xxxiv. 28.

‘Lo ’mperador del doloroso regno.’

(*Vol.* iv. p. 51.)

“For both the when and how is nowhere told”—

(*P. R.* iv. 472.)

Compare Dante, *Paradis.* xxi. 46.

‘Ma quella, ond’ io aspetto il come, e’l quando
Del dire, e del tacer, si sta, ond’ io,
Contra ’l disio fo ben ch’ io non dimando.’

(*Vol.* iv. p. 285.)

“And silent as the moon,”—

(*Samson Agonistes*, l. 87.)

Dante expresses the absence of the sun in the same manner as Milton describes that of the moon, *Inferno*, *C.* i. 60.

‘Mi ripingeva là, dove ’l sol tace.’

See also *Inferno*, *C.* v. 28.

‘I’ venni in luogo d’ ogni luce muto.’

(*Vol.* iv. p. 349.)

“the odorous breath of morn”—

(*Arcades*, l. 56.)

Dante gives a beautiful description of this odorous breath, *Purgat.* *C.* xxiv. 145.

‘E quale annunziatrice degli albori
L’ aura di Maggio muovesi, e olezza
Tutta impregnata dall’ erba, e da fiori.’

(*Vol.* v. p. 172.)

“enamell’d green”—

(*Arcades*, l. 84.)

Compare, with this passage, Dante, *Inf.* *C.* iv. 118.

‘Colà dritto sopra ’l verde smalto
Mi fur mostrati gli spiriti magni.’

(*Vol.* v. pp. 178-9.)

“on the Indian steep”—

(*Comus*, l. 139.)

Dante, *Purgatorio*, C. ix. 2. ‘Al balzo d’ Oriente.’

(Vol. v. p. 275.)

From Dante

‘Founded in chaste and humble poverty,’ &c.

Parad. C. xx. So say Tickell¹ and Fenton,² from Milton himself.³ But the sentiment only is in Dante. The translation is from Petrarch, *Sonn.* 108. ‘Fundata in casta et humili povertate.’

(Vol. vi. p. 106.)

1805. THE WORKS OF EDMUND SPENSER IN EIGHT VOLUMES. WITH THE PRINCIPAL ILLUSTRATIONS OF VARIOUS COMMENTATORS. TO WHICH ARE ADDED, NOTES, SOME ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE OF SPENSER, AND GLOSSARIAL AND OTHER INDEXES.

[Spenser and Dante]

Spenser’s greatest excellence is in those images which are the immediate foundation of the sublime. Fear, confusion, and astonishment, are delineated by him with a most masterly pen. To these marks of elevated powers I may add the attractive minuteness of Spenser’s descriptions, which rarely terminate in the object described, but give an agreeable activity to the mind in tracing the resemblance between the type and the anti-type. This, as the learned translator of Dante⁴ has observed to me, is an excellency possessed by Spenser in an eminent degree; and hence may be deduced the superiority of his descriptions over those of Thomson, Akenside, and almost all other modern poets. . . . The balance of the poets is ingeniously represented in Dodsley’s *Museum*, vol. 2. p. 169. The author⁵ supposes twenty to be the absolute degree of perfection, and eighteen the highest that any poet has attained. Under the circumstances necessary to form a balance, the excellencies of Spenser are thus rated :

¹[Thomas Tickell (1686-1740), the friend of Addison, edited the *Poetical Works of Milton*, in two vols. 4to, for Tonson, 1720.]

²[Elijah Fenton (1683-1730), the protégé of Pope, whom he helped in his translation of the *Odyssey*, published an edition of *Paradise Lost*, with a Life of Milton, in 1725.]

³[On the contrary, Milton expressly names Petrarch as the author of these lines—(see the quotation from *Of Reformation touching Church Discipline in England*, p. 125, above).]

⁴The Rev. Henry Boyd [see above, p. 410 ff.]

⁵[Akenside,—see above, p. 242.]

Critical ordonnance	8
Pathetick ordonnance	15
Dramatick expression	10
Incidental expression	16
Taste	17
Colouring	17
Versification	17
Moral	17
Final estimate	14

The final estimate places him *one* above Dante, Ariosto, and Pope; and *two* above Tasso.

(*Some Account of the Life of Spenser*, vol. i. pp. clxv. ff.)

[Spenser's Ignorance copied from Dante]

The personifications of Ignorance, and of Pride, are admired by Mr. Upton. Ignorance seems, in some respect, to be copied from Dante.

(*Note to Mr. Spence's Dissertation on the Defects of Spenser's Allegory*, vol. ii. p. lii.)

[Parallels between Spenser and Dante]

“All hurtlen forth;”—

(*F. Q. Bk. i. Cant. iv. St. xvi. l. 3.*)

The translators of our old romances probably adopted the word *hurtle* from the Italian *urtare*; as it is a common phrase, in that language, for *rushing on* the enemy, ‘*urtare contro i nemici.*’ . . . See *urgere* in Latin, and Dante, *Infern. C. xxvi. 45.*

‘*Caduto sarei giù senza esser’ urto.*’

(*Vol. ii. p. 119.*)

“From whose eternall bondage now they were releast.”

(*F. Q. Bk. i. Cant. xii. St. iv. l. 9.*)

The construction and meaning may be, From whose bondage they were now eternally released: *Eternall* for *eternally*. So Dante, *Infern. C. iii. [ll. 7-8.]*

‘*Dinanzi a me non fur cose create,
Se non eterne, ed io eterno duro.*’

(*Vol. iii. p. 188.*)

“And now he has so long” &c.—

(*F. Q. Bk. ii. Cant. vii. St. lxxv. ll. 1 ff.*)

Mr. Boyd, the learned and elegant translator of Dante,¹ compares Dante, *Purg.* C. xix.

‘Sì come l’ occhio nostro non s’ aderse,
In alto, fisso alle cose terrene.
Così giustizia quì a terra il merse.
Come avarizia spense à ciascun bene
Lo nostro amore, onde *operar perdesi*,
Così giustizia quì stretti ne tiene &c.’

(Vol. iii. p. 469.)

“but as a stedfast towre,” &c.—

(*F. Q.* Bk. ii. Cant. viii. St. xxxv. l. 7.)

I have observed, in another place,² that Milton probably remembered Dante’s ‘Sta come torre ferma,’ *Purgat.* C. v. 14, when he said that Satan ‘stood like a tower,’ *Par. L. B. I.* 591. Spenser’s simile, in the present passage, might not have been forgotten.

(Vol. iv. p. 25.)

“It is a darksome delve” &c.—

(*F. Q.* Bk. iv. Cant. i. St. xx. ll. 4 ff.)

Spenser probably had here in mind the opening of Dante’s *Inferno*.

(Vol. v. p. 149.)

ANONYMOUS

1801. Feb. MONTHLY MAGAZINE. ON THE COMMEDIA OF DANTE.³

[On the topography and dimensions of Dante’s Hell and Purgatory]

GIVE me leave to recommend to the notice of such of your readers as cultivate Italian literature, and may be desirous of obtaining an intimate acquaintance with the beauties of the oldest (I speak of those only who have just pretensions to celebrity) and most original poet of that nation, the edition of *La Divina Commedia di Dante*, published by Antonio Fulgoni, at Rome, 1791, in 3 vols. 4to.⁴ . . .

To the very few preliminary remarks of the editor, P.B.L.M.C.,⁵

¹[This description of Boyd is taken from a previous note (vol. ii. p. 261).]

²[See above, p. 590.]

³[In the form of a letter to the Editor.]

⁴It is to be regretted that this edition is not accompanied by the beautiful designs which it appears Mr. Flaxman intended for it, engraved at Rome, by Piroli, 1793—the plates are said to be in the possession of Thomas Hope, Esq.

⁵[That is, Padre Baldassarre Lombardi, Minor Conventuale.]

is subjoined a succinct life of the poet, by the Abbate Seraffi.¹ I think it may be regretted he did not, in addition, prepare the minds of his readers by some description of the locality of the regions they have to traverse, as the commentators have imagined them to have existed in the poet's contemplation. Velutelli has been very copious on this head, and the plan he deduces from the consideration of the context of the poem, and of various particular passages, may be preferable to that of his predecessor Antonio Manetti, which was adopted by Cristoforo Landino; its minuteness and prolixity might have been retrenched and compressed, and at the same time a tolerable idea conveyed of what relates to the topography of the poet's excursions, infernal, middle, or purgatorial, aerial or paradisiacal.

It cannot be denied, that the scholiasts of Dante seem to lay claim to a species of second-sight or intuition into the poet's cogitations, which they do not derive from his text, unless it be by very dim and distant implication;—'tis true, they may plead the sanction of a long line of precursors in their favour, which is continued to our own days.

That learned commentators view
In Homer more than Homer knew,

is generally admitted.

They tell you boldly, that the antichamber of Hell, which serves for its roof or vault, spreads over 280 miles of the earth's superficies, and extends down into its bowels to the depth of 2,950 miles perpendicular. In the middle point of this surface, that is 140 miles from each extremity, they place Mount Zion, with the city of Jerusalem. The infernal mansions they represent as forming, collectively, the figure of an irregular cone, beginning at the before-mentioned distance or depth of 2,950 miles, and reaching with its point to the centre of the globe. The perpendicular depth of these abodes of woe they calculate to be 295 miles, to which they add the depth of the vault or cavern above them, 2,950 miles, being the semi-diameter of the earth, 3,245 miles, each mile consisting of 2,000 English yards.

With respect to the divisions or departments of our infernal inverted cone, they may be regarded as so many flat cylinders or mill-stones laid one over the other, with considerable intervals of space between them, the highest and largest 280 miles in diameter, and the inferior ones diminishing in their progress downwards to the head-quarters of Lucifer, at the centre of our globe, and directly under Jerusalem. At this centre our poet and his classical guide (Virgil) after having pervaded the varied scenes of woe and desolation, find a convenient shaft or well which they pursue till they

¹[Pier Antonio Serassi (not Seraffi of Bergamo) (1721-1791).]

reach the point directly opposite Jerusalem, in the other hemisphere. Emerged into day, after having, if the expression may be allowed, perambulated and penetrated through the entire diameter of the earth, they behold the immense Mount of Purgatory rising in a pyramidal or conical shape to the perpendicular height of 140 miles, its base 9,905 miles, the plain at its top 11 miles in circumference. Various here again are the departments for the purification of the souls of the departed, and which wind round the sides of the mountain.

Arrived at the summit, it remains for the reader to wing his flight, secure in the good conduct of our bard and his sainted Beatrice, to the abodes of bliss which are placed in the planetary orbs, agreeably to the orthodox Ptolemaic system, to the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, the 8th sphere, Primum Mobile, and lastly, to obtain a transient glance of the beatific vision in the heaven of heavens, the poet's empyrean.

I cannot disguise my suspicion, that however far the bard may have carried his reveries, the commentators are not behind him, and perhaps I was wrong in wishing the editor of the new Roman edition had entered into their speculations.

(Vol. xi. pp. 34-5.)

WILLIAM PARR GRESWELL

(1765-1854)

[William Parr Greswell, a native of Cheshire, was born in 1765. He was ordained in 1789, and in 1791 was presented to the living of Denton, near Manchester, which he held for more than sixty years, until within a year of his death in 1854. Greswell was the author of two works on Parisian typography, and of *Memoirs of Angelus Politianus*, *Picus of Mirandula*, etc. (1801) in which occur sundry references to Dante.]

1801. MEMOIRS OF ANGELUS POLITIANUS, JOANNES PICUS OF MIRANDULA, ACTIUS SINCERUS SANNAZARIUS, PETRUS BEMBUS, &C.

[Politian compared with Petrarch and Dante]

THE judgment which Giovan-Francesco Pico passes on the vernacular compositions of this extraordinary man, can scarcely be deemed extravagant, when in point of elegance, poetic spirit and descriptive colouring, he holds them equal to the productions of Petrarch and Dante—'Rythmis præterea Hetruscis Franciscum Petrarcam et Dantem elegantia et vi poeticâ, nec scripturâ tantùm sed picturâ earum rerum quas exprimit facile æquavit.' . . .

Of all Politian's Latin poems at present known to be extant, his *Sylvae* are the most considerable and elaborate. . . . With what-

ever imperfections of taste, or occasional deviations from the strictest purity of the Latin style they may be charged, they have very justly and efficaciously contributed to Politian's fame; and entitle him to the praise of the earliest and most successful restorer of Latin poesy, after the age of Petrarch and Dante.

(*Memoirs of Politian*, ed. 1805, pp. 19, 37.)

[Lorenzo de' Medici compared with Petrarch and Dante]

Instituting a special comparison between Lorenzo, and the two confessedly brightest glories of Tuscan song, that had preceded him, Petrarch and Dante; Picus observes, in general, that respectable critics of that or the preceding age remark in Petrarch a defect in matter and thought; in Dante, an imperfection of language. The former frequently introducing into his poems sentiments of common and trivial origin, possessed nevertheless the art of adorning them with all the glow and colouring of words. Dante, engaged on subjects of the sublimest and most dignified kind, and which naturally led to the introduction of the noblest thoughts uttered by St. Augustin, Aquinas, and other similar authors, in whose writings he was deeply conversant, is yet, frequently harsh and dissonant in his language, and betrays much of the rusticity of a less polished age. Lorenzo, on the contrary, combines all the dignity of thought and nerve of expression found in the one, with the sweetness, polish, and other ornamental graces of style inherent in the other. . . . Proceeding to scrutinize more at length the minuter beauties and blemishes discernible in the works of the celebrated fathers of Tuscan poesy, Picus enters into distinct comparisons of their poetical merits, and those of Lorenzo; the result of which is generally in favour of his friend. 'They too,' he adds, 'composed their verses in the shades of retirement, with all the advantages of tranquillity and complete seclusion from public scenes; you, amidst popular tumult, the hurry of a court, the din of the forum, the distractions of care, storms and tempests. To woo the Muses was their professed and sole employ; to you, an amusement merely. What was their labour, was your respite from fatigue; and in the hours of mental remission, it is your glory to have attained a pitch of excellence, which, by the constant exertion of every nerve of intellect and genius, they have scarcely been able to reach.' . . . The poetical productions of Petrarch and of Dante still survive, but a great part of those of Lorenzo, are lost. . . . Were Lorenzo to live again, can it be doubted whether he would content himself with a seat on Parnassus, confessedly so elevated, yet apart from the ranks of invidious competition? As a scholar, as a statesman, as a distinguished friend of science and the arts, as the glorious patron of genius and learning, as one of those few, to

whom the world is chiefly indebted for the restoration of letters, he has too many indisputable claims to immortality, to justify the risking of his fame on a doubtful contest for poetical precedency with Petrarch and Dante.

(*Memoirs of Picus of Mirandula*, ed. 1805, pp. 183-6.)

[Bernardo Bembo and the tomb of Dante]

Paulus Jovius informs us, that Bernardo Bembo had the merit of restoring and beautifying Dante's tomb at Ravenna, and of doing honour to his remains by a new epitaph—'Tumulum vetustate collabentem, Bernardus Bembus Petri Bembi Cardinalis Pater, in eâ urbe praetor, opere caelato et concamerato additoque hoc epigrammate luculenter exornavit :

Exiguâ tumuli Danthes ! hîc sorte jacebas,¹ etc.

Bernardo Bembo died A.D. 1518, in his eighty-sixth year.

(*Memoirs of Bembus*, ed. 1805, p. 406.)

ROBERT SOUTHEY

(1774-1843)

[Robert Southey, the son of a linen draper, was born at Bristol in 1774. He was educated at Westminster (1788-92), and at Balliol College, Oxford, where in 1794 he made the acquaintance of Coleridge, then on a visit to Oxford. By Coleridge Southey was 'converted to unitarianism and pantisocracy.' In 1796 he published his first epic poem, *Joan of Arc*, which was followed by *Thalaba* (1801), *Madoc* (1805), the *Curse of Kehama* (1810), and *Roderick* (1814). In 1795 he went to Portugal and Spain, where he remained for two years. On his return home in 1797 he entered at Gray's Inn, with the intention of becoming a barrister, but he soon abandoned the law for literature, to which he devoted himself for the rest of his life. In 1803, after a second visit to Portugal, he settled at Keswick, where he remained until his death in 1843. In 1808 Southey, at the instance of Scott, began to contribute to the *Quarterly Review*, for which he continued to write for more than thirty years. In 1813 he published what is perhaps his best known and most popular work, the *Life of Nelson*, and in the same year he was appointed poet-laureate, on Scott's refusal to accept the post. In 1820 he was created D.C.L. at Oxford. In 1821 he published *A Vision of Judgment*, 'an apotheosis of George III,' in English hexameters, which was parodied by Byron in a poem with the same title. Besides translations of the Spanish prose romances, *Amadis of Gaul* (1803), *Palmerin of England* (1807), and the *Cid* (1808), Southey published *Specimens of the Later English Poets* (1807), *History of Brazil* (1810-19), *Life of Wesley* (1820), *History of the Peninsular War* (1823-32), the *Doctor*, 'a glorified common-place book' (1834-7), and various other compilations, as well as numerous poems and ballads. He was an omnivorous reader, and was apparently well acquainted with the *Divina Commedia*, at any rate in his later years, but the references to Dante in his published writings are few.]

¹[For this epitaph (which Greswell prints in full), see above, under Fynes Moryson, p. 91.]

1801. Nov. 19. LETTER TO WILLIAM TAYLOR¹ (from London).

[‘Hewing the laurels from the grave of Dante’]

HENRY² is reading Italian; could he criticise the authors he reads in that language decently enough for insertion in the Dissenters’ Obituary, alias the Monthly Magazine? Some two or three years back there were some Zoilan, but really able papers, hewing down the laurels from the graves of Dante³ and Petrarch and Ariosto; it would exercise him well to see what could be said in defence of the ‘Orlando.’ I know his love for such books.

(*Memoir of the Life and Writings of the late William Taylor of Norwich*, vol. i. p. 385.)

1806. In this year Southey translated Michael Angelo’s two sonnets on Dante, for Richard Duppa, in whose *Life of Michael Angelo* they were published in 1806.⁴

1807. LETTER TO WILLIAM TAYLOR.

[Two translations of the *Inferno*]

Reviewing books lie round about, for which I have now no appetite. . . . Will you lighten me of ‘Nightingale’s Portraiture of Methodism,’ ‘Burnett’s Specimens,’ the new edition of ‘Hollinshed,’ and the two translations of the ‘Inferno,’ by Howard⁵ and Carey,⁶—the last a very meritorious one?

(*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 213.)

1807. SPECIMENS OF THE LATER ENGLISH POETS. WITH PRELIMINARY NOTICES.

[Enduring fame of Dante, Petrarch, and Chaucer]

Petrarca, Dante, and Chaucer, are the only Poets of the dark ages whose celebrity has remained uninjured by the total change of manners in Europe. The fame of Chaucer has not, indeed, extended so widely as theirs, because English literature has never obtained the same European circulation, as that of the easier languages of the South, and also because our language since his days has undergone a greater alteration than the Italian. To attempt any comparison between three writers, who have so little in common, would be ridiculous; but it may be remarked that

¹[See above, pp. 564 ff.]

²[Henry Herbert Southey (1783-1865), younger brother of Robert Southey.]

³[See above, pp. 572 ff.]

⁴[See vol. ii. p. 7.]

⁵[Nathaniel Howard, see vol. ii. pp. 58-60.]

⁶[H. F. Cary, see above, pp. 465 ff.]

Chaucer displays a versatility of talents, which neither of the others seem to have possessed.

(*Preface*, vol. i. p. xvi.)

1821. A VISION OF JUDGEMENT.

I. The Trance.

[Dante's vision]

* * * *

Then came again the Voice, but then no longer appalling,
Like the voice of a friend it came : O son of the Muses !
Be of good heart, it said, and think not that thou art abandon'd ;
For to thy mortal sight shall the grave unshadow its secrets ;
Such as of yore the Florentine saw, Hell's perilous chambers
He who trod in his strength ; and the arduous Mountain of Pen-
ance,
And the Regions of Paradise, sphere within sphere intercircled.

IV. The Gate of Heaven.

[Imitation of *Inf.* iii. 1 ff.]

* * * *

Drawing near, I beheld what over the portal was written :
This is the Gate of Bliss,¹ it said ; through me is the passage
To the City of God, the abode of beatified spirits.
Weariness is not there, nor change, nor sorrow, nor parting ;
Time hath no place therein ; nor evil. Ye who would enter,
Drink of the Well of Life, and put away all that is earthly.

(*Works*, ed. 1850, pp. 773, 775.)

1834-7. THE DOCTOR :—MOTTOES FROM DANTE.

[*Par.* xxix. 10-12]

Io dico, non dimando

Quel che tu vuoi udir, perch' io l' ho visto
Ove s' appunta ogni *ubi*, e ogni *quando*.

(*Chap.* cxiii.)

[*Purg.* ix. 70-2]

Lettor, tu vedi ben com' io innalzo
La mia materia, e però con più arte
Non ti maravigliar s' i' la rinalzo.

(*Chap.* cxxi.)

¹The reader will so surely think of the admirable passage of Dante [*Inf.* iii. 1 ff], which was in the writer's mind when these lines were composed, that I should not think it necessary to notice the imitation, were it not that we live in an age of plagiarism ; when not our jackdaws only, but some of our swans also, trick themselves in borrowed plumage.

[*Inf.* ix. 61-3]

O voi ch' avete gl' intelletti sani
 Mirate la dottrina, che s' asconde
 Sotto 'l velame degli versi strani.

(Interchap. xxiv.)

[*Par.* x. 22-7]

Or ti riman, Lettor, sovra 'l tuo banco
 Dietro pensando a ciò che si preliba,
 S' esser vuoi lieto assai prima che stanco.
 Messo t' ho innanzi ; omai per te ti ciba ;
 Che a sè ritorce tutta la mia cura
 Quella materia ond' io son fatto scriba.

(Epilude of *Mottoes.*)

JOHN AIKIN

(1747-1822)

[John Aikin, whose father was a tutor of Warrington Academy, was born at Kibworth in Leicestershire in 1747. After studying medicine at Edinburgh and surgery in London, he took the M.D. degree at Leyden University. In 1784 he settled in medical practice at Great Yarmouth, where he remained until 1792, when he removed to London. After a few years he abandoned practice and devoted himself entirely to literature, living in retirement at Stoke Newington, where he died in 1822. Both his sister, Mrs. Barbauld, and his daughter, Lucy Aikin, were well known in the literary world. Among Aikin's numerous works were a life of his friend John Howard, the philanthropist, translations of the *Germania* and *Agricola* of Tacitus, more than half of the articles in the *General Biography* (10 vols., 1799-1815), and an edition of Spenser's poetical works (1806). In the article on Dante contributed to the *General Biography* Aikin criticises the *Divina Commedia* in general terms with great severity, but he does not display any intimate acquaintance with the poem.]

1802. GENERAL BIOGRAPHY ; OR, LIVES, CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL, OF THE MOST EMINENT PERSONS OF ALL AGES, COUNTRIES, CONDITIONS, AND PROFESSIONS. VOLUME III.

