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EDITORIAL NOTE

The executive of the Toronto Renaissance and Reformation Colloquium and the editorial staff of *Renaissance and Reformation* are pleased to announce the appointment of Professor André Berthiaume as Consulting Editor. Professor Berthiaume is Editor of *Etudes Littéraires*.

J.A.M.

Contents

78
L'influence de Sebond en Espagne au XVIe Siècle
J.M. DE BUJANDA

85
Montaigne and History
JOHN PRIESTLEY

93
Francis Bacon: Ancient or Modern?
MARSHALL MCLUHAN

99
Who was Christopher Columbus?
JAMES W. CORTADA

103
Avarice and Sloth in the "Orlando Furioso"
JULIUS A. MOLINARO

116
The Erasmus Collection in the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies Victoria University in the University of Toronto
D. SWIFT SEWELL

120
The Filmed Manuscripts and Printed Books of the Vatican Library in the Pius XII Memorial Library of St. Louis University
ROBERT TOUPIN, S.J.

122
BOOK REVIEWS

S.P. ZITNER
Rosalie L. Colie. *The Resources of Kind: Genre-Theory in the Renaissance*, 122-23

EDWARD PETERS
Joseph H. Marshburn. *Murder & Witchcraft in England, 1550-1640*, 123-24

BERYL ROWLAND
Thomas P. Harrison and F. David Hoeniger, eds. *The Fowles of Heauen or History of Birdes*, 124-25

E.J. DEVEREUX
Albert Hyma. *The Life of Desiderius Erasmus*, 125-26

D.F.S. THOMSON
Richard L. DeMolen, ed. *Erasmus of Rotterdam: A Quincentennial Symposium*, 126-27

JOHN McCLELLAND
L. Clark Keating. *Joachim du Bellay*, 128

JOHN McCLELLAND
A.E. Creore. *A Word-Index to the Poetic Works of Ronsard*, 128-30

JOHN A. WALKER
Florence M. Weinberg. *The Wine and the Will: Rabelais's (sic) Bacchic Christianity*, 130-31

KAREN F. WILEY
Arthur P. Stabler. *The Legend of Marguerite de Roberval*, 131-32

MARCELLA GRENDLER
Louis Green. *Chronicle into History: An Essay on the Interpretation of History in Florentine Fourteenth-century Chronicles*, 132-33

T.H. LEVERE
William R. Shea. *Galileo's Intellectual Revolution. Middle Period, 1610-1632*, 133-34

HARRY A. MISKIMIN
Anthony Molho, *Florentine Public Finances in the Early Renaissance, 1400-1433*, 134-35

BODO L.O. RICHTER
Julius A. Molinaro, ed. *Petrarch to Pirandello*, 135-39

ANTONIO SANTOSUOSSO
Dermot Fenlon. *Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy: Cardinal Pole and the Counter Reformation*, 139-40

141
NEWS

L'influence de Sebond en Espagne au XVIe siecle

J.M. De Bujanda

Nous savons peu de chose du grand philosophe du XVe siècle Raymond Sebond. Les manuscrits et les éditions connus nous offrent, au moins, treize (13) variantes de son nom. Les formes qui ont prévalu sont: Sabundus (latin), Sebond (français) et Sabunde (espagnol). D'après le namuscrit existant dans la Bibliothèque Municipale de Toulouse, qui offre la plus grande garantie d'authenticité, son vrai nom catalan est Sibiuda. D'origine catalane et probablement de Gerona, Raimundo Sibiuda, maître ès Arts, en Théologie et en Médecine, enseigne à l'Université de Toulouse où il occupe le poste de Recteur en 1428 et 1435. Entre 1434 et 1436 Sibiuda écrit un traité dont le titre original, d'après le manuscrit de Toulouse est: *Scientia libri creaturarum seu naturae et de homine.* Cet ouvrage était déjà fini le 11 février 1436, quelques semaines avant la mort de l'auteur qui est survenue le 29 avril de la même année. Nous utilisons dans ce travail l'édition de la *Theologia Naturalis* publiée par le professeur Stegmüller avec une édition critique du Prologue.[1]

Des dix-sept manuscrits de cette oeuvre signalés par Stegmüller, quinze furent transcrits au XVe siècle. La première édition fut publiée probablement à Lyon en 1484.[2] Dans la deuxième édition celle de Daventer, 1485, qui apparaît avec le titre: *Theologia naturalis seu liber creaturarum,* l'ouvrage est divisé en sept parties et en trois cent trente-trois chapitres avec ses titres correspondants. Le titre de l'ouvrage et ses divisions, qui ne figurent pas dans les manuscrits primitifs, sont retenus par les éditions postérieures.[3]

Dans le prologue du livre, Sebond présente clairement le but de son oeuvre: "Enseigner la racine, l'origine et le fondement de toutes les sciences et de toute vérité." Cette "science montre à l'homme à se connaître soi-même, la fin pour laquelle il a été fait et qui l'a fait, en quoi consiste son bien et en quoi consiste son mal, ce qu'il doit faire; quelles sont ses obligations et envers qui il est obligé."[4] C'est par cette science que l'homme connaîtra aussi sa situation actuelle de faiblesse et de corruption. On apprendra aussi comment l'homme peut sortir de sa misère et arriver à la perfection. Pour apprendre cette science Sebond propose une méthode fondée sur des arguments infaillibles et irréfutables tirés de l'expérience, des créatures et de la nature de l'homme.[5]

Certaines affirmations du prologue peuvent nous inciter à croire, comme le signale Carreras Artau, que le *Liber creaturarum* est une oeuvre de rationalisme extrême.[6] Il faut cependant tenir compte, comme le dit Mario Martins, de ce que des affirmations semblables se trouvent chez Raymond Lulle, Raymond Marti, Saint-Anselme, Hugues de Saint-Victor. Certaines expressions du prologue peuvent aussi s'expliquer par des raisons polémiques. A l'intérieur du traité les affirmations sont beaucoup moins catégoriques.[7] L'examen approfondi de l'ouvrage nous montre un écrivain profondément éclectique qui utilise des éléments provenant des différentes écoles médiévales. La conception qui préside à tout l'ouvrage cherche l'accord entre les deux livres de la nature et de la grâce.

Le contenu de la *Théologie Naturelle,* qui a donné lieu à des interprétations divergentes et parfois contradictoires, a exercé une influence considérable sur les différents courants de pensée.

Au cours des dernières années du XVe siècle et des premières années du XVIe la *Théologie Naturelle* connaît une diffusion rapide en Europe et principalement en France. Des onze éditions latines réalisées aux XVe et XVIe siècles deux sont publiées à Strasbourg (1496,

1501) une à Paris (1509), cinq à Lyon (1484, 1507, 1526, 1540, 1541), une à Daventer (1485), une à Nürnberg (1502) et une à Venise (1581).[8]

L'ouvrage du philosophe catalan est très apprécié par le cercle réformateur de Lefèvre d'Etaples. Nous savons que Beatus Rhenanus en possède un exemplaire et que Charles de Bouelles le considère comme une "oeuvre très savoureuse et très riche". Comme le signale Augustin Renaudet, Lefèvre lui-même ne pouvait que se sentir attiré par la doctrine exposée dans la *Théologie Naturelle,* qui s'accorde très bien avec les écrits de Nicolas de Cuse et de Raymond Lulle qu'il publia.[9] Les enseignements de Sebond sont aussi à la portée du public français qui dispose d'une traduction française publiée à Lyon en 1519 par Bernard Lecuyer.[10]

Les ressemblances entre la *Théologie Naturelle* et certains enseignements de St-Ignace dans les *Exercices Spirituels* peuvent, peut-être, expliquer la faveur dont jouit Sebond parmi les premiers membres de la Compagnie de Jésus.[11] L'inclusion de la *Théologie Naturelle* dans l'Index de livres interdits publié par Paul IV en 1559, provoque une certaine inquiétude parmi quelques Jésuites influents dans la Curie Romaine. Le P. Lainez, qui collabore à la version moins sévère de l'Index du Concile de Trente, n'est probablement pas étranger au fait que le nouvel Index ne condamne plus l'ouvrage complet mais seulement le Prologue.[12]

Montaigne est celui qui a le plus contribué à la diffusion de l'oeuvre de Sebond. Sa traduction française de la *Théologie Naturelle,* publiée en 1569 et revisée en 1581, connaîtra cinq rééditions au cours de la première partie du dix-septième siècle. D'autre part, *l'Apologie de Raymond Sebond*, un des principaux essais du moraliste français, assurera au philosophe catalan une place importante dans l'histoire de la pensée. Les études consacrées à Montaigne sont loin d'être unanimes sur la place occupée par l'oeuvre de Sebond à l'intérieur de sa philosophie morale. Veut-il défendre les thèses de Sebond, comme Montaigne l'affirme expressément, ou bien cherche-t-il un prétexte qui lui permette d'exposer ses idées qui sont en réalité bien différentes de celles de Sebond? Indépendamment de la réponse que l'on donne à cette question on doit reconnaître que la *Théologie Naturelle* occupe une place centrale dans l'oeuvre de Montaigne.[13] Nous attendons toujours les travaux qui nous diront quelle est l'influence exercée par la *Théologie Naturelle* sur des écrivains comme St-François de Sales, Pascal et Hugo Grotius.[14]

En plus de l'influence exercée directement par la *Théologie Naturelle,* à travers ses nombreuses éditions latines et françaises, les idées de Sebond ont connu une large diffusion grâce à une adaptation qui est publiée sous le titre *Viola animae.* Dans ce résumé, le chartreux Pierre Dorland condense la matière en quatre-vingt-six chapitres, évite les procédés d'école en supprimant les divisions, distinctions etc. . , améliore considérablement le texte et donne au traité une certaine saveur de la Renaissance par l'introduction de citations classiques. La *Viola animae* comprend sept dialogues. Les six premiers sont des résumés de chacune des parties de la *Théologie Naturelle.* Le septième, sur le mystère de la Passion de Jésus-Christ, est un travail original de Pierre Dorland.[15]

Publiée à Cologne en 1499 la *Viola animae* connaît neuf éditions en latin au cours du XVIe siècle. La traduction française de Jean Martin est publiée en 1551, 1555 et 1556.[16]

Si l'influence de Sebond apparaît manifeste en France, elle est loin d'offrir pareille évidence en Espagne. Des historiens de la pensée comme Carreras Artau et M. Batllori[17] croient que la *Théologie Naturelle* n'a pas apporté une contribution importante à la pensée espagnole. Ce point de vue semble être confirmé par le fait que la seule édition en

espagnol de la *Theologia Naturalis* date de 1854 et qu'elle a été réalisée à partir d'une adaptation italienne.[18]

Dans une brève mais profonde étude publiée en 1953, notre cher maître, le regretté professeur Révah confirmait l'exactitude d'une intuition de Menéndez Pelayo qui considérait la *Théologie Naturelle* comme ayant un intérêt capital pour l'étude des origines de la mystique espagnole.[19] Nos études actuelles sur la censure inquisitoriale espagnole nous ont apporté, d'une façon fortuite, de nouveaux arguments qui prolongent l'étude du professeur Révah.

La *Viola animae* publiée à Tolède en 1500 par Petrus de Hagembach est le premier livre de piété, si nous laissons de coté les livres liturgiques, qui est imprimé sous la protection du Cardinal Ximénez de Cisneros, auquel on reconnaît un rôle de premier ordre dans le développement de l'humanisme espagnol. Cette édition décrite par Haebler,[20] et dont on conserve deux exemplaires dans l'Hispanic Society of America de New York, reproduit dans la deuxième feuille l'emblème du siège archiépiscopal de Tolède. Norton croit comme probable que cette marque était réservée aux livres imprimés par ordre de l'Archevêque.[21]

Nous ne connaissons aucun exemplaire qui témoigne de l'existence d'une autre édition latine de la *Viola animae* en Espagne. L'influence de ce livre s'exerce principalement par l'intermédiaire des traductions et des adaptations qui en vulgarisent le contenu.

En 1549, l'imprimeur Francisco Fernández de Cordoba publia à Tolède une traduction du résumé de Dorland.[22] Nous avons utilisé l'exemplaire existant dans la Bibliothèque Nationale de Lisbonne (Res. 8-19), le seul semble-t-il qui nous soit parvenu de cet écrit qui fut condamné par l'Index de Valdés de 1559.[23] La *Violeta del anima,* qui laisse de côté le septième dialogue celui de Dorland, est une traduction fidèle des quatre-vingt-six chapitres de la *Viola animae.*

Plus encore que par des traductions, la *Viola animae* exerce son influence en Espagne par l'intermédiaire de deux adaptations.

Une heureuse coincidence nous a fait découvrir dans l'Hispanic Society of America de New York une adaptation extrêmement curieuse de la *Viola animae.* Il s'agit du *Despertador del alma,* oeuvre anonyme publiée à Séville en 1544 et réimprimée à Saragosse en 1552. De l'édition de Séville on connaît deux exemplaires existant dans la Bibliothèque Nationale de Lisbonne et dans la Bibliothèque Nationale de Madrid.[24] De l'édition de Saragosse de 1552 on connaît seulement un exemplaire existant dans l'Hispanic Society of America.[25]

Le prologue et les trois premiers chapitres,qui introduisent la matière,racontent comment dans l'année 1544, fut trouvé à Rome un tableau dont l'image est reproduite dans l'ouvrage avec une légende en latin. Prié par le chevalier Horosius, Paul,religieux grec de l'ordre de St-Basile,explique les secrets et les trésors contenus dans ce tableau. L'explication comprend quatre colloques. Les chapitres IV à VII expliquent le titre du livre et du tableau, en s'appuyant sur St-Paul qui dans l'*Epitre au Romains* nous montre "comment l'ensemble des créatures forme un livre dont chaque créature est un chapitre."[26] Le chapitre VIII expose l'ordre et le degré existant entre les créatures.

A partir du chapitre VIII le *Despertador del alma* est une simple adaptation de la *Viola animae.* L'arrangement offre des formes très variées. Très souvent le texte de la *Viola* est présenté en résumé et dans une forme beaucoup plus accessible aux lecteurs profanes. Parfois on intercale des explications, des exemples, des témoignages qui explicitent le paragraphe transcrit. Dans la plus grande partie des cas, il s'agit d'une traduction fidèle de chapitres entiers de la *Viola.*[27]

Le *Despertador del alma* figure parmi les oeuvres interdites par l'*Index* de Valdés de 1559.[28]

La courroie de transmission la plus importante pour la diffusion des idées de Sebond en Espagne au XVIème siècle est le *Libro llamado Lumbre del alma* de Fr. Juan de Cazalla dont on fit probablement deux éditions. M. Bataillon affirme qu'en juin 1921 il eut en mains, au Couvent des Dominicains de San Esteban de Salamanque, un exemplaire de la *Lumbre del alma,* imprimé à Valladolid par Nicolas Tierry le 15 juin 1528. Aujourd'hui cet exemplaire a disparu. Selon Bataillon, le P. Justo Cuervo supposait que le livre de Juan Cazalla était précisément "l'Obra impresa en Valladolid por Maestro Nicolas Tierry, año de 1528, en romance," interdite par l'Index de Valdés.[29] Mais selon le P. Cuervo, il semblait difficile d'expliquer l'étrange désignation de l'oeuvre dans l'Index, et de plus la défense même ne se justifie que par une rigueur extrême à cause de la saveur illuministe du titre et d'un appendice sur les douze degrés de la connaissance de Dieu.[30]

La supposition du P. Cuervo, d'après qui la défense de l'Index de Valdés tombe sur le livre de Jean de Cazalla, nous semble une hypothèse très digne d'être retenue. La raison, à notre avis, pour laquelle l'*Index* ne cite ni l'auteur ni le titre de l'oeuvre interdite est que la personne chargée de rédiger l'Index ne les connaissait pas. Les livres de cette époque, dont les premières pages étaient supprimées, ne sont pas rares. Il put bien arriver qu'on donna au censeur un exemplaire sans première feuille, et que celui-ci,ignorant par conséquent de quelle oeuvre il s'agissait, se vit obligé de se servir du colophon du livre pour le désigner. La totale coincidence entre le colophon du livre de Cazalla et la désignation du livre défendu par l'*Index*, ne permet pas de conclure avec certitude que la *Lumbre del alma* soit l'oeuvre interdite, étant donné que des presses de Nicolas Tierry purent sortir cette même année de 1528 bien d'autres livres. Mais il existe certains indices qui nous inclinent à penser à une telle identification.

Le franciscain Juan de Cazalla, aumônier majeur et collaborateur du Cardinal Cisneros, fut nommé évêque auxiliaire d'Avila en 1517. Nous savons qu'il sympathisa avec Erasme et qu'il fut en contact avec l'évangélisme français de Lefèvre d'Etaples.[31] Fr. Juan, qui avait eu des rapports avec des cercles d'"illuminés", fut probablement mis en procès par l'Inquisition.[32] Il est probable,par conséquent, que la *Lumbre del alma* ait continué à exercer une influence parmi ces groupes. Un exemplaire de ce livre, auquel on aurait enlevé la première feuille, pouvait très bien appartenir à l'une des personnes emprisonnées par l'Inquisition. N'oublions pas que parmi les personnes mises en accusation puis exécutées à Valladolid en 1558, se trouvait le docteur Augustin Cazalla, neveu de Fr. Jean.

Nous connaissons aujourd'hui le texte de la *Lumbre del alma* par un exemplaire imprimé à Séville en 1542, qui est conservé à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Lisbonne.[33]

M. Révah a été le premier à apercevoir que "la presque totalité de la *Lumbre del alma* est une adaptation fidèle d'une vingtaine de chapitres de la *Viola animae*".[34] Exception faite de certains paragraphes de l'introduction, du chapitre douze de la première partie et de l'appendice sur "el modo para venir en alguna manera en conoscimiento de dios", toute l'oeuvre est une adaptation, et presque toujours une simple traduction.

Cazalla s'est servi du verset 12 du Psaume 136: *Quid retribuam Domino proomnibus quae retribuit mihi,* pour introduire et placer avec une certaine unité la matière du deuxième et troisième livre de la *Viola animae,* qu'il propose en forme de dialogue.

La première partie de la *Lumbre del alma* présente une description des bienfaits et récompenses de Dieu, tout spécialement de l'amour avec lequel Dieu nous a aimés et nous

aime. L'homme doit répondre à Dieu avec l'amour, "libre don de la volonté". Tout au long de la deuxième partie, l'auteur présente et développe la thèse concernant la façon dont l'amour de Dieu est notre premier bien et notre propre "luz y lumbre". Par contre, l'amour propre est notre premier mal et notre "ceguedad y tiniebla".[35]

Les idées de Sebond se répandent en Espagne principalement à travers le texte de la *Viola Animae* qui connaît une édition latine à Tolède en 1500, une traduction castillane en 1549 et deux adaptations: *Tesoro de Angeles* et *Lumbre del alma.* Le terrible index de Valdés de 1559 barrait la route à l'influence de Sebond par l'intermédiaire de la traduction castillane et des deux adaptations de la *Viola.* Cette condamnation veut-elle dire que l'Espagne de la deuxième partie du seizième siècle restera imperméable aux idées de son plus grand philosophe du XVième siècle? Comme dans beaucoup d'autres cas, les condamnations inquisitoriales n'ont pas eu l'effet qu'on aurait pu supposer. Deux auteurs qui connaîtront un grand succès éditorial dans toute l'Europe prouvent la persistence de l'influence de Sebond en Espagne.

Le premier est Diego de Estella, dont les oeuvres, principalement *la Vanidad del mundo* et les *Méditaciones del amor de Dios,* connaissent de nombreuses éditions dans les principales langues européennes. Les *Meditaciones del amor de Dios,* tenues en grande estime par St-François de Sales, sont en grande partie une transcription des meilleures pages de la *Lumbre del alma.* Les emprunts littéraux sont principalement importants dans les méditations 42, 62, 63, 76, 82, 88, 89, 90, 91, 99.[36]

Fr. Diego suit généralement avec fidélité le texte de la *Lumbre del alma.* On peut observer, cependant, le changement de mots et de formes vieillis, et aussi certaines additions, amplifications au omissions. L'adaptation de la forme de dialogue, employée dans la *Lumbre del alma,* à la forme de monologue des *Méditaciones* exige certains changements de style. Mais dans l'utilisation de la *Lumbre del alma* le P. Estella ne se limite pas à copier les textes. Il n'emprunte pas en général des pages entières du livre de Cazalla; d'ordinaire il transcrit quelques lignes, puis développe ces idées, les confirmant par des exemples et des arguments d'autorité de la Sainte Ecriture, ou bien il tire des conclusions. Il utilise également, en d'autres endroits, les idées des textes qu'il a déjà transcrits, leur donnant une expression littéraire un peu différente. Il y a également dans la *Lumbre del alma* certains passages, que Fr. Diego n'a pas inclus, tout au moins littéralement, et qui offrent une certaine parenté avec les *Méditaciones.*

Nous ne nous attarderons pas sur le cas de Fr. Juan de los Angeles, considéré par Menéndez Pelayo comme un des plus agréables prosateurs espagnols. Par les études de Domínguez Berrueta et de Fidel de Ros, parmi d'autres, nous savons que Fr. Juan de los Angeles transcrit de longs passages sans signaler qu'ils proviennent de Sebond. Le plagiat du mystique franciscain se trouve dans *La Lucha espiritual y amorosa,* dans les *Diálogos de la conquista del reino de Dios* dans lesquels il utilise plus d'une vingtaine de titres de la *Théologie Naturelle.* Fr. Juan de los Angeles, qui se limite souvent à traduire, adopte parfois avec liberté les idées du philosophe catalan comme il est habitué de le faire avec beaucoup d'autres auteurs.[37]

Dans l'état actuel des recherches il nous paraît prématuré de vouloir tirer des conclusions définitives concernant le problème de l'influence de Sebond sur l'évolution intellectuelle et mystique de l'Espagne. Mais même si nous sommes persuadés qu'une recherche plus poussée nous apportera de nouvelles données pour mieux éclairer la question, nous pouvons déjà prendre connaissance de l'existence d'une puissante veine sebondienne qui

traverse le XVIe siècle espagnol. Ce courant qui apparaît rarement à la lumière du jour, féconde les racines mêmes de la mystique espagnole. Le cas de Raymond Sebond nous incite à multiplier les enquêtes pour chercher d'autres courants souterrains.

A notre avis, il reste encore d'importants travaux à réaliser sur les différentes courroies de transmission qui ont servi à la diffusion des idées au XVIe siècle. Les abrégés, les adaptations, les recueils, les florilèges ont été souvent des messagers anonymes mais effectifs. Des recherches systématiques sur des ouvrages de ce genre nous apporteront sans doute des données révélatrices.

Université de Sherbrooke

Notes

1 Raimundus Sabundus, *Theologia Naturalis seu Liber creaturarum.* Faksimile-Neudruck der Ausgabe Sulzbach, 1852. Mit literargeschichlicher Einführung and kritischer Edition des Prologs un des Titulus I von Friedrich Stegmüller (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, 1966).

2 Raymundus Sebeyde, *Liber creaturarum sive de homine,* [c. 1484, Lyon, Johannes Siber]. *Ibid.,* p. 11*.

3 *Ibid.,* p. 11 * - 12*.

4 *Ibid.,* p. 31*: "Quia ista scientia docet hominen cognoscere se ipsum, propter quid factus sit, et a quo factus sit; quid est bonum suum, quid est malum suum; quid debet facere; ad quid obligatur, et cui obligatur".

5 *Ibid.,* p. 33*.

6 T. et J. Carreras Artau, *Historia de la Filosofía Española. Filosofía cristiana de los siglos XIII al XV* (Madrid, 1943), t. II, pp. 109, 157.

7 Mario Martins, "Sibiuda "a Corte Imperial" e o Rationalismo naturalista," dans *Estudos de Literatura Medieval* (Braga, 1956), pp. 395-415.

8 Sabundus, *Theologia Naturalis,* Introduction de F. Stegmüller, pp. 4 *- 11*.

9 Augustin Renaudet, *Préréforme et Humanisme à Paris pendant les premières guerres d'Italie (1494-1517)* (Paris, 1916), pp. 485, n. 5, 521, n. 1.

10 Joseph Coppin, *Montaigne traducteur de Raymond Sebond* (Lille, 1925), pp. 57 - 58.

11 M. Batllori, *"De Raimundo Sabundo atque Ignatio de Loyola",* dans *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu,* XXXVIII (1969), pp. 454-463.

12 M. Scaduto, "Lainez e l'Indice del 1559. Lullo, Sabunde, Savonarola, Erasmo", dans *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* XXIV (1955), pp. 3 - 32, p. 27. Lorenzo Riber, "Erasmo en el Indice Paulino con Lulio, Sabunde y Savonarola", dans *Boletín de la Real Academia Española,* XXXVIII (1958), pp. 249-263.

13 Voir parmi d'autres: Pierre Villey, *Les sources et l'évolution des Essais de Montaigne,* (Paris, 1933), t. 2, pp. 171-187. M. Dreano, *La Religion de Montaigne* (Paris, 1969), pp. 233-273. Hugo Friedrich, *Montaigne,* Traduit de l'allemand par Robert Rovini, (Paris, 1968), pp. 104-121. Olivier Naudeau, *La pensée de Montaigne et la composition des "Essais"* (Genève, 1972).

14 Cf. F. Strowski, *Pascal et son temps,* (Paris, 1909), vol. 3, pp. 236-239.

15 Louis Moereels, "Dorland", dans *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité.* t. III, cols 1646-1651.

16 J. Coppin, *op. cit.,* pp. 33 - 34.

17 Carreras Artau, *op. cit.,* p. 171; Batllori, *loc. cit.,* p. 454-455.

18 Raimundo Sabunde, *Las criaturas. Grandioso tratado del hombre,* (Barcelona, 1854).

19 I.S. Révah, *Une source de la Spiritualité Péninsulaire au XVIe siècle: La "Théologie Naturelle" de Raymond Sebond. (Adademia das Ciencias de Lisboa),* (Lisboa, 1953); Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España, (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones cientificas),* (Madrid, 1942), vol. I, p. 428.

20 *Viola animae per modum dyalogi, inter Raymundum Sebundium, artium, medicine atque sacre theologie professorem eximium et dominum Dominicum Seminiverbium. De hominis natura (propter quem onmia facta sunt) tractans, ad cognoscendum se, Deum et hominem.* Colophon: *Finit dyalogus de mysteriis sacre passionis Christi et per consequens totus liber iste (qui Viola animae inscribitur) in septem distinctus dyalogos. In alma Toletana civitate Hispaniarum primate impressus. Anno natalicii Salvatoris Nostris Millesimo quingentesimo, die ultima mensis Augusti.* K. Haebler, *Bibliografía Ibérica del siglo XV,* (La Haya, 1903-1917), vol. II, no 590. C.L. Penney, *Printed Books (1468-1700) in the Hispanic Society of America,* (New York, 1965), p. 488.

21 F.J. Norton, *Printing in Spain (1501-1520),* (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 49-50.

22 *Violeta del / ánima. Que es summa de la / Theología natural a manera de diá/logo. Que tracta del hombre por causa del qual las otras criaturas / son hechas. Por el conoscimiento de / las quales se alumbra el hombre pa conos/cerse assi y Dios y a las otras cri/aturas. Nuevamente traduzido de la/tín en romance Castellano. Con Privilegio Imperial.* Colophon: *Fue impresso en la muy noble / villa Valladolid, cerca de las Es/cuelas mayores. Por Francisco/Fernández de Cordoba impre/ssor. Acabose a xxiiii. días del / mes de Noviembre, del año / de nuestra salud de M. D. XLIX.*

23 F.H. Reusch, *Die Indices librorum prohibitorum des Sechzehnten Jahrhunderts,* (Tubingen, 1886, réimp. 1961), p. 240.

24 *Despertador / del alma. En el qual se / tracta por via de colloquio / vna doctrina muy util, y / provechosa para des/pertar el alma q̄ esta / adormida en vi/cios: Y se mue/stra como / deve / bivir qualquier christiano. / 1544.*

25 *Despertador del alma / adormida: dirigido ala muy noble se/ñora doña Blanca de Colona Calvillo y de Cardona. Zc. / Impresso en Caragoça a costas de / Miguel de Capilla mercader de libros / Ano de MCLII.*

26 *Despertador del alma adormida,* (Zaragoza, 1552), f. 17v.

27 Comme exemple on peut comparer les passages suivants: "Quarta conditio: quod ista conversio amantis in rem amatam non est violenta, non coacta, non laboriosa, sed spontanea, liberalis, dulcis, delectabilis; et ideo voluntas qui iungit rei amate non potest ab ea separari per aliquam violentiam, sed sponte et mere libere. Quinta conditio: quod amor licet mutet voluntatem in rem amatam, tamem amor semper permanet liberalis amor et suam retinet naturam. Voluntas quoquunque licet permutetur in rem amatam, cuius et naturam induit et formam, tamem semper permanet voluntas, nec ideo destruitur quia mutatur." *Viola animae,* "Dialogus tertius", Chap. XXII, (Toledo, 1500), f. 35v. "La quarta es que la conversion que se haze del que ama en la cosa que ama, no es violenta, ni por fuerza, ni trabajosa, sino muy voluntaria, libre, dulce, y llena de plazer. Y por esto la voluntad, que se ayunta convierte y transforma en la cosa que ama, no se puede apartar della por ninguna violencia, o fuerza, sino voluntaria y libremente. La quinta es, aunque el amor se convierta y transforme en la cosa que ama, siempre queda en su propia naturaleza, que es siempre ser libre; y la voluntad aunque se mude o convierta en la cosa que ama, y recibe della naturaleza y forma; pero aunque se mude no se pierde ni destruye porque siempre queda voluntad". *Despertador del alma adormida,* "Colloquio tercero", Chap. I, (Zaragoza, 1552), f. 80r-v.

28 Reusch, *op. cit.,* p. 233.

29 *Ibid.,* p. 237, Nous utilisons amplement le chapitre IV de notre étude; *Diego de Estella (1524-1578). Estudio de sus obras castellanas. (Publicaciones del Instituto Español de Historia Eclediástica,* no. 15), (Rome, 1970), pp. 67 - 76.

30 M. Bataillon, dans l'Edition de Juan de Valdés, *Dialogo de doctrina cristiana,* (Coimbra, 1925), pp. 137-138.

31 M. Bataillon, *Erasmo Y España,* (México-Buenos Aires, 1966), pp. 65 - 71. Bien que cet ouvrage fut publié premièrement en français en 1937 nous utilisons la deuxième édition espagnole enrichie avec de nombreuses additions.

32 Son procès est mentionné dans celui de Juan de vergara, f. CCCXIX, Cfr. Bataillon, ed. du *Dialogo ...* de J. de Valdés, p. 141. Angela Selke, *El Santo Oficio de la Inquisición. Proceso de Fr. Francisco Ortíz (1529-1532),* (Madrid, 1968), pp. 51 - 52.

33 *LIBRO LLAMADO LUMBRE DEL ALMA / Aquí comienza un / breve tractado que habla de los be/neficios y mercedes que ha el hom/bre rescebido de la muy libe/ral mano de Dios y de la / paga que por ello le es o/bligado a fazer. Co/legido de los doc/tores sanctos / por el muy / reverendo / Padre fray Juan de Caçalla, de la orden / de los Menores, maestro en sancta theo/logía y obispo de Vera. Va a manera de / diálogo, que es más aplazible modo de / screvir y al lector de leer. Son dos hermanos, / el uno Antonio y el otro Luis, lla/mados assi por nombres, discipulos del / maestro auctor del presente tractado.* Colophon: *Esta obra fue vista y / examinada por mandado de los S. Inqui/sidores y Ordinario de la villa de Va/lladolid y aprobada. Fue impressa/en la muy noble y muy leal Cib/dad de Sevilla en las casas de / Juan Cromberger que sancta / gloria aya, a ocho dias / del mes de Abril, / Año del Señor de / mil y quinien/tos y quaren/ta y dos / anos.*

34 Révah, *op. cit.,* p. 22.

35 *Lumbre del alma,* ff. 31r, 38r, 48r.

36 La dépendence de Diego de Estella, à l'égard de la *Lumbre del alma* est étudiée dans notre ouvrage déjà cité *Diego de Estella,* pp. 71 - 76.