[Criticism of the *Divina Commedia*]

DANTE ALIGHIERI, the first great poet produced by Italy on the revival of letters, and still the object of her warm admiration, was born at Florence in 1265. . . . He was a writer both in Latin and Italian, as, indeed, few eminent persons of the early ages contented themselves with the reputation to be derived from compositions in the vernacular tongue: . . . The fame of all his other writings has been obscured by the celebrated work which has immortalized the name of Dante, that to which he

gave the title of "Commedia." Why he thus entitled it has been a matter of great controversy, but the most probable reason seems to be, that it was on account of its being written neither in the tragic nor the elegiac style, but in that middle style which was anciently judged to belong to comedy. In subject it has certainly no relation to comedy, usually so called, being the description of a vision, in which the author is led through hell, purgatory, and paradise. From such a design, and at such a period, it is not wonderful that a most extraordinary composition has proceeded, unlike anything else in poetry; full of extravagances, but affording passages of singular strength and sublimity. It is allowed that its images are frequently strange and unnatural; that in many parts it is languid and unsufferably tedious; that the versification is often extremely hard, and the rhymes forced and ludicrous; and that it abounds in gross faults which no man of sense can pardon: yet its admirers affirm that no work of Italian poetry bears such a stamp of original and sublime genius, and that in grandeur of conception, warmth of feeling, and energy of expression, in that vivid force which carries the reader out of himself, no composition of modern times can compare with it. The gold, however, is in small proportion to the dross; and in order to relish Dante, as well as the other geniuses of a rude and barbarous age, the mind must be prepared by a kind of artificial enthusiasm, which can scarcely be attained by any but a countryman of the writer, early habituated to admire him and feel pride in his glory. The great poem of Dante had scarcely appeared, before it became the object of universal admiration throughout all Italy. Copies of it were multiplied, and commentaries written for its illustration. These, indeed, it required; for it abounded still more in lofty and mysterious notions appertaining to the philosophy and theology of the age, than in poetical fancies. Conformably to the taste of the times, these speculations appear to have interested the public much more than those parts of the poem which would engage a modern reader; but it is an extraordinary proof of the power of Dante's genius, that he could obtain an authority in these points which rendered a discussion of his opinions so serious and important a business.

(Vol. iii. pp. 294-7.)

1806. POETICAL WORKS OF EDMUND SPENSER.

[Spenser compared to Dante]

In point of literary merit, the First Book of the *Faerie Queene* is superior to any other, except the Second. It is full of that peculiar power which has given Spenser so high a place among

poets. . . . Duessa's journey to the realms of Night, in aid of the vanquished Sansjoy (c. v), is a passage of the greatest sublimity and grandeur. The description of the cave of Despair (c. ix) is also of the highest order of poetry, and, in its distinctness, relief, and sharp precision of outline, reminds us of Dante's terrific picture of Count Ugolino.

(*Introductory Observations on the Faerie Queene*, ed. 1842, vol. i. p. xli.)

[Dante's use of *latino* for language]

Thereto he was expert in prophecies,
And could the led den of the gods unfold.

(*F. Q.* Bk. iv. C. xi. ll. 1-2.)

Ledden is a Saxon word, meaning *Latin*, or rather, according to Tyrwhitt, is a corruption of the word *Latin*. It means, here, language generally, and probably acquired that signification from the fact, that the Latin was for a long time the common language of intercourse among educated men. Dante uses *Latino* in the same manner, *Canz.* i.¹

(Ed. 1842, vol. iii, pp. 187-8.)

CHARLES JAMES FOX

(1749-1806)

[Charles James Fox, third son of Henry Fox, afterwards first Lord Holland, was born in London in 1749. He was educated at Eton (1758-64) and Hertford College, Oxford (1764-66). After leaving the University he travelled on the Continent for two years, spending a great part of the time in Italy. While at Florence he took lessons in Italian, and studied Italian literature, with his friend Uvedale Price. In 1768 Fox entered Parliament as member for Midhurst, and in 1770 he took office as a Lord of the Admiralty in Lord North's administration. Four years later he took a leading part in opposing North's American policy, and in 1778 he definitely joined the Rockingham party. In 1782 he was Foreign Secretary in Lord Rockingham's ministry, but resigned after Rockingham's death in the same year. In April, 1783, he formed a coalition with North, and became joint Secretary of State with him under the Duke of Portland, but was dismissed with his colleagues by the King before the end of the year. In 1786-8 he conducted the attack upon Warren Hastings' administration in India. On the death of Pitt in Jan. 1806, Fox joined Lord Grenville's ministry as Foreign Secretary, but died in the following September.

Fox in his youth was an ardent student of Italian literature. During his travels in Italy, after leaving Oxford, he is described as 'devouring Dante and Ariosto' and 'drudging his way through Guicciardini and Davila.' He writes from Florence in August, 1767, to Sir George Macartney: 'At present I read nothing but Italian, which I am immoderately fond of, particularly of the poetry;' and in September to Richard Fitzpatrick: 'For God's sake learn Italian as fast as you can, if it be only to read Ariosto. There is more good poetry in Italian than in all other languages that I understand put together.' He seems to have kept up his interest in Italian throughout his lifetime, references to Dante, Ariosto, and Tasso occurring in letters

¹[The passage is quoted by Tyrwhitt (see above, p. 347).]

written when he was past fifty. Rogers records some interesting remarks of his upon Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, three years before his death. Fox possessed a MS. of the *Divina Commedia*, which afterwards passed into the collection of Richard Heber (*Bibl. Heberiana*, Pt. xi. No. 651), at whose sale it was purchased by Sir Thomas Phillipps, of Middle Hill.]

1802. LETTER TO JOHN BERNARD TROTTER.¹

[Dante 'brilliant,' but 'heavy,' and his allusions obscure]

I THINK when you say you *despise* Tasso, you go further than I can do, and though there is servility in his *manner* of imitation, which is disgusting, yet it is hardly fair to be angry with him for translating a simile of Homer's, a plunder, if it be one, of which nearly every poet has been guilty. If there be one who has not, I suspect it is he whom you say you are going to read, I mean Dante. I have only read part of Dante, and admire him very much. I think the brilliant passages are thicker set in his works, than in those of almost any other poet; but the want of connection and interest makes him heavy; and, besides the difficulty of his language, which I do not think much of, the obscurity of that part of history to which he refers is much against him. His *allusions*, in which he deals not a little, are, in consequence, most of them lost.

(*Memoirs of the Latter Years of C. J. Fox*, by J. B. Trotter, p. 500.)

1803. January. MEMORANDA OF THE CONVERSATION OF CHARLES JAMES FOX.²

[Fox on Reynolds, Petrarch, Dante, and Boccaccio]

Sir Joshua Reynolds—the grand not his forte. Liked best his playful characters—not even his Ugolino³ satisfied him—the boys in his Holy Family exquisite.

Petrarch—was never much struck with him—his sonnets the worst of him—liked his letters.

Dante a much greater man—and Boccaccio also, whose sentences are magnificent.

(*Recollections by Samuel Rogers*, ed. 1859, p. 44.)

1803. LETTER TO JOHN BERNARD TROTTER (from St. Ann's Hill).

[Obscurity of the allusions in Pindar and Dante]

I was just going to end without noticing *Pindar*; I dare say the obscurities are chiefly owing to our want of means of making

¹[John Bernard Trotter (1775-1818), a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, made Fox's acquaintance in London in 1798. In 1802 he accompanied Fox to Paris, and became his private secretary when Fox was appointed Foreign Secretary in Feb. 1806. In 1811 he published *Memoirs of the Latter Years of C. J. Fox* (see vol. ii. p. 78).]

²[By Samuel Rogers.]

³[See above, p. 343.]

out the allusions; his style is more full of allusions than that of any other poet, except, perhaps, Dante, who is on that account so difficult, and as I think on that account only. The fine passages in Pindar are equal to if not beyond, anything; but the want of interest in the subjects, and, if it is not blasphemy to say so, the excessive profusion of words, make him something bordering upon *tedious*.

(*Memoirs of the Latter Years of C. J. Fox*, by J. B. Trotter, p. 521.)

ANONYMOUS

1802. ENGLISH ENCYCLOPÆDIA.

[This work contains a biography of Dante (vol. ii. pp. 809-10) which, like that in the *New and General Biographical Dictionary* (1761), is taken almost entirely from Desmaizeaux' translation of the article on Dante in Bayle's *Dictionary* (see above, p. 220 ff.).]

WILLIAM SHEPHERD

(1768-1847)

[William Shepherd was born in Liverpool, where his father was a tradesman, in 1768. He was brought up as a Unitarian and in 1791 became minister of the Unitarian Chapel at Gateacre, near Liverpool, where he died in 1847. He was an active politician, and 'enthusiast for civil and religious liberty,' and showed practical sympathy with Gilbert Wakefield when he was imprisoned for sedition in 1799. As a young man Shepherd had made the acquaintance of William Roscoe, who interested him in Italian literature, and in 1802 he published a *Life of Poggio Bracciolini*, which was translated into French, German, and Italian, and earned for him the degree of LL.D. at Edinburgh. In this work is included Poggio's anecdote about Dante and Can Grande.]

1802. THE LIFE OF POGGIO BRACCIOLINI.

[Poggio's references to the slights passed upon Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio, by the great men of their day]

POGGIO'S literary spleen is discernible in the sarcastic observation which he introduces [in his dialogue *On the Unhappiness of Princes*] by the medium of Niccolo Niccoli, on the indifference with which the rulers of Italy regarded his researches after the lost works of the writers of antiquity; in the detail which he gives of the neglect and scorn which Dante, Petrarca, and Boccaccio experienced from the great men of their times; and in the general observations which he makes upon the contempt with which mighty potentates too frequently regard the labours of the learned.

(Ed. 1837, p. 368.)

[Anecdote of Dante]

Les Deux Parasites in the *Facetiae* of Frischlinus is attributed to Poggio, and is in his *Facetiae*, p. 67—'Danthis Faceta Responsio.'

When Dante was dining with Canis Scaliger, the courtiers had privately placed all the *bones* before him. 'Versi omnes in solum Dantem, mirabantur cur ante ipsum solummodo ossa conspicerentur; tum ille, Minimè, inquit, mirum si canes ossa sua commederunt; ego autem non sum *Canis*.'

(Ed. 1837, p. 421.)

SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE

(1772-1834)

[Samuel Taylor Coleridge was born in 1772 at Ottery St. Mary in Devonshire, where his father was vicar and master of the Grammar School. In 1782 he went to Christ's Hospital, where he made the acquaintance of his life-long friend, Charles Lamb. In 1791 he went as a sizar to Jesus College, Cambridge; he became a scholar in 1793, and left without taking a degree in 1794, having meanwhile enlisted in the 15th Dragoons, from which his discharge was bought by his brothers. In 1794 he visited Oxford and made the acquaintance of Southey, then at Balliol, whom he 'converted to Unitarianism and pantisocracy,' and with whom he afterwards resided for a time at Bristol. In 1795 he married, Southey marrying his wife's sister in the same year, and in 1796 he published his first volume of poems. In 1798 appeared *Lyrical Ballads*, the joint production of Coleridge and Wordsworth, the *Ancient Mariner* being among Coleridge's contributions. In 1798-9 Coleridge travelled in Germany, and in 1800 he published his translation of Schiller's *Wallenstein*. In 1804-6 he visited Malta and Rome. In 1808 he lectured in London, and again in 1810-13 on Shakespeare and other poets, and in 1813 at Bristol on Shakespeare and Milton. In 1816, in which year he published *Christabel* and *Kubla Khan*, Coleridge went to reside at Highgate with Gillman, under whose care he remained until his death in 1834. Besides the works already mentioned, Coleridge published *Sybilline Leaves* (1817), *A Lay Sermon* (1817), *Biographia Literaria* (1817), an enlarged edition of the *Friend* (1818), which had first appeared in book form in 1812, and *Aids to Reflection* (1825). In 1818 he gave his last series of lectures in London, which included one on Dante. In the course of the lecture on Dante Coleridge quoted and mentioned with praise the translation of the *Commedia* published four years before by Cary, whose acquaintance he had made in the previous year, thereby giving such an impulse to the sale of the work that the existing edition was speedily sold out, and a new edition was called for.¹ Coleridge was a close student of Dante, as appears from the many references throughout his works, and was acquainted not only with the *Commedia*, but also with the *Vita Nuova*, the *Convivio*, and the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*.²

1802-10. ANIMA POETAE. FROM THE UNPUBLISHED NOTE-BOOKS OF SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE.³

[The inscription over the gate of Dante's Hell appropriate for the gate of Paradise]

1802. **E**T pour moi, le bonheur n'a commencé que lorsque
Oct. 25. je l'ai eu ⁴perdu. Je mettrais volontiers sur
la porte du Paradis le vers que le Dante a mis
sur celle de l'Enfer.

'Lasciate ogni speranza voi ch' entrate.'⁵

(p. 25.)

¹[See the account given above in the notice of Cary, p. 466.]

²[See *Introduction*, p. xliii.]

³[Published in 1895.]

⁴[*Sic*.]

⁵[*Inf.* iii. 9.]

[Dante, Ariosto, and Giordano Bruno the representatives of Coleridge's Italy]

1805. May 14. Let me not confound the discriminating character and genius of a nation with the conflux of its individuals in cities and reviews. Let England be Sir Philip Sidney, Shakspeare, Milton, Bacon, Harrington, Swift, Wordsworth; and never let the names of Darwin, Johnson, Hume, *fur* it over. If these, too, must be England, let them be another England; or, rather, let the first be old England, the spiritual, Platonic old England, and the second, with Locke at the head of the philosophers and Pope of the poets, together with the long list of Priestleys, Paleys, Hayleys, Darwins, Mr. Pitts, Dundasses, &c. &c. be the representatives of commercial Great Britain. These have their merits, but are as alien to me as the Mandarin philosophers and poets of China. Even so Leibnitz, Lessing, Voss, Kant, shall be *Germany* to me, let whatever coxcombs rise up, and *shrill* it away in the grasshopper vale of reviews. And so shall Dante, Ariosto, Giordano Bruno, be my Italy; Cervantes my Spain; and O! that I could find a France for my love. But spite of Pascal, Madame Guyon and Molière, France is my Babylon, the mother of whoredoms in morality, philosophy and taste.

(pp. 151-2.)

[Dante's canzone 'Tre donne intorno al cuor']

1806. *Canzone xviii, fra le Rime di Dante* is a poem of wild and interesting images, intended as an enigma, and to me an enigma it remains, spite of all my efforts. Yet it deserves transcription and translation. A.D. 1806.

'Tre donne intorno al cuor mi son venute' &c.

Ramsgate, Sept. 2nd, 1819.—I *begin* to understand the above poem, after an interval from 1805, during which no year passed in which I did not reperuse, I might say construe, parse, and spell it, twelve times at least—such a fascination had it, spite of its obscurity! It affords a good instance, by the bye, of that soul of *universal* significance in a true poet's composition, in addition to the specific meaning.

(p. 293.)

[Poetical language—the 'Tuscanisms' of Dante—Dante's prose works]

1810. When there are few literary men, and the vast $\frac{9999999}{10000000}$ of the population are ignorant, as was the case of Italy from Dante to Metastasio, *from causes I need not here put down, there will be a poetical language*; but that a poet ever uses a word as poetical—that is, formally—which he, in the same mood and thought, would not use in prose or conversation, Milton's *Prose Works* will assist us in disproving. But as soon as literature becomes common, and critics numerous in any country, and a large

body of men seek to express themselves habitually in the most precise, sensuous, and impassioned words, the difference as to mere words ceases, as, for example, the German prose writers. Produce to me *one* word out of Klopstock, Wieland, Schiller, Goethe, Voss, &c., which I will not find as frequently used in the most energetic prose writers. The sole difference in style is that poetry demands a severe keeping—it admits nothing that prose may not often admit, but it oftener rejects. In other words, it presupposes a more continuous state of passion.

N.B.—Provincialisms of poets who have become the supreme classics in countries one in language but under various states and governments have aided this false idea, as, in Italy, the Tuscanisms of Dante, Ariosto, and Alfieri, foolishly imitated by Venetians, Romans, and Neapolitans. How much this is against the opinion of Dante, see his admirable treatise on ‘Lingua Volgare Nobile,’¹ the first, I believe, of his prose or *prose and verse* works; for the ‘Convito’ and ‘La Vita Nuova’ are, one-third, in metre.²

(pp. 229-30.)

1813. Oct. 28. LECTURE ON SHAKSPERE AT BRISTOL.

[Dante and Virgil]

Whilst Dante imagined himself a copy of Virgil, and Ariosto of Homer, they were both unconscious of that greater power working within them, which carried them beyond their originals; for their originals were polytheists. All great discoveries bear the stamp of the age in which they were made; hence we perceive the effect of their purer religion, which was visible in their lives, and in reading of their works we should not content ourselves with the narration of events long since passed, but apply their maxims and conduct to our own.³

(*Lectures and Notes on Shakspeare and other English Poets*, 1883, pp. 460-61.)

1814. Jan. 14. LETTER TO J. GOODEN, ESQ. (from Highgate).

[Dante a Platonist]

Dryden *could* not have been a Platonist: Shakspeare, Milton, Dante, Michael Angelo and Rafael could not have been other than Platonists.

(*Notes and Lectures. . . With other Literary Remains*, vol. ii. p. 275.)

¹[The *De Vulgari Eloquentia*.]

²[This may be true of the *Vita Nuova*, it is certainly untrue of the *Convivio*, which contains but three canzoni to four books of prose.]

³[This passage was reproduced almost *verbatim* by Coleridge in his *Recapitulation and Summary of the Characteristics of Shakspeare's Dramas* (1818); see *Lectures and Notes* (ed. 1883), p. 233.]

1817. BIOGRAPHIA LITERARIA.

[Poetic genius united with love of liberty in Dante and other great poets]

In Pindar, Chaucer, Dante, Milton, &c. &c., we have instances of the close connection of poetic genius with the love of liberty and of genuine reformation. The moral sense at least will not be outraged, if I add to the list the name of this honest shoemaker [Hans Sachs] (a trade, by the bye, remarkable for the production of philosophers and poets).

(Ed. 1870, Chap. x. p. 100.)

[Boccaccio on marriage in his 'Vita di Dante']

Instead of the vehement and almost slanderous dehortation from marriage, which the *Misogyne*, Boccaccio, addresses to literary men in his *Vita e Costumi di Dante*,¹ I would substitute the simple advice: be not merely a man of letters!

(Ibid. Chap. xi. p. 112.)

[Dante excelled by Shakespeare in the 'picturesque in words']

I think I should have conjectured from these poems [*Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*], that even then the great instinct which impelled Shakespeare to the drama was secretly working in him, prompting him by a series and never-broken chain of imagery, always vivid, and because unbroken, often minute; by the highest effort of the picturesque in words, of which words are capable, higher perhaps than was ever realised by any other poet, even Dante not excepted; to provide a substitute for that visual language, that constant intervention and running comment by tone, look, and gesture, which, in his dramatic works, he was entitled to expect from the players.

(Ibid. Chap. xv. p. 152.)

[Dante's jealousy for the purity of his native tongue]

The composition of our novels, magazines, public harangues, &c., is commonly as trivial in thought, and yet enigmatic in expression, as if Echo and Sphinx had laid their heads together to construct it. Nay, even of those who have most rescued themselves from this contagion, I should plead inwardly guilty to the charge of duplicity or cowardice if I withheld my conviction, that few have guarded the purity of their native tongue with that jealous care, which the sublime Dante, in his tract, *De la nobile volgare eloquenza*,² declares to be the first duty of a poet. For language is the armoury

¹[Pp. 12, 13.]²[Dante's Latin treatise, *De Vulgari Eloquentia*.]

of the human mind ; and at once contains the trophies of its past, and the weapons of its future conquests.

(Ed. 1870, Chap. xvi. p. 157.)

[Dante's canzone 'Voi che intendendo']

A poem is not necessarily obscure, because it does not aim to be popular. It is enough, if a work be perspicuous to those for whom it is written, and

'Fit audience find, though few.'

To the 'Ode on the Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of early Childhood' the poet might have prefixed the lines which Dante addresses to one of his own Canzoni:—

'Canzone, i' credo, che saranno radi
Color che tua ragione intendan bene :
Tanto lor sei faticoso ed alto.'¹

O lyric song, there will be few, think I,
Who may thy import understand aright :
Thou art for *them* so arduous and so high.

(*Ibid.* Chap. xxii. p. 229.)

1817. A LAY SERMON ADDRESSED TO THE HIGHER AND MIDDLE CLASSES, ON THE EXISTING DISTRESSES AND DISCONTENTS.

[The inscription over Dante's Hell appropriate for the door of the Cabinet]

The door of the Cabinet has a quality the most opposite to the ivory gate of Virgil. It suffers no dreams to pass through it. Alas! as far as any wide scheme of benevolence is concerned, the inscription over it might seem to be the Dantean :

Lasciate ogni speranza, voi ch' entrate!²

(Ed. 1870, *Introd.* p. 372 note.)

[Dante a Platonist]

At present the more effective a man's talents are, and the more likely he is to be useful and distinguished in the highest situations of public life, the earlier does he show his aversion to the metaphysics and the books of metaphysical speculation which are placed before him. . . . Dante, Petrarch, Spenser, Sir Philip Sidney, Algernon Sidney, Milton, and Barrow, were Platonists. But all the men of genius with whom it has been my fortune to converse, either profess to know nothing of the present systems or to despise them.

(*Ibid.* p. 404.)

¹[Misquoted—the last line should run 'Tanto la parli faticosa e forte.' In the original edition (1817) 'Color' is omitted from the second line. The lines come from *Canz.* vi. (ll. 53-5), the canzone prefixed to Trattato ii. of the *Convivio*.]

²[*Inf.* iii. 9.]

1817. March 18. LETTER IN THE 'COURIER' ON SOUTHEY'S 'WAT TYLER.'

[The 'horrid phantoms' of Dante and Quevedo]

The vivid, yet indistinct images in which the poet painted the evils of war and the hardships of the poor, proved that neither the forms nor the feelings were the result of real observation. The product of the poet's own fancy, they were impregnated, therefore, with that pleasurable fervour which is experienced in all energetic exertion of intellectual power. But as to any serious wish, akin to reality, as to any real persons or events designed or expected, we should think it just as wise and just as charitable, to believe that Quevedo or Dante would have been glad to realise the horrid phantoms and torments of imaginary oppressors, whom they beheld in the infernal regions—i.e. on the slides of their own magic lantern.

1817. Oct. 29. LETTER TO REV. HENRY FRANCIS CARY (from Little Hampton).

[Coleridge on Cary's Dante]

I regret, dear sir! that a slave to the worst of tyrants (outward tyrants, at least), the booksellers, I have not been able to read more than two books and passages here and there of the other, of your translation of Dante. You will not suspect me of the worthlessness of exceeding my real opinion, but like a good Christian will make even modesty give way to charity, though I say, that in the severity and *learned simplicity* of the diction, and in the peculiar character of the Blank Verse, it has transcended what I should have thought possible without the *Terza Rima*. In itself, the metre is, compared with any English poem of one quarter the length, the most varied and harmonious to my ear of any since Milton, and yet the effect is so Dantesque that to those who should compare it only with other English poems, it would, I doubt not, have the same effect as the *Terza Rima* has compared with other Italian metres. I would that my literary influence were enough to secure the knowledge of the work for the true lovers of poetry in general. But how came it that you had it published in so *too* unostentatious a form?¹ For a second or third edition, the form has its conveniences; but for the first, in the present state of English society, *quod non arrogas tibi, non habes*. If you have any other works, poems, or poemata, by you, printed or MSS., you

¹[Cary's translation was originally published in three very diminutive volumes.]

would gratify me by sending them to me. In the meantime, except in the spirit in which it is offered, this trifling testimonial of my respect.

(*Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, vol. ii. pp. 616-7.)

1817. Nov. 6. LETTER TO REV. HENRY FRANCIS CARY (from Little Hampton).

[Cary's translation really 'Dantesque']

I thank you for your kind and valued present, and equally for the kind letter that accompanied it. What I expressed concerning your translation, I did not say lightly or without examination: and I know enough of myself to be confident that any feeling of personal partiality would rather lead me to doubts and dissatisfactions respecting a particular work in proportion as it might possibly occasion me to overrate the man. For example, if, indeed, I do estimate too highly what I deem the characteristic excellencies of Wordsworth's poems, it results from a congeniality without a congeniality in the productive power; but to the faults and defects I have been far more alive than his detractors, even from the first publication of the *Lyrical Ballads*, though for a long course of years my opinions were sacred to his own ear. Since my last, I have read over your translation, and have carefully compared it with my distinctest recollections of every specimen of blank verse I am familiar with that can be called epic, narrative, or descriptive, excluding only the dramatic, declamatory, and lyrical—with Cowper, Armstrong, Southey, Wordsworth, Landor (the author of *Gebir*) and with all of my own that fell within comparisons as above defined, especially the passage from 287 to 292, *Sibylline Leaves*,—and I find no other alteration in my judgment but an additional confidence in it. I still affirm that, to my ear and to my judgement, both your metre and your rhythm have in a far greater degree than I know any instance of, the variety of Milton without any mere Miltonisms, that (wherein I in the passage referred to have chiefly failed) the verse has this variety without any loss of *continuity*, and that this is the *excellence* of the work considered as a translation of Dante—that it gives the reader a similar feeling of wandering and wandering, onward and onward. Of the diction, I can only say that it is Dantesque even in that in which the Florentine must be preferred to our English giant—namely that it is not only pure *language*, but pure *English*. The language differs from that of a mother or a well-bred lady who had read little but her Bible, and a few good books, only as far as the thoughts and things to be expressed require learned words from a learned poet! Perhaps I may be thought to ap-

preciate this merit too highly; but you have seen what I have said in defence of this in the *Literary Life*. By the by there is no *Publisher's* name mentioned in the title-page. Should I place any number of copies for you with Gale and Curtis, or at Murray's?