37 Juan Domínguez Berrueta, *Filosofía mística española,* (Madrid, 1947), pp. 57 - 58, 121 - 132. P. Fidèle de Ros, "La vie et l'oeuvre de Jean des Anges", dans *Mélanges. . F. Cavallera* (Toulouse, 1948), p. 405.

Montaigne and History

John Priestley

One of the major achievements of humanism in Renaissance Italy was the development of new historical methodologies which permitted, in Italy as well as in France, analytical treatises far more sophisticated than the chronicles of the Middle Ages. It may therefore seem strange that Montaigne did not embrace the new methodologies but rather stated preference for the old ways of writing history. This is not to say that he was unaware of the work of his contemporaries, or that he did not value history, or even, as Abraham Keller has argued, that he did not understand history at all and is to be reproached for not having developed a coherent philosophy based upon a sense of relativism with respect to temporal considerations, as he had done with respect to geographical ones.[1] Rather his interests lay elsewhere, and history, like all other disciplines, is subsumed to a larger, overall purpose in the *Essais*.

A convenient starting point for a discussion of Montaigne's views of history and historians is a late statement (added in the posthumous 1595 edition) found in 1.21, "De la force de l'imagination": "Il y en a des autheurs desquels la fin c'est dire les evenements. La mienne, si j'y sçavoye advenir, seroit dire sur ce qui peut advenir."[2] What is important in this passage is that Montaigne did not consider himself to be an historian at all (*viz.* someone concerned with actual events), but something quite different—a moral philosopher—and that as such, he took it as permissible to relate probable or possible "facts": actions and events consistent with human nature which might have occurred or which could occur. In so far as the *Essais* are concerned, then, history figures in the total fabric as just one element among many, and its role is to provide certain kinds of proof as Montaigne worked out the problems he confronted.

In what follows, three aspects of this question will be discussed: the qualities and talents of the historian as Montaigne saw them, the specific uses of historical writing, and finally, Montaigne's concept or philosophy of history. Much of what I have to say has already been dealt with by Pierre Villey in his *Les livres d'histoire moderne utilisés par Montaigne*.[3] However, Villey deals only with the first two of these matters and to discuss all three in the same context permits a fuller understanding of the *Essais* since the relationships among the three topics reflect a logic fundamental to the author's thought. The conclusions reached ar based on scattered remarks found in many of the essays. Each quotation however has been looked at in the light of when it was written (a task facilitated by the designations (a), (b), (c) to represent the 1580, 1588 and 1595 editions respectively and used in all standard modern editions), to the argument of the specific essay, and to Montaigne's own intellectual development, something we must attempt to understand if his views on anything are to have any meaning.

The essential development we can trace in his thought from 1571 (when he began writing in his tower after retirement from political life) to his final marginal notes before his death can be called one of "progressive interiorization" which reaches its most complete statement in the personal humanism of the last essays. That is to say that as time went on, and as current events seemed more and more confused and sinister, Montaigne became convinced that in order to acquire sound knowledge of anything, he had in fact to abandon the study of what was external to his being—all past and present events and

objects—and look within himself and his own experiences for substantive truths about the human condition. This interest in himself and in his experiences is reflected in the self-portrait which is the *Essais.* This highly personal investigation had a specific purpose which is stated several times. For example, in "Des livres" we read: "(a) Pour moy, qui ne demande qu'à devenir plus sage, non plus sçavant (c) ou eloquent ..."[4] The same idea informs the whole of the essay "De l'institution des enfans" (I. 26) in which Montaigne advises how Diane de Foix should train her as yet unborn son for the life he, as a nobleman living in the second half of the sixteenth century, will lead: that of a diplomat soldier for whom knowledge without wisdom could prove to be pernicious in the kind of pursuit his nation will demand of him.

In studying himself, then, Montaigne's predominant interest is a moral one. Whatever he can learn from history or from any other source is of value only in so far as it can be applied to his own being, which represents the entire human condition, as we shall shortly see. It is in the light of this preoccupation that we must analyse the three aspects of the question of history in the *Essais* already mentioned.

Montaigne's concept of the historian's function is stated implicitly in the remarks from "De la force de l'imagination" quoted at the beginning of this paper: he deals with events, with what did happen. Elsewhere in the *Essais* he develops more completely his ideas with respect to good and bad historians.

Essentially, the historians we can most trust are those who tell us what happened; they are witnesses to events from which we are removed by time and space. Once Montaigne had made up his mind that an historian was both competent and sincere, he felt he had no choice but to take as true whatever he had to say. However, in order to make such a value judgment, certain things had to be known. In "Un traict de quelques ambassadeurs" we read: "Et, à ce propos, à la lecture des histoires, qui est le subjet de toutes gens, j'ay accoustumé de considerer qui sont les escrivains: si ce sont personnes qui ne facent autre profession que de lettres, j'en apren principalement le stile et le langage; si ce sont medecins, je les croy plus volontiers en ce qu'ils nous disent de la temperature de l'air, de la santé et complexion des Princes, des blessures et maladies ..."[5] The same notion of the necessity to establish a writer's credentials is repeated in a later essay, "Des livres" (both quotations are from the 1580 edition): "Que peut-on esperer d'un medecin traictant de la guerre, ou d'un escholier traictant les desseins des Princes?"[6] The most complete statement about historians is to be found in a long section in this essay.[7] The preceding quotation, which is in this passage, explains why, for Montaigne, the best histories are "celles qui ont esté escrites par ceux mesmes qui commandoient aux affaires, ou qui estoient participans à les conduire, (c) ou, au moins, qui ont eu la fortune d'en conduire d'autres de mesme sorte." Hence, Caesar's accounts of the Gallic Wars have more credibility than those of the professional historian writing after the fact. This is particularly true if the historian in question is a non-Roman. "Et davantage," he writes (in "Defense de Seneque et de Plutarque,") "il est bien plus raisonnable de croire en telles choses (he is attacking Dio Cassius and other moderns for their criticisms of Seneca) les historiens Romains que les Grecs et estrangers."[8]

There remains the important question of the judgment an historian brings to bear in his writings. In interpreting Montaigne's remarks (from "Des livres") I am somewhat more conservative than Villey. The matter merits quoting the text at length:

(a) J'ayme les Historiens ou fort simples ou excellens. Les simples, qui n'ont point dequoy y mesler quelque chose du leur, et qui n'y apportent que le soin et la diligence de r'amasser tout ce qui vient à leur notice, et d'enregistrer à la bonne foy toutes choses sans chois et sans triage, nous laissent le jugement entier pour la cognoissance de la verité. Tel est entre autres, pour example, le bon Froissard, qui a marché en son entreprise d'une si franche naïfveté, qu'ayant faict une faute il ne creint aucunement de la reconnoistre et corriger en l'endroit où il en a esté adverty; et qui nous represente la diversité mesme des bruits qui couroyent et les differens rapports qu'on luy faisoit. C'est la matiere de l'Histoire, nue et informe; chacun en peut faire son profit autant qu'il a d'entendement. Les biens excellens ont la suffisance de choisir ce qui est digne d'estre sçeu, peuvent trier de deux rapports celuy qui est plus vraysemblable; de la condition des Princes et de leurs humeurs, ils en concluent les conseils et leur attribuent les paroles convenables. Ils ont raison de prendre l'authorité de regler nostre creance à la leur; mais certes cela n'appartient à guieres de gens. Ceux d'entre-deux (qui est la plus commune façon), ceux là nous gastent tout; ils veulent nous mascher les morceaux; ils se donnent loy de juger, et par consequent d'incliner l'Histoire à leur fantaisie; car, dépuis que le jugement prend d'un costé, on ne se peut garder de contourner et tordre la narration à ce biais. Ils entreprenent de choisir les choses dignes d'estre sçeuës, et nous cachent souvent telle parole, telle action privée, qui nous instruiroit mieux; obmetant, pour choses incroyables, celles qu'ils n'entendent pas, et peut estre encore telle chose, pour ne la sçavoir dire en bon Latin ou François. Qu'ils estalent hardiment leur eloquence et leur discours, qu'ils jugent à leur poste; mais qu'ils nous laissent aussi dequoy juger après eux, et qu'ils n'alterent ny dispersent, par leurs racourcimens et par leurs chois, rien sur le corps de la matiere: ains, qu'ils nous la r'envoyent pure et entiere en toutes ses dimensions.[9]

Villey emphasizes that according to Montaigne, the best historians "jugent pour nous; ils démêlent dans l'histoire ce qui est digne d'être su, ils l'interprètent, ils nous machent le besogne et nous rendent un grand service."[10] Montaigne of course does say this, but it seems to me to be quoting him out of context without adding: "mais certes cela n'appartient à guieres de gens," and that the vast majority are "ceux d'entre-deux" who are scarcely to be believed at all. It is significant that although Montaigne states a preference for two kinds of historians, he gives no examples of those who are "bien excellens." Furthermore, he uses the same language when dealing with the excellent ones and the vast majority. There is only one difference: the majority of historians merely attempt what the handful of excellent ones achieve. Stating it simply, the sceptical Montaigne tells us to accept the word of historians who are "fort simples" but to reject the mass of historical writing which is analytical or interpretive as totally untrustworthy. The historian in whom we can have most confidence, then, is the man who honestly and frankly reports in chronicle fashion what happened, even when what he records may appear absurd (as in the case of some popular beliefs). Of Tacitus he says: "C'est trèsbien dict. Qu'ils nous rendent l'histoire plus selon qu'ils reçoivent que selon qu'ils estiment."[11] It is important to note parenthetically that the long passage quoted is found in the 1580 edition, but the latter one did not appear until the enlarged second edition of 1588. His distrust of those who interpret historical events never wavered. This is partly because of his scepticism, but partly also because if historical lessons are to replace actual experiences, their effect is dimin-

ished if someone else includes his interpretation to stand between the reader and the recorded event. This is because of the particular benefits to be gleaned from the reading of history.

Throughout the *Essais,* Montaigne never ascribes to the study of history a more important purpose than that of furnishing moral lessons to be followed in his own life, in the lives of his contemporaries, and by extension, in those of all men at all times. Villey states it thus: "Donc, si Montaigne nous recommande si fort l'histoire, c'est avant tout parce que c'est une école de morale. En lisant les historiens, nous ne devons jamais perdre de vue la pratique de la vie."[12] Statements in several essays confirm this idea.

In the earlier essays, one of Montaigne's preoccupations is the problem—or fact—of death and the best way to prepare for it. The lessons of history are not to be overlooked. In the essay "Que philosopher c'est apprendre à mourir", (in a passage which appeared in the first edition of the *Essais*) (I. 20) he says: "et n'est rien dequoy je m'informe si volontiers, que de la mort des hommes: quelle parole, quel visage, quelle contenance ils y ont eu; ny endroit des histoires, que je remarque si attentivement."[13]

But historical models teach us not only how to die, or demonstrate how certain men faced death, they also give us valuable lessons for life. In I. 26 ("De l'institution des enfans"), where the author's concern is how best to prepare a nobleman for his duties in the turbulent political world of sixteenth century France, he advises, in a lengthy passage, that the young man should read history books with this purpose in mind:

> En cette practique des hommes, j'entends y comprendre, et principalement, ceux qui ne vivent qu'en la memoire des livres. Il practiquera, par le moyen des histoires, ces grandes ames des meilleurs siecles. C'est un vain estude, qui veut; mais qui veut aussi, c'est un estude de fruit inestimable: (c) et le seul estude, comme dit Platon, que les Lacedemoniens eussent reservé à leur part. (a) Quel profit ne fera-il en cette part-là, à la lecture des *Vies* de nostre Plutarque? Mais que mon guide se souvienne où vise sa charge; et qu'il n'imprime pas tant à son disciple (c) la date de la ruine de Carthage que les meurs de Hannibal et de Scipion, my tant (a) où mourut Marcellus, que pourquoy il fut indigne de son devoir qu'il mourut là. Qu'il ne luy apprenne par tant les histoires, qu'à en juger.[14]

The same thoughts are expressed in the key essay, "Des livres" (II. 10), where those texts which specifically tell us something about men are preferred by Montaigne. Thus, speaking of Cicero, he states a strong predilection for the letters *Ad Atticum*, which he enjoys for their historical facts certainly, but "beaucoup plus pour y descouvrir ses humeurs privées. Car j'ay une singuliere curiosité, somme j'ay dit ailleurs, de connoistre l'ame et les naifs jugemens de mes autheurs."[15] The same passage contains other remarks expressing similar sentiments. In a marginal comment appearing in the 1595 edition he says, when speaking of history, that "l'homme en general, de qui je cherche la cognoissance, y paroist plus vif et plus entier qu'en nul autre lieu." The important words here are "en general," for in his later life, Montaigne was of the opinion that to know oneself was the best way to know all of mankind. The whole of the last essay, "De l'expérience" is based upon this premise. There is an initial shift from the external world (which we cannot know in any detail) to the internal world of the self (with the aid of external examples), and then a surer and more solid grasp of others, both those living in books and our contemporaries. The examples provided by history are in a sense more reliable than those our own

daily acquaintances give us because in the passing moments of conversations and immediate observations, we are likely to see only what is superficial. This is why writers of lives such as Plutarch, are preferred: they are concerned more with what "(a) part du dedans qu'à ce qui arrive au dehors." This realization that what is apparent is not always the truth (the distinction between appearance and reality) is a seminal idea to be found from the very first edition of the *Essais*. The advantage books have over daily experiences is that we can meditate upon them, and re-read them. Caesar, for example, is to be studied not just for his historiography, but "pour luy mesme, tant il a de perfection et d'excellence par dessus tous les autres."[16]

If the experiences of others are of value to us, our own, because of their immediacy, are of even greater value. In fact, lessons are to be learned even from disasters. In the third book of the *Essais,* in which there are very few specific references to the role of history, he comments ("De la phisionomie") upon the ruination of his country which he sees taking place all around him and which he is powerless to stop. Nevertheless, he can say that "suis content d'estre destiné à y assister et m'en instruire."[17] This statement reflects, along with others, Montaigne's rather remarkable later optimism. Even when faced with the dual threat of his own deteriorating health and the attendant suffering, and the political and social chaos from which it did not seem France would emerge without ineradicable scars, he still sought positive lessons which could help him in his particular pursuit: to glean from all of life's experiences something of intimate and immediate value.

It is clear that the lessons of history are particular incidents chosen by Montaigne for their intrinsic merits, with little regard for when or where the specific events took place. This is explained by the philosophy of history in which Montaigne believed. There is nowhere in the *Essais* a complete statement of this philosophy: it is rather to be found in passages from only a few assays. These remarks provide clues not just to how Montaigne viewed the history of man, but also to his general philosophy of life. The first of these passages, and in many ways the most difficult, is to be found at the very beginning of III. 2, "Du repentir", a passage of the 1588 edition which contains a paradox: that of the inconstant constat element in human history, the nature of the human condition.

> Les autres forment l'homme; je le recite et en represente un particulier bien mal formé, et lequel, si j'avoy à façonner de nouveau, je ferois vrayement bien autre qu'il n'est. Mes-huy c'est fait. Or les traits de ma peinture ne fourvoyent point, quoy qu'ils se changent et diversifient. *Le monde n'est qu'une branloire perenne. Toutes choses y branlent sans cesse: la terre, les rochers du Caucase, les pyramides d'Aegypte, et du branle public et du leur.* La constance mesme n'est autre chose qu'un branle plus languissant. Je ne puis asseurer mon object. Il va trouble et chancelant, d'une yvresse naturelle. Je le prens en ce point, comme il est, en l'instant je m'amuse à luy. *Je ne peints pas l'estre. Je peints le passage: non un passage d'aage en autre, ou, comme dict le peuple, de sept en sept ans, mais de jour en jour, de minute en minute.* Il faut accomoder mon histoire à l'heure. Je pourray tantost changer, non de fortune seulement, mais aussi d'intention. C'est un contrerolle de divers et muables accidens et d'imaginations irresoluës et, quand il y eschet, contraires: soit que je sois autre moymesme, soit que je saisisse les subjects par autres circonstances et considerations. Tant y a que je me contredits bien à l'adventure, mais la vérité, comme disoit Demades, je ne la contredy point. Si mon ame pouvoit prendre pied, je ne m'essaierois pas, je me resoudrois; elle est tousjours en apprentissage et en espreuve.

> Je propose une vie basse et sans lustre, c'est tout un. On attache aussi bien toute la philosophie morale à une vie populaire et privée que à une vie de plus riche estoffe; *chaque homme porte la forme entiere de l'humaine condition.*[18]

The passage is long, but because it contains so many vital ideas necessary to an understanding of Montaigne's thought, it merits close attention. The crucial points are those italisized: that everything is in constant and unending change (even the ostensibly most permanent objects); that the human condition is marked by no less change—in fact the transitions are rapid and constantly occurring—and lastly, that each of us is representative of the total human condition. In the midst of such bewildering diversity, then, (and as every reader of Montaigne knows, nothing is so protean as man) there is a constant element which is man, and it is therefore possible to find truth only in the study of the individual: hence the "essai" which is Montaigne's study of himself.

In the light of this, what can we state specifically about Montaigne's notion of history in this and subsequent passages? It is characterized by two fundamental qualities: dynamism and diversity, two innate tendencies causing the degree of confusion which to Montaigne has limited our knowledge of what has gone on and is going on around us and which consequently prevents us from making any discernible progress. In the "Apologie pour Raimond Sebond", there is an early reference of the 1580 edition to our scanty knowledge of the world both past and present and the later observation (a marginal comment appearing in 1595) that there have been "opinions populaires et monstrueuses et des moeurs et creances sauvages"[19] at all times. The new point here is the constancy of man's weakness and the clear statement that whatever progress is, it does not consist of improvement in man's conduct. In the same essay, another important idea is expressed. "Si (ainsi, in modern French) nous voyons tantost fleurir un art, une opinion, tantost une autre, par quelque influence celeste; tel siecle produire telles natures et incliner l'humain genre a tel ou tel ply."[20] Much of what happens in human affairs is the result of pure chance, just as chance determines what past events will be recorded ("De la gloire": "Nous n'avons pas la millieme partie des escrits anciens; c'est la fortune qui leur donne vie, ou plus courte, ou plus longue, selon sa faveur"[21]), or as Rome's greatness at a particular time was more the result of a purely fortuitous coming together of events and conditions than because of any agglomeration of human achievements ("De la vanité").[22] Therefore, historical writing is often to be taken with a grain of salt: it is necessarily incomplete and so does not provide us with truth; those who write it are men with all the weaknesses peculiar to the human condition.

A major point is expressed in "Des coches":

> Nous n'allons point, nous rodons plustost, et tournoions çà et là. Nous nous promenons sur nos pas. Je crains que nostre cognoissance soit foible en tous sens, nous ne voyons gueres loin, ny guere arriere; elle embrasse peu et vit peu, courte et en estandue de temps et en estandue de matiere.[23]

This short passage (it is entirely of the 1588 edition) is the most important statement of Montaigne's concept of history. In fact, the essential point is contained in the quite emphatic first sentence. If Montaigne saw the history of man as basically a dynamic, continuing phenomenon, he did not see it as a progression from one point to another, with each stage adding to man's betterment and his understanding of the world, as Bodin envisaged it: he was no willing precursor of the Enlightenment's theory of progress. Nor did he

have a view of history as a series of recurring events (the so-called cyclical view) which some may see in remarks made in the last essay, "De l'experience": "Les hommes mescognoissent la maladie naturelle de leur esprit: il ne fait que fureter et quester, et va sans cesse tournoiant, bastissant et s'empestrant en sa besogne, comme nos vers de soye, et s'y estouffe. *'Mus in pice.'* "[24] The circular movement suggested is really the dizzying effect the hurly-burly of existence has upon us all and is simply another way of saying that mankind, like the mouse in the pitch barrel, goes sniffing around in all directions at once, something to which for Montaigne the whole panorama of history attests. There is no plan or organization, no discernible logical progression from age to age: there is simply chaos, compounded by the fortuitous nature of events. The root cause of all this—as the short quotation above suggests—is the fact that our knowledge "soit foible en tous sens" because of the "maladie naturelle de [leur] esprit."

All these considerations inform the last essay, "De l'experience", which is the *summa* of Montaigne's thought, and which brings together in one long and complex definitive statement all the ideas discussed. Because we can have only the most scanty and inadequate knowledge of the world around us, both past and present, because in the process of time man has set up institutions which are far from perfect, because, finally, of the confusion and ostensible incoherence in the universe and in society, the only recourse is to study oneself for answers concerning the human condition, an intellectual viewpoint which reflects Montaigne's ultimately optimistic outlook. For all his remarks about man's inadequacies, weaknesses and follies, for the page after page of hyperbolical denunciation of the faculty of reason in the "Apologie", he does not in the end downgrade man: he was far too much a renaissance humanist for that. He had great respect for the human condition and this is why he devoted his energies to a long attempt to examine it, ending with the self-portrait which attests not just to human frailties but also to human dignity. It is optimistic too because implicit in what he says is the suggestion that if others were to follow his lead and attempt to understand their own being and lot, mankind might achieve higher levels of understanding and ultimately the human condition might perhaps improve.

It is obvious that history as a subject of investigation can claim no more special place in the *Essais* than any other subject: all are subsumed to the principle purpose which is an "essai" at arriving at some kind of understanding of the human condition. Montaigne was not a scholar as we understand the term, but a dilettante and a nobleman who was active in the highest administrative and political circles at a particularly troubled time in history. His writings are a highly personal collection of essays he claimed would have little appeal beyond his own time. His search was a moral one and all his sources (almost entirely the moral philosophy of antiquity and the lessons to be learned from the lives of the great) served to construct a personal morality and mode of living. His interest is in factual truth, not transcendental truth: religion was to be accepted without question and totally without the use of reason. Man vis-à-vis his God was a personal question and concerned eternity. Ther temporal problems with which Montaigne was concerned could only be solved by using what is of this world. And as we have seen, much of what is to be found in this world is of little use. No comfort can be taken from the fact that time progresses. Excellence appears for strange reasons: the ancients achieved great heights in matters of moral philosophy, but in other areas they were no better or worse than Montaigne's contemporaries. There were in his view examples of superb human achievement in his own day, but there was also the horror of civil and religious strife. Mankind, in effect, had made virtually no

moral progress since antiquity, and it seemed the world was being plunged into the worst kind of depravity. Unlike many of the historians of his own day, Montaigne saw no linear progression in the history of man, but rather consistent chaos and disorder.

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Notes

1 Abraham C. Keller, "Historical and Geographical Perspective in the *Essais* of Montaigne," *Modern Philology,* vol. LIV, no. 3 (1957), 145-157.
2 Montaigne, *Oeuvres complètes,* ed. by Albert Thibaudet and Maurice Rat (Paris, 1962), I.21, p. 104.
3 Pierre Villey, *Les livres d'histoire moderne utilisés par Montaigne*, (Paris, 1908).
4 Montaigne, *op. cit.* II. 10, p. 393.
5 I. 17, p. 72.
6 II. 10, p. 398.
7 II. 10, pp. 396-400.
8 II. 32, p. 700.
9 II. 10, p. 397.
10 Villey, *op. cit., p. 24.*
11 Montaigne, *op. cit.,* II. 10, p. 922.
12 Villey, *op. cit.,* p. 21.
13 Montaigne, *op. cit.,* I. 20, p. 88.
14 I. 26, p. 155.
15 II. 10, p. 394.
16 II. 10, p. 396.
17 III. 12, p. 1023.
18 III, 2, p. 782.
19 II. 12, p. 556.
20 II. 12, p. 559.
21 II. 16, pp. 611-612.
22 III. 9, p. 937.
23 III. 6, p. 885.
24 III, 13, p. 1044.

Marshall McLuhan

Somewhat in the manner in which "hot" and "cool" have flipped in their uses since the 1920s, so with "ancient" and "modern". In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the *moderni* were the logicians and the "schoolmen" who were seeking to submit canonical and scriptural studies to the method of dialectics. By the sixteenth century the schoolmen were being phased out by the *grammatici* with their insistence on an encyclopedic literary and scientific background as an approach to the Fathers and to Scripture. Peter Ramus, in his turn, made a popular reputation in the sixteenth century by submitting literature itself to the older methods of logic and dialectics. Ramus is a conventional example of that "law of implementation" by which new activity must be submitted to the preceding method. It happens today with the computer, which in the procedures of systems analysis and systems engineering is still being programmed by the old analytical methods. That is, to encode any situation for a computer program, it is necessary to homogenize the situation statistically and quantitatively in order to accommodate the "two bit" or yes/no requirements of the computer: "The 'Law of Implementation' is that the newest awareness must be processed by the established procedures." (*Take Today: The Executive as Dropout*—Marshall McLuhan and Barrington Nevitt—Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich Inc., N.Y. 1972—Longmans, Canada. P. 236).

As we enter the ecological age of total field study, our misunderstanding of the uses of the computer "compels" us to fragment the ecological into homogenized bits. Systems analysis today is avant garde in much the same way that in the sixteenth century Peter Ramus was regarded as contemporary in his application of the old scholastic methods to the new humanist materials of history and poetry and oratory. Ramus states the matter quite blatantly in announcing his utilitarian program:

> After my regular three and a half years of scholastic philosophy, mostly the *Organon* of Aristotle's logical works, terminating with the conferring of my master's degree, I began to consider how I should put the logical arts to use.
>
> (p. 41)
>
> *Ramus: Method, and the Decay of Dialogue*
> Walter J. Ong, S.J., Harvard Univ. Press, 1958

Walter Ong comments on the Ramus strategy:

> More plainly, Ramus proposes here to apply to *eruditio*—that is, to the material of history, antiquity, rhetoric, oratory, and poetry—the rules of logic, and thus in effect to cut short the reign of scholasticism. But he proposes to do it in a way which will extend the purlieus of logic all the way from the higher reaches of the curriculum (philosophy) to the lower (humanities). The maneuver is particularly interesting in that it is new in his day and thus reveals at least one kind of excessive logicizing as a Renaissance rather than as a medieval phenomenon.
>
> (p. 41)

The logicizing of Ramus was really a reactionary flip back into the scholastic method just at the time when Gutenberg had made available many of the pagan poets and histori-

ans, or "ancients". Ernst Robert Curtius observes in his *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (Harper Torchbooks, Bollingen Library, 1953):

> In medieval pedagogy we can distinguish two theories on the subject of the *artes:* the patristic and the secular-scholastic. (p. 39)

The *ancients*, as opposed to the *moderni,* had in the twelfth century represented not the new logic but grammar and literature, or the patristic tradition of culture which had flourished by way of Philo Judaeus, Clement, Origen and Augustine. Now that we have the work of Henri de Lubac (*Exégèse médiévale, les quatre sens de l'Ecriture,* 4 vols., Paris, 1959-1964), it is easier to explain how the multi-levelled exegesis of Scripture blended with the scientific work of the interpreters of "The Book of Nature" in an unbroken tradition from the Fathers to the *Novum Organum* of Francis Bacon. It is, however, in the work of Ernst Curtius that the continuity of the trivium and the quadrivium, in the study of Scripture and of nature alike, is detailed:

> It is a favorite cliché of the popular view of history that the Renaissance shook off the dust of yellowed parchments and began instead to read in the book of nature or the world. But this metaphor itself derives from the Latin Middle Ages. We saw that Alan speaks of the "book of experience". For him, every creature is a book (PL, CCX, 579A):
>
> Omnis mundi creatura
> Quasi liber et pictura
> Nobis est et speculum.
>
> In later authors, especially the homilists, "scientia creaturarum" and "liber naturae" appear as synonyms. For the preacher of the book of nature must figure with the Bible as a source of material. This idea still appears in so late a writer as Raymond of Sabunde (d. 1436) ...
>
> (pp. 319-20)

The medieval inseparability of the page of nature and the page of Scripture was to confuse many writers of the nineteenth century and later. Thus, Bacon's editor, Spedding, says of Bacon's "peculiar system of philosophy" that is "the peculiar method of investigation, the 'organum', the 'formula', the 'clavis', the 'ars ipsa interpretandi naturam', the 'filum Labyrinthi', of all 'this philosophy' we can make nothing." Apparently, Spedding thought these traditional grammarian concepts were original with Bacon. Likewise, Basil Willey selects Bacon as the representative of modern science without understanding that Bacon had approached the science in the spirit of the ancient grammarians and observers of the page of nature (*The Seventeenth Century Background*—London, 1934, p. 12). In the same way, A.N. Whitehead, while perceiving that Bacon "is outside the physical line of thought which finally dominated the century" has no way of clarifying his observation: "I believe Bacon's line of thought to have expressed a more fundamental truth than do the materialistic concepts which were then being shaped as adequate for physics." (*Science and the Modern World,* London, 1938, p. 56) Quite simply, Bacon's humanist and grammatical approach to the page of nature and the book of creatures makes for "a conception of organism as fundamental for nature". (*Ibid.*, p. 130) Bacon's organic approach, I suggest, is derived from the multi-levelled exegesis of the book of nature and Scripture alike. The simultaneity of all levels in ancient grammatica coincides with twentieth century quantum mechanics which is concerned with the physical and chemical bond of nature as the "reso-

nant inverval." The acoustic simultaneity of the new physics co-exists with "synchrony" and structuralism in language and literature and anthropology as understood in Ferdinand de Saussure and Levi-Strauss. For St. Bonaventure likewise "synchrony" or acoustic and simultaneous structuralism presented no problems. A few words from Professor Gilson's *Study of The Philosophy of St. Bonaventure* indicates Bonaventure's complete accord with traditional grammatica:

> Since the universe was offered to his eyes as a book to read and he saw in nature a sensible revelation analogous to that of the Scriptures, the traditional methods of interpretation which had always been applied to the sacred books could equally be applied to the book of creation. Just as there is an immediate and literal sense of the profane text, but also an allegorical sense by which we discover the truths of faith that the letter signifies, a tropological sense by which we discover a moral precept behind the passage in the form of an historical narrative, and an anogogical sense by which our souls are raised to the love and desire of God, so we must not attend to the literal and immediate sense of the book of creation but look for its inner meaning in the theological, moral and mystical lessons that it contains. The passage from one of these two spheres to the other is the more easily effected in that they are in reality inseparable. (p. 17)

Bacon's program for the advancement of knowledge and science stays within the traditional frame of patristic grammatica:

> After the creation was finished, it is set down unto us that man was placed in the garden to work therein; which work, so appointed to him, could be no other than the work of Contemplation; ... Again, the first acts which man performed in Paradise consisted of the two summary parts of knowledge; the view of creatures and the imposition of names.
>
> *The Advancement of Learning*, WORKS VI, 138
> from THE WORKS OF FRANCIS BACON, ed. Spelling, Ellis, Heath, Cambridge, 1863, 15 volumes.

The view of creatures and the imposition of names corresponds precisely to the major aims of Bacon's own program. The first was to be achieved by a universal natural history, the second by reading *materia signata* by the exegetical techniques of interpretation based on traditional grammar. The remaining objective of Bacon's program, involving techniques for the implanting and transmission of knowledge, never presented itself to Adam since he lost his knowledge before he had a posterity to whom he could transmit it. Bacon saw our job as one of retrieval and he felt we had an excellent chance of achieving the goal. In common with some of his contemporaries, Bacon squared the signs of the time with the prophecies of Daniel. What to many was merely a sombre concern about the remaining particle of futurity, was for the ebullient Bacon a happy augury of success for his particular scientific methods:

> ... the bearing and fructifying of this plant, [of knowledge] by a providence of God, nay not only by a general providence but by a special prophecy, was appointed to this autumn of the world: for to my understanding it is not violent to the letter, and safe

now after the event, so to interpret that place in the prophecy of Daniel where speaking of the latter times it is said, *Many shall pass to and fro, and science shall be increased;* as if the opening of the world by navigation and commerce and the further discovery of knowledge should meet in one time or age.

WORKS, VI, 32.

Consistent with having Daniel underwrite his program is Bacon's label for his research laboratory in the *New Atlantis*. Solomon's House is given the alternative title of College of the Six Days' Works, and its significant relation to the Hebrew king made quite explicit. Bacon wished to associate his endeavors with the widely held Christian tradition that Solomon alone of the sons of men had recovered that natural wisdom and metaphysical knowledge of essence of which Adam had been justly deprived.