(*Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, vol. ii. pp. 677-9.)

1818. Feb. 3. LECTURE ON THE TROUBADOURS—BOCCACCIO—PETRARCH—PULCI—CHAUCER—SPENSER.

[Of the indebtedness of English poets to Dante and other Italians]

My object in adverting to the Italian poets, is not so much for their own sakes, in which point of view Dante and Ariosto alone would have required separate lectures, but for the elucidation of the merits of our countrymen, as to what extent we must consider them as fortunate imitators of their Italian predecessors, and in what points they have the higher claims of original genius. Of Dante, I am to speak elsewhere.¹

(*Notes and Lectures. . . . With other Literary Remains*, vol. ii. p. 21.)

[Alleged prophetic utterance of Dante]

The Morgante sometimes makes you think of Rabelais. It contains the most remarkable guess or allusion upon the subject of America² that can be found in any book published before the discovery. Another very curious anticipation, said to have been first noticed by Amerigo Vespucci, occurs in Dante's *Purgatorio*:³

I' mi volsi a man destra e posi mente
All' altro polo: e vidi quattro stelle
Non viste mai, fuor ch' alla prima gente.

C. i. ll. 22-4.

(*Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 26-7.)

1818. Feb. 24. LECTURE ON RABELAIS—SWIFT—STERNE.

[Rabelais classed with Shakespeare and Dante]

I could write a treatise in proof and praise of the morality and moral elevation of Rabelais' work which would make the church stare, and the conventicle groan, and yet should be the truth and nothing but the truth. I class Rabelais with the creative minds of the world, Shakspeare, Dante, Cervantes, &c.

(*Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 81-2.)

¹[See below, pp. 620 ff.]

²The reference is to C. xxv. St. 228 ff.

³[Attention had been drawn to this by Baretti some years before in his *Dissertation upon the Italian Poetry* (see above, pp. 264-5).]

1818. Feb. 27. LECTURE ON DANTE.

Dante

Born at Florence, 1265.—Died, 1321.

As I remarked in a former Lecture on a different subject (for subjects the most diverse in literature have still their tangents), the Gothic character, and its good and evil fruits, appeared less in Italy than in any other part of European Christendom. There was accordingly much less romance, as that word is commonly understood; or, perhaps more truly stated, there was romance instead of chivalry. In Italy, an earlier imitation of, and a more evident and intentional blending with, the Latin literature took place than elsewhere. The operation of the feudal system, too, was incalculably weaker, of that singular chain of independent interdependents, the principal of which was a confederacy for the preservation of individual, consistently with general, freedom. In short, Italy, in the time of Dante, was an after-birth of eldest Greece, a renewal or a reflex of the old Italy under its kings and first Roman consuls, a net-work of free little republics, with the same domestic feuds, civil wars, and party spirit,—the same virtues and vices produced on a similarly narrow theatre,—the existing state of things being, as in all small democracies, under the working and direction of certain individuals, to whose will even the laws were swayed;—whilst at the same time the singular spectacle was exhibited amidst all this confusion, of the flourishing of commerce, and the protection and encouragement of letters and arts. Never was the commercial spirit so well reconciled to the nobler principles of social polity as in Florence. It tended there to union and permanence and elevation,—not as the overbalance of it in England is now doing, to dislocation, change, and moral degradation. The intensest patriotism reigned in these communities, but confined and attached exclusively to the small locality of the patriot's birth and residence; whereas in the true Gothic feudalism, country was nothing but the preservation of personal independence. But then, on the other hand, as a counterbalance to these disuniting elements, there was in Dante's Italy, as in Greece, a much greater uniformity of religion common to all than amongst the northern nations.

Upon these hints the history of the republican aeras of ancient Greece and modern Italy ought to be written. There are three kinds or stages of historic narrative;—1. that of the annalist or chronicler, who deals merely in facts and events arranged in order of time, having no principle of selection, no plan of arrangement, and whose work properly constitutes a supplement to the poetical writings of romance or heroic legends:—2. that of the writer who

takes his stand on some moral point, and selects a series of events for the express purpose of illustrating it, and in whose hands the narrative of the selected events is modified by the principle of selection;—as Thucydides, whose object was to describe the evils of democratic and aristocratic partizanships;—or Polybius, whose design was to show the social benefits resulting from the triumph and grandeur of Rome, in public institutions and military discipline;—or Tacitus, whose secret aim was to exhibit the pressure and corruptions of despotism; in all which writers and others like them, the ground-object of the historian colours with artificial lights the facts which he relates:—3. and which idea is the grandest—the most truly founded in philosophy—there is the Herodotean history, which is not composed with reference to any particular causes, but attempts to describe human nature itself on a great scale as a portion of the drama of providence, the free will of man resisting the destiny of events,—for the individuals often succeeding against it, but for the race always yielding to it, and in the resistance itself invariably affording means towards the completion of the ultimate result. Mitford's history is a good and useful work; but in his zeal against democratic government, Mitford forgot, or never saw, that ancient Greece was not, nor ought ever to be considered, a permanent thing, but that it existed, in the disposition of providence, as a proclaimer of ideal truths, and that everlasting proclamation being made, that its functions were naturally at an end.

However, in the height of such a state of society in Italy, Dante was born and flourished; and was himself eminently a picture of the age in which he lived. But of more importance even than this, to a right understanding of Dante, is the consideration that the scholastic philosophy was then at its acme even in itself; but more especially in Italy, where it never prevailed so exclusively as northward of the Alps. It is impossible to understand the genius of Dante, and difficult to understand his poem, without some knowledge of the characters, studies, and writings of the schoolmen of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. For Dante was the living link between religion and philosophy; he philosophized the religion and christianized the philosophy of Italy; and, in this poetic union of religion and philosophy, he became the ground of transition into the mixed Platonism and Aristotelianism of the Schools, under which, by numerous minute articles of faith and ceremony, Christianity became a craft of hair splitting, and was ultimately degraded into a complete *fetisch* worship, divorced from philosophy, and made up of a faith without thought, and a credulity directed by passion. Afterwards, indeed, philosophy revived under condition of defending this very superstition; and, in so

doing, it necessarily led the way to its subversion, and that in exact proportion to the influence of the philosophic schools. Hence it did its work most completely in Germany, then in England, next in France, then in Spain, last of all in Italy. We must, therefore, take the poetry of Dante as christianized, but without the further Gothic accession of proper chivalry. It was at a somewhat later period, that the importations from the East, through the Venetian commerce and the crusading armaments, exercised a peculiarly strong influence on Italy.

In studying Dante, therefore, we must consider carefully the differences produced, first by allegory being substituted for polytheism; and secondly and mainly, by the opposition of Christianity to the spirit of pagan Greece, which receiving the very names of its gods from Egypt, soon deprived them of all that was universal. The Greeks changed the ideas into finites, and these finites into *anthropomorphi*, or forms of men. Hence their religion, their poetry, nay their very pictures become statuesque. With them the form was the end. The reverse of this was the natural effect of Christianity; in which finites, even the human form, must, in order to satisfy the mind, be brought into connexion with, and be in fact symbolical of, the infinite; and must be considered in some enduring, however shadowy and indistinct, point of view, as the vehicle or representative of moral truth.

Hence resulted two great effects; a combination of poetry with doctrine, and, by turning the mind inward on its own essence instead of letting it act only on its outward circumstances and communities; a combination of poetry with sentiment. And it is this inwardness or subjectivity, which principally and most fundamentally distinguishes all the classic from all the modern poetry. . . .

The *Divina Commedia* is a system of moral, political, and theological truths, with arbitrary personal exemplifications, which are not, in my opinion, allegorical. I do not even feel convinced that the punishments in the *Inferno* are strictly allegorical. I rather take them to have been in Dante's mind *quasi-allegorical*, or conceived in analogy to pure allegory.

I have said, that a combination of poetry with doctrines, is one of the characteristics of the Christian muse; but I think Dante has not succeeded in effecting this combination nearly so well as Milton.

This comparative failure of Dante, as also some other peculiarities of his mind, *in malam partem*, must be immediately attributed to the state of North Italy in his time, which is vividly represented in Dante's life; a state of intense democratical partizanship, in which an exaggerated importance was attached to individuals, and which whilst it afforded a vast field for the intellect, opened also a boundless arena for the passions, and in which envy, jealousy,

hatred, and other malignant feelings, could and did assume the form of patriotism, even to the individual's own conscience.

All this common, and, as it were, natural partizanship, was aggravated and coloured by the Guelf and Ghibelline factions; and, in part explanation of Dante's adherence to the latter, you must particularly remark, that the Pope had recently territorialized his authority to a great extent, and that this increase of territorial power in the church, was by no means the same beneficial movement for the citizens of free republics, as the parallel advance in other countries was for those who groaned as vassals under the oppression of the circumjacent baronial castles.¹

By way of preparation to a satisfactory perusal of the Divine Commedia, I will now proceed to state what I consider to be Dante's chief excellences as a poet. And I begin with

I. Style—the vividness, logical connexion, strength and energy of which cannot be surpassed. In this I think Dante superior to Milton; and his style is accordingly more imitable than Milton's, and does to this day exercise a greater influence on the literature of his country. You cannot read Dante without feeling a gush of manliness of thought within you. Dante was very sensible of his own excellence in this particular, and speaks of poets as guardians of the vast armory of language, which is the intermediate something between matter and spirit:—

Or se' tu quel Virgilio, e quella fonte,
Che spande di parlar sì largo fiume?
Risposi lui con vergognosa fronte.

O degli altri poeti onore e lume,
Vagliami 'l lungo studio e 'l grande amore,
Che m' han fatto cercar lo tuo volume.

Tu se' lo mio maestro, e 'l mio autore:
Tu se' solo colui, da cui io tolsi
Lo bello stilo, che m' a fatto onore.

Inf. c. 1. v. 79.

'And art thou then that Virgil, that well-spring,
From which such copious floods of eloquence
Have issued?' I, with front abash'd, replied:
'Glory and light of all the tuneful train!
May it avail me, that I long with zeal
Have sought thy volume, and with love immense
Have conn'd it o'er. My master thou, and guide!
Thou he from whom I have alone deriv'd
That style, which for its beauty into fame
Exalts me.'

Cary.

¹[Coleridge here notes: I will, if I can, here make an historical movement, and pay a proper compliment to Mr. Hallam.]

Indeed there was a passion and a miracle of words in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, after the long slumber of language in barbarism, which gave an almost romantic character, a virtuous quality and power, to what was read in a book, independently of the thought or images contained in it. This feeling is very often perceptible in Dante.

II. The Images in Dante are not only taken from obvious nature and are intelligible to all, but are ever conjoined with the universal feeling received from nature, and therefore affect the general feelings of all men. And in this respect, Dante's excellence is very great, and may be contrasted with the idiosyncracies of some meritorious modern poets, who attempt an eruditeness, the result of particular feelings. Consider the simplicity, I may say plainness, of the following simile, and how differently we should in all probability deal with it at the present day :

Quali i fioretti dal notturno gelo
Chinati e chiusi, poi che 'l sol gl' imbianca,
Si drizzan tutti aperti in loro stelo,—
Tal mi fec' io di mia virtute stanca :

Inf. c. 2 v. 127.

As florets, by the frosty air of night
Bent down and clos'd, when day has blanch'd their leaves,
Rise all unfolded on their spiry stems,—
So was my fainting vigour new restor'd.

Cary.¹

III. Consider the wonderful profoundness of the whole third canto of the *Inferno*; and especially of the inscription over Hell gate :

Per me si va, etc.—

which can only be explained by a meditation on the true nature of religion; that is—reason *plus* the understanding. I say profoundness rather than sublimity; for Dante does not so much elevate your thoughts as send them down deeper. In this canto all the images are distinct, and even vividly distinct; but there is a total impression of infinity; the wholeness is not in vision or conception, but in an inner feeling of totality, and absolute being.

IV. In picturesqueness, Dante is beyond all other poets, modern, or ancient, and more in the stern style of Pindar, than of any other. Michael Angelo is said to have made a design for every page of the *Divina Commedia*. As superexcellent in this respect, I would note the conclusion of the third canto of the *Inferno* :

¹[Coleridge here notes : Here to speak of Mr. Cary's translation.]

Ed ecco verso noi venir per nave
 Un vecchio bianco per antico pelo
 Gridando : guai a voi anime prave : etc.¹
 Ver. 82, etc.

* * * *

Caron dimonio con occhi di bragia
 Loro accennando, tutte le raccoglie :
 Batte col remo qualunque s' adagia.
 Come d' autunno si levan le foglie
 L' una appresso dell' altra, infin che 'l ramo
 Rende alla terra tutte le sue spoglie ;
 Similmente il mal seme d' Adamo,
 Gittansi di quel lito ad una ad una
 Per cenni, com' augel per suo richiamo.

Ver. 109, etc.

And this passage, which I think admirably picturesque :

Ma poco valse, che l' ale al sospetto,² etc.

V. Very closely connected with this picturesqueness, is the topographic reality of Dante's journey through Hell. You should note and dwell on this as one of his great charms, and which gives a striking peculiarity to his poetic power. He thus takes the thousand delusive forms of a nature worse than chaos, having no reality but from the passions which they excite, and compels them into the service of the permanent. Observe the exceeding truth of these lines :

Noi ricidemmo 'l cerchio all' altra riva,³ etc.

VI. For Dante's power,—his absolute mastery over, although rare exhibition of, the pathetic, I can do no more than refer to the passages on Francesca di Rimini (*Infer. C. v. ver. 73* to the end) and on Ugolino (*Infer. C. xxxiii. ver. 1* to 75). They are so well known, and rightly so admired, that it would be pedantry to analyze their composition ; but you will note that the first is the pathos of passion, the second that of affection ; and yet even in the first, you seem to perceive that the lovers have sacrificed their passion to the cherishing of a deep and memorable impression.

VII. As to going into the endless subtle beauties of Dante, that is impossible ; but I cannot help citing the first triplet of the 29th canto of the *Inferno* :

La molta gente e le diverse piaghe
 Avean le luci mie sì inebriate,
 Che dello stare a piangere eran vaghe.

¹[Coleridge appends Cary's translation of this and other passages from the *Commedia* quoted by him.]

²[Coleridge here quotes *Inf. xxii. 127-44.*]

³[Coleridge here quotes *Inf. vii. 100-14, 127-30.*]

Nor have I now room for any specific comparison of Dante with Milton. But if I had, I would institute it upon the ground of the last canto of the *Inferno* from the 1st to the 69th line, and from the 106th to the end. And in this comparison I should notice Dante's occasional fault of becoming grotesque from being too graphic without imagination; as in his Lucifer compared with Milton's Satan. Indeed he is sometimes horrible rather than terrible,—falling into the *μισητόν* instead of the *δεινόν* of Longinus,¹ in other words, many of his images excite bodily disgust, and not moral fear. But here, as in other cases, you may perceive that the faults of great authors are generally excellencies carried to an excess.

(*Notes and Lectures*. . . . *With other Literary Remains*, vol. ii, pp. 93-108.)

1818. THE FRIEND.

[The fate of Cary's Dante]

My translation of Schiller's *Wallenstein* has been long ago used up, as 'winding-sheets for pilchards,' or extant only by (as I would fain flatter myself) the kind partiality of the trunk-makers. . . . When I recollect, that a much better and very far more valuable work, the Rev. Mr. Cary's incomparable translation of Dante, had very nearly met with the same fate,² I lose all right, and, I trust, all inclination to complain.

(*Section 2, Essay 2*, ed. 1875, p. 285 note.)

[Dante's canzone 'Voi che intendendo']

During my residence in Rome³ I had the pleasure of reciting this sublime ode⁴ to the illustrious Baron von Humboldt, then the Prussian minister at the papal court, and now at the court of St. James's. . . . I know few Englishmen, whom I could compare with him in the extensive knowledge and just appreciation of English literature and its various epochs. He listened to the ode with evident delight, and as evidently not without surprise, and at the close of the recitation exclaimed, 'And is this the work of a living English poet? I should have attributed it to the age of Elizabeth, not that I recollect any writer whose style it resembles; but rather with wonder, that so great and original a poet should have escaped

¹De Subl. l. ix.

²[Cary's Dante was rescued from oblivion mainly by Coleridge himself, who had mentioned it with approbation in the lecture on Dante delivered in Feb., 1818. In the next year a new edition of Cary's translation was published in consequence of the demand created by Coleridge's remarks (see above, p. 466).]

³[In 1805-6.]

⁴[Wordsworth's *Ode on the Intimations of Immortality*.]

my notice.'—Often as I repeat passages from it to myself, I recur to the words of Dante:—

Canzon! io credo, che saranno radi
Che tua ragione bene intenderanno:
Tanto lor sei faticoso ed alto.¹

(Section 2, *Essay* 11, ed. 1875, p. 337 note.)

[‘A wild fancy’ from Virgil and Dante]

Will the soul thus awakened neglect or undervalue the outward and conditional causes of her growth? Far rather (might we dare borrow a wild fancy from the Mantuan bard, or the poet of Arno)² will it be with her as if a stem or trunk, suddenly endued with sense and reflection, should contemplate its green shoots, their leaflets and budding blossoms, wondered at as then first noticed, but welcomed nevertheless as its own growth; while yet with undiminished gratitude, and a deepened sense of dependency, it would bless the dews and the sunshine from without. . . .

(Section 2, *Essay* 11, ed. 1875, p. 339.)

1819. MANUSCRIPT NOTES³ IN THE SECOND (1819) EDITION OF CARY'S TRANSLATION OF THE DIVINA COMMEDIA.⁴

[*Purgatorio* xxi. 94]

Cary: Statius lived to write only a small part of the *Achilleid*.

Coleridge: This is the general belief; but I think, erroneous. It seems to me an entire poem—*Achilles Puer*.⁵

(Vol. ii. p. 193.)

[*Paradiso* i. 12-14]

Cary: Benign Apollo! this last labour aid;
And make me such a vessel of thy worth,
As thy own laurel claims, of me below'd.

Coleridge: A very difficult passage. I speak with much diffidence. But I am inclined to think that the sense of

‘sì fatto vaso

Come dimanda dar l' amato lauro'

is = ‘a vessel such As doth demand the loved Laurel's gift.’ The line following refers, I conjecture, to the division of all objects of Thought into Form, and Essence, το γινόμενον και το οντως ον

¹[Misquoted from the canzone prefixed to *Convivio* ii. See note to the passage in *Biographia Literaria*, where the same lines are (differently) misquoted, on p. 616 above.]

²[A reference to Dante's imitation of *Aeneid* iii. 23 ff. in *Inf.* xiii. 31 ff.]

³[Partly in pencil, partly in ink.]

⁴[These volumes were acquired by the British Museum in Oct. 1877.]

⁵[In pencil.]

—the former sufficed for Hell and Purgatory. In Heaven alone true Reality subsists.¹

(Vol. iii. p. 4.)

[Paradiso i. 24-5]

Cary : Thou shalt behold me of thy favoured tree

Come to the foot, and crown myself with leaves :

Coleridge : l. 24. I am tempted and yet ashamed to suggest the possibility of 'al' having taken place of the original 'il' by mistake or carelessness of the earliest Copyists. Venir vedrámi il tuo diletto legno = This beloved Tree shall behold me come and crown me with those leaves of which the Theme and Thou shalt make me worthy.—But those only who see the difficulty of the original can do justice to Mr. Cary's Translation—which may now and then not be Dante's *Words*, but always, always, *Dante*. In other words, the Poet says—Hitherto, the Poet and Moralist has sufficed; but henceforward the *Philosopher* must be added: my 'Paradiso' *must* be metaphysical. Yet how to make this compatible and co-present with the equally necessary Element of Poetry—hic labor est! Both the Powers of Intellect, the Discursive Sensuous, and the Rational Super-sensuous, must unite at their summits. Thus too: Dante did not mean to speak of Apollo's *own* song in his strife with Marsyas; but asks for an evacuation and exinanition of all Self in *him* (Dante) like the unsheathing of Marsyas—that so he (Dante) might become a mere Vessel, or Wine-skin of the Deity.¹

(Vol. iii. p. 5.)

[Paradiso i. 36 ff.]

Cary : Through divers passages, the world's bright² lamp

Rises to mortals; &c.

Coleridge : Admirably translated. O how few will appreciate its value! Genius is not alone sufficient—it must be present, indeed, in the Translator, in order to supply a *negative* Test by its sympathy; to *feel* that it *has* been well done. But it is *Taste*, *Scholarship*, *Discipline*, *TACT*, that must do it.²

(Vol. iii. p. 6.)

[Paradiso i. 41-2]

Cary : Morning there,

Here eve was well nigh by such passage made;

Coleridge : l. 42. ? Is not the 'quasi' here enclitic on 'foce'? This *Gorge*, as it were?—Mem. To recommend Mr. Carey to run his eyes thro' Swedenberg's³ *Arcana Caelestia*.⁴

(Vol. iii. p. 6.)

¹[In ink.]

²[In pencil.]

³[*Sic*.]

⁴[In ink.]

[Paradiso i. 74-6]

Cary: Whenas the wheel which thou dost ever guide,
Desired Spirit! with its harmony,
Temper'd of thee and measur'd, charm'd mine ear;

Coleridge: Not in my dear and honored Friend's *own* style—
nè Car-nè Dant-esca. Better as well as more literal—'made me
attent'? I doubt whether 'desiderato' is here a vocative. I
rather think—tho' the o final is against me—that it is an objective
governed by the active-transitive verb, 'sempiterni'—dost sempi-
ternalize a thing desired.¹

(Vol. iii. p. 9.)

[Paradiso i. 98-9]

Cary: With such a look,
As on her frenzied child a mother casts;

Coleridge: l. 99. 'frenzied' too strong for 'deliro'—dreaming?
feverous? brain-wilder'd?¹

(Vol. iii. p. 10.)

[Paradiso vii. 33-4]

Cary: The nature with its maker thus conjoin'd,
Created first was blameless, pure and good.

Coleridge: I interpret the Mosaic 'Good' by equal and fitted to
the wise and gracious purposes of the *Δογμου του Δημιουργου*.
How otherwise could it be applied to the bestial and even to the
Inanimate? Jacob Boehm who took the word in the common
sense and yet saw that the Fall of Man *could* not on this supposi-
tion be cleared from inherent contradictions, too boldly cut the
knot: affirming that in the 1st C. of Gen. the Veil was on Moses's
face, relatively to his own vision as well as for others.¹

(Vol. iii. pp. 58-9.)

1824. Dec. 14. LETTER TO THE REV. HENRY FRANCIS CARY (from
Highgate).

[Gabriele Rossetti's interpretation of the *Divina Commedia*]

The gentleman, Mr. Gabriel Rossetti,² whose letter to you I en-
close, is a friend of my friend, Mr. J. H. Frere,³ with whom he
lived in habits of intimacy at Malta and Naples. He seems to me
what from Mr. Frere's high opinion of him I should have con-
fidently anticipated, a gentleman, a scholar, and a man of talents.

¹[In pencil.]²[See vol. ii. pp. 445-7.]³[See vol. ii. pp. 548-50.]