The kind of importance attaching to traditional grammar in Bacon's scheme is evident from the following passage:

Concerning Speech and Words, the consideration of them hath produced the science of Grammar: for man still striveth to integrate himself in those benedictions, from which by his fault he hath been deprived; and as he hath striven against the first general curse by the invention of all other arts, so hath he sought to come forth of the second general curse (which was the confusion of tongues) by the art of Grammar; .... The duty of it is of two natures; the one popular, which is for the speedy and perfect attaining of languages ...; the other philosophical, examining the power and nature of words as they are the footsteps and prints of reason is handled *sparsim,* brokenly, though not entirely; and therefore I cannot report it deficient, though I think it very worthy to be reduced into a science by itself.

WORKS, VI, 285-86.

In this latter philosophical sense, grammar had been a main mode of physics, cosmogony and theology for centuries. Without pursuing this tradition all the way back to the pre-Socratics, it may serve to indicate the qualified attitude to *grammatica* among Bacon's contemporaries. Evelyn Simpson explains apropos John Donne:

When he preached on the Psalms or on any other book of the Old Testament, Donne generally used the threefold method—literal, moral, and "spiritual" or anagogical—which had been used by preachers and commentators from the time of Origen and Clement of Alexandria to the Renaissance. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries this method was beginning to look a little old-fashioned, and many of Donne's contemporaries were abandoning it in favor of a more historical approach. However, Donne himself announced in two sermons preached at Lincoln's Inn on the Thirty-eighth Psalm that this method was to be the basis of his series of six sermons .... Though Donne frequently makes use of the moral and anagogical senses of Scripture, he is quite definite in asserting the supremacy of the literal sense, and thus he avoided the absurdities into which some of the earlier commentators fell. In his Christmas sermon of 1621 at St. Paul's he says:

> Therefore though it be ever lawfull, and often times very usefull, for the raising and exaltation of our devotion ... to induce the *diverse senses* that the Scriptures doe admit, yet this may not be admitted, if there may be danger thereby, to neglect or weaken the *literall sense* it selfe. For there is no necessity of that *spirituall wantonnesse* of finding more then necessary senses; for, the more *lights* there are,

the more shadows are also cast by those many lights. And, as it is true in religious duties, so it is in interpretation of matters of Religion, *Necessarium & Satis conventuntur;* when you have done that you ought to doe in your calling, you have done enough ... so when you have the *necessary sense*, that is the meaning of the holy Ghost in that place, you have senses enow, and not till then, though you have never so many, and never so delightful.

(pp. 7-8)

Although John Donne and Jeremy Taylor and many others in the seventeenth century retained the traditional but anti-scholastic and simultaneous view of creatures and of sacred Scripture, this was a flexible and acoustic approach to phenomena which began to be unpopular as a new stress on *visual* order and classification became widespread. Eighteenth century rationalism shifted the stress from the acoustic to visual order in a notable degree, so that, as Evelyn Simpson notes, the entire approach to multi-levelled exegesis was unacceptable to the 19th century:

In the nineteenth century this method was denounced as absurd by Biblical critics of various schools of thought, such as Matthew Arnold, Jowett, Dean Farrar, and Bishop Charles Gore. Farrar summed up the work of the Alexandrian Fathers by saying: "They do but systematize the art of misinterpretation. They have furnished volumes of baseless application without shedding upon the significance of Scripture one ray of genuine light."

However, with the new physics and the new biology:

The twentieth century has seen a revulsion from this wholesale condemnation. While some commentators may still desire "a single plain sense of Scripture" there has been a widespread return to the symbolical interpretation of Old Testament literature.

(p. 8)

John Donne's Sermons on the Psalms and Gospels, Evelyn M. Simpson, Univ. of Calif. Press, 1963.

In fact, the entire development of symbolism and structural synchrony from Baudelaire onward has tended to restore the understanding of the rationale of ancient exegesis.

In *The Orphic Voice: Poetry and Natural History* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1960) Elizabeth Sewell studies the Orphic or metamorphic and "magical" tradition in poetry and science from Ovid to Mallarmé. Francis Bacon has a very special place in her study, precisely because of his concern with the language of the Book of Nature:

A Collection of all varieties of Natural Bodies ... where an Inquirer ... might peruse, and turn over, and spell, and read the Book of Nature, and observe the *Orthography, Etymologia, Syntaxis,* and *Prosodia* of Nature's Grammar, and by which as with a *Dictionary*, he might readily turn to and find the true Figures, Composition, Derivation, and Use of the Characters, Words, Phrases and Sentences of Nature written with indelible, and most exact, and most expressive Letters, without which Books it will be very difficult to be thoroughly a *Literatus* in the Language and Sense of Nature.

Incomplete as it is, Bacon's doctrine of forms has given rise to accusations of slovenli-

ness and imprecision. It is certainly not easy, but we must remember that Bacon is, after all, trying to say something new.

(p. 134)

This "new" approach was, however, something that had a continuous history throughout the patristic and medieval periods before Bacon. The bond which Elizabeth Sewell finds between poetry and science in the Orphic tradition is the one which Martianus Capella had tied between the trivium and the quadrivium in his marriage of Mercury and Philology:

> The description of the liberal arts which remained authoritative throughout the Middle Ages had been produced by Martianus Capella, who wrote between 410 and 439. Notker Labeo (d. 1022) translated it into Old High German; the young Hugo Grotius won his spurs with a new edition (1599); and Leibniz, even in his day, planned another. Traces of Martianus are still to be found in the pageantry of the late sixteenth century.
>
> (p. 38)
>
> *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages,* Ernst R. Curtius

Martianus Capella had succeeded in bringing the language arts to bear on the sciences and mathematics, creating that unified encyclopedism which characterizes the inclusive and acoustic approach to knowledge, which is represented by ancient and medieval and Baconian *grammatica* alike. The work of Lain Entralgo (*The Therapy of the Word in Classical Antiquity*—Yale University Press, 1972) is a study of the medical and magical properties of language, Shamanistic in origin and efficacious in creating the familiar classical genres of poetry in the ancient world. Today the submicroscopic world of electronics has once more attuned our senses to the acoustic properties of natural phenomena and the arts, rendering contemporary both the "science" of Bacon and the science of theological exegesis, long familiar to the commentators on both the natural and the Sacred Page.

University of Toronto

Who Was Christopher Columbus?

James W. Cortada

Christopher Columbus boldly carved out a prominent place for himself in European and American history by sailing westward to the New World in 1492. He became one of the most important figures in western civilization by changing the very thrust of European expansion for the next five hundred years. For this reason, he quickly became the subject of great interest to scholars and reading publics all over the world who early realized the significance of his voyages. In the past thirty years historians have conducted more revealing research on him than in all the previous years combined.[1] We know today most of the details surrounding his initial contacts with Isabel and Ferdinand. The facts regarding his voyages to the New World are common knowledge. In short, our collection of data about his life after he became famous is large and not subject to much controversy anymore. What is still clouded is his early life until the late 1480s. Most of the recent research on Columbus has been concentrated in this earlier period and some interesting discoveries have resulted.[2] Of the various lines of investigation in this regard which has produced the greatest amount of controversy, the issue of his origin is the most important.

While always the subject of some heated debate, this issue did not attract any wide attention until about thirty years ago when Samuel Eliot Morison, an American historian, published a biography of Columbus in which he stated that the discoverer was Italian born and raised in Genoa.[3] In effect, Morison gave his stamp of approval for the most commonly accepted interpretation of the navigator's origin. And even today, hardly a European or American textbook disputes these facts with the sole exception of the Spanish who, at the time Morison published his book wanted to call Columbus one of theirs, never publicized their views outside of Spain. Yet at about the same time that Morison published his biography another highly respected scholar released other findings.

Salvador de Madariaga, a Spaniard living in England, published a massive biography summarizing the various controversies regarding Columbus and added his views with sagacity and prudence. Essentially, Madariaga argued that the discoverer had been raised in Genoa by his Catalan family which was of Jewish extraction rather than Roman Catholic. Arguing his case more forcefully than Morison, he marshalled evidence from Italian and Spanish sources to prove his contention.[4] With two leading historians at odds on the question, it was only inevitable that other scholars would cross-check the facts and attempt to resolve the issue. The historiographical argument resulting from these two books has continued unabated for thirty years in the United States, Italy, Portugal, and Spain, and shows no signs of decreasing. Yet in the process of taking sides, historians have unearthed a great deal of new information on the early life of Columbus.[5]

But why the argument about his origins? In part the answer is that historians invariably want to settle unanswered mysteries especially if there is an audience to read their findings. But in the majority, national pride inspired a voracious hunt for the facts. Literally thousands of articles and several important volumes have appeared on Columbus as a result of this controversy.[6] Italians wanted to claim Columbus as one of their own in order to take credit for his achievement. To a Castilian Spaniard, such a thought was revolting since the reign of Ferdinand and Isabel represented the greatest and most exciting chapter in Spain's history and to grace it with a foreigner became inconceivable. For such an

individual, it seemed imperative that the discoverer of the New World be a Catholic Spaniard not an Italian or a Jew.

Yet others have vied for Columbus as well. With less success, a few Portuguese historians explored the possibility that the navigator was a bastard son of the royal family. Calling forth such facts as his long tenure in Portugal, speaking knowledge of their language, and Lisbon's reputation as a maritime center, they argued that he was in fact a relative of the Spanish king and queen.[7] However, few historians outside of Portugal ever took this reasoning seriously. In fact, the Portuguese have done the least amount of work on Columbus in the past generation and probably because they have been so discouraged by Spanish and Italian historians.

The other major group claiming Columbus have been the Catalans who inhabit the northeast corner of Spain. Catalonia, long a maritime center and the home base for many sailors, maritime lawyers, and merchants in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, early made its bid for Columbus. To Catalans no better crown for their proud maritime heritage could be found than to prove Columbus one of them. Their historians have done the most thorough research on the discoverer, finding the greatest number of new facts regarding his early life.[8] It is to their work that attention should be drawn since little of it has ever appeared in English and because their findings shed light on Christopher Columbus.

Local pride induced Catalans to call Columbus, or as they would argue by citing old documents, Colom, one of their own. There is no denying that he had ties with this region. Some of his sailors on the first voyage were Catalans. When the Admiral returned to Spain he presented himself to Ferdinand and Isabel with his Indians, corn, tobacco, and other souvenirs at Barcelona, Catalonia's principal port. In fact, part of his first expedition was financed by Catalan bankers long experienced in dealing with maritime investments. It is fairly accepted that earlier in his life, Columbus fought near the Catalan coast during a local civil war. Even today, visitors to Barcelona are reminded of him. In the harbor is a full sized reproduction of one of his ships. Near the docks stands a large statue of the discoverer while less than two hundred yards away the landing where he unloaded his vessels after the first trip remains preserved as a maritime museum. The throne room in which he reported to Isabel and Ferdinand is open to tourists and the guides are quick to point out that Columbus visited the chamber.

The city of Barcelona also houses a treasure of archives long used by Catalan scholars. Because it is rich in information regarding Columbus and other local mariners, odd pieces of information on the navigator continually appear. The municipal naval records and those of the Crown of Aragon have shown that Columbus visited Barcelona on several occasions for business requiring legal documentation. Major findings have yet to be made; however, many local historians believe that Columbus's diary of his first trip, which he publicly gave to Isabel in Barcelona and has subsequently been lost, is stored in the Aragon files. The possibility of other papers of his being there is strongly believed since some of his less important ones have been found there.

Mallorca, like Barcelona, has also yielded evidence of his early life. The Catalan island of Mallorca, like Genoa in the fifteenth century, was a leading center for map makers. Like her Italian competitor, Mallorca produced navigators and sailors who manned ships all over the Mediterranean world. Some historians even feel that at the time of Columbus's birth in mid-century, Mallorca was the most prominent map manufacturing area in the

Mediterranean. Armed with samples of Columbus's handwriting, scholars have probed local records in search of proof that the explorer had indeed been a Catalan. A local register of municipal documents in Mallorca listed a Cristobal Colom during the 1480s.[9] A long time Mallorquin family, the Socias, has claimed for several hundred years that Columbus was a descendant of theirs; yet positive proof is lacking. The long search for a letter by Columbus in Catalan on the island that was to prove his nationality never materialized but greater discoveries were made on the mainland.

The Archives of the Indies, housed in Seville, listed a letter by him dated 1493 which described the first voyage in Catalan. Yet this document has not been found in these files. Later such a letter was discovered in Catalonia. Addressed to a Valencian banker who helped finance his first trip, Don Luis Santangel, it was written in Catalan and in the Admiral's own hand. Other copies existed in printed form. For example in 1497, a German translation of the letter was published in Strasbourg. Three other editions appeared in Italian between 1493 and 1497. In all four cases, the translators noted that the original had been in Catalan and their copies, from which they worked, were also in Catalan.[10]

Other documents culled from Catalan government sources called him Colom as opposed to the Spanish Colón even before he made his trip to the New World. A letter in the archives of the Duke of Alba refers to the Admiral as Colom and was written by a Castilian. Other Spanish records, mainly indices of documents, listed Columbus either as Colón or Colom. Part of the discrepancies in his name can be attributed to the poor handwriting of Spanish clerks but also to the possibility that Columbus was known to some of his aquaintances by his Catalan or Castilian names. From the scattered pieces of evidence in Castile and in Catalonia, Spanish historians, during the 1950s, moved toward the conclusion that Columbus was not an Italian.[11] By the end of the next decade most believed there was a strong possibility that he was of Catalan extraction. The extremists held that he was Mallorquin.

Most European historians now believe that an Italian Columbus could not be. Considering the importance of the trip and the responsibility that Columbus had in governing any land he discovered, it seemed highly doubtful that the King and Queen would have sponsored a citizen of another country. Given the rivalry between Spain and other European powers at the time, historians argued that appointing an Italian would have been a bad political move. The governorship of discovered lands probably would have gone to a member of a distinguished Spanish family or even to a royal relative.[12]

There are those who have tried to argue that Columbus was of royal blood in order to support the contention that only a major individual would have received the blessings of the monarchy for such an adventure. Arguing with little reliable evidence, some have tried to show that Columbus was a member of the Portuguese royal family which was related to Spain's.[13] Neither Spanish or Portuguese researchers have uncovered any birth certificate or statement of illegitimate birth to substantiate such arguments. Yet the intense efforts to show Columbus's Spanish background has not been matched in Portugal by extensive probings into royal archives.

The Catalans have also employed the Spanish argument that only a person with some connection with Spain could have received the titles of Admiral and Viceroy from the monarchy. Rejecting the Italian claim, they believed a Catalan, being a Spaniard, could be given such power and prestige without violating customs, law, and good political sense. Moreover, since Catalonia still provided Spain with her best map makers and sailors, it

was only natural that a Catalan would propose such a revolutionary idea as finding a westward path to the east. Economics was also employed in the argument because at the time, it appeared that a further development of trade with Asia would certainly benefit the Catalans the most since they already had considerable experience in maritime trade while the Castilians did not.[14]

The controversy over Columbus's origins remains unresolved. The Italian school undercut their own arguments by admitting that Genoa boasted several map makers at the time bearing the name Columbus.[15] A birth certificate from a Roman Catholic church or an equivalent document from Jewish authorities bearing the name of the explorer has not been found in Genoa, Lisbon, or in Mallorca. Such a discovery would undoubtedly help settle much of the controversy assuming that an authentic certificate even exists since record keeping was not all that one might want in the fifteenth century. Yet fragments of his writings have been found in Catalan as well as in Latin and in Spanish. We know he spoke Portuguese, Spanish, and some Italian. Possibly he knew Catalan but preferred not to use it around his Castilian friends. Where did Columbus come from, what was his religion, and did he speak Catalan like a native? The solutions to these riddles are still shrouded in mystery. But with more historians than ever before studying his life, the answers may not be long in coming. Until then, Columbus will remain the enigma he has always been.