The nature of his request you will learn from the letter, namely, a perusal of his manuscript on the spirit of Dante and the mechanism and interpretation of the *Divina Commedia*, of which he believes himself to have the filum Ariadneum in his hand, and a frank opinion of the merits of his labours. My dear friend! I know by experience *what* is asked in this twofold request, and that the weight increases in proportion to the kindness and sensibility and the shrinking from the infliction of pain of the person on whom it is enjoined. The name of Mr. John Hookham Frere would alone have sufficed to make *me* undertake this office, had the request been directed to myself. It would have been my duty. But I would not, knowing your temper and habits and avocations, have sought to engage you, or even have put you to the discomfort of excusing yourself had I not been strongly impressed by Mr. Rossetti's manners and conversation with the belief that the interests of literature are concerned, and that Mr. Rossetti has a claim on all the services which the sons of the Muses, and more particularly the cultivators of ancient Italian Literature, and most particularly Dante's "English Duplicate and Re-incarnation" can render him. If your health and other duties allow your accession to this request (for the recommendation of the work to the booksellers is quite a secondary consideration, of minor importance in Mr. Rossetti's estimation, and I have, besides, explained to him how very limited *our* influence is), you will be so good as to let me hear from you, and where and when Mr. Rossetti might wait on you. He will be happy to attend you at Chiswick. He *understands* English, and he speaking Italian and I our own language, we had no difficulty in keeping up an animated conversation.

(*Letters*, vol. ii. pp. 731-2.)

FRANCIS JEFFREY

(1773-1850)

[Francis Jeffrey was born in Edinburgh in 1773. He was educated at the Edinburgh High School, and at Glasgow and Edinburgh Universities, and was for a short time at Queen's College, Oxford (1791-2). He was called to the bar in 1794. In 1802 Jeffrey joined Sydney Smith and Brougham in founding the *Edinburgh Review*, which he edited from 1803 to 1829. In 1830 he was appointed Lord Advocate, a post which he held until 1834; in that year he was made a judge of the court of session and became Lord Jeffrey, at the same time vacating his seat for Edinburgh, for which he had been elected after the Reform bill in 1832. He died in Edinburgh in 1850.]

1802. May 24. LETTER TO ROBERT MOREHEAD (from Edinburgh).

[An article on Dante for the 'Edinburgh Review']

OUR Review¹ is finished at length, and the London impression sails this afternoon. We had no room for Dante,² but shall take care to put it in the next Number. I wish you would take another book too. There is Paley's 'Natural Theology' that I do not know what to do with; it is quite in your way, and you shall have it if you wish.

(*Memorials of the Life and Writings of Rev. R. Morehead*, p. 111.)

1803. Jan. 16. LETTER TO ROBERT MOREHEAD (from Edinburgh).

[Morehead on Boyd's Dante in the 'Edinburgh Review']

This cursed Review has almost killed me. . . . At last I think I have weathered the storm. We come out next week. . . . The Review continues to excite a good deal of interest and expectation in this place, though the new Number, however, I am afraid, will scarcely be so good as the former, though it contains your Dante,² very little corrected. It is written rather in defence, on the whole, and I hope will disappoint our enemies more, at least, than our friends.

(*Ibid.* p. 115.)

HENRY CRABB ROBINSON

(1775-1867)

[Henry Crabb Robinson, the well-known diarist, was born at Bury St. Edmunds in 1775. In 1796 he entered a solicitor's office in London, but a few years later he abandoned the law and went to Germany, where he made the acquaintance of Goethe and Schiller (1800-2). In 1802 he matriculated at the University of Jena, where he remained until 1805. After acting for a time as correspondent and foreign editor of *The Times* (1807-9), he studied for the bar, and was called in 1813. He retired from practice in 1828, and spent the rest of his life in social intercourse with the most notable literary men of the day, among those with whom he was on terms of intimacy being Lamb, Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Southey. He died in London in 1867, at the age of ninety-one. In his *Diary*, selections from which were published after his death, Robinson records some interesting remarks upon Dante by Blake, and Landor, and Flaxman. He heard Coleridge lecture on Dante in 1818, and Carlyle in 1840. Only one entry refers to his own reading of Dante.]

¹[The first number of the *Edinburgh Review*, published in the following October.]

²[Morehead's review of Boyd's translation of the *Divina Commedia*, which appeared in the second number, Jan. 1803 (see below, pp. 645-6).]

1802. ACCOUNT OF TOUR WITH CHRISTIAN BRENTANO IN GERMANY.

[Shakespeare, Goethe, and Dante, 'the triple glory of modern poetry']

IN passing through the University town of Erlangen, I was pleased with the gentlemanly appearance of the students, though they had not the dashing impudence of the Cantabs or Oxonians. We supped at the head inn, where there were about fifty young men. Our polite host placed me by the side of Professor Abicht, and I was again struck by the concurrence of opinion among the German philosophers as to the transcendent genius of Shakespeare, Goethe, and Dante—the triple glory of modern poetry.

(*Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence*,¹ vol. i. p. 119.)

1811. Jan. 17. DIARY.

[Flaxman's designs from Dante]

In the evening a call at Flaxman's. Read to Mrs. Flaxman a part of Schlegel's 'Critique on the Designs for Dante,' which of course gratified her. She told me they were done in Italy² for Mr. Hope, on very moderate terms, merely to give Flaxman employment for the evening. Fuseli, when he saw them, said, 'I used to think myself the best composer, but now I own Flaxman to be the greater man.' Some years ago, when I met Flaxman at Mrs. Iremonger's, I mentioned Schlegel's praise of him for his preference of Dante to Milton. It was, said Schlegel, a proof that he surpassed his countrymen in taste. Flaxman said he could not accept the compliment on the ground of preference. He thought Milton the very greatest of poets, and he could not forgive Charles James Fox for not liking him. He had three reasons for choosing Dante. First, he was unwilling to interfere with Fuseli, who had made choice of Milton for his designs. Second, Milton supplies few figures, while Dante abounds in them. And, third, he had heard that Michael Angelo had made a number of designs in the margin of a copy of Dante.

Mrs. Flaxman said, this evening, that the common cloak of the lower classes in Italy suggested the drapery for Virgil and Dante. While we were talking on this subject Flaxman came in. He spoke with great modesty of his designs; he could do better now, and wished the Germans had something better on which to exercise their critical talents.

(*Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 319-20.)

¹[Selected and edited by Thomas Sadler, 1869.]

²[They were first published at Rome in 1793, the plates being engraved by Piroli (see above, p. 517, and vol. ii. pp. 56-7).]

1818. Feb. 27. DIARY.

[Coleridge on Dante]

To Coleridge's lecture. It was on Dante and Milton—one of his very best. He digressed less than usual, and really gave information and ideas about the poets he professed to criticise.¹

(*Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 89.)

1822. Feb. 25. LETTER TO MISS WORDSWORTH.

[Wordsworth, Goethe, and Dante]

Like the great poet of Germany, with whom he has so many high powers in common, Mr. Wordsworth has a strange love of riddles. Goethe carries further the practice of not giving collateral information; he seems to anticipate the founding of a college for the delivery of explanatory lectures like those instituted in Tuscany for Dante.

(*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 224.)

1825. Dec. 10. DIARY.

[Blake on Dante]

I asked Blake² about the moral character of Dante, in writing his 'Vision'—was he pure? 'Pure,' said Blake, 'do you think there is any purity in God's eyes? The angels in heaven are no more so than we. . . .'—'Dante saw devils where I see none. I see good only. . . .'

(*Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 304, 306.)

1825. Dec. 17. DIARY.

[Blake's designs from Dante—His opinion that Dante was an atheist]

A short call this morning on Blake. . . . I found him at work on Dante. The book (Cary) and his sketches before him. He showed me his designs, of which I have nothing to say but that they evince a power I should not have anticipated, of grouping and of throwing grace and interest over conceptions monstrous and horrible.³

Our conversation began about Dante. 'He was an Atheist—a mere politician, busied about this world, as Milton was, till in his old age he returned to God, whom he had had in his childhood.'

¹[See above, pp. 620 ff.]

²[From the notes of his conversations with Blake, Robinson compiled his Reminiscences of Blake, which were printed by Gilchrist in his *Life of Blake* (see above p. 458).]

³The Linnell family possesses the whole series of the Dante drawings.

I tried to ascertain from Blake whether this charge of Atheism was not to be understood in a different sense from that which would be given to it according to the popular sense of the word. But he would not admit this. . . . He spoke of Milton as being at one time a sort of classical Atheist, and of Dante as being now with God.

(*Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence*, vol. ii. pp. 307-9.)

1826. Feb. LETTER TO MISS WORDSWORTH.

[Blake visited by Dante—Dante an atheist]

Blake lives in a world of his own, enjoying constant intercourse with the world of spirits. He receives visits from Shakespeare, Milton, Dante, Voltaire, &c. and has given me repeatedly their very words in their conversations. His paintings are copies of what he sees in visions. . . . According to Blake, Atheism consists in worshipping the natural world, which same natural world, properly speaking, is nothing real, but a mere illusion produced by Satan. Milton was for a great part of his life an Atheist, and therefore has fatal errors in his 'Paradise Lost,' which he has often begged Blake to confute. Dante (though now with God) lived and died an Atheist; he was the slave of the world and time. But Dante and Wordsworth, in spite of their Atheism, were inspired by the Holy Ghost. . . .

(*Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 323-4.)

1827. Feb. 2. DIARY.

[Blake's designs from Dante]

Götzenberger, the young painter from Germany, called, and I accompanied him to Blake. We looked over Blake's Dante. Götzenberger was highly gratified by the designs. I was interpreter between them. Blake seemed gratified by the visit, but said nothing remarkable.

(*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 379.)

1830. Aug. 20. DIARY.

[Landor on Dante]

Of Landor's literary judgments the following are specimens:—
Of Dante, about a seventieth part is good; of Ariosto, a tenth; of Tasso, not a line worth anything,—yes, *one* line. He declared almost all Wordsworth to be good.

(*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 484.)

1830. Sept. 21. DIARY.

[Boccaccio's life of Dante]

Read to-day a disagreeable book, only because it was the life, by a great man, of one still greater—by Boccaccio, of Dante. I did not expect, in the voluminous *conteur*, an extraordinary degree of superstition, and a fantastic hunting after mystical qualities in his hero. He relates¹ that Dante's mother dreamt she lay in of a peacock, and Boccaccio finds in the peacock four remarkable properties, the great qualities of the 'Divina Commedia:' namely, the tail has a hundred eyes, and the poem a hundred cantos; its ugly feet indicate the mean *lingua volgare*; its screaming voice the frightful menaces of the 'Inferno' and 'Purgatorio;' and the odoriferous and incorruptible flesh the divine truths of the poem.

(*Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 485.)

1832. April 2. DIARY.

[Robinson reading Dante]

I read a canto of Dante early.

(*Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 4.)

1836. Dec. 7. LETTER TO W. S. LANDOR.

[Petrarch and Dante]

Wordsworth is admonished [by you] as a detractor, because he does not appreciate other poets as they deserve. I could admit the fact without acknowledging the justice of its being imputed to him as a crime. It seems to be that the general effect of a laborious cultivation of talent in any one definite form is to weaken the sense of the worth of other forms. This is an ordinary drawback, even on genius. Voltaire and Rousseau hated each other; Fielding despised Richardson; Petrarch, Dante; Michael Angelo sneered at Raphael.

(*Ibid.* vol. iii. pp. 105-6.)

1840. May 12. DIARY.

[Carlyle on Dante]

Went to Carlyle's lecture 'On the Hero, as a Poet.' His illustrations taken from Dante² and Shakespeare.

(*Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 186.)

¹[In the last chapter.]

²[See vol. ii. pp. 497 ff.]

ANONYMOUS

1802. Nov. MONTHLY MAGAZINE. OF THE SOURCES WHENCE DANTE IS SUPPOSED TO HAVE DRAWN THE SUBJECT &C. OF HIS DIVINA COMMEDIA.

[The *Divina Commedia* and the 'Vision of Alberico']

NOTWITHSTANDING the great number of commentators who have written on the *Divina Commedia*, no satisfactory answer had been given to the question, whence the first idea of the poem was taken. Most of them were satisfied with the hint Dante has himself given in the poem, by chusing Virgil for his master and guide; from whose journey to Tartarus he has undoubtedly adopted some traits. Still, however, no one would, on that account, attempt to deny him the honour of being the original inventor of the subject of his poem. From his Heathen guide Dante could borrow but little; for his journey comprehends the three kingdoms of existence after death, according to the doctrines of the Church of Rome, and the poet performs his journey in the character of a Roman Catholic Christian. Bottari was the first who took notice of a work, which is undoubtedly older, more than a century older, than Dante's, and in which Dante may have found the three principal parts into which his poem is divided. The work we allude to is the *Vision of Alberico*, by a boy, nine years of age, and afterwards a Monk in the Monastery of Monte Casino, in the library of which place the original of it still exists in manuscript. Bottari¹ had seen a copy of it in the Padre D. Constantino Gaetani's collection of manuscripts in the library di Sapienza at Rome. Bottari was led to suspect that Dante had borrowed, not only the plan of his *Divina Commedia* from this *Vision of Alberico*, but even many single traits and visions; for both works treat of an ecstatic journey through Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise, and he adduced two examples, which prove their exact agreement in the detail of particular descriptions.

Bottari, however, passed over many others, which have been noticed by P. Costanzi,² who has carefully compared the two works. From the result of his labours, it appears, that Dante borrowed not only the general outline, but likewise a great part of the materials of his poem, from the above-mentioned *Vision of Alberico*; so that it may be considered as the first sketch of a picture, which Dante afterwards finished with scientific skill, adorning it with the most

¹[See his *Lettera d'un Accademico della Crusca*, Rome, 1754.]

²[In *Di un antico testo a penna della D.C.*, etc., Rome, 1801.]

vivid colours, and all the ornaments suggested by his bold and vigorous imagination. . . .

The following corresponding passages and traits from the Vision of Alberico and that of Dante will enable our readers to decide for themselves, whether it be probable or not, that Dante had drawn from this source: A bird, resembling a white dove, lifts up the boy Alberico by the hair of his head; and he is then conducted, by St. Peter and two angels, through the region of torments. Dante, in like manner, ascends from the earth on an eagle, till he reaches the gates of purgatory; and Virgil is his conductor. Alberico finishes his tour in nine days, and Dante in nearly the same space of time; for when, on Easter-day, he arrives safely in Paradise, he had already been seven days on his journey. Alberico sees a large lake, which seems to him to be full of blood: but the Apostle informs him that it does not contain blood, but fire, in which murderers are punished, and that it has the appearance of blood merely on account of their blood-thirstiness. Dante, too, sees in hell a river of blood, in which murderers are tormented. Alberico tells us, that his *Ciceroni* had conducted him to the mouth of the river of hell, which resembled a deep dark well, and whence a dreadful cry of lamentation was sent forth. Near this he likewise saw the *Worm of Hell*, of a monstrous size, bound fast with an strong chain: Dante, too, finds in hell a dark well, and hears, when he comes near the gates of hell, the cries of the damned; and more than once Cerberus and Lucifer are called the *Great Worm*. During Alberico's journey through hell, St. Peter having left him for a moment, to open the gates of Paradise to a newly-arrived soul, one of the infernal spirits, of a terrible bristly appearance, flew at him with a furious menacing mien, and was on the point of seizing upon him, when St. Peter hastened to his relief, and snatched his affrighted *protégé* from the grasp of the fiend. The same accident happens, more than once, to Dante, namely, in the twenty-first, and particularly in the twenty-third, canto of the *Inferno*, when Alberico's *Meque subito arripiens* is literally translated by *Di subito mi prese*. Alberico sees a class of the damned, whose necks are bent down with large masses of iron. Dante sees in hell those who had been damned for their hypocrisy, wandering about with ponderous caps and hoods, so that they are not able to lift up their heads. Alberico sees in hell a river of burning pitch, over which there is a bridge. When the sinners come to the middle of this bridge, they tumble into the river, dive under, and rise and sink again several times, till at last they resemble boiled flesh. In the eleventh canto of Dante's *Inferno*, there is likewise a lake of boiling pitch, a bridge from which a sinner is precipitated; souls of the damned plunge and

emerge in the pitch, and even the comparison with boiled flesh is not forgotten. Alberico sees a horrible valley, filled with innumerable hillocks, composed of large congealed fragments of ice, in which a number of sinners are frozen up to the ankle, others up to the knee, others up to the middle, others up to the breast, according to the degree of their guilt, and some even completely incased in a transparent crystalline shell. The whole of this scene is copied in the twelfth canto of the *Inferno*, with this difference only, that Dante places the sufferers in a lake of blood, instead of a valley full of ice. This latter, however, is afterwards introduced in the thirty-second and thirty-third canto. A similar agreement exists between the descriptions which both of these extatical travellers give of their passage from the region of the damned to that of the blessed. Alberico says, that St. Peter had told him a great many things concerning persons still living, and commanded him to communicate to them what he had heard. Dante, too, had a similar conversation with St. Peter in Paradise, and receives from him the same commission. Both visionists likewise travel on the same road through the heavens:—Alberico is carried up by his dove, and Dante by his eagle; in both journals¹ the heaven of the moon is the first station they halt at; then they ascend by degrees, to the heavens of the higher planets, till they reach that of the planet Saturn, whence they at last rise into the empyreum, to view the choirs of angels, the abode of the patriarchs, prophets &c. which surround the throne of the Most High. Both follow the Ptolemaic system; Dante, however, with greater strictness than Alberico, who does not strictly adhere to the order of the planets.—Alberico, having related how St. Peter had conducted him through Paradise, and shown him the places where the blessed reside, adds: “St. Peter likewise showed me a resplendent and beautifully ornamented bed, on which a person was lying, whose name the Apostle told me but, at the same time forbade me to communicate it to others.” The same circumstance, with only a little variation, is related in the thirtieth canto of Dante’s *Paradiso*. Very little doubt, then, can remain, that Dante derived the plan, and part of the materials, of his *Divina Commedia* from this source. It can hardly be supposed, that the poet could be unacquainted with so remarkable a legend, which was so generally known and credited, that painters took from it the subjects of their pictures; especially as Dante, who had been sent as ambassador from the Republic of Florence once to Rome, and twice to Naples, must have been in the neighbourhood of this part of Italy, and perhaps even visited the Monastery of Monte Casino, where he would have had an opportunity of reading Alberico’s

¹[*Sic.*]

narrative: but he might easily have become acquainted with it without having ever travelled to that place. In the minds of some sceptical readers, however, who cannot so easily persuade themselves as P. Costanzi of the truth of so sublime and learned a vision, by a boy of nine years of age, a doubt will perhaps arise, whether little Alberico, from whom the great Dante did not disdain to borrow a considerable part of the visions in his poem, did not likewise borrow his from some previous visionist, of whom no trace now remains. . . .

(Vol. xiv. pp. 307 ff.)

LOCKHART MUIRHEAD¹

(fl. 1780)

1803. JOURNALS OF TRAVELS IN PARTS OF THE LATE AUSTRIAN LOW COUNTRIES, FRANCE, THE PAYS DE VAUD, AND TUSCANY, IN 1787 AND 1789.

[Dante and Count Ugolino]

PISA.—The fatal discomfiture of Meloria in 1284, was attributed to the treachery of Count Ugolino, who basely returned with his division into port. To the crime of deserting his country's service in the hour of danger, Ugolino added that of usurped dominion, supported by a series of cabals and perfidy, while the Florentines were powerful enough to skreen him from the gripe of justice. But no sooner could his enraged fellow citizens seize upon him with impunity, than they confined him and his two nephews in a tower of the prison, which still subsists, and in which they were left to perish in the agonies of hunger. History has recorded their miserable fate, which Dante has invested with classical horror.²

(p. 409.)

JOHN RAPHAEL SMITH

(1752-1812)

[John Raphael Smith, the celebrated mezzotint engraver, was born at Derby in 1752, where he was apprenticed to a linendraper. About 1767 he came to London, and took to miniature painting, and engraving. He soon made his mark as an engraver, many of his plates after Reynolds, Romney, and others, being among the masterpieces of mezzotint engraving. Towards the end of his life he neglected engraving for drawing and painting, some of his works being exhibited at the Royal Academy, among them a picture of Paolo and Francesca (1803), no doubt suggested to him by Boyd's translation, published in 1785. Smith died at Doncaster in 1812.]

¹[Librarian of Glasgow University.]

²[*Inf.* xxxiii.]

1803. **I**N this year Smith exhibited at the Royal Academy a picture with the following title:—
Paulo and Francosia.¹

‘One day (a day I ever must deplore!)
The gentle youth, to spend a vacant hour,
To me the soft seducing story read
Of Launcelot and fair Genevra’s love,
While fascinating all the quiet grove
Fallacious Peace her snares around us spread.’²

Vide Dante’s *Inferno*, canto v. stanza 24.

(*Catalogue of the Exhibition of the Royal Academy*, 1803, No. 559.)

WILLIAM GODWIN

(1756-1836)

[William Godwin, the son of a dissenting minister of Wisbech, in Cambridge-shire, where he was born in 1756, was educated at the Hoxton Academy. He was minister at Ware, Hertfordshire, 1778-9, at Stowmarket, Suffolk, 1780-2, and at Beaconsfield, Bucks, in 1783, in which year he finally settled to the profession of literature. In 1793 he published his best-known work *Political Justice*, which was followed in the next year by the novel *Caleb Williams*. In 1797 he married Mary Wollstonecraft, who died after giving birth to a daughter, Mary, afterwards the wife of Shelley. In 1801 he married Mrs. Clairmont, whose daughter Clara became intimate with Byron and was the mother of his daughter Allegra. In 1811 Godwin made the acquaintance of Shelley, who in 1814 eloped with his daughter, and married her in 1816. In 1824-8 Godwin published his *History of the Commonwealth*, and in 1833, his affairs having become hopelessly involved, he received a sinecure appointment from Lord Grey. He died in 1836. In his *Life of Chaucer*, published in 1803, Godwin gives an interesting appreciation of Dante and of the *Divina Commedia*, for the powerful qualities of which he expresses great admiration.]

1803. LIFE OF GEOFFREY CHAUCER.³

[Dante one of the ‘illustrious names’ of Cent. xiii]

THE thirteenth century witnessed the studies of William de Lorris, Guido dalla Colonna, author of the *Troy-Book* which was afterwards translated by Lydgate, Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, Alfonso, King of Castille, inventor of the Alfonsine tables of astronomy, Dante Alighieri, and Roger Bacon. Most of these illustrious names we shall have cause to refer to on future occasions.

(Ed. 1804, vol. i. Chap. ii. pp. 26-7.)

¹[*Sic*, after Boyd.]

²[From Boyd’s translation of the *Inferno*, vol. i. p. 259.]

³[In two vols. 4to; second edition in 4 vols. 8vo, 1804.]

[Chaucer, Giotto, and Dante]

Chaucer had a right to consider himself as fallen upon no barbarous or inglorious age. Among his immediate predecessors in the period of their existence were Giotto and Dante; and their successors, his coequals, perhaps his friends, were fast advancing in the career which they had opened.

(Vol. i. Chap. ix. pp. 284-5.)

[Dante and the Troubadours]

Till within a few years the troubadours or Provençal poets have completely borne away the palm of celebrity from the poets of the northern provinces of France. They are distinctly named, and spoken of in terms of warm approbation, by Dante and Petrarca. It has however recently been questioned, and, as it seems, not without powerful reasons, whether the merits of the writers of the Romance tongue¹ are not decisively superior to the merits of the Provençals.

(Vol. i. Chap. xi. pp. 344-5.)