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Notes

1 For a bibliography of these works see Enrique Bayerri y Bertomeu, *Colón tal cual fué* (Barcelona, 1961), 25-323.
2 *Ibid.,* 11-23.
3 Samuel Eliot Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea. A Life of Christopher Columbus* (Boston, 1942), I, 7-8.
4 Salvador de Madariaga, *Christopher Columbus* (New York, 1967, original ed., 1940), vii-viii.
5 Juan Manzano, *Cristóbal Colón. Siete años decisivos de su vida: 1485-1492* (Madrid, 1964) and Ramón Ezquerra, "Cristóbal Colón," *Diccionario de historia de España* (Madrid, 1968), I, 886-892.
6 Besides those already mentioned see Juan Pérez de Tudela, *Las armadas de Indias y los orígenes de la política de colonización* (Madrid, 1956) and *The Life of The Admiral Christopher Columbus By His Son Ferdinand,* translated and annotated by Benjamin Keen (New Brunswick, 1959).
7 Summarized in Madariaga, *Christopher Columbus,* 69-118. See also Moses Bensabat Amzalak, *Uma Interpretação da assinatura de Cristovam Colombo* (Lisbon, 1927) and Patrocinio Ribeiro, *A Nacionalidade Portuguesa de Cristovam Colombo* (Lisbon, 1927).
8 Bayerri y Bertomeu, *Colón tal cual fué, passim.*
9 José Porter, *¿ Fue escrita y publicada en lengua Catalana la primera noticia del descubrimiento de América?* , published paper presented to the Third International Bibliographic Congress in October, 1963, in Barcelona (Barcelona, 1971), 8-11; Manuel Alvarez de Sotomayor, "Colón Mallorquin? ," in *Historia de Mallorca,* edited by J. Mascaró Pasarius (Palma de Mallorca, 1971), IV, 193-281.
10 Joaquim Ventallo, "Ahondando en la historia del descubrimi ento de América," *La Vanguardia Española,* June 11, 1971.
11 Bayerri y Bertomeu, *Colón tal cual fué,* 777-786.
12 Madariaga, *Christopher Columbus,* 25-33.
13 See footnote No. 7.
14 Antonio Rumeu de Armas, *Colón en Barcelona* (Seville, 1944), 1-43.
15 Italian views are collected in *Studi Colombiani,* 3 vols (Genoa, 1952).

Avarice and Sloth in the *Orlando Furioso**

Julius A. Molinaro

Morton Bloomfield's systematic inquiry into the historical evolution of the concept of the Seven Deadly Sins in English poetry from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, including Spenser's *The Faerie Queene,* has opened up the prospect of profitable investigation of the subject in other literatures.[1] In this light the *Orlando Furioso,* which served as a model for Spenser, has never been fully examined and thus invites consideration. The advantage of looking at the *Orlando Furioso* from this point of view is that it permits an unprejudiced reading, from a new perspective, which may result in a fresh insight into Ariosto's poem. The question, which presents intriguing possibilities, may in one way be approached by Siegfried Wenzel's assertion that the "simplest function" of the Seven Deadly Sins "beyond merely enriching the doctrinal content of a poem, would be to give it structure and form".[2] This observation should perhaps be qualified in the case of the *Orlando Furioso* where the importance of the doctrinal element is clearly insignificant. The following pages will not attempt to deal with the subject in its entirety but will focus on one aspect only, in particular on avarice and sloth, sins which Ariosto has himself associated with the clergy and the monastic orders in accordance with a tradition which has its origin in Medieval religious handbooks and early Renaissance writings. This study, which will make some use of analogues not sources, is predicated on the universally accepted premise that the poem is not an allegory, or a classical epic, designed with a moral purpose, as was maintained in 1549 in *La Spositione di M. Simon Fornari da Reggio sopra l'Orlando Furioso di M. Ludovico Ariosto* (Firenze: Torrentino), but a work in which Ariosto's benevolent attitude towards his fellow man manifests itself with good natured, often mischievous humour, and generous infusions of irony.

Before proceeding further, however, it would be useful to bear in mind throughout the ensuing discussion that for Ariosto poetry is superior to history and that in his opinion only an ignorant person would hold the contrary to be true. Ariosto prefers to incorporate his theory in a concrete example rather than theorize, as Spenser does later in *The Faerie Queene* in his celebrated letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, who is reminded that "the Methode of a Poet historical is not such as of an Historiographer" and that the poet "recoursing to the thinges forepaste, and divining of things to come, maketh a pleasing Analysis of all".[3] Towards the end of the *Orlando Furioso,* long after it has become clear that the poet's imagination is bound by no rule, Ariosto answers the charge that he has no respect for facts. Ariosto at this point (Canto XLII, 20-22) has just told the story of a combat between three of the stoutest Christian warriors, including Orlando, and three worthy pagan opponents, including Agramante, the African king. Ariosto has also related that the fight took place in an open space on an island in the Mediterranean but an objection was raised that the site of the battle was so mountainous and rough that it was impossible to find a level place large enough to serve as the scene of the battle described. This was maintained in Canto XLII by Federico Fulgoso, commander of the Genoese fleet, who, having fought against the pirates infesting the Ligurian coast, knew these waters well, and objected that the terrain of the island of Lipadusa (Lampedusa), which he had seen with his own eyes, was an unlikely site for an equestrian battle. Cardinal Fulgoso, or Fregoso, who may have heard Ariosto read his poem in Rome in 1510, and one of the interlocutors in Pietro

Bembo's *Prose* of 1525, was therefore implying that Ariosto's *story* was not *true* or *verisimilar* and that the poet was a liar. In reply to this accusation, allegedly based on fact, Ariosto calmly explains that just after Cardinal Federico visited the island, an earthquake dislodged a huge rock, which fell upon the mountain flattening it and creating a square which then became a suitable arena for the famous battle scene, recorded by Fragonard in a drawing called *The Battle on the Island of Lipadusa.*[4] Ariosto thus prefers to counter fact with poetic invention rather than with another fact, in this way avoiding a direct confrontation on the issue and outwitting his opponent on terms of his own choosing. In the three octaves which succinctly sum up his poetic theory, Ariosto uses only three words belonging to the technical language of literary criticism, *istoria, vera* and *verisimile,* if the word liar, *bugiardo,* be excluded. Swiftly dismissing the cardinal's charge, Ariosto slyly returns to his story, how nearing its conclusion. It is worthy of note that Ariosto raises the ancient problem of history versus poetry only towards the end of his poem rather than at the beginning, perhaps assuming his readers would accept the first forty-two of the forty-six cantos of the poem as ample and convincing demonstration of his theory of poetics. The way was in a certain manner prepared early in the poem, in Canto VII, 1-2, where Ariosto notes that the ignorant *vulgo* believes only in what it can touch or feel, sceptical of all else, and is unlikely to give credence to his tale, but rather call him a liar, *bugiardo.* Ippolito, his patron, who is enlightened, will not consider it a lie, *menzogna.*

Thus, poetry and history, reality and illusion, Ippolito, Renaissance patron, and Ruggiero, his mythical ancestor, co-exist side by side on equal terms in the world of the *Orlando Furioso.* Ruggiero, the young hero of the poem, is destined to become the head of a long line of illustrious men and women, culminating in the House of Este, but before this is possible, he must prove himself by overcoming a series of obstacles. Canto VI presents one stage in the spiritual development of Ruggiero and justifies the allegorical framework of its conception, Alcina representing lust; Logistilla, reason, assisted by the four cardinal virtues later (X, 52). Ruggiero, a victim of *lussuria* and enslaved by sloth (VII, 53), as a first step is obliged to overcome vice (VI, 60), then to defend himself against evil instincts, all of them introduced in the shape of monstrous creatures, half man, half animal, mounted on steeds, donkeys or oxen, repulsive and grotesque disfigurations. The vices they represent are not specified, but since they appear as deformations of men with bestial features, it may not have occurred to Ariosto that further definition was necessary and that they would not be interpreted as a sufficiently clear allusion to deviation from virtue, hence from beauty.[5] Virtue and beauty are often synonymous in the *Orlando Furioso.* It will be remembered that once Alcina's falseness is discovered, her beauty disappears and she stands revealed in all her ugliness. Ruggiero fights against the vices alone, refusing to use his enchanted shield which blinds when uncovered, preferring to rely upon his own virtue, instead of fraud. Vice, then, cannot defeat Ruggiero, but beauty, in the persons of two fair young ladies, *Beltà,* and *Leggiadria,* disarms him (VI, 69). The implication is clear that Ruggiero has the force of character to conquer vice but cannot resist beauty, and beauty leads him on the path to Alcina's garden, to lust and sloth. In the *Roman de la Rose, Oiseuse,* Idleness, doorkeeper of the garden, a kind of earthly paradise, carries the mirror and comb of lechery to suggest that sloth is the first step towards lust.[6] In *Piers Plowman,* sloth keeps company with lust and is both a physical and spiritual affliction.[7]

The Ruggiero - Alcina episode inspired Fragonard, the eighteenth century French artist, to record one of its most significant moments in the drawing, *Ruggiero perceives the true*

ugliness of Alcina,[8] raising a problem which can be dealt with only in passing here but which merits some attention. Lessing in the eighteenth century refused to concede that Ariosto was a painter when he described the beauty of Alcina, charging that his stanzas were full of excessive descriptive detail, from which no distinct image could possibly emerge, and that therefore, he exceeded the bounds of the poet's art. In his book, *Ut Pictura Poesis, The Humanistic Theory of Painting*[9] Rensselaer W. Lee has discussed this matter in connection with the Renaissance habit of equating the talents of the poet with those of the painter pointing out that if Ariosto was guilty of an artistic transgression in Lessing's eyes, this was not the case for Ludovico Dolce, who, in his *Dialogo della pittura* in the sixteenth century enthusiastically characterized Ariosto as a painter of high merit. It might be added that Dolce could speak not only as an art critic but as an experienced editor having brought out, among others, an annotated edition of Ariosto's poem. The history of the illustrated editions of the *Orlando Furioso* demonstrates that it was regarded as a rich mine of subject matter by artists, among them the Bolognese painters Annibale Carraci and Guido Reni, late sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries; G.B. Tiepolo, who painted the frescoes on the Orlando theme in Vicenza in 1737; Rubens in the Low Countries (1577 - 1640); and Poussin in France in the seventeenth century.[10] The more than 137 drawings by Fragonard, considered by Philip Hofer in his article, "Illustrated Editions of the *Orlando Furioso,* in the book just cited (pp. 27 - 40) to be the greatest in a long line of interpreters of Ariosto, lend added proof to the poet's appeal for the artist.

Just before Ruggiero enters Alcina's garden of sensual delight,[11] an earthly paradise, inspired by Poliziano's Kingdom of Venus, the young knight has to confront Erifilla, the symbol of avarice. Ariosto's description of Erifilla neglects no detail necessary for a lucid picture of this figure, gigantic in stature, with long teeth and a poisonous bite, and with sharp finger nails, giving her a bear-like claw (VI, 78). She is mounted on a wolf, not as lean as Dante's in the *Inferno* (I, 49-54), but very heavy and taller than an ox. She wears vestments of a sand colour, symbolic of avarice. Her helmet and shield bear the figure of a swollen poisonous toad (VII, 4-5), often associated with avarice in the iconography of the sin.[12] Whether this carefully produced verbal picture was ever translated into an actual representation has not come to my notice, but there can be little doubt that Ariosto had a clear portrait in mind. In the encounter between Ruggiero and Erifilla, the latter is unhorsed but on the advice of his guides, *Beltà* and *Leggiadria,* who together proceed to lead him to Alcina's enchanted garden (VII, 7) the knight punishes her no further. It is evident from this episode that the author's hero, Ruggiero, cannot in any way be moved by the sin of avarice, which has not the slightest hold on him, although being vulnerable to beauty, he is an easy victim of lust.

A paragon of virtue, uncorrupted by avarice (XXVI, 1), like the illustrious women of ancient times she resembles, Bradamante, predestined to be Ruggiero's wife, like him covets neither wealth nor empire. Having thus introduced the subject of avarice at the beginning of Canto XXVI, Ariosto then presents a related vice, cupidity, sometimes considered a cardinal sin, as Bloomfield points out (p. 54). Engraved on one of the four fountains built by Merlin in France is the story of a beast, referred to as a corrupting monster (46), cupidity. Portrayed as a beast with the body of a fox, the ears of an ass, the head and teeth of a wolf, a lion's claws, lean and hungry, it spares no one, high or low, No respecter of rank, cupidity inflicts injury on kings, princes and their peers but is especially destructive in the Roman court among cardinals and popes (32), Ariosto is careful to note.

In *The Faerie Queene,* in Book I, Canto IV,[13] in the colourful pageant of the Seven Deadly Sins, for which Samuel C. Chew has suggested a number of analogues from literature and the arts of design,[14] the figure of Avarice, fourth in the parade, appears wearing *thredbare cote* and *cobled shoes,* who in order to fill his coffers with money:

> Ne scarse good morsell all his life did taste.

Avarice is presented as one who has led a wretched life:

> Most wretched wight, whom nothing might suffise;
> Whose greedy lust did lacke in greatest store;
> Whose need had end, but no end *covetise;*
> Whose welth was want, whose plenty made him pore;
> Who had enough, yett wished ever more.

In Spenser's procession, Avarice is riding on a "Camell loaden all with gold" (stanza 27) while Ariosto's figure is mounted on a beast that had issued from Hell, almost at the time of the creation of the universe. Details differ but in the conception of the sin there is a similarity of spirit.

Cupidity, as Ariosto predicts, will be the cause of havoc and no locality will be spared its depredations (XXVI, 42). Especially active among the prelates of the church, it can be checked and conquered by only magnamity, such as that of Francis I of France. In the fourteenth-century *The Ladder of Perfection,*[15] Walter Hilton defines covetousness as a "love of worldly things" which can best be combatted by "poverty of spirit". He elaborates: "Covetousness is destroyed in the soul by the working of Divine Love, for it stirs the soul to such an ardent desire for good and heavenly riches that it holds all earthly riches as worthless" (p. 219). Aristotle had long ago affirmed that the mean between prodigality and avarice was liberality, and following him, Ariosto names Francis I as the leading champion of his time in combatting cupidity in political and social life. The French sovereign is not alone, however, for he is supported by three young rulers, who are also cited for this distinction: Maximilian of Austria, the Emperor Charles V, and Henry VIII of England. Ariosto then presents a long list of contemporary figures who were active in the fight against the corroding vice of cupidity. For Ariosto, then, cupidity, while not numbered among the seven deadly sins, is an equally destructive vice.

According to Brunetto Latini cupidity derives from sloth. In *Il Tesoretto,* Brunetto explains that when a man through indolence cannot provide for his own needs, he immediately sharpens his wits to make up for the lack with a covetous eye on the possessions of his neighbour:[16]

> De neghienza m'avisa
> che nasce covitisa.
> (lines 2743-44)

On the other hand, wealth leads to avarice:

> Ma colui c'ha divizia,
> sì cade in avarizia.
> (lines 2753-54)

Cupidity and avarice for Dante's mentor are separate but closely related vices, opposite

sides of the same coin. The case of Dante is not much different. Adopting the lines *auri sacra fames* directly from Virgil's *Aeneid* (III, 56-57), Dante defines avarice as "sacra fame / De l'oro," in *Purgatorio* XXII, 39-40,[17] where these words are spoken by Statius, for whom they represented a turning point, a reformation of his way of life. Dante's definition of avarice includes cupidity, and avarice and its opposite, prodigality, are sins which follow Aristotle's arrangement of vices in pairs of extremes, illustrated in *Inferno* VII, 58-59:

> mal dare e mal tener lo mondo pulcro
> Ha tolto l'oro ...

Ariosto's conception of avarice and cupidity is remarkably similar to Dante's.

Turning for purposes of comparison to Spanish literature, we find that for Juan Ruiz, the Arcipreste de Hita, cupidity and avarice are two separate and distinct deadly sins.[18] In the *Libro de Buen Amor,* about the mid-fourteenth century, the Spanish prelate devotes one section to *cobdicia* and another to *avaricia* (246-51). Juan Ruiz considers cupidity to be the source of all other sins:

> De todos los pecados es raíz la cobdicia
> (218).