[Appreciation of Dante and of the *Divina Commedia*]

Contemporary with William de Lorris were the earliest writers in that series of Italian poets, whose works still engage the observation and awaken the delight of the tasteful of their countrymen. At the head of this catalogue, in point of seniority, are usually placed the names of Guitone d' Arezzo and Guido Cavalcanti, the latter of whom died in the year 1300. Guitone was the first who reduced the species of composition denominated sonnet, into that form in which it has ever since been written in Italy and other parts of Europe; and both he and Cavalcanti composed with no contemptible degree of purity and refinement. But it is to Dante and Petrarca, the successors of these early writers, that the Italian poetry is principally indebted for its eminence. William de Lorris stands by himself among the writers of French verse, and has no follower worthy to build up the structure of which he had so nobly laid the foundation. His contemporary Italian poets, on the contrary, prepared the way for geniuses of a class too eminent for any lapse of time or subsequent accession of refinement to obscure.

Dante is one of those geniuses who in the whole series of human existence most baffle all calculation, and excite unbounded astonish-

¹ [Meaning old French—Godwin apparently was ignorant of the fact that all the languages, Provençal included, which are derived from Latin, are called *Romance*.]

ment. Dark as was the age in which he studied and wrote, unfixed and fluctuating as were the then half-formed languages of modern nations, he trampled upon these disadvantages, and presents us with sallies of imagination and energies of composition, which no past age of literature has excelled, and no future can ever hope to excel. This is the distinguishing feature of the poet, by which he inexpressibly excels the mathematician, the natural philosopher, or the cultivator of science in all the diversity of its branches. Science has a gradual and progressive mark; one discovery prepares the way for another; the human mind advances with sober and measured steps; and there is no period at which any great improvement has been gained, when different intellects, perhaps in different countries, had not that very improvement in prospect, and it seemed to be a contest of nice and delicate decision, to whom the improvement belonged, and who, among several persons who did make or would have made the discovery, is most clearly entitled to the praise of it. It is not so in poetry. There the master geniuses, a Homer, a Shakespear and a Milton, seem to belong to no age, but to be the property of the world. They bear indeed some marks of the period in which, and the people among whom they lived, some token of human weakness and infirmity; but what is best in them resembles nothing in their contemporaries, was prepared by no progression, was copied by no future imitation, and stands off as wide from competition in all which came immediately after, as in all that had gone before it.

Such a man was Dante. He is not infected, in his immortal part, with the weakness of his age. He does not march with the uncertain and half-determined step of William de Lorris. His satire is as biting, his sublime as wonderful, his tragic narratives as deep and distressing, as any which the age of Pericles or of Virgil could boast. His grand poem embraces the whole compass of human invention. He has thought proper to render it the receptacle of all his animosities and aversions. No author has exhibited craft and imposture and tyranny and hard-heartedness in bolder and more glowing colours than Dante. No poet has shown himself a greater master of the terrible, of all which makes the flesh of man creep on his bones, and persuades us for the moment to regard existence, and consciousness, and the condition of human beings, with loathing and abhorrence. Dante exhibits powers, of which we did not before know that the heart of man was susceptible, and which teach us to consider our nature as something greater and more astonishing than we had ever been accustomed to conceive it. Chaucer had the advantage of perusing the writings of Dante; and he read them with that familiarity and interest with which we are apt to be impressed in perusing the works of a great genius, who

had just gone off the stage of life at the time we entered it. Dante died seven years before Chaucer was born.¹

(Vol. i. Chap. xi. pp. 356-60.)

[The Italian 'triumvirate']

Boccaccio was the contemporary of Petrarca, and lived near the times of Dante, and these three authors have commonly and justly been classed together, as a triumvirate reflecting unprecedented honour upon the infant literature of Italy.

(Vol. i. Chap. xiv. p. 420.)

[The *Roman de la Rose* and the *Divina Commedia*]

The *Roman de la Rose* was the most eminent poetical composition existing in any of the modern languages of Europe, previously to the *Commedia* of Dante. The French have a just claim to priority over all the European nations, in the invention of romances of chivalry, and the production of every species of offspring of the imagination. The *Roman de la Rose*, which was written during the thirteenth century, placed their pre-eminence as to these early ages beyond the reach of rivalship.

(Vol. ii. Chap. xxiv. pp. 230-1.)

[Chaucer and Dante]

Lydgate, in his enumeration of Chaucer's works, says that he translated Dante.

He wrote also ful many a day agone

Daunt in English, him self so doth expresse.²

But little stress is to be laid upon this authority. No mention is to be found of any such production of Chaucer, on any other occasion, or by any other author; and, if Chaucer had actually put into English this voluminous poet, or more of him than a few slight passages (a sketch of the story of Ugolino of Pisa occurs in the *Monkes Tale*), it is very improbable that so large a work of so popular an author as Chaucer, should be wholly lost and forgotten. Lydgate expresses himself on the subject in such a manner as greatly to subtract from his authority. "Ful many a day agone" is a phrase of some scepticism: and, when he adds "him self so doth expresse," he clearly insinuates that he had neither seen the translation, nor knew any one who had; at the same time that we know that Chaucer does not, in any of his works which have come down to us, "expresse" any such thing.

(Vol. ii. Chap. xviii. pp. 80-1.)

¹[Dante died in 1321; Chaucer is now generally supposed to have been born no in 1328, but about 1340.]

²[See above, pp. 18-19.]

[Reference to Dante in Chaucer's *House of Fame*]

The first book of the *House of Fame* entirely consists of a description of an imaginary Temple of Venus, made of glass, and adorned on every side with "portraitsures," the subjects of which are drawn from the *Aeneid* of Virgil. Ovid, Claudian and Dante are spoken of in the course of the description, but the honour of having his stories chosen for delineations to adorn the Temple is exclusively reserved for the Mantuan bard.

(Vol. iii. Chap. xxxvii. pp. 4-5.)

[Dante's commendation of the Troubadours]

There is no reason to imagine, as Warton does, that the *House of Fame* is taken from a Provençal poem. This commendation of the Provençals has perhaps been partly founded upon the superior happiness of their climate, and partly upon the applauses with which they are occasionally mentioned by Petrarca and Dante. The idea of their pre-eminent merit has been abundantly refuted by more recent enquiries.

(Vol. iii. Chap. xxxvii. pp. 32-3.)

[Dante's references to the Guelphs and Ghibellines]

Previously to Wicliffe, the satirists and poets had also descanted with great freedom upon the corrupt views and scandalous lives of the Romish clergy. . . . Few readers are ignorant of the ridicule with which the vices of the monks and friars are exposed by Boccaccio in the *Decamerone*. The dispute of the Guelphs and Ghibellines concerning the respective limits of civil and ecclesiastical authority, had led men in a certain degree to hold up the torch of truth to the usurpations of the church; and this dispute has been consecrated to immortality by the sublime pen of Dante.

(Vol. iii. Chap. xxxviii. p. 43.)

ROBERT MOREHEAD

(1777-1842)

[Robert Morehead was born at Herbertshire, in Stirlingshire, in 1777. He was educated at Glasgow and Edinburgh, and at Balliol College, Oxford, where he entered with an exhibition from Glasgow in 1795. After keeping several terms in the Temple with the intention of being called to the bar, he decided to take holy orders, and was ordained in 1802. Meanwhile he had been in correspondence with his cousin, Francis Jeffrey, as to the projected *Edinburgh Review*, to the second number of which he contributed an article (the first of his published writings) on Boyd's translation of Dante. Morehead continued to contribute to the *Edinburgh Review* for some years, among his articles being an interesting essay on the poetical character of Dante,

whom he compares with Homer and Wordsworth. After holding the curacy of Castle Eaton in Wiltshire for a year, he returned to Edinburgh, where he resided for the next twenty-eight years. In 1818 he was appointed Dean of Edinburgh, which office he held until 1832, and in 1828 he received the degree of D.D. at the University of St. Andrews. In 1833 Brougham, as Lord Chancellor, presented him to the Rectory of Easington, in Yorkshire, where he remained until his death in 1842. Morehead was an accomplished Italian scholar, and a constant student of Dante. In 1814 he published anonymously a translation of the Ugolino episode in Spenserian stanzas, the earliest specimen of Dante translation in that metre.]

1803. Jan. EDINBURGH REVIEW. ART. V. THE DIVINA COMMEDIA OF DANTE ALIGHIERI. . . . TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH VERSE, BY THE REV. HENRY BOYD.¹

[Estimate of Dante—commendation of Boyd's translation of the *Commedia*]

THE rude romancers of the dark ages possessed, in some measure, the same poetical advantages that belonged to the original inventors of antiquity. It was indeed impossible but that, in their productions, the shattered vestiges of a more polished age should sometimes push out from the barbarous simplicity of their own. . . . Thus, the simplicity of the romancers, and of many of the earlier poets of modern Europe, is defaced with scraps of learning, and unnatural pedantry. That a great and accomplished poet should arise in this state of the art, is perhaps even more wonderful, than the occurrence of such an event at the first dawn of letters. . . . The mantle of poetry might drop from heaven on the shoulders of Homer; but we do not well comprehend what kind of sorcery was employed to raise from the infernal regions the dark but powerful spirit of Dante.

With a genius perfectly original, and strongly tinged with the venerable simplicity of ancient times, this great poet possesses a degree of polish and elegance which might have done honour to a more advanced period. It was not in vain that he had studied with so much attention the correct model of his master, Virgil. The Grecian sun of poetry had set upon the polar night of those ages; and it is an eminent proof of Dante's judgment, that he preferred the borrowed beams of this pure luminary to the other more native but smaller fires that sparkled in the Latin sky. Yet he has suffered no trammels to be put on the vigour and boldness of his own conceptions: Harmonious, yet homely; concise, yet clear; he has little vivacity, but is seldom tedious. Conducting his readers through scenes the most horrible, or the most exalted, he is constantly in possession of himself; and can describe the pains of hell and the joys of heaven, with little more emotion than that with which at other times he enters into scholastic reasonings. A

¹[This review was the first of Morehead's published writings.]

settled gravity pervades all his poem: he writes like a man employed in a serious business: and notions and images, which would transport the generality of poets beyond themselves, seem to pass through his mind like the common objects of his thoughts.

When we found that Dante had met with a translator, we opened the volumes with very humble expectations, and with a disposition for much indulgence. Our expectations, however, have been somewhat exceeded. Mr. Boyd has an equable, easy style of versification, commonly somewhat dull, but always fluent. He expresses, in general very correctly, the meaning of his original; but he has an unfortunate habit of using obscure phrases which sometimes make that meaning not very perceptible. . . . Upon the whole, however, it appears to us that Mr. Boyd has done as much for Dante, as can well be done in English rhyme; and is justly entitled to praise for the diligence and perseverance with which he has executed his laborious task. It is probable, however, that a prose translation would give a better idea of the genius and manner¹ of this poet, than any metrical one. . . . Dante is remarkably concise, and never uses one word more than is absolutely necessary. . . . But as we scarcely expect that any one will set about this task, though a much easier one than that which Mr. Boyd has accomplished, we recommend his translation of Dante to the attention of our readers.

(Vol. i. pp. 307 ff.)

1803. March 14. LETTER TO FRANCIS JEFFREY (from Castle Eaton).

[His review of Boyd's Dante]

How is your Review² coming on? . . . One of our fellows took up the second Number, and before he had read the first page of Brown's Kant, he discovered what is either a typographical error or a Scoticism. . . . You have certainly improved the expression in my Dante.³ You have made me, however, make something like a jest upon miracles. There is a typographical error in that article also: it should be 'the genius and manner,' instead of 'manners.' I know nothing about Dante's manners.

(*Memorials of the Life and Writings of Rev. R. Morehead*, pp. 117-18.)

¹ [Originally printed 'manners'—see Morehead's letter to Jeffrey below.]

² [The *Edinburgh Review*.]

³ [Morehead's article on Boyd's translation of the *Divina Commedia* which appeared in the second number (see above).]

1814. POETICAL EPISTLES: AND SPECIMENS OF POETICAL TRANSLATION, PARTICULARLY FROM PETRARCH AND DANTE.¹

Story of Ugolino, from Dante's *Inferno*²

Were my rude rhymes as rugged, rough, and harsh,
As the o'erhanging rocks, whose horror stood
Around the margin of that murky marsh,
Then might I chew, in hope, bright fancy's food ;
But, since my purpose cannot be made good,
With fear and trembling each weak verse I frame !
O can it be that one of human blood,
Whose tongue first stammer'd out a parent's name,
Should of that black abyss the secrets strange proclaim ?

Assist me, then, ye ladies of the lyre ;
Give to my verse your own dread energy,
E'en as Amphion's ye could once inspire,
Which girded Thebes with towers and turrets high :
So shall my song, with its great subject vie !
Ah ! wretched race ! in that infernal den
(For which in vain appropriate terms I try,)
That next I met ; much happier had ye been
Made sheep or goats at first,—or anything but men !

When we had reach'd the low and gloomy pond
Beneath the giant sentinels, whose seat
Was on the fencing rock, which still I conn'd
With up-turn'd eyes,—I heard a voice repeat
Beside me,—Take care where you set your feet,
Lest you should crush some wretched brother's head,
And, with hard heels, his face all rudely beat !
I turn'd, and saw before me where was spread
A mighty frozen lake, that seem'd like glass or lead.

Never as yet did winter's ruffian force
Wrap Austrian Danaw in such mantle bleak,
Nor so enchain the Tanais in its course :
Not, on that lake were massy Tabernique
To fall, or vast Pietrapana's peak,
Would from the margin of its icy floor,
One running rent be heard to growl or creak :
And, (in the season, when, their little store
To heap, the female gleaners o'er the corn fields pour :)

¹ [Published anonymously.]

² [*Inf.* xxxii. 1-39, 125-139 ; xxxiii. 1-78.]

E'en in that season, as a group of frogs,
 From green and slimy pool, push forth the snout,
 While ceaseless croaking murmurs o'er the bogs:
 So, with dull livid cheeks, were sticking out,
 Above the glassy surface, all about,
 Sad faces of the damn'd. Their teeth they gnash'd
 Like to the stork's bill clattering, as they lout
 With downcast looks:—the cold their lips had gash'd.
 And from their weeping eyes despair's black ensigns flash'd.

I pass'd along, and saw in one dark bed,
 Two frozen heads, one on the other plac'd,
 Like as a cap is fitted to a head:
 And, as the hungry gnaw their bread in haste,
 So did the one above, the lower taste
 With biting fangs, and where it met the nape
 (Thus might the marks of 'Tydeus' teeth be trac'd
 On Menalippus' skull) the griesly shape
 On that tormented scalp had fix'd its frantic gape!

'O thou, who with such signs of bestial rage,
 Disclosest hatred to thy sad compeer,
 Tell me the cause, (said I,) and I engage,
 If just thine indignation shall appear,
 To recompense thee in that upper sphere,
 Telling the story of his deadly sin,
 If still my tongue its office well shall bear.'
 From his foul feast he rose, and did begin
 (First, on the mangled head, wiping his mouth and chin,)

To speak: 'The thought sits heavy at my heart
 Of the black tale of woes thou wouldst renew,
 (Even before my words have had a part:)
 Yet, if disgrace more deeply may accrue
 To that vile wretch, on whom my teeth pursue
 Their bloody game, my story shall have way
 Among my tears, howe'er the task I rue:
 I was Count Ugolino in my day,
 Archbishop Ruggier this, whom you behold my prey.

I trusted to him, (thence his guilt begins)
 And, to his honour, gave myself a thrall,
 (The drift of his malicious cunning sins:)
 You know, my death succeeded soon my fall;
 But its sad circumstances may not all

Have reach'd your ear,—these when I shall relate,
 Say, if I be too bitter in my gall!—
 —The morning beam had enter'd at the grate
 Of the dark dungeon, nam'd of famine, from my fate ;

(Others shall yet its iron horrors taste)
 I was asleep and had a dismal dream,
 Which the events to come before me plac'd !
 This wretch a huntsman to my thoughts did seem,
 Who, to the mountain that obstructs the beam
 From Pisa, and the view of Lucca town,
 Pursued a wolf and its young cubs ; nor deem
 The Lanfrancs and the Sismonds were unknown
 Among the cheering rout that fiercely ran them down.

With well-train'd dogs, whose sides were pinch'd and lean :
 In a short course the wild beast and its young
 Were wearied out, and torn with tusks that keen
 Were buried in their sides.—From sleep I sprung :—
 I heard my slumb'ring babes, with whining tongue
 Call out for bread ! Thy heart must sure be steel,
 If, at this dire recital, 'tis not wrung !
 What, at that moment did my bosom feel ?
 Tears at this tale must flow, if any tears are real !

Well, they awoke ! and now the hour drew nigh
 When our accustom'd meal was to be set :
 They all had dreamt like me, and felt hope die !
 I heard below, the door bolts, as they met,
 Close the tremendous tower :—they told our fate !
 On my poor babes I gaz'd ; but spoke no word,
 And dropt no tear ; like flint my soul was set :
 They wept ; and Anselmuccio implor'd
 Me thus :—Why look so at us ; why are you so stirr'd

My father ?—Not yet, not yet could I weep,
 Nor all that day, nor all the following night
 Utter'd reply : and now the day did peep
 Once more into our dungeon of affright :
 I saw their haggard faces, and the sight
 So mov'd me, that I gnaw'd my hands in grief !
 Poor things, they thought 'twas hunger made me bite,
 And said,—If thus you may obtain relief,
 Why not take our flesh, father ? you will be no thief,

For 'tis your own ; better to be your food
 Than thus to see you hunger ! So, to keep
 Them quiet, with collected strength I stood.
 One day,—another, past ; and silence deep
 Prevail'd. O wherefore did thy yawning steep
 Open not, earth, to swallow us ? 'Twas now
 The fourth sad morning : Gaddo then did creep
 And laid him at my feet, and said—I go,
 Help, father !—So he died ; and so I saw in woe,

Wan as you see me here, the other three
 Drop one by one from th' fifth to the sixth day :
 Then (hunger made me now too blind to see,)
 I grop'd among their bodies as they lay,
 For two days still, their names repeating aye !
 At last my sorrows, even than hunger, more,
 Destroy'd me.'—Saying thus, upon his prey
 With cruel eyes he flew, and, as he tore
 Like greedy hound the skull, his mouth ran down with gore !

(pp. 226-33.)

TRANSLATION OF PETRARCH'S SONNET ON THE DEATH OF SENNUCCIO
 DEL BENE.¹

O friend ! though left a wretched pilgrim here,
 By thee though left in solitude to roam,
 Yet can I mourn that thou hast found thy home,
 On angel pinions borne, in bright career ?
 Now thou behold'st the ever-turning sphere,
 And stars that journey round the concave dome ;
 Now thou behold'st how short of truth we come,
 How blind our judgment, and thine own how clear !
 That thou art happy sooths my soul opprest.

O friend ! salute from me the laurell'd band,
 Guitton and Cino, Dante, and the rest :
 And tell my Laura, friend, that here I stand,
 Wasting in tears, scarce of myself possest,
 While her blest beauties all my thoughts command.

(*Ibid.* p. 100.)

1818. Dec. EDINBURGH REVIEW. ART. X. ON THE POETICAL
 CHARACTER OF DANTE.

[Dante, Homer, and Wordsworth]

Dante's subject is but little varied in itself, but wonderfully so
 by his extraordinary invention ; it has but little of human interest

¹[Written in 1350: 'Sennuccio mio, benchè doglioso e solo.']

in it, and so cannot at once win our sympathies; but it is more than commensurate to the noblest powers of the noblest mind, and we sympathize with the poet himself, and with his marvellous genius, employed with so supernatural a force on so lofty a theme. Even the manner of Dante, though abrupt, cold, and as little enticing as possible, comes to acquire a powerful charm from its suitability to his subject, from its intellectual strength, and its moral simplicity;—there are many occasions, too, when he relaxes, when his versification has all the harmony which the gentlest spirit could infuse, and when his imagery, if less luxuriant, is more gay, and more simply innocent than the most delightful and popular poets of his country have since profusely poured forth;—and passages of this kind coming upon us by surprise, both relieve his stern grandeur and wonderfully enhance our estimation of his power. . . . If Homer and Dante resemble each other as setting out ‘like giants to run a race,’ the one in the infancy of the world, the other when it was roused from its sleep of a thousand years, if there are besides many interesting resemblances in the antique cast and simplicity of their manner, yet the contrast between them is still infinitely more striking than the similitude. Of all poets who ever wrote, Homer is the most talkative and diffuse, the most enamoured with his subject, and with the minutest particulars belonging to it. He is the poet of *mortal* man, interested warmly in all the slightest concerns of human beings as they exist on this earth, delighted with earth itself, and with all the appearances of nature as they speak to the eye rather than to the soul, watching every movement of animal life, turning his heroes into lions, and his gods into heroes. Dante bursts upon us at once as the poet of *immortality*; he breathes the mysterious air of an eternal world; he does not delight in his subject, but he is fascinated by it; in the awful presence in which he stands, ‘his words are few.’ Yet even in the abyss into which he descends, or in the height to which he soars, he never loses one faculty of a human mind. His understanding is always vigorous, his powers of description awake,—there is nothing about him confused or wavering,—his revelations are given shortly but distinctly,—he looks upon earth as at a distance, but with all the images and recollections of earthly existence stirring in his imagination and his heart. . . .

One of Wordsworth’s finest peculiarities is perfectly possessed by Dante, and much better applied, besides, by the old than by the modern poet; we mean that close observation of nature by which images that have escaped both the common race of men, and much more, the common race of poets, have been marked, and secretly contemplated, and made the subject of musings, which are connected in the mind of the genuine pupil of nature with much

moral and refined wisdom. The error of Wordsworth is, that he makes observations of this kind the great staple of his poetry, and by this means he has become as fantastic, and as much of a humourist, as the melancholy Jacques himself. . . . Dante lived among political intrigues and the turmoils of factions, yet it is astonishing that he had as fine an eye for these glimpses of nature in which 'the vision and the mystery' are contained, as the poet who passed all his days on the banks of Grasmere or Rydal Water: But the Chief Magistrate of Florence, as our poet was in one year, and an exile from his country, as he was in the next, knew very well that the mind of a being like man, which has strong interests to engage it in the present life, and strong hopes and fears to lead it forward into futurity, cannot be permanently occupied with, though it may, with deep feeling, take a side-long glance at, dancing daffodils, or the reflection of a lamb in a smooth lake. The same sort of images, therefore, which, in Wordsworth, seem so often puerile and ridiculous, by being brought upon his foreground, and made the subject-matter of long poems or descriptions, Dante glances at with wonderful effect, as similes for illustrating the profound invisible truths of eternity, which he professes to reveal to our awe-struck and astonished world. . . . It may be convenient to give a few examples. The spirits crowding to Charon's boat, in the *Inferno*, are thus described:—

'As fall off the light autumnal leaves,
One still another following, till the bough
Strews all its honours on the earth beneath;' etc.¹

Again, speaking of the carnal sinners who are borne along on the whirlwind:—

'As in large troops,
And multitudinous, when winter reigns,
The starlings on their wings are borne abroad,' etc.²

Two in particular approached to him, the unfortunate lovers of Rimini:—

'As doves,
By fond desire incited, on wide wings,
And firm, to their sweet nest returning home,
Cleave the air, wafted by their will along;' etc.³

Innumerable images of this kind are scattered throughout; the following, towards the close of the *Purgatorio*, is in a strain of still more minute and delicate observation:—

'I have beheld ere now, at break of day,
The Eastern clime all roseate, and the sky
Opposed, one deep and beautiful serene:

¹[*Inf.* iii. 112 ff. Cary's version.]

²[*Inf.* v. 40 ff.]

³[*Inf.* v. 82 ff.]

And the sun's face so shaded, and with mists
 Attempered at his rising, that the eye
 Long while endured the sight ;' etc.¹

We add only the following beautiful picture from the *Paradiso* :—

‘As the rooks at dawn of day
 Bestirring them, to dry their feathers chill,
 Some speed their way afield, and homeward some,
 Returning, cross their flight, while some abide,
 And wheel around their airy lodge ;’ etc.²

These similes, we maintain, are infinitely more in the character of Wordsworth's images than of Homer's, and almost all the similes of Dante are in this strain of minute refinement, derived either from nature or art, as it may happen, as if he purposely avoided those broad outlines of objects which had been traced over and over again by so many preceding poets.

(Reprinted in *Memorials, etc. of Rev. R. Morehead*, pp. 167-71.)

1826. SONNET TO DANTE.

[‘The Bard most powerful and original’]

Dante, the wonders of thy ghostly way
 I oft have gazed upon with horror new,
 Or new delight, as thou hast borne me through
 Regions of bliss, or hope, or sad dismay ;
 Sometimes alone I follow thee, or pray
 Congenial friend to share the shuddering view,
 Pleased to behold fresh minds the stain imbue
 Of thy mysterious genius, grave or gay :
 I would that all should see thee as I see
 The Bard most powerful and original
 Of any of the sons of Poesy ;
 But, only 'tis, when we before thee fall
 With somewhat of a blind idolatry,
 That thou dost wrap us in thy mystic pall.

(*Ibid.* p. 308.)

1837. Sept. 21. JOURNAL.

[Weekly reading of Dante]

Instead of contracting my stock of materials I am extending it. . . . I propose to arrange my readings as follows :—

Monday.—Homer, Horace, *Amadis de Gaul*.

Tuesday.—Klopstock, Virgil, *Don Quixote*.

¹[*Purg.* xxx. 22 ff.]

²[*Par.* xxi. 35 ff.]

Wednesday.—Pindar, Camöens, Ariosto.

Thursday.—Dante, Ovid, Shakespeare.

Friday.—Lucretius, Petrarch, Spenser.

Saturday.—Milton, Sophocles, Ben Jonson, or Beaumont and Fletcher.

Sunday.—The revisal of the Scripture read through the week.

(Reprinted in *Memorials, etc. of Rev. R. Morehead*, p. 263.)

ANONYMOUS

1803. MONTHLY MAGAZINE. DIVINA COMMEDIA OF DANTE ALIGHIERI. . . . TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH VERSE. BY REV. HENRY BOYD.

[Boyd's version 'correct but diffuse']

IT is now almost twenty years since Mr. Boyd attempted to transfuse the wild and awful spirit of the great Tuscan Bard into English verse. In the year 1785 Mr. Boyd published a translation of the *Inferno*.¹ Encouraged by the success of his first flight, he has winged his way into the *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso*. They who are acquainted with the original will be indulgent to the translation; their expectations will be little, and their disappointment less. Mr. Boyd is correct, but diffuse; and his diffuseness occasionally degenerates into feebleness and languor. He has, however, executed his task in a manner which is creditable to his perseverance, as well as to his genius. If in the translated version the original sometimes suffers by expansion, the latter is oftentimes indebted to the former for elegance of expression and harmony of numbers.

(Vol. xv. pp. 637-8.)

ANONYMOUS

1803. ANNUAL REVIEW AND HISTORY OF LITERATURE. BELLES LETTRES. ART. XXXIII. THE DIVINA COMEDIA OF DANTE ALIGHIERI. . . . TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH VERSE. . . . BY THE REV. HENRY BOYD.

[The *Divina Commedia* one of the 'curiosities of literature']

THE *Divina Comedia* of Dante is a poem, in our country at least, more admired than understood, more talked of than read. A few splendid passages are familiar to us; the well known fame of the author procures him an honourable place upon our shelves; but few, even among the admirers of Italian poetry, have fairly toiled through the number of cantos, not much

¹[See above, pp. 410 ff.]

short of an hundred, into which his work is divided. One principal reason of this, is his great obscurity. Though his poem is a wonderful effort of imagination, its interest is chiefly sustained by the satire which pervades it. He has done the same in verse, but with a larger licence, which Michael Angelo is said to have done in painting; and both his purgatory and his hell are filled with *portraits*. When a small state is agitated by contending factions, great virtues and great vices abound, and the spirit of party rages with peculiar violence. In such a period did Dante live; and every page of his work has a reference to characters then well known, and transactions then well remembered. But the petty wars of the Italian States are little known among us; and even of the long warfare between the Guelphs and Ghibellines history has only preserved to us the great outline. Even of the men of letters of those times . . . we know much less than of the Greeks and Romans who lived so many centuries before them. For these reasons Dante cannot now be read without the continual aid of explanatory notes; and feeble is the interest we take either in a panegyric or a satire, when we first become acquainted with the object of it in a note. Dante is also obscure from the allegorical nature of his poem, and the mixture of popular mythology with school divinity, which even in his own time required a comment; and it is well known, that his country paid him the singular honour of establishing a professor's chair at Florence, for the sole purpose of expounding his *Divina Comedia*. Under all these discouragements, it is not surprising that no one has till now given an English dress to a poem, which even in the Italian, might be suspected to want interest. Versions have, indeed, been given of particular parts; and Mr. Hayley has with good success translated three cantos of the *Inferno*;¹ but a complete version seemed to have been considered as a task irksome in the execution, and hazardous as to the success. Still the fame of Dante stands so high, that we naturally wish to know what those merits are, which have secured him a place among the first class of poets. Curiosity may with many, supply the want of interest, and a laudable zeal for the literature of his country, leads an Englishman to wish that all the capital works of other nations may be naturalized into his own language. . . .

In the execution of his arduous task of a translator, Mr. Boyd is entitled to great praise. His measure is a stanza of six lines, in which the first two make a couplet, the third and sixth, the fourth and fifth rhyme. It is more flowing and agreeable than the interminable rhyme which Hayley has adopted from Dante, and which obliged him, as he says, to translate line by line. This

¹ [See above, pp. 360, 365 ff.]

conciseness Mr. Boyd has not attempted, his version is somewhat diffuse, a couplet of the original is sometimes expanded to three or four lines; now and then we meet with an uncouth word. . . . But these blemishes, as well as some occasional obscurity, may well be pardoned in a work of such length and labour.

As the original poem is but little read, it may be agreeable to our readers to follow the plan of it with some detail, through the medium of Mr. Boyd's translation.¹ . . .

Though Mr. Boyd is open to criticism in particular passages, as what work of such length is not, we consider him as having very honourably fulfilled the task he has undertaken; and if the English reader, in perusing it, should find himself somewhat disappointed in the degree of pleasure he expected from the production of one of the boasted poets of Italy, we advise him to attribute it not to any want of talent in Mr. Boyd, but to the nature of the poem itself, which at this time of day, must rather be reckoned among the curiosities of literature, than among those works which maintain a perennial interest in the human heart.

(Vol. i. pp. 672 ff.)

ANONYMOUS

1803. March. CRITICAL REVIEW. ART. I. BOYD'S DANTE.

[The *Commedia* 'a monstrous medley'—the dullness of Dante enlivened by Boyd]

WE announced in our fifty-ninth volume, a translation of the *Inferno* by Mr. Boyd,² who has at length completed the *Divina Commedia*. Sensible of the revolting difficulties which opposed his success, we were induced to overlook numerous blemishes, and to encourage him by a general commendation, not unmerited. . . .

Dante, unrivaled in awakeing phantoms of horror and affright, is less impressive as his subjects become less dreadful. The *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso* offer interesting pictures, of diminished excellence. Had we never contemplated 'with shuddering, meek, submitted thought,' the awful visions, the tremendous scenery, of the *Inferno*, we should not, perhaps, have felt that veneration for the Tuscan poet which now forces us, among his other admirers, to censure the contemptuous judgment of Voltaire:—'Le Dante pourra entrer dans les bibliothèques des curieux, mais il ne sera jamais lu.'³

¹[Here follows an analysis of the poem, occupying more than 12 columns of the review.]

²[In June, 1785 (see above, pp. 421-2).]

³[In his letter to Bettinelli (see above, pp. 210-11).]

Compared with the *Aeneid*, if the *Inferno* be 'a piece of grand Gothic architecture at the side of a beautiful Roman temple,'¹ we must confess that this Gothic grandeur miserably degenerates in the adjoining edifices. . . .

With every allowance, the *Commedia* must be acknowledged to contain a monstrous medley of subjects, and a confused assemblage of characters—pagan heroes and philosophers, Christian fathers, popes, kings, emperors, monks, ladies, apostles, saints, and hierarchies. . . .

The dulness of Dante is often enlivened by Mr. Boyd with profuse ornaments of his own, by which he is rather elevated than degraded. . . . The translator is as enthusiastic and mystical as Dante himself but more sublime. . . . The censures, which, in our former review, were excited by the disgraceful *rhymes* admitted by the translator, we regret, have been unavailing.

ANONYMOUS: W.

1803. Aug. MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

[Suggestion for a 'Dante Gallery' by Fuseli]

. . . EVERY illustration of Dante, either graphic or otherwise, should be brought to light. I wish Mr. Fuseli could be prevailed on to supply the loss of the marginal drawings which Michael Angelo drew in his Dante (Vid. his Lectures on Painting, p. 129).² There is, perhaps, no artist living better qualified to wield the mighty pencil of that wonderful painter. A Dante Gallery by this great master—for so Mr. Fuseli deserves to be termed—could not fail of being highly interesting. Perhaps, too, the horrors of hell, depicted by him after Dante, would render a more important service to morality than all the thunders of the pulpit. . . .

P.S. Dante has lately been rendered familiar to the English reader by the excellent version of the Rev. Mr. Boyd.³

(Vol. xvi. p. 8.)⁴

RICHARD WHARTON

(c. 1760-c. 1820)

[Richard Wharton, who was born about 1760, was the third son of Dr. Thomas Wharton, of Old Park, co. Durham, the friend and correspondent of the poet Gray. He is referred to as 'Dicky' in Gray's letter to Wharton of Dec. 28, 1767. The

¹[W. Roscoe—see above, p. 527.]

²[See above, p. 426.]

³[See above, pp. 410 ff.]

⁴[From "Queries and Replies, etc."]

eldest son, who was born in 1753 (Gray to Wharton, June 28, 1753), and died in 1758 (Gray to Wharton, April 9, 1758), was the child on whom Gray, at Dr. Wharton's request (Gray to Wharton, June 18, 1758), wrote the epitaph beginning—

‘Here, freed from pain, secure from misery, lies
A child, the darling of his parents' eyes. . . .’

Richard Wharton sat in five parliaments (1802-6, 1806-7, 1807-12, 1812-18, 1818-20) as member for the City of Durham.¹ In 1804 he published a volume of translations, entitled *Fables: Consisting of Select Parts of Dante, Berni, Chaucer, and Ariosto. Imitated in English Heroic Verse*, which contains versions of the third canto of the *Inferno*, and of the Ugolino episode from the thirty-second and thirty-third. He was Secretary to the Treasury from 1809 to 1814, and while holding that office published a poem (in 1812) called *Roncesvalles*, whence Scott speaks of him as ‘the Treasury poet’ (Scott to Morritt, March 2, 1812). He appears to have died in or soon after 1820.]

1804. FABLES: CONSISTING OF SELECT PARTS FROM DANTE, BERNI, CHAUCER, AND ARIOSTO. IMITATED IN ENGLISH HEROIC VERSE.

The Story of Ugolino. Dante, Inf. Cant. xxxii. xxxiii.²

STILL o'er the frozen lake³ we won our way,
Where traitors in eternal bondage lay;
Where, prison'd in one narrow chasm, we saw
Two heads, the one beneath the other's jaw,
Which with unhallow'd fangs, like common food,
Grinded the naked scalp and suck'd the blood;
And with a rage as horrid, gnaw'd the head,
As his, who mangled Menalippus dead.⁴
‘O Thou!’ I cried, ‘whose brutal act declares
Hate unsubdued for him thy Hunger tears,
Say, who thou art? and what foul deeds above
To so abhorr'd a doom this caitiff drove?
That in the upper world if e'er again

¹[From 1802 to 1818 Wharton is described in the Parliamentary Returns as of Old Park, County Durham; from 1818 to 1820 as of Grafton Street, in the parish of St. George's Hanover Square.]

²[At the end of the previous piece (a rendering of the third canto of the *Inferno*) Wharton has the following observation: ‘The Italian reader will perceive that in this and the next poem the translation is much closer than in those which follow: my reason for adhering closely to the original of Dante was this; his style is so concise that a paraphrase, giving the whole of his meaning, would give no idea of his manner; and few, if any parts of the cantos, which I have attempted to translate, will bear retrenching.’]

³The Infernal Regions are divided by Dante into Zones, or *Cerchios*, each of which he appropriates to the residence of Sinners of a particular description. The frozen region, alluded to in the speech of Charon, is the prison of those who were on earth guilty of treachery. Ugolino had by the wiles of the Bishop Ruggieri been led into a plot against his country; and being in his turn betrayed by Ruggieri, suffered the punishment related by him in this poem.

⁴Tydeus, who being mortally wounded in a battle by Menalippus, commanded that the soldiers should bring him alive, if possible, into his presence. They brought his breathless body, and Tydeus flying at it like a wild beast, expired gnawing the head with his teeth.

This tongue that speaks to thee its powers retain,
 I, who now see the dreadful vengeance giv'n,
 Thy wrongs may blazon and the Wrath of Heav'n.'

I said, and sicken'd; from the curst repast
 Upwards his reeking jaws the sinner cast,
 And wiping with the victim's matted beard
 The gore and flesh that to his fangs adher'd,
 'Ask you,' he cried, 'these sad events to hear,
 Which I, the sufferer, scarce in thought can bear?
 Yet, if what I may tell you shall give birth
 To infamy, to brand this wretch on earth,
 Detested as it is, my faltering tongue
 Shall speak the deed from which this judgment sprung.
 For you, your name, and how this penal zone
 Of Hell you traverse, is to me unknown,
 And whence you come: unless mine ears may trace
 Pure as your accents fall,¹ a Tuscan Race.
 For me, from Pisa my proud lineage came;
 An Earl, and Ugolino was my name.
 This Wretch, Ruggieri; Pisa's church obey'd
 His pastoral word; her mitre grac'd his head,
 Now learn the fearful cause of what you see,
 And why he shares this place with such a mate as Me.

'Twere bootless now to tell what all must know,
 The rise, the early process of my woe;
 How rashly trusting all my power possess
 And all I lov'd, to this perfidious priest;
 Betray'd and captiv'd, by his cruel doom
 I mourn'd, I perish'd in a dungeon's gloom.
 But passing these, the strange and secret sins
 Which in its iron womb a prison screens,
 The Horrors of my murder thou shalt hear—
 Then judge, if he now pay a fine too dear!

Athwart my dungeon's roof (that rugged Hold
 Which many a wretch like me may yet infold;
 Which dark report shall name in after times
 The Tower of Famine, from this monster's crimes)
 A chink (and I had light through that alone)
 The wane of many a moon and growth had shewn,
 When on my brows as wavering slumber sate

¹ The Italian language was in its infancy when Dante wrote; and he is supposed to have contributed much to its elegance. That he was proud of it appears as well from this passage, as from that at the close of this story, where he says,

Ah Pisa! vituperio delle genti
 Dell bell * paese là dove il si suona.

* [Sic.]

A wond'rous vision burst the veil of fate.
 This Priest I saw on yonder hills that rise
 And shut fair Lucca's plain from Pisan eyes,
 Prepar'd with eager dogs (a bloody race)
 A Wolf and his defenceless Whelps to chace.
 The Sismonds, Lanfrancs, Gualands,¹ all around
 Beset the ways and cheer'd each murderous hound.
 Nor long their toil; the fierce pursuers tore
 Their prey, and dy'd their fangs in guiltless gore.

Shuddering I woke; and ere the dawn appear'd
 (Sad partners of my doom) my babes I heard:
 With half-form'd sound a feeble plaint they made,
 And dreaming of their fate, they cried for bread.
 Oh! harden'd is thy heart, if, as I speak,
 No tear, from pity sprung, bedew thy cheek.
 If ever thou hast felt compassion rise
 And gushing sorrow swell thy glistening eyes,
 Now must thou mourn the pangs that wrung my mind;
 When foresight guess'd the miseries yet behind.

We rose in silence. Now the hour was near
 When the grim jailor serv'd our daily fare:
 But, ah! presaging sleep too much had shewn,
 And Hope scarce linger'd, though the dreams were gone.

Then heard I with a sullen sound the door
 Shoot horrible its bolt, to ope no more.
 I gaz'd upon my babes; no tear could flow,
 For all within was petrified with woe.—
 They wept—in such a silence much they read—
 Why gaze you? where's your grief? Anselmo said:
 But answer to his words return'd I none,
 Nor wept I, till that day and night were gone.
 But when another Sun with glancing ray
 Athwart the dismal dungeon where he lay
 Gave my sad eyes, in each devoted face,
 The likeness of their sinful sire to trace,
 Then, bursting into rage unfelt before,
 Both these curst hands with frantic fangs I tore—²
 They, deeming that my deed from hunger sprung,

¹ The leading families of the faction by which Ugolino was ruined.

² 'Ambo le mani per dolor mi morsi.'

This line seems to have been closely copied by Tasso *Gie. Lib. Can. iv.* where speaking of Satan he says,

Il gran nemico dell'umane genti
 Contra i Christiani i lividi occhi torse,
 E scorgendoli omai lieti e contenti
Ambo le labbra per furor mi morse.

Upstarting from the pavement, round me clung,
 And—'On this flesh,' exclaim'd, 'thy famish'd rage,
 (Resuming what thyself didst give) assuage—
 Oh! lighter were the pain to be thy food
 Than witness what we see, and view thy blood!'

I paus'd; 'twas all I could—alas! no more
 Of comfort for the babes had I in store.
 While yet another sun his beam renew'd,
 Our lips the stiffening hand of horror glu'd.
 Earth! why didst thou not yawn? another sun
 Arose ere tardy Death his work begun;
 Then Gaddo stretch'd before me, feebly cried
 For help (in vain) to me, and lingering died:
 That Wretch expir'd; the following morn beheld
 To pining want the sad survivors yield;
 Each clinging to his life, with slow decay
 Dropt, as exhausted Nature's powers gave way,
 And writh'd in various forms the famish'd infants lay. }

Now ebbing fast to death, my balls of sight
 In vain I roll'd to catch the guiding light;
 And crawling on the ground my hands I laid
 On my dead sons, and call'd each darling shade—
 Three days I call'd; till Death at last prevail'd,
 And Famine clos'd the scene, though Sorrow fail'd.'

The Spectre ceas'd:¹ and kindling with disdain
 Snatch'd the torn scalp with eager fangs again.
 Still as he gnaws, the flesh, the vessels grow;
 Still as he quaffs the purple currents flow:
 Still o'er th' eternal wound the fibres spread:
 Such is their mutual doom: and such th' atonement paid.²

(pp. 10-16.)

¹ After this conclusion of the story, Dante adds the following apostrophe:

Ah, Pisa! stain of every manly race,
 Whose speech refin'd Italian idioms grace;
 If slow to punish thy inhuman deed,
 From neighbouring states no vengeful bands proceed;
 Oh, may the Tyrrhene Isles, with closing chain,
 Exclude indignant Arno from the main,
 That, roll'd impetuous o'er thy fertile realm
 His reflux flood thy guilty sons may whelm.
 What though the Sire, by priestly wiles decoy'd,
 Seiz'd thy strong fortress and thy laws destroy'd,
 Why must the unoffending babes atone,
 Thou second Thebes! for treachery not their own?
 Them, but for thy revenge, the smiling bloom
 Of youth had sav'd from so severe a doom.

² [These last four lines are an interpolation of Wharton's—there is nothing corresponding to them in the original.]

EDWARD DUBOIS

(1774-1850)

[Edward Dubois, whose father was a native of Neufchatel, was born in London in 1774. He adopted literature as his profession, although called to the bar (in 1809), and was a constant contributor to the periodicals of the day, several of which (*New Monthly Magazine*, *Lady's Magazine*, *European Magazine*) he edited for short periods. He was assistant judge in the Court of Requests from about 1813 to 1833, and treasurer and secretary of the Metropolitan Lunacy Commission from 1833 to 1846. He died in London in 1850. Dubois' works, which were mostly of an ephemeral character, included a translation of the *Decameron*, the preliminary remarks to which contain references to Dante in relation to Boccaccio and the Tuscan language.]

1804. THE DECAMERON; OR TEN DAYS ENTERTAINMENT OF BOCCACCIO. TRANSLATED FROM THE ITALIAN. TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED, REMARKS ON THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF BOCCACCIO.

[Boccaccio, Petrarch, and Dante]

B OCCACCIO became the disciple of Petrarch, and, although principally known and deservedly celebrated as a writer or inventor of tales, he was by his contemporaries usually placed in the third rank, after Dante and Petrarch. . . . Both Boccaccio and Dante studied at Paris, where they much improved their taste by reading the songs of Thiebauld, King of Navarre, Gaces Brules, Chatelain de Coucy, and other ancient French fabulists.

(Vol. i. pp. 8, 11.)

[The language of Boccaccio and Dante]

The Tuscan language, says Domenico Maria Manni,¹ took its rise, if we may use the expression, like a rose amidst the thorns of persecution, since Dante and Boccaccio composed their works in exile, and Boccaccio terminated his *Decameron*, as he himself declares, in the proem to the fourth day, exposed to the galling shafts of envy and calumny. . . . It is very remarkable that Boccaccio should carry a barbarous language to its perfection all at once; a language left entirely to the people, and which had only had a small part of its rust rubbed off by the immortal Dante.

(Vol. i. pp. 12, 32.)

WILLIAM HERBERT

(1778-1847)

[Hon. William Herbert, third son of Henry Herbert, first Earl of Carnarvon, was born in 1778. He was educated at Eton (where he edited a volume of poems,

¹[Domenico Maria Manni (1690-1788), published his *Istoria del Decamerone* at Florence in 1742.]

entitled *Musae Etonenses*, in 1795) and at Oxford. He entered first at Christ Church, whence he removed to Exeter College, where he graduated in 1798. He subsequently removed to Merton College, and took the degree of D.C.L. in 1808. After sitting in Parliament for a short time (for Hampshire. 1806-7; for Cricklade, 1811-12) he abandoned politics and took holy orders. In 1814 he became rector of Spofforth in Yorkshire, where he remained until 1840, when he was made Dean of Manchester. Herbert, who died in 1847, was a classical scholar, and linguist, as well as a naturalist. He published several botanical works, and also poetical translations from Icelandic, German, Danish, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian, besides original poems. His *Select Icelandic Poetry* (issued in the two volumes of *Miscellaneous Poetry* published in 1804) earned him a mention by Byron in his *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*. Herbert was a good Italian scholar, and though he does not seem to have translated any of Dante's poems he introduces references to Dante (with whose *De Vulgari Eloquentia* he appears to have been acquainted) into his volumes of poetry.]

1804. MISCELLANEOUS POETRY.

[Bettinelli's preference of Petrarch and Dante to French and German poetry]

FOR my own part I am no admirer of most German productions, which are repugnant to a taste, that has been formed from infancy on the great models of classical writing. When their extravagancies are injudiciously extolled, the vow of an excellent Italian writer presents itself to my recollection:—

Vo' il patrio rivocar genio incostante,
O almen giurar su quelle sacre chorde
Contro il Gallo e German genio profano
Eterna fede al buon Petrarca e a Dante.

Bettinelli.¹

A vow, which I wish our England would imitate, preferring the chaste apparel of her ancient poets to the meretricious garb of later wits.

(*Advertisement*, vol. i. pp. vii-viii, ed. 1806.)

[Dante's rule as to internal rhyme in the canzone]

Ode for the War arising out of the Peace of Amiens, 1804.—The metre of this ode is Tuscan, not strictly *Petrarchesque*; for I have neglected the punctuation between the *pièdi*, and have made the last line in the first correspond with the first line in the second, which Petrarch never did, when they consisted, as in these stanzas, of three lines each. 'È una delle regole di Dante, che la concordanza di due rime vicine, la qual è laudevollissima nella chiusa, si dee schivar ne' piedi.' *Tasso, la Cavaletta*. If I had retained the punctuation between the *pièdi*, I should have adhered to this rule.²

(Vol. ii. p. 94, ed. 1806.)

¹[Francesco Saverio Bettinelli (1718-1808). Voltaire addressed a famous letter to him in 1759, in which he congratulates Bettinelli on his courage in calling Dante a madman, and his work a monstrosity (see above, pp. 210-11).]