The author of *La Celestina,* late fifteenth century, links the two sins together in the person of the scheming go-between Celestina, moved by both covetousness and avarice.[19] It is worth noting that the deadly sins are interrelated by the author of the *tragicomedia,* all arising from the sin of pride. Other precedents in medieval Spanish literature regarding covetousness and avarice are not lacking, as Dorothy Clotelle Clarke points out in her specialized study of *La Celestina.* In the early fourtheenth century *Vida de San Ildefonso,* in which the conventional list of the seven sins is accepted, all evil is seen as deriving from *luxuria* and *cobdicia* (p. 38), while the anonymous *Reuelaçion de un Hermitanno* of 1382 separates avarice from covetousness (p. 47). Pero López de Ayala's *Rimado de palacio,* late fourteenth century, considers covetousness and avarice both as the root of all evil, and pride as the principal sin (p. 50). In the late fifteenth century *Proçesso entre la Sobervia y la Mesura,* Ruy Páez de Ribera views the sins of *cobdiçia* and *avariçia* as separate and distinct (p. 53) while Juan de Mena in the mid-fifteenth century *Coplas contra los pecados mortales* makes companions of covetousness and avarice (p. 35).

Similarly, in the *Roman de la Rose,* the images of *avarice* and *covoitise* sit side by side at the entrance to the garden, the symbol of the courtly life. Guillaume de Lorris characterizes *covoitise* as:[20]

> C'est cele qui fait l'autrui prendre
> Rober, tolir e bareter,
> E bescochier e mesconter.

Shabbily dressed in a tattered robe, the figure of *Avarice* tightly clutches a purse in her hand (II. 197-233). On the other hand, in the late fourteenth century *Piers Plowman,* avarice and covetousness are synonymous and related to lying, guile, deception and theft.[21]

Two frequently consulted Italian authors, Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, in his *Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scoltura, et architettura* of 1585,[22] and Cesare Ripa, in his *Della novissima iconologia* of 1625,[23] identify *avarizia* with *cupidigia;* for Lomazzo, "L'avaritia,

ch'altro non è che una cupidigia d'hauer molto", and for Ripa, "Avaritia è immoderata cupidigia, e sete di hauere, la quale genera nell'auaro crudeltà, inganno, discordia, ingratitudine, tradimento, & lo toglie in tutto dalla Giustizia, Carità, Fede, Pietà; & da ogn'altra virtù morale, & Christiana".

In the *Orlando Furioso* avarice is the root of all sin, according to Lidia, who accuses her father, a king, of it before Astolfo on his visit to Hell where she has been confined to suffer for her ingratitude towards an unselfish lover. Her father was unimpressed by the young man's virtue, for Alceste was poor:

> e 'l padre mio troppo al guadagno dato,
> *e all'avarizia, d'ogni vizio scuola,*
> tanto apprezza costumi, o virtù ammira,
> quanto l'asino fa il suon de la lira.
> (XXXIV, 20)

As an author dependent upon a capricious patron, with little appreciation for creative work, Ariosto could well agree with Lidia that avarice was the source of all vice. If he did indeed, he would not be original but would simply be following a tradition for in the *New Testament,* I Timothy VI, 10, gave avarice that honour, considering it to be the cause of ruin and perdition. Among the theologians of the fifteenth century following the apostle, Antoninus of Florence (died 1459), in his *Summa Theologica,* as Roger Bacon earlier, put avarice at the head of the list of the sins. For Gregory the Great, pride was the most deadly of all the sins while avarice occupied second place. Bloomfield argues that Gregory and the early Middle Ages did not emphasize avarice as the first sin because "society possessed little absolute wealth and what there was consisted largely of land".[24] By the early sixteenth century this situation had obviously changed in Italy where trade and commerce had created a new society.

When he speaks out against avarice in Canto XXXV of the *Orlando Furioso,* St. John literally assumes the function of Ariosto's spokesman as he guides Astolfo on his important mission to the moon. Ariosto and St. John the Evangelist share a common interest which binds them as no other can: they are both professional writers. The Evangelist proclaims his allegiance to the trade declaring:

> Gli scrittori amo, e fo il debito
> ch'al vostro mondo fui scrittore anch'io.
> (XXXV, 38)

The author of the Gospel of St. John justly takes pride in his reputation which can never be taken away from him, since he has received his reward directly from Christ, the subject of his great opus:

> E sopra tutti gli altri io feci acquisto
> che non me puó levar tempo né morte:
> e ben convenne al mio lodato Cristo
> rendermi guidardon di sì gran sorte.
> (XXXV, 29)

Almost one third of Canto XXXV, from the beginning, is devoted to the serious themes of *ingegno,* immortality, study, and the importance of the writer's role in life. St. John's

warning to princes, endorsed by Ariosto, and his attack against their avarice therefore carry special force:

> Oh bene accorti principi e discreti,
> che seguite di Cesare l'esempio,
> e gli scrittor vi fate amici, donde
> non avete a temer di Lete l'onde!
> (XXXV, 22)

According to St. John, the poet has the unique mission of rescuing a man's fame from oblivion, a fate to be feared more than death. Princes, *signori avari* (XXXV, 23), should thus guard against forcing their authors to beg and should not, by exalting vice and punishing virtue, banish the arts. The point of the lesson here is that the written word has the power to make or unmake a man as Homer and Virgil once amply proved (XXXV, 35-36) and as Alfieri in the eighteenth century re-affirmed. Ariosto's attitude toward avarice is also a highly individual one, related directly to the *avari principi* (XXXIV, 77), whom he associates with the Estes. Through St. John it was possible for Ariosto to assail a vice which affected him deeply and caused him personal hardship; he could more easily attack through an intermediary and behind a shield rather than in his own vulnerable name. Interpreted in this light the dedication of the *Orlando Furioso* (I, 3) may be read as mild criticism of his patron Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, "generosa Erculea prole," the wealthy protector of a poor servant, who can repay his patron only with words and ink, his sole possessions.

Ariosto returns to the subject of avarice three cantos from the end of the poem to deal with the sin more fully. It is a matter of record that Ariosto often composed the exordium after drafting the narrative matter of the canto[25] and was thus enabled to devote whatever time and thought were necessary for the introduction to the canto, usually an elaborate discussion of a topic of major concern to the author. Avarice thus becomes the subject of an extended discourse in Canto XLIII where Ariosto notes that the sin takes root in base souls, not a surprising fact, he observes, but a cause for regret that it sometimes corrupts great men and virtuous women. This preamble serves as the fitting background introduction to a kind of exemplary novella, the story of a husband who tests his wife's fidelity by offering her, in the guise of a former admirer, precious jewels, emeralds, rubies and diamonds, in return for her love. The picture of the wife at the moment of yielding to temptation, seized as she is by cupidity, is vivid:

> ... il veder fiammeggiar poi, come fuoco,
> le belle gemme, il duro cor fe' molle:
> (XLIII, 38)

The wife falls into her husband's trap and she, angered by this deception, leaves him for her former lover. Rinaldo, who is listening to this story, expresses no surprise, for gold, he remarks, understandably exercises an irresistible fascination:

> Se d'avarizia la tua donna vinta
> a voler fede romperti fu indutta,
> non t'ammirar: né prima ella né quinta
> fu de le donne prese in sì gran lutta.
> (XLIII, 48)

This tale is immediately followed by a similar one in which the power of avarice is illustrated with a twofold example, revolving around a wealthy judge, Anselmo, continually haunted by the thought that his wife, Argia, would be unfaithful to him, as had once been predicted by an astrologer. Adonio, the third figure in the triangle, a Manuan nobleman, had fallen in love with Argia and had spent an entire fortune in wooing her to no avail; the episode is reminiscent of Boccaccio's Federigo degli Alberighi in the Fifth Day, novella 9 of the *Decameron.* The story of Adonio is essentially original despite the various sources Pio Rajna cites, Ovid and Boiardo among them, used for incidental details in the tale.[26] The tale becomes involved, but to tell it simply, Adonio returns seven years later with a fortune at his command and when he lavishes wealth on her, Argia cannot resist and yields less to his protestations of love than to his wealth. Avarice conquers her despite the fact that her husband had showered his wife with riches so that she would be indifferent to temptation. Adonio's prodigality and Argia's avarice conquer fidelity to her husband. But this is only one side of the story. Anselmo, in court a judge, outside, a mortal man, demonstrates that he is as guilty as his wife of the same fault when he finds irresistible the offer of a fine palace by a homosexual Ethiopian hunchback in exchange for the surrender of his body. Argia, witness to the proposal, suddenly emerges from her hiding place to surprise her accuser. There is nothing but for husband and wife to forgive each other, both equally guilty of avarice.

Sloth is the sixth in Ariosto's list of the Seven Deadly Sins, appearing as *Inerzia,* in Canto XIV, and soon after as the allegorical personifications, *Ozio* and *Pigrizia.* Ariosto presents these figures as gross physical presences:

> In questo albergo il grave Sonno giace;
> l'*Ozio* da un canto corpulento e grasso,
> da l'altro la *Pigrizia* in terra siede,
> che non può andare, e mal reggersi in piede.
> (XIV, 93)

The angel Michael has after considerable effort found the figure of Silence in Arabia in a cave, situated in a pleasant valley, shaded by two hills, covered with ancient pines and huge beech trees, a natural setting existing only in Ariosto's fantasy.[27] It will be recalled that the help of Silence is needed to accompany the Christian reinforcements through pagan territory in or near the besieged city of Paris. Ariosto's association of Sleep with Sloth in a desert environment is in keeping with a traditional one which goes back to the early Fathers of the Church, to the time of Evagrius (born in 346), considered to be the creator of Christian mysticism, and of his disciple Cassian (born 355-365) of Bethlehem, whose definition of Sloth, *acedia,* is well known. According to Evagrius, the celebrated preacher of Constantinople, *acedia* is a temptation peculiar to desert monks and gives rise to other vices, two of them being *otiositas* and *somnolentia.*[28] As Wenzel points out, Cassian equates the two terms, *somno otii vel acediae* (p. 38). In Ariosto's portrayal of the vice, corpulence is the one outstanding characteristic of *Ozio* and similarly of *Pigrizia,* who cannot walk or support the weight of his body. Ariosto's mention of the feet is not without purpose, for as Wenzel has noted, "The connection of *acedia* with the feet is quite widespread in the iconography of the vice".[29]

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, Lomazzo in his famous treatise on painting, maintained that painting and poetry were closely related, almost identical in nature even,

differing only in method and manner of expression;[30] having studied the changes produced in the body by passion, he has pertinent remarks in this connection. Devoting a few sentences to the effect on the body of what he terms *tardità*, the equivalent of sloth, Lomazzo has this to say:

> "La tardità fà l'huomo pigro, & lento in ogni attione, & sono gl'atti suoi, posarsi, muover le braccia, & tutto il resto delle membra tardamente, non allargare, ne muouere gran fatto le gambe, & postosi in uno stato fermaruisi buon pezzo, si come fanno gli smemorati, facchini, & i villani."

It is clear that Lomazzo was well aware of the debilitating effect of sloth on the arms, as well as on the legs. For Cesare Ripa, in his book, cited earlier, on iconology,

> "Accidia, secondo S. Giouanni Damasceno 1.2 è una tristitia, che aggrava la mente, che non permette, che si facci opera buona."
>
> (p. 6)

Accidia, which deprives men of their capacity to act and makes them *otiosi, e pigri* (7), is sometimes depicted as a woman reclining on the ground near an ass to demonstrate how far removed her thoughts are from sacred and religious matters.

Ariosto stresses the physical elements rather than the spiritual which are merely implied in Canto XIV, 93. In Wenzel's study of sloth it is pointed out that the drowsiness of the subject suggests a loss of taste for spiritual things. But Ariosto's conception of sloth in this instance is more an affliction of the body than of the soul, unlike Petrarch's interpretation of *acedia,* a spiritual malady, harmful to the spirit. Ariosto's term *ozio* is more similar to Petrarch's *accidia* and must not in any manner be interpreted as equivalent to *otio,* which for the author of *De otio religioso,* written in 1347, concerns positive creative activity.[31]

In *The Faerie Queene,* in the pageant of the Seven Deadly Sins, *sluggish Idlenesse,* mounted on a *slouthfull Asse,* rides first in the parade. Knowing that this was a sin to which monks were particularly vulnerable, Spenser has *Idlenesse:*[32]

> Arayd in habit blacke, and amis thin,
> Like to an holy Monck, the service to begin

adding that it was:

> Still drownd in Sleepe

and

> Scarse could he once uphold his heavie hedd.

The figure is portrayed with its traditional characteristics, including, as in Ariosto's conception, *lustlesse limbs.*

In Petrarch's canzone *Spirto gentil* (*Canzoniere* LIII), the poet depicts the abject political state of Italy, insensitive to internal suffering and strife, *Vecchia, oziosa e lenta* (line 12), overcome by her *pigro sonno*, deaf to her people's cries of woe. Her only salvation is in the gentle spirit, Italy's only hope against vice. In the second book of the *Secretum,* St. Augustine succeeds in isolating the source of Petrarch's affliction, *accidia,* called *aegritudo* by the ancients (i.e. Cicero), equivalent to *animi tristitia.* Petrarch's concept of the sin is

close to the medieval view, as Wenzel has noted: "In the complex history of the vice, Petrarch's concept of *acedia* as *tristitia,* therefore, follows a component that is at once ancient and dominant." (p. 159) For Dante the *tristi,* the sullen, bearing in their hearts a sluggish smoke, *accidïoso fummo* (*Inf.* VII, 121-23) are condemned to the black mire of Hell. For Petrarch *acedia* is understood as "grief rather than as indolence or neglect of spiritual duties," as Wenzel explains (p. 159). Petrarch used the term *accidia* because it was used in "fourteenth century Scholastic and popular teaching and meant grief," Wenzel continues (p. 161). Petrarch's interpretation of a traditional concept is intensely subjective, designed to define a deep personal feeling. Ariosto's treatment of the vice is like Petrarch's, highly individual.

Returning to Canto XXXV of the *Orlando Furioso,* cited earlier in connection with avarice, Astolfo learns from St. John that men guilty of sloth are forgotten by posterity, their names obliterated by oblivion, *oblio.* These include courtiers, *inerti e vili* (21), a phrase Ariosto uses again later for emphasis in reverse order *vili et inerti* (27). Immortality is reserved for the few enlightened poets who have triumphed over time, a kind of Petrarchan *Trionfo della fama,* as Leo has pointed out:[33] oblivion, for the majority of men who exalted vice above virtue (23). Immortality is the true life, oblivion a second death for Ariosto:

> cosìgli uomini degni da' poeti
> son tolti da l'oblio, più che morte empio.
> (XXXV, 22)

Sublime honours await the poets worthy of the name as well as the few scholars, *gli studiosi pochi* (30). The association of inertia with oblivion is not a fortuitous allusion but appears designed to remind the reader that glory cannot be achieved without effort as is openly implied in the exordium of Canto XXXVII. While the first octave of that canto refers particularly to women, Ariosto's principle that success cannot be achieved *senza industria* and without labouring day and night is applicable to the entire poem. If *lunga cura* (XXXVII) is indispensable to glory, Ruggiero's *lunga inerzia,* which immobilized him under Alcina's influence, and the *ozio lungo d'uomini ignoranti* (XXXIV, 75), which Ariosto discovered on the moon diminish a man's worth. The references to the sin of sloth are made with pointed and specific purpose by Ariosto. In *Purgatorio* (XVIII, 133-38), Ariosto had before him two vivid illustrations of the corrosive nature of *accidia,* which in one case was responsible for destroying the faith of the Hebrews, who thus failed to reach the river Jordan, and in another the desire of the Trojans, who preferred to stay behind in Sicily rather than follow Aeneas in his long journey to mainland Italy, giving themselves up instead to a life without glory, *sanza gloria.* For Dante glory is never the reward of the lukewarm, the unconcerned, the negligent but is reserved only for the zealous; for Mary, the mother of her Lord, representing the Church; and for Caesar, the founder of Rome, representing the Empire.

Precedents in Spanish literature offer interesting points of reference. A fourteenth-century moral work, and one of the oldest and most popular Spanish catechisms, Pedro de Varagüe's *Tractado de la doctrina,* warns of the dangers of *açidia.*[34] His conception of the sin is much akin to Ayala's in the *Rimado de palacio,* where sloth, defined as *octioso estar,* produces lassitude, which destroys all desire to do good, *faser buenas obras* or *bien faser.*[35] In *La Celestina,* sloth appears to have been almost as obnoxious to the author as covetous-

ness and avarice. As Dorothy Clarke explains, "Sloth appears most dramatically in the tragicomedy in the form of Calisto's (the hero's) prodigality, offspring of sloth and a measure of Calisto's lust."[36] In Ariosto's view Ruggiero's lust and sloth take a firm hold of the hero in a similarly traditional fashion.