²[The rules as to rhyme are discussed by Dante in Bk. ii. chap. 13 of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*.]

JOHN WILSON CROKER

(1780-1857)

[John Wilson Croker, son of a surveyor-general of customs and excise in Ireland. was born in Galway in 1780. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, where he entered in 1796, and graduated in 1800. In 1804 he published anonymously in Dublin *Familiar Epistles on the Present State of the Irish Stage*, the notes of which, 'overloaded with quotations from Greek, Latin, Spanish, Italian, and French,' contain a quotation from the *Inferno*. He entered Parliament in 1807 as member for Downpatrick, and acted for a time in 1808 as Chief Secretary for Ireland. In 1809 he helped Canning and George Ellis to start the *Quarterly Review*, to which he contributed over 250 articles between that date and 1854. Among the articles with which he is credited is the savage criticism on Keat's *Endymion* (1818). In 1809 he was appointed Secretary to the Admiralty, which post he retained until 1830. In 1832, after the passing of the Reform Bill, he retired from Parliament where he had sat continuously since 1807. He died in 1857. Croker's best known publication is his edition of *Boswell's Life of Johnson* (1831); in one of the notes in the second edition of this work (1835), he identifies a quotation from Dante, which Boswell had failed to recognise.]

1804. FAMILIAR EPISTLES TO FREDERICK J——S,¹ ESQ. ON THE PRESENT STATE OF THE IRISH STAGE.²

[Echo of Dante]

LOW and conceited, pert and dull,
 Each empty brain and leaden skull,
 Each cross-made shape, and Gorgon face
 Lay claims to beauty, sense, and grace:—
 Claims let them make—th' indignant muse
 Stoops not to admit them, or refuse;
 She gives them neither praise nor blame*
 And to the moon † consigns each name
 (Where connoisseurs collections show
 Of all that's lost on earth below).

* 'Questo misero modo
 Tengen l' anime triste di coloro
 Che visser senza infamia e senza lodo.'

Dant. Inf. c. iii. [ll. 34-6.]³

† Vide Orl. Furioso.

(p. 57.)

¹[Frederick Jones, manager of the Crow Street Theatre, Dublin.]²[Published anonymously in Dublin.]³[Croker's habit of overloading his pages with quotations from classical and foreign authors called forth the following remark from the anonymous author of *Theatrical Tears, a Poem occasioned by Familiar Epistles to Frederick J——s, Esq.*:—'Now I certainly do admire a few apt and pointed quotations; but the officious parade of superficial learning is disgusting and pedantic. . . . Vide Plin. Davanz. Boil. Cerv. Juv. Hor. Hom. Vander. Cic. Ter. Font. Voss. Dant. Xen.—O lord! I am out of breath!' (p. 37).]

1835. BOSWELL'S LIFE OF JOHNSON.

[Boswell's ignorance of Dante]

Under the year 1778 Boswell says of Johnson, 'I never knew any person who upon hearing an extraordinary circumstance told, discovered more of the *incredulus odi*. He would say with a significant look and decisive tone: "It is not so. Do not tell this again."' On this passage Boswell subsequently added the following note:—'The following plausible but over-prudent counsel on this subject is given by an Italian writer, quoted by "*Rhedi de generatione insectarum*," with the epithet of "*divini poetæ*."

'Sempr' à quel ver ch' a faccia di menzogna
De' l' uom chiudere le labbra quanto ei poote;
Però che senza colpa fa vergogna.'¹

Croker annotates:—

It is strange that Boswell should not have discovered that these lines are from Dante's *Inferno*, xvi. 124. The following is Wright's translation:²

That truth which bears the semblance of a lie
Should never pass the lips, if possible;
Though crime be absent, still disgrace is nigh.

(Globe ed. 1899, p. 443.)

BENJAMIN ROBERT HAYDON

(1786-1846)

[Benjamin Robert Haydon, the son of a printer and publisher, was born at Plymouth in 1786. He was educated at the Grammar Schools at Plymouth and Plympton. Having made up his mind to become a painter he went to London in 1804, and after two years' study began his first picture, 'Joseph and Mary,' which was hung on the line at the Academy, and was bought by Hope of Deepdene for 100 guineas. This was one of 38 subjects, of which he had drawn up a list in 1804; tenth on the list was the Ugolino of Dante, but it does not appear that he ever painted a picture from this subject. Haydon painted a succession of historical pictures, but he never succeeded in keeping out of debt, and was four times in the King's Bench prison between 1822 and 1837. He committed suicide in 1846, after the failure of an exhibition of two of his pictures at the Egyptian Hall, the public preferring the attractions of Tom Thumb, who was on view in an adjoining room. Haydon was an ardent Italian scholar—'whole pages of his journal,' says his son and biographer, 'are filled with verbs, and idioms, and translations, until he had mastered Italian, and could read Dante, Ariosto, and Tasso in the original.' 'His favourite authors,' according to the same authority, 'were Homer, Shakespeare, Milton, Dante, and Byron.']

¹[See above, pp. 463-4.]²[Wright's translation of the *Inferno* was published in 1833. The first edition of Croker's *Boswell* was published in 1831.]

1804. LIST OF THIRTY-EIGHT SUBJECTS FOR PAINTINGS.

[Proposed picture of Dante's Ugolino]

OF the subjects selected sixteen are sacred, eleven are classical, three are Shakespearean. The names of two are illegible. The remainder are as follows:—

No. 2. Milton playing on his Organ—blind.

No. 8. A Woman contemplating the Body of a Man she has just murdered.

No. 9. Scene in a Mad-house.

No. 10. Ugolino.

No. 22. Theodore and Honoria hunting in the Woods—Sun setting.¹

No. 37. The Woman defending Saragossa.

(*Correspondence and Table Talk of R. B. Haydon*, vol. i. pp. 19-20.)

1809. April 1. LETTER TO HIS FATHER (from London).

[Dante and other great poets appreciated only by the few]

Consider how very few have their minds so cultivated as to feel the beauty of Homer or Milton, Virgil or Dante, and I feel afraid that there are still fewer whom a poetical picture can effect.

(*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 257.)

1816. October. LETTER TO CHARLES LOCK EASTLAKE.²

[Homer, Shakespeare, Dante, etc., and French principles of art]

The French mingle the principles of Sculpture with Painting. . . . But what is the use of dwelling on the ignorance of a school which will not stand fifty years? If Homer, Shakespeare, Milton, Virgil, Ariosto, Dante, Michel Angelo, Raphael, Correggio, and Titian, are right, they are wrong, and they are wrong by every principle of Poetry and Art which has ever existed.

(*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 151.)

1818. March 25. LETTER TO JOHN KEATS.

[Haydon's wish to have Dante under his head on his death bed]

Shakespeare in speaking of somebody who is gradually dying makes some one say—'how is he?'—'Still ill—Nature and Sickness debate it at their leisure'³—is not this exquisite? When I die

¹[From Boccaccio.]²[Afterwards Sir Charles Eastlake, President of the Royal Academy.]³[*All's Well that Ends Well*, Act I. Sc. 2.]

I'll have my Shakespeare placed on my heart, with Homer in my right hand and Ariosto in the other, Dante under my head, Tass at my feet, and Corneille under my——. I hate that Corneille, a heartless tirade maker—I leave my other side, that is my right one, for you, if you realize all of which your genius is capable, as I am sure you will.

(*Complete Works of Keats*, ed. Buxton Forman, 1901, vol. iv. p. 91.)

1838. June 28. LETTER TO WILLIAM WORDSWORTH (from London).

[Michael Angelo and Dante]

Whoever told you I speak in terms of disparagement of Michel Angelo told you a mistake. . . . I have proved Michel Angelo mistook the fallen angels of heaven for the native monsters of hell, and did not mark the difference any more than Dante.

(*Correspondence*, etc., vol. ii. p. 43.)

1842. June 23. LETTER TO SEYMOUR STOCKER KIRKUP (from London).

[Rossetti's 'theory of Dante']

Your account of Rossetti¹ is delightful. I will get to know him. But is his theory of Dante sound? Good Lord! how many theories have I read! I hate notes, theories, readings, new and old. Text is enough for subject and painter.

(*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 186.)

1843. May 26. LETTER TO SEYMOUR STOCKER KIRKUP (from London).

[Dante at the Academy]

The Exhibition is as usual. Eastlake has a sweet picture; Severn, a bad one; Shee, a beauty; Turner, a 'palette'—'tournez par ça, tournez par là, c'est la même chose.' If the hangers were to hang them upside down no one could discover it. There is a 'Plague,' dying of hot colour, and a 'Battle of Waterloo' which requires a volley of musketry to make it warm. There are grey landscapes and green ones; ghosts from Dante, as heavy as a horseguardsman's flesh can make them; a lady in white satin on one side of the flames of the Inferno and a lady in something else on the other.²

(*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 198.)

¹[Gabriele Rossetti; see vol. ii. pp. 445-7.]

²[Two pictures from Dante were exhibited at the Academy in 1843—one by George Patten (No. 57 'Dante accompanied by Virgil in his descent to the *Inferno*') the other by F. R. Pickersgill (No. 155 'Dante's dream')—see vol. ii. pp. 672-3.]

1844. April 5. LETTER TO SEYMOUR STOCKER KIRKUP (from Liverpool).

[Mask of Dante]

How I envy you your treasures! A mask of Dante,¹ what a head! Have they no mask of Michel Angelo?

(*Correspondence*, etc., vol. ii, p. 209.)

ANONYMOUS

1804. THE LITERARY JOURNAL, OR, UNIVERSAL REVIEW OF LITERATURE DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN.

[Proposed monument to Dante at Florence]

Feb. 16. **A** SUBSCRIPTION has been opened at Florence for erecting a monument in the cathedral there, to the memory of the great poet Dante. A drawing of this monument has been submitted to the Florentine Academy of the Fine Arts, and has met with universal approbation.²

(p. 192.)

ANONYMOUS

1804. Dec. MONTHLY REVIEW. ART. XII. WHARTON'S FABLES.³

[Criticism of Wharton's translations from Dante]

THE passages which Mr. Wharton has selected for the exercise of his imitative talents⁴ are, the *Entrance of Hell*, and the *Story of Ugolino*, from Dante; the *Castle of Altaripa*, and the *Garden of Medusa*, from Berni's *Orlando Inamorato*; the *Franklein's Tale*, from Chaucer; and the *Stories of Caligorante and Orillo*, and of *Angelica and Medoro*, from Ariosto.

With respect to the Italian pieces, it will readily occur to the classical scholar, that no imitation of them in modern

¹[This mask is now the property of the Oxford Dante Society.]

²[This paragraph is quoted by Cary in the *Life of Dante* prefixed to the first part of his translation of the *Inferno*, 1805 (p. xxix). In the last edition (1844) of his translation of the *Commedia* Cary added: A monument, executed by Stefano Ricci of Arezzo, has since been erected to Dante in the Santa Croce at Florence, which I had the gratification of seeing in the year 1833 (p. 16).]

³[Published in 1804 (see above, pp. 657 ff.).]

⁴[The *Fables* consist of 'select Parts from Dante, Berni, Chaucer, and Ariosto, imitated in English Heroic Verse.']

English, however faithful or elegant, can truly exhibit those charms which depend on the language alone. That language, too, we are accustomed to associate with the wild and obsolete machinery of the middle ages, with knights and tournaments, with demons and incantations. Hence the native strains of Tasso or Ariosto affect us with genuine or at least delusive pleasure, while we peruse the best translations of them only, perhaps, without weariness. To these causes we would ascribe the diminution of interest with which we glanced at the imitations before us. Mr. Wharton is more unfortunate in the choice of his subjects than in the execution of his design; for it cannot be denied that he frequently conveys the sentiments of his author with much spirit, and in the true language of English poetry. The dark painting of Dante, for example, is at once recognized in these lines:

‘Through Me you pass to Sorrow’s dark domain;
 Through Me, to regions of eternal pain;
 Through Me, where sharp remorse avails no more,
 And Souls for ever lost their crimes deplore.
 From Justice did I spring, the Power above
 In Wisdom gave me birth, and gracious Love.
 I was, before aught was, save God alone;
 I shall be, till the lapse of Time be done,
 A Barrier to this House of Guilt assign’d.
 Ye, who once pass within, leave every Hope behind!’
 High o’er a gate in dusky colouring spread,
 My wondering eyes this dire inscription read.

(pp. 412-13.)

ANONYMOUS

1805. March. MONTHLY REVIEW. ART. VI. BOYD’S TRANSLATION OF DANTE.¹

[Dante’s ‘unruly imagination’ and ‘borrowed manner’—the defects of Boyd’s translation]

AS the father of Italian poetry, and as a bold original genius, Dante has high claims to the respect and gratitude of posterity. At a period in which the literature of Europe had scarcely awakened from its long and degrading lethargy, in which his country was harassed and torn by civil contentions, and in which he himself was involved in proscription, his works procured for him a rank and celebrity that can die only with the

¹[Published in 1802 (see above, pp. 410 ff.).]

language in which they are written. Confiding chiefly in his native powers, and in the resources of an idiom till then esteemed vulgar and unclassical, he produced a poem which is still admired for extent of design, fervour of fancy, energy of description, picturesque imagery, and occasional displays of lofty and pathetic diction. His numerous characters are so many distinct portraits, touched by a masterly hand; and the kind and degree of posthumous retribution, awarded to each, are apportioned with nice discrimination. Of the faults of Dante, which are likewise great and numerous, not a few may be charitably ascribed to the untutored taste and prejudices of his age; and more are, perhaps, the inseparable concomitants of a vigorous mind, disdainng controul, and soured by persecution. When pedantry passed for learning, and the harmony of versification was little understood, we may expect the frequent occurrence of scholastic allusions and untuneful numbers: but gross violation of probability, unnatural distortions of images, and the blending of antient with modern manners and incidents, ought rather to be placed to the account of a glowing imagination, unsubdued by the calm and salutary admonitions of taste and criticism. . . . After every deduction has been made on account of an unlettered age, provincial passions and prejudices, an unruly imagination, and a borrowed manner, much will remain to please, to interest, and to agitate the mind of an enlightened reader. . . .

The peculiar difficulties and hardships imposed on the translator of Dante, Mr. Boyd has encountered with such boldness and perseverance, that he has executed an entire English version of the *Commedia* with a degree of success which has surpassed our expectations. The ideas of the original are, on the whole, faithfully rendered; at least, according to the most approved interpretations. The genuine spirit of poetry likewise pervades most of the striking passages; while the kind of measure which has been selected is more adapted to the genius of English versification, than the interminable rhyme of the original, and leaves the translator more at ease to dilate the scanty expressions of his author into perspicuous and flowing diction. In some cases, indeed, we fear that Mr. Boyd has too freely indulged in this licence of accommodation, and has weakened the force of his text by unnecessary expansion; whence languor and dulness have sometimes overtaken us in the perusal of these volumes. A few liberties, which we are not very willing to pardon in the translation of any work of acknowledged celebrity, are openly avowed; such, for example, as *embellishing* the list of names, in the fourth Canto of the *Inferno*, by the *introduction* of extraneous imagery, and *curtailing* a description in the twenty-ninth Canto of the same poem.—Similar blemishes, if

thinly scattered, we should gladly overlook in a performance of such extent and magnitude: but we are sorry to remark that they have too much crowded on our observation.

(pp. 272 ff.)

ANONYMOUS

1805. June. GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE. ART. 132. CARY'S TRANSLATION OF THE INFERNO OF DANTE ALIGHIERI. CANTO I-XVII.¹

[Dante an 'obscene writer'—Payne's proposals for a translation of the *Commedia*]

'THE following work,' says Mr. Cary, 'is offered to the publick with the earnest hope that it may be serviceable to the cause of Literature, and the interests of Virtue, as it will tend to facilitate the study of one of the most sublime and moral, but certainly one of the most obscene² writers in any language.' . . .

Mr. C.'s notes, like those of M. Clairfons, who published a French *prose* translation of the Inferno at Florence, 1776, 8vo, are short and informing. . . . Mr. C. does not give us encouragement to hope for the continuation of his work through the first part, or the two remaining. We hope, however, he will meet with it from the discerning publick.

We have before us *undated* proposals from the late Henry Payne, bookseller, in Paternoster-row, for publishing what 'it is presumed will be thought a very great curiosity,' i.e. an entire *strict* translation into English *verse* of that wonderful poem the Inferno Purgatorio and Paradiso of Dante Alighieri, which as it 'was neither undertaken, nor had been pursued, nor will be published with mercenary views, is intended to appear in 3 volumes 8vo, with some necessary plates, in a large letter, on fine paper, at 5s. a volume in sheets, and not one copy was to be printed for sale more than previously directed.' From the specimen annexed in one page, taken from the third Canto of the Inferno, it was not likely to attract public regard.³

(Vol. lxxv. Part I. pp. 551-2.)

¹[See above, pp. 469 ff.]

²[Cary wrote 'obscure'; for the amusement caused by this misprint see Miss Seward's letter of Aug. 8, 1805 (above, p. 402).]

³[This was probably the translation by William Huggins, which he left complete in MS. at his death, but which was never published (see above, pp. 306 ff.). These 'proposals' have not been traced.]

ANONYMOUS

1805. May. MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

[Koch's illustrations of Dante]

M. KOCH,¹ a native of Tyrol . . . has completed a collection of prints to the celebrated poem of Dante. He has, with great industry, collected all the portraits that are still extant of historical characters mentioned by Dante, and has examined all the ancient commentaries, to elucidate the most obscure passages of that poet. Furnished with all these aids, he has given his performance such a degree of perfection, that the spectator actually imagines himself traversing, with Dante and Virgil, the three regions of the future world.

(Vol. xix. p. 373.)

ANONYMOUS

1805. THE LITERARY JOURNAL, OR, UNIVERSAL REVIEW OF LITERATURE DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN.—THE INFERNO OF DANTE ALIGHIERI, CANTO I.-XVII. WITH A TRANSLATION IN ENGLISH BLANK VERSE, NOTES, AND A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR. BY THE REV. HENRY FRANCIS CARY, A.M.

[Criticism of the *Commedia* and of Cary's translation]

THE *Divina Comedia* of Dante has been by great judges in poetry accounted the most sublime of all Italian poems, and one of the greatest efforts of poetic genius in any language. Milton, who was extremely conversant with the poets both ancient and modern, and certainly most capable of appreciating their beauties, gives the highest proof of his admiration of Dante, by allusions to his writings in his lesser poems, and by various imitations of the *Divina Comedia* in his *Paradise Lost*. But while this work of Dante has been so much admired by those capable of comprehending its beauties, it still remains, in spite of the labours of commentators and translators, less generally understood and known than any other poem of equal merit. The nature of the subject, the manner in which the fable is conducted, and the style in which it is written, have all conspired to produce this effect. The outline of the story is the same with that of the sixth book of the *Eneid*, only with this difference, that in the *Eneid* the

¹[Joseph Anton Koch (1768-1839). He produced nearly sixty pen-drawings from the *D. C.* (See Volkmann, *Iconografia Dantesca* (Eng. trans.), pp. 138 ff.)]

²[From 'Literary and Philosophical Intelligence.']

hero visits the world of spirits, whereas here the poet himself undertakes the journey, and is accompanied a certain way by the writer of the *Eneid* as his guide. The whole has an allegorical mystical meaning; we meet with virtues, vices, etc. personified, and assuming such appearances of angels, lions, wolves, etc. as seemed, in the author's idea, most proper to represent their qualities. From this plan of holding out a double meaning in every circumstance, the mind of the reader is kept continually on the stretch, and yet all his ingenuity and attention will scarcely be sufficient to enable him to follow the allegory without the assistance of a learned commentator to quicken his comprehension, and lead him by the short way of a footnote to the meaning of what he reads. It is not to be wondered that poems written on this plan should be chiefly read and relished by amateurs in poetry, and that the *Divina Comedia*, as well as the *Fairy Queen*, should be much less known than many poems of inferior merit.

In the *Divina Comedia*, there is besides another very fruitful source of obscurity. It abounds with allusions to persons and events which took place in Italy at the time when Dante lived. We meet in the region of spirits with the patrons, the lovers, the misers, etc. of Florence, Rome, and other parts of Italy. However interesting such personages might have been to the contemporaries and countrymen of Dante, to whom their names and history were familiar, they are neither known to the readers of other ages and countries, nor sufficiently conspicuous to excite much curiosity about their private history. The mighty descendants of Anchises, the fathers and heroes of ancient Rome, seem to us properly placed in a sublime description of the shades below; and adding dignity and interest to it by their presence: but the personages who flourished at Florence, at Venice, at Padua, in the thirteenth century, made so insignificant a figure in the history of this world, that we rather despise the poet who is occupied by such inconsiderable objects in the world of spirits. The fame of Dante certainly owes much to Roscoe, who has so diligently employed himself in digging up the remains of the Italians of those times from among the rubbish where they have for ages been buried.

The style of Dante contributes not less than any other circumstances to render him difficult of being understood. For the early period at which he wrote, his language is allowed to be in many instances uncommonly elegant, and it is questioned whether any succeeding Italian author has surpassed him in dignity and energy of style; yet still many passages are so obscure, his expressions so uncommon, and his constructions so harsh, that some of them have been nearly abandoned by his commentators in despair, while about the meaning of other passages there are strenuous disputes. He

professed to write in the common language of the country, and thus his expressions, although more energetic, and more forcible at the time when written, are also often obscure from the exact import of the phrase no longer remaining the same.

These causes have contributed to render the *Divina Comedia* less known than almost any other poem of the same merit; and the brilliant flights of imagination which it contains are nearly lost to the world from the obscurities thrown around them. The translations of this poem into the other languages of Europe have fallen far short of the original. It was not till lately that the whole was translated into English by Mr. Boyd.¹ To that gentleman's translation Mr. Cary objects, that it takes so great a latitude in its interpretation as to afford very little assistance to those who may be inclined to study that poem in the original. The same objection may be formed to the poetical translation of every author where the translator attempts not only to render the meaning known, but also to transfuse its spirit. Mr. Cary states it as the object of his work to form an easy introduction to such as are desirous of forming an acquaintance with the Italian poet himself. In this view his work certainly has merit, for it is in general extremely literal. But in another passage he proposes another object: "In the ensuing pages I have aimed at not only adding to the original text a translation so faithful, as, with the assistance of notes, to enable one moderately skilled in the Italian tongue to understand my author, but at producing a work which shall not be totally devoid of interest to the mere English reader." We are afraid that Mr. Cary has fallen considerably short of this latter object. His blank verse is often very harsh, and at times so obscure that we have often been obliged to have recourse to the Italian on the opposite page for the interpretation. In rendering the original almost word for word, he has sometimes forgotten that a phrase abundantly complete in Italian is very imperfect in English from the difference of the construction.² . . .

A prose translation of the *Divina Comedia*, we are apt, with the late Earl of Orford,³ to account a desideratum in our language which cannot be supplied by one in verse. Either the verse must appear harsh and rude, or it must be far from literal. Mr. Cary, however, merits thanks for the light he has thrown on these seventeen cantos. His *Life of Dante* collects together the few incidents of that poet's transactions which are known. He appears to have studied the original very assiduously and to understand it well.

¹[In 1802, see above, pp. 410 ff.]

²[The reviewer here gives two long extracts from Cary's translation, viz., his renderings of *Inf.* v. 115-42, and *Inf.* vii. 73-96.]

³[Horace Walpole (see above, p. 338).]

We would recommend to him to favour the public with a correct translation of the Divina Comedia in prose with more ample notes.

(pp. 1087-8.)