From beginning to end, save for the necessary intoduction to each canto, the *Orlando Furioso* tells the story of man's accomplishments and exploits on earth, without interruption. The *Orlando Furioso* pays tribute to man's energy and celebrates his innate capacity to create his own destiny. Its heroes, Astolfo and Orlando, on the Christian side, their adversaries, Rodomonte and Ruggiero (later converted) on the other, are constantly in action, almost never resting in one place but in tireless pursuit of their goals. A good match for their male counterparts, the heroines of the poem possess boundless energy of mind and body: Angelica and Bradamante, Isabella and Olimpia, vigorous, full of initiative, inventive, never passive. Ariosto's personifications of Sloth as figures sated with sleep, lacking the energy to stand on their feet, depict the vice humorously and with great visual force. Ariosto's use of the terms *inerzia, pigrizia,* and *ozio* shows a justifiable preference for Italian rather than Latin terminology, which the poet eschews—understandably for an author who prided himself on his knowledge of the vernacular, in his eyes equal to its more illustrious ancestor. If one considers the value to the framework of the *Orlando Furioso* of all episodes involving ethical behaviour and references to good and evil, the fundamental importance of Ariosto's concept of ethics to the poem's structure is readily appreciated.

Ariosto's treatment of avarice and sloth, part of the larger theme of the Seven Deadly Sins, is not only an essential feature of the poem, enriching it substantially, but as a subject it provides the *Orlando Furioso* with deep roots into the very centre of man's frailties, a constant reality, not ignored by a poet who understood as few did that the imagination is capable of encompassing heaven and earth in one embrace.[37]

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Notes

* A shorter version of this paper was presented before the annual meeting of the Canadian Society for Italian Studies, May 30, 1974.

1 Morton W. Bloomfield. *The Seven Deadly Sins. An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept, with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature.* ([East Lansing]: Michigan State College Press, 1956), pp. 75, 90.

2 Siegfried Wenzel. "The Seven Deadly Sins," *Speculum,* 43 (1968): 15.

3 *Works.* A Variorum Edition, edited by Edwin Greenlaw et al. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1932-), I, 168-69.

4 *Fragonard Drawings from Ariosto,* with Essays by Elizabeth Morgan, Philip Hofer, Jean Seznec. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1945), p. 21.

5 For a discussion of the "philosophical" uses of monsters in literature, see D.W. Robertson. *A Preface to Chaucer. Studies in Medieval Perspectives.* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1962), pp. 155-56. Emanuele Rapisarda in his edition of Prudentius' *Psychomachia,* last half of the fourth century, which naturally comes to mind at this point in the *Orlando Furioso,* finds a few parallels between Ariosto and the Spanish poet. See *Prudenzio. Psychomachia.* Testo con introduzione. (Catania: Centro di studi sull antico cristianesimo, 1962), pp. 15, 18. It is worthy of note that Rapisarda translated the Latin *avaritia* into either *avarizia* or *cupidigia* (line 508), apparently unaware that a distinction is often insisted upon between the two.

6 Guillaume de Lorris et Jeun de Meun. *Le Roman de la Rose.* ed. Ernest Langlois. (Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot, 1920), line 619.

7 William Langland. *Piers the Ploughman.* Tr. into modern English. With an introd. by J.F. Goodridge. (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1959), pp. 111-13.

8 Fragonard, p. 21.

9 (New York: W.W. Norton, 1967), pp. 3-4. Cf. also Roberto Longhi. *Officina Ferrarese, 1934.* (Firenze: Sansoni, 1956), pp. 217, 267 for titles of works based on the *Orlando Furioso:* in Agnew House, London, *Lotta di Orlando e Rodomonte* by the followers of Dorso di Battista, and *Ruggero, Angelica e l'orca* in the Kress Collection, New York, by Gerolamo da Carpi (?).

10 Fragonard, pp. 27-40; see also Gabriel Rouchès, "L'interprétation du *Roland Furieux* par la gravure," *L'Amateur d'Estampes,* 4 (1925): 107-12 and 145-53; "L'interprétation du *Roland Furieux* dans les arts plastiques," *Etudes Italiennes* 2 (1920): 129-40; Ugo Bellocchi and Bruno Fava, *L'interpretazione grafica dell' Orlando Furioso,* (Reggio Emilia: Tipografia Emiliana, 1961).

11 Angelo Poliziano. *Stanze cominciate per la giostra di Giuliano de' Medici.* In *Rime,* a cura di Natalino Sapegno. (Roma: Edizioni dell' Ateneo, 1965), I, 70-125.

12 Samuel C. Chew. *The Pilgrimage of Life.* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1962), p. 106, points out that Avarice is described or depicted in a variety of ways "since there was no generally accepted animal convention." Among those often associated with the Sin is the toad. See also Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art: From Early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century.* (London: The Warburg Institute, 1939), p. 58. "Snakes and toads (Is. LXVI, 24: Eccl, X, 13) also served in a general way to torment sinners, the avaricious man for instance, as shown in an illustration of hell in the Beatus Apocalypse from San Domingo de Silos, completed 1109." In his edition of the *Orlando Furioso,* Giuliano Innamorati (*Ariosto, Opere,* Bologna, Zanichelli, 1967), commenting on XXVI, 31, writes: "è l'immagine della cupidigia descritta con chiara ispirazione dantesca, sul modello della lupa (cfr. *Inf.* I, 49 sgg.) e di Gerione (cfr. *Inf.* XVII, 1 sgg.), ma costruita in modo da rappresentare anche i vizi principali che vanno uniti o che derivano dalla cupidigia; così *ha orecchie d'asino* (v. 3) per indicare l'ignoranza, *testa di lupo ... asciutta* (vv. 3-4) per la voracità insaziabile, *branche ... leon* (v. 5) per la violenza e crudeltà, *l'altro ... volpe* (vv. 5-6) per l'astuzia malvagia." See also Andrea Alciato, *Diverse imprese accommodate a diverse moralità, con versi che i loro significati dichiarano insieme con molte altre nella lingua Italiana non piu tradotte.* (In Lioni, appresso Gulielmo Rovilio, 1576), pp. 83, 88, which contains five woodcuts of *Avaritia,* representing five different aspects of the sin.

13 Ed. stanzas 27-29.

14 *The Pilgrimage of Life,* pp. 106-09.

15 Walter Hilton. *The Ladder of Perfection.* A new translation with an introd. by Leo Sherley-Price. (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1957), Book I, Chap. 71, p. 86.

16 *Poemetti del Duecento. Il Tesoretto. Il Fiore. L'Intelligenza,* a cura di Giuseppe Petronio. (Torino: UTET, 1967), lines 2683-84. The Jesuit Ignazio Maria Vittorelli (1677-1756), inspired by the fight between the vices and the virtues, placed avarice second to pride in his list of the Seven Deadly Sins in *I vizj capitali combattuti, e vinti dalle virtù loro contrarie,* published in Ferrara by Giuseppe Barbieri in 1728. For the orator Vittorelli who discoursed in the cathedral of Ferrara on the subject during the Lenten period of that year avarice would embrace cupidity and could be vanquished by liberality. *Accidia,* on the other hand, is the last on his list of sins.

17 *La commedia secondo l'antica vulgata.* A cura di Giorgio Petrocchi. 4 vols. (Milano: Mondadori, 1966-67). Cf. also the following citation from one of Michelangelo's poems, perhaps inspired by Dante: O avarizia cieca, o bassi ingegni, / che disusate 'l ben della natura. / Cercando l'or, le terre e' ricchi regni, / vostre imprese superbia ha forte e dura. / L'accidia, la lussuria par v'insegni. / Enzo Noè Girardi. *Michelangelo. Rime.* (Bari: Laterza, 1960), n. 67.

18 *Juan Ruiz. Libro de buen amor.* Edición crítica de Joan Corominas. (Madrid: Editorial Románica Hispánica, 1967), p. 122, note 217ss, "Juan Ruiz separa la codicia de la avaricia (coplas 246ss) como dos pecados capitales distintos." In St. Thomas' discussion of the distinction between *cupiditas* and *avaritia,* Robert Ricard finds justification for the special consideration the Arcipreste reserves for *codicia,* in "Les péchés capitaux dans le *Libro de Buen Amor,*" published in *Les Lettres Romanes,* 20 (1966): 14-15. He explains: "il semble que *cupiditas* soit un terme plus général qu'avarice. L'*avaritia* n'est qu'un aspect de la *cupiditas.*" See also W.H.V. Reade, *The Moral System of Dante's Inferno* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1909), which examines the similarities and the differences between *cupiditas* and *avaritia* according to St. Thomas, pp. 241-42.

19 *Allegory, Decalogue and Deadly Sins in "La Celestina."* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press), 1968, p. 20.

20 *Le Roman de la Rose,* lines 180-82.

21 Langland, pp. 105-08.

22 (Milano: Per Paolo Gottardo Pontio), Bk. II, Chap. 9, p. 129.

23 (In Padova: Per Pietro Paolo Tozzi), pp. 58-60, but especially p. 59, column 2.

24 Bloomfield, p. 75.

25 Santorre Debenedetti in his *I frammenti autografi dell'Orlando Furioso* (Torino: Chiantore, 1937) has proved (XXIII, XXXI) that the exordia were not composed at the same time as the cantos to which they belong. He cites the example of the Marganorre episode: "Nel fasc V (p. 73) abbiamo tutto il Canto Marganorre, salvo che manca il proemio, ed il fascicolo non è affatto lacunoso; manca semplicemente perchè non era stato scritto." Ariosto produced it later. Dates cannot therefore be assigned to episodes or cantos. See also Gianfranco Contini, "Come lavorava l'Ariosto," in *Esercizi di lettura* (Firenze: Felice Le Monnier, 1947), pp. 308-21; and Enrico Carrara, "Marganorre," *Annali della R. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa,* Serie II, IX (1940): 1-20; 155-82.

26 Pio Rajna, *Le fonti dell'Orlando Furioso,* (Firenze: Sansoni 1900), pp. 580-89.

27 Rajna, p. 245 cites Statius *Thebaid* X, 84-94 as the source of the scene between Ozio, Pigrizia, Oblio and Silenzio but admits that it is a "ricreazione dei modelli; non già una copia, o un accozzamento." Rajna does not mention the Seven Deadly Sins. It is interesting that Ariosto could not help substituting Arabia for Ethiopia as the location of his grove, an unlikely place. Fragonard chooses as the subject of one of his drawings (Plate 108), the scene of "St. Michael discovering Silence at the Gates of the House of Sleep" (Fragonard, *Drawings from Ariosto*). Cf. also Giuseppe Fumagalli's article, "Paesaggi ariostei," in *L'Ottava D'Oro: La vita e l'opera di Ludovico Ariosto* (Milano: Mondadori, 1933), p. 514.

28 Siegfried Wenzel. *The Sin of Sloth: Acedia in Medieval Thought and Literature.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1967), p. 21; and E.H. Wilkins, "On Petrarch's *Accidia* and His Adamantine Chains," *Speculum,* 37 (1962): 589-94.

29 *Ibid,* p. 75. In his article on "Petrarch's Accidia," *Studies in the Renaissance,* 8 (1961): 36-48, Wenzel considers the Sin as a secularized version of the medieval capital sin. Petrarch's interpretation is evidence of his individuality and desire for self-expression. Petrarch's concept of the sin gives rise to the modern view of melancholy, *Weltschmerz* or ennui.

30 Lomazzo (Bk. II, chap. 9, p. 129) is an ardent admirer of Ariosto, to whom he refers often in his observations on poetry and painting.

31 *De otio religioso.* A cura di Giuseppe Rotondi. (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1958. *Studi e testi,* 195). Posthumously completed for Rotondi by Guido Martellotti. See also Charles Trinkhaus. *In Our Image and Likeness: Humanity and Divinity in Italian Humanist Thought* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), II, 661. In his essay, entitled, "An Apology for Idlers," Robert Louis Stevenson, writes: "Idleness so called, which does not consist in doing nothing, but in doing a great deal not recognized in the dogmatic formularies of the ruling class, has as good a right to state its position as industry itself." (W.E. Williams, ed., *A Book of English Essays,* Penguin Books, 1954, pp. 193-203, but especially p. 193). For Walter Hilton, "sloth must be defeated by fervent devotion and a glad readiness for all good works." *The Ladder of Perfection,* p. 105.

32 Ed. Hales, Bk. I, Canto IV, 1820.

33 Ulrich Leo. "Petrarca, Ariosto und die Unsterblichkeit: Ein Beitrag zur Motiv-Geschichte," *Romanistische Aufsätze aus drei Jahrzehnten,* herausgegeben von Fritz Schalk. (Marburg: Böhlau Verlag Köln Graz, 1966), pp. 212-17.

34 Clarke, p. 45.

35. *Ibid,* pp. 50-51.

36 *Ibid,* p. 19.

37 This study is a continuation of: "Ariosto and The Seven Deadly Sins," *Forum Italicum* 3 (1969): 252-69 and of "Sin and Punishment in the *Orlando Furioso,*" in *Modern Language Notes,* 88 (1974): 35-46.

The Erasmus Collection in the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies Victoria University in the University of Toronto

D. Swift Sewell

A Supplementary List of Holdings received since the Publication of the Catalogue in *Renaissance and Reformation* Volumne VII 1971 Number 2.

The 1971 Catalogue, compiled by W.T. McCready and Myfanwy Griffiths, with an introduction by F.D. Hoeniger, listed the most important items in what is Canada's largest Erasmus collection and one of the few significant collections of this author's works in North America. The continuing emphasis on Erasmus at the Centre is intended to reflect and further the growing scholarly interest in the Dutch humanist-critic who was the last great literary artist to write in the Latin tongue. It also aims to provide working materials for scholars engaged in the long-term publishing project of the University of Toronto Press, *The Collected Works of Erasmus*, the first volume of which appeared in June of this year, under the editorship of Roger Mynors and D.F.S. Thomson.

In the following brief supplement, which is designed to complement the larger, first one, we give the notable Erasmus acquisitions catalogued between the compilation of the 1971 list and the end of 1973. As in the 1971 Catalogue, works selected for inclusion here are only the following: works written or edited by Erasmus in the original Latin or Greek and published *before 1700* (this includes facsimile reprints of pre-1700 works published after that date); and works of Erasmus in vernacular translation catalogued in our collection up to the end of 1973. No original Latin or Greek works published after 1700 are included; no duplicates of works listed in the 1971 Catalogue are included. Neither do we give secondary works on Erasmus. This, however, is not to suggest that the Centre collection is not being expanded by a steady influx of modern studies on Erasmus in the form of books, monographs, and collected essays, covering topics as diffuse and varied as the writings of Erasmus himself.

Here, then, is the supplementary Catalogue. As in the 1971 version, VH and BE references are, respectively, to items listed in F. Vander Haeghen, *Bibliotheca Erasmiana* (Nieuwkoop 1961); and the *Bibliotheca Erasmiana* (Gand 1903 - Brussels 1950).

a) Works by Erasmus

SELECTIONS — Translations

Erasmus von Rotterdam: Werk und Wirkung. Selected works in *German* translation. Excerpts from most of Erasmus' important works. Vol. I: Der humanistische Theologe. Vol. II: Humanismus und Reformation. Cologne, Wienand, 1967.

Erasme: La philosophie chrétienne. Œvres choisies: L'Eloge de la folie; L'Essai sur le libre arbitre; Le Cicéronien; La Réfutation de Clichtove. Introduction, traduction et notes par Pierre Mesnard. Paris, Vrin, 1970.

Erasme: Liberté et unité dans l'église. Œvres choisies: Sur l'interdiction de manger de la viande; Contre de soi-disant évangéliques; Sur la concorde de l'église. Introduction, traductions et notes par J.M. Bujanda *et al.* Québec, Centre d'Etudes de la Renaissance, 1971.

ADAGIA