ANONYMOUS

1805. ANNUAL REVIEW, AND HISTORY OF LITERATURE.—POETRY.
ART. V. THE SONG OF THE SUN ; A POEM OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY ;
FROM THE MORE ANCIENT ICELANDIC COLLECTION CALLED THE EDDA.
IMITATED BY THE REV. JAMES BERESFORD.¹

[Comparison between Dante and Saemund—Dante ‘a talkative showman’]

THE poets of rude ages, who are neither more nor less likely than others to have genius, commonly offend by want of taste: and this frequently in so great a degree, as to condemn their works to be refashioned; in which case, the modernizer runs away with the praise. Homer indeed originated early, but was probably corrected by a good critic, in an age of taste. Tasso, who has produced the next best poem to Homer, flourished in the autumn, not the spring, of Italian culture. . . . The proportion of good specimens of poetry produced in rude times is very small. Mr. Beresford, no doubt, considers the Song of the Sun, as among these specimens. It forms one rhapsody of the Saemundine Edda, which was composed, or compiled, in Iceland, about the close of the eleventh century; and re-edited at Copenhagen in 1787. Saemund, the author, was a son of Sigfusar, a pagan priest, and of Thoreya: but having been taken to Rome, by Jonas, the christian bishop of Holar, he embraced the religion of the south, and came home to propagate it. He seems to have met with the gospel of Nicodemus, and with other legendary books of that kind; for he introduces many descriptions, which Dante, and other early poets, also selected from the same sources. . . . This poem describes the death and descent to the nether world of the writer, who professes to have dictated it from the grave. . . . The poet introduces, into his infernal regions, figures from the northern mythology: this is not more out of costume than Dante’s placing Charon and Virgil in the christian hell. . . . We invite the readers of Dante to compare this northern skald with the Italian poet. There is so much analogy in the plan of their compositions, that we are persuaded some monkish legend will yet be discovered, of which both the writers had availed themselves. If the northern

¹[1764-1840. See an article on this same subject by William Taylor in the *Monthly Review* for December, 1805 (above, p. 566).]

rhymers has too much abridged, the southern has too much expanded his theme; so that one may be allowed to hesitate which guide to prefer into the infernal regions. If Saemund has nothing very striking to exhibit, Dante is so talkative a showman, that he makes even of a striking a tedious exhibition. We believe, however, that he has so much more force, fancy, and invention, than his Icelandic competitor, that readers and critics will on the whole prefer his hell, and inscribe over it

Per *mé* si va nella città dolente :

Per *mé* si va nell' eterno dolore :

Per *mé* si va tra la perduta gente.¹

But we do not quit all hope, that those who enter on such perusals may yet find a superior guide.

(Vol. iv. pp. 563 ff.)

ANONYMOUS

1805. ANNUAL REVIEW AND HISTORY OF LITERATURE.—POETRY. ART. XXI. THE PENANCE OF HUGO, A VISION ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. IN THE MANNER OF DANTE. IN FOUR CANTOS. WRITTEN ON THE OCCASION OF THE DEATH OF NICOLA HUGO DE BASSEVILLE, ENVOY FROM THE FRENCH REPUBLIC AT ROME, JANUARY 14, 1793. TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL ITALIAN OF VINCENZO MONTI INTO ENGLISH VERSE. BY THE REV. HENRY BOYD.

[Vincenzo Monti and Dante]

NO poem of modern Italy, indeed no poem of modern times, has experienced such great and rapid success as Vincenzo Monti's *Cantica in Morte di Ugo Basseville*.² It passed through eighteen editions in six months. . . . How long Basseville's name may be preserved by his own writings, we know not, never having seen them: in Italy it is not likely soon to be forgotten. The very singular poem of which he is the hero, is in imitation of Dante, and written in the *terza rima*, Dante's metre. It begins after the murder of Basseville, when just time enough has elapsed for a devil to have seized the soul, and an angel to have rescued it. . . . Hugo bids his body farewell, and departs from Rome with his guiding angel. . . . Surprised to behold the ghost of a man, whom he knew to be yet living, he enquires of his guide the meaning of this wonder, and is told, as Dante had been before him, that while his soul is among the damned, a devil animates his body,³ which was the case with many other of his countrymen in

¹[*Inf.* iii. 1-3.]

²[Vincenzo Monti (1754-1828) wrote the *Bassvilliana* in 1793.]

³[The reference is to Dante's account of Branca d' Oria, *Inf.* xxxiii. 139 ff.]

the senate and the forum. . . . That this poem is highly original, and striking in all its parts, cannot be doubted. It is the work of a man whose mind has been deeply imbued with Dante and with the Apocalypse, but whose dreams, though blended with these impressions, have a character of their own.

(Vol. iv. pp. 581 ff.)

D'ORVILLE MSS. AT OXFORD

1805. ANNALS OF THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY.

[MS. of Dante in the Bodleian]

IN this year were purchased the MSS. of James Philip D'Orville, a distinguished classical scholar, who died at Amsterdam in 1751. In this collection was the first MS. of Dante possessed by the Library.¹

(W. D. Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian Library*, ed. 1890, p. 301.)

NORTON NICHOLLS

(c. 1742-1809)

[Norton Nicholls, the friend of Gray, was born about 1742, and was educated at Eton and Trinity Hall, Cambridge (LL.B. 1766). While he was an undergraduate at Cambridge he made the acquaintance of Gray, with whom he formed a warm friendship, which lasted till Gray's death. The circumstances of their first introduction, which was due to their common interest in Dante, Nicholls being already at this time well acquainted with the Italian poets, have been recorded by Nicholls himself in his *Reminiscences of Gray*,² and by his friend Mathias.³ In 1767 Nicholls was presented to the living of Lound and Bradwell, near Lowestoft, which he retained until his death in 1809.]

1805. Nov. 19. REMINISCENCES OF GRAY, BY HIS INTIMATE FRIEND THE REV. NORTON NICHOLLS.⁴

[Gray and Dante]

MR. GRAY was a great lover and studier of geography, as the ample collections in his MS. common-place books prove. He placed Strabo with reason at the head of all geographers; and when, with a kindness and condescension to which

¹[See, however, under the year 1443, in which year Duke Humphrey of Gloucester presented to the Oxford University Library *Commentaria Dantes* and *Librum Dantes* (above, p. 22).]

²[See below.]

³[See above, pp. 560-1.]

⁴[Printed in *The Correspondence of Thomas Gray and the Rev. Norton Nicholls*, edited by the Rev. John Mitford, 1843.]

I owe all that is not bad in every part of my character, he undertook to be my *guide* and *friend*, long before I had arrived 'al mezzo del cammin di nostra vita,'¹ he plunged me into Greek, which I had not before entirely neglected; and said, 'When you have got through the volumes of Strabo, then I'll talk to you further.' . . .

My first acquaintance with Mr. Gray was one afternoon drinking tea at the rooms of Mr. Lobb, a fellow of Peter House. The conversation turned on the use of bold metaphors in poetry, and that of Milton was quoted, 'The sun to me is dark, and silent as the moon,'² &c. When I ventured to ask if it might not possibly be imitated from Dante, 'Mi ripingeva là dove il sol tace,'³ Mr. Gray turned quickly round to me and said, Sir, do you read Dante, and entered into conversation with me.⁴ . . .

Mr. Gray had a perfect knowledge of the Italian language and of the poets of Italy of the first class, to whom he certainly looked up as his great progenitors, and to Dante as the father of all: to whose genius, if I remember right, he thought it an advantage to have been produced in a rude age of strong and uncontrolled passions, when the muse was not checked by refinement and the fear of criticism. . . .

When I found in the *Purgatorio* of Dante the verses from which the beginning of the *Elegy* is imitated,

's' ode squilla di lontano

Che paia 'l giorno pianger che si muore';⁵

he acknowledged this imitation, and said he had at first written 'tolls the knell of *dying* day,' but changed it to *parting*, to avoid the *concetto*.

(Ed. 1843, pp. 42-5.)

¹[Dante, *Inf.* i. 1.]

²[*Samson Agonistes*, ll. 86-7.]

³[*Inf.* i. 60.]

⁴[For Mathias' account of this incident, see above, pp. 560-1.]

⁵[*Purg.* viii. 5-6.]

APPENDIX

SIR HENRY WOTTON *

(1568-1639)

[Sir Henry Wotton, diplomatist and man of letters, was born at Broughton Hall, in Kent, in 1568. He was educated at Winchester, and at New College and Queen's College, Oxford (B.A. 1588). After leaving the University he travelled on the Continent for nearly seven years. In 1595 he entered at the Middle Temple, but was not called to the bar. In the same year he was appointed agent and secretary to the Earl of Essex, after whose disgrace he went to reside at Venice and Florence, until the death of Queen Elizabeth. In 1603 he was knighted by James I., and appointed ambassador at Venice, which post he filled for sixteen years, 1604-12, 1616-19, and 1621-4. He was M.P. for Appleby in 1614, and for Sandwich in 1625. In the intervals of his Venetian embassy he went on diplomatic missions to France (1612), the Hague (1614), and Vienna (1620). In 1624 he was appointed Provost of Eton, where he remained until his death in 1639. A collection of Wotton's poetical and other writings was published in *Reliquiae Wottonianae* in 1651, in which are included his two beautiful poems, 'The Character of a Happy Life,' and 'On his Mistress, the Queen of Bohemia.' Among Wotton's papers was a list of Italian authors, compiled some time after 1628, in which the *Divina Commedia* with Landino's commentary is mentioned with a commendatory note.]

c. 1630. LIST OF ITALIAN AUTHORS SELECTED AND CENSURED BY SIR HEN. WOTTON.¹

[Commendation of the *Commedia* with Landino's commentary]

FOURTEENTH on this list (which consists of 36 items) is *Il Dante col Commentario di Landino*,² in fol. Worth the studying.

(Printed in *Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, ed. L. Pearsall Smith, vol. ii. pp. 484-6.)

* [See above, p. 118, note *.]

¹ [The editor of Wotton's *Letters* notes that this list must have been compiled later than 1628, as mention is made of the English translation of Tasso's *Aminta*, published in London in that year.]

² [Landino's commentary was first published at Florence in 1481, and was reprinted at least ten times in the fifteenth century. Three editions of it, together with that of Vellutello, were published in Venice in the next century, viz. in 1564, 1578, and 1596.]

BARTEN HOLYDAY *

(1593-1661)

[Barten Holyday, or Holiday, divine and man of letters, was the son of a tailor at Oxford, where he was born in 1593. He entered Christ Church in 1605 (B.A. 1612; M.A. 1615), and having been ordained, in 1618 he went to Spain as chaplain to Sir Francis Steuart. He was subsequently chaplain to Charles I. In 1626 he was appointed Archdeacon of Oxford, and in 1642 was created D.D. During the Commonwealth he was rector of Chilton in Berkshire, which living he gave up at the Restoration, when he returned to Iffley, near Oxford, and lived on his archdeaconry. He died in 1661, and was buried in Christ Church Cathedral. Holyday published numerous works, including translations of Persius, Juvenal, and Horace; a comedy, which was performed before James I. at Woodstock in 1621; and a quaint poem, *A Survey of the World in Ten Books* (Oxford, 1661), consisting of about 1000 disconnected couplets, of which the following are specimens:—

A Glutton-Jew of all men was most cross'd;
The various dainties of the Hogge he lost!

Nine times an Eele thro' a Cormorant has pass'd
E're killed: A slipp'ry Sinner's caught at last!

The Flea, that feeds on Blood and Dust, not long
Triumphs; Hee's Snapp'd: Such is the end of Wrong!

One of these couplets is devoted to Dante and the *Divina Commedia*.¹

1661. A SURVEY OF THE WORLD IN TEN BOOKS. BY BARTEN HOLYDAY, D.D., AND ARCHDEACON OF OXFORD.

[Dante's 'three themes']

HEAV'N, Purgatory, Hell, were *Dante's* Three Themes.
Two were Wise Melancholy; yet Extremes.

(No. 354.)

JONATHAN RICHARDSON †

(1665-1745)

1715. AN ESSAY ON THE THEORY OF PAINTING.

[Dante in Raphael's *Parnassus* and *Disputa* in the Vatican]

THERE are Pictures representing not one particular Story, but the History of *Philosophy*, of *Poetry*, of *Divinity*, the Redemption of Mankind, and the like: Such is the School of *Athens*, the *Parnassus*, the Picture in the *Vatican*,

* [See above, p. 155, note *.]

† [See above, p. 195, note, * and pp. 196 ff.]

¹ [My attention was drawn to Holyday's *Survey of the World* by a note in Farinelli's admirable work on *Dante e la Francia* (vol. ii. p. 57), just published (August, 1908), in which reference is made to an article on the poem by E. T. Jourdain in the *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* (xlvii. 281).]

commonly call'd the Dispute of the Sacrament, all of *Rafaëlle*. . . . Such compositions as these being of a different nature are not subject to the same Rules with Common Historical Pictures; but here must be Principal, and subordinate Figures and Actions. As the *Plato* and *Aristotle* in the School of *Athens*, the *Apollo* in the *Parnassus*, &c. Now I have mention'd this Design, I cannot pass it over without going a little out of my way to observe some Particulars of that Admirable Group of the three Poets, *Homer*, *Virgil*, and *Dante*; (for I consider it as 'tis in the Print grav'd by *Marc Antonio*: In the Painting *Rafaëlle* has put Himself with them; besides that 'tis different in several other things). The figure of *Homer* is an admirable one, and manag'd with great propriety: He is *Group'd* with others, but is nevertheless alone. . . . Behind this Great, this ONLY man, stands *Virgil*, and *Dante*, the former directing the other to *Apollo*. This is a Complement *Rafaëlle* has made to *Dante*, by whose Direction he has done this: For in his first *Canto* of Hell he says,

*O de gli altri poeti honore e lume,
Vagliami il lungo studio, el grande amore
Che mha fatto cercar lo tuo volume
Tu sei lo mio maestro, el mio autore:
To sei solo colui; da cui io tolsi
Lo bello stilo, che mha fatto honore.*¹

In the same *Canto* he makes *Virgil* say,
*Ondio per lo tuo me penso e discerno,
Che tu me segui; et io sarò tua guida.*²

Soon after *Dante* says,
*Et io a lui; Poeta io ti richieggio
Per quello Dio . . .
Che tu mi meni, &c.*³

And ends the *Canto*,
*Allor si mosse; et io li tenni dietro.*⁴

But *Rafaëlle* has made his beloved *Dante* still a greater Complement, in placing him with *Homer*, and *Virgil*; for though he was an excellent Poet, His was another, and a very inferior kind of Poetry: But This too *Rafaëlle* did by *Dante's* own direction, in his fourth *Canto* of Hell.

*Così vidi adunar la bella scuola;
Di quel Signor de laltissimo Canto;
Che sora gli altri, comaquila uola.*

¹[*Inf.* i. 82-7. Richardson's spelling and punctuation in the quotations from *Dante* are preserved.]

²[*Inf.* i. 112-13.]

³[*Inf.* i. 130-1, 133.]

⁴[*Inf.* i. 136.]

*Da Chebber ragionato insieme alquanto ;
 Volsersi a me con saluteuol cenno ;
 El mio maestro sorrise di tanto
 E piu dhonore ancor assai mi fenno :
 Chessi mi fecer de la loro schiera.¹*

It appears that *Rafaëlle* was fond of *Dante*; for besides what he has done here, he has put him amongst the Divines in his Dispute of the Sacrament, to which he had very little Pretence; besides that, he calls the three Parts of his Poem *Heaven, Earth, and Hell*.

(*Of Invention*, pp. 72-5.)

[Milton's indebtedness to Homer, Virgil, Dante and Tasso]

Nor need any Man be asham'd to be sometimes a Plagiary, 'tis what the greatest Painters, and Poets have allow'd themselves in. *Rafaëlle* has borrow'd many Figures, and Groups of Figures from the Antique; and *Milton* has even translated many times² from Homer, *Virgil, Dante*, and *Tasso*, and put them as his Own: *Virgil* himself has copied.

(*Ibid.* pp. 82-3.)

[Michael Angelo's indebtedness to Dante for the Charon in his *Last Judgment*]

After *Rafaëlle* no other Master must be nam'd for Expression, unless for particular Subjects; as *Michelangelo* for Infernal, or Terrible Airs. Amongst others I have the Drawing he made for the *Caron* in the famous Picture of his Last Judgment, which is admirable in this Kind; and which (by the way) *Vasari*, who was well acquainted with him, says, he took from these three Lines of *Dante*, an Author he was very fond of:

*Caron demonio con occhi di bragia
 Loro accennando tutte le raccoglie
 Batte col remo qualunque sadagia.³*

(*Of Expression*, pp. 112-3.)

PAOLO ROLLI *

(1687-1767)

1735. DEL PARADISO PERDUTO, POEMA INGLESE DI GIOVANNI MILTON.

[Dante and Shakespeare compared]

DI SHAKESPEARE dico quel che asserisco di *Dante*: cioè ch'eglino due soli mi fanno altamente meravigliare d'aver i primi tanto sublimamente poetato nella loro Lingua. . . . Desidero poi che gl' Inglese lettori osservino qualche maggioranza in *Dante* e nella di lui Favella: in lui, perchè niuno aveva

* [See above, p. 214, note *.]

² [Sic, no doubt by a misprint for *lines*.]

¹ [Inf. iv. 94-101.]

³ [Inf. iii. 109-111.]

innanzi tentato in Lingua italiana se non brevi Componimenti o di Sonetti o di Canzoni, ed egli scrisse in secolo ignorantissimo di Scienza ed Arti: nell' altra, perchè da quattro intieri secoli e più, è stata la medesima Lingua, e siccome ottenne dal *Dante* tutta la perfezione; così l' à fino ad ora conservata: il che oltre esser sì gran Pregio di quel grand' Uomo; è uno de i Vanti singolari della nostra Lingua.

(From *Vita di G. Milton.*)

GEORGE SIDNEY *

(fl. 1780)

1788. **I**N this year George Sidney painted a picture of Ugolino in the Tower of Famine at Pisa, with the following motto:—

Però non lagrimai, nè rispos' io

Vid' io cascar li tre ad uno ad uno, &c.

(*Inferno* xxxiii. 52 ff.)

[Nothing appears to be known of this artist beyond the facts, recorded in the *Giornale delle Belle Arti* for 1788, that besides the above picture he painted one of Henry VI. of England, and sundry other historical pieces, the subjects of which were taken from Greek and Roman history. The following account of his 'Ugolino,' all trace of which has now been lost, appeared in the *Giornale* above-mentioned for April 26, 1788:—

'Su questo famoso Canto di Dante,¹ il Pittore Inglese Signor Giorgio Sidney hà eseguito un quadro dove ci hà messo tutto il terrore, e la desolazione descritta dall' illustre incomparabile poeta. Il Conte Ugolino tiranno di Pisa vinto e fatto prigioniero dal suo nemico Ruggiero Ubaldini, Arcivescovo di quella Città, fu rinchiuso in una Torre e gettata, nel dì 11 Giugno 1288, la chiave nel fiume Arno, vi fu lasciato barbaramente morir di fame con tre figli. Si vede il detto Conte Ugolino in una tetra carcere e dove appena entra il lume da una parte della volta, che vestito con poveri cenci neri, e in parte nudo con testa scoperta, capelli arruffati, e barba alquanto lunga, pallido, mesto, e quasi disperato, sedente sopra un sasso stà a contemplare la sua terribil disgrazia. Dall' altra parte vi sono intorno ad un' altro sasso i tre suoi figli, di varie età, uno in atto di spirare l' ultimo fiato, disteso in terra. Un altro di più forte età coperto di nobili abiti quasi alla Spagnuola bianchi e rossi, pare che vada animando gli altri; un terzo d' età incirca 14 anni stà amaramente piangendo. Tutto è mestizia, tutto desolazione, disperazione in quest' opera, e raccapriccia al solo osservarla. Il colorito, le mosse, l' invenzione, l' espressione, l' aria de' volti tutto è analogo al soggetto, che move lo spettatore a tenerezza, e compassione, e sdegno insieme contro la crudeltà delle inumane fazioni di que' secoli infelici. L' Architettura rappresenta il luogo più orrido che possa immaginarsi con mura fabbricate di mattoni e pietre nude, da cui pendono certe catene e altri strumenti di atroci supplizi.'

(Anno 1788, No. 17, pp. 129-30.)

As the *Giornale delle Belle Arti* was printed in Rome, it is probable that the painter of this picture, the third on record by an English artist from Dante,² was domiciled in that city for the time.]

*[See above, p. 441, note *.]

¹[*Inf.* xxxiii.]

²[The two previous ones were by Sir Joshua Reynolds (see above, p. 343), and Fuseli (see above, p. 425).]

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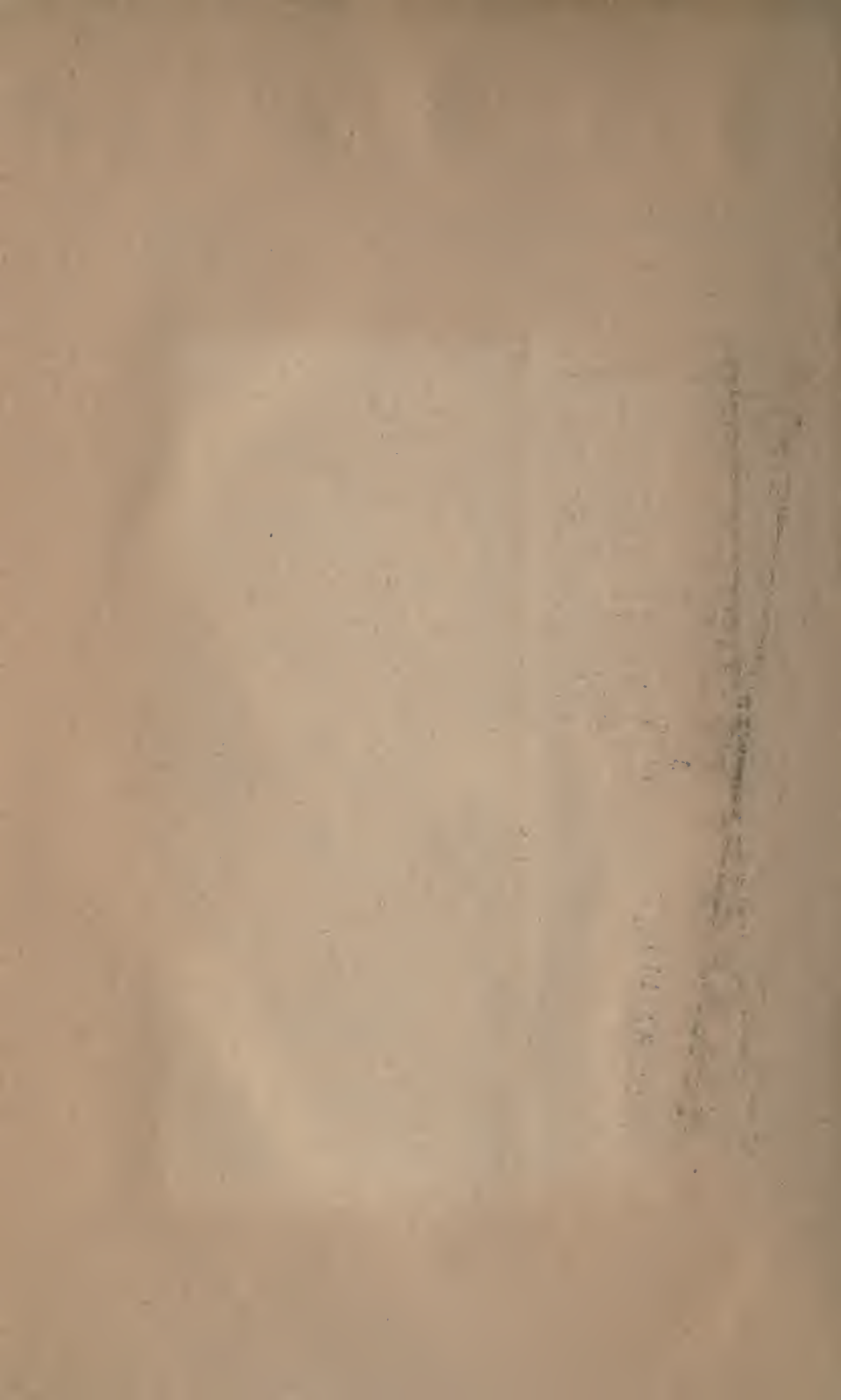
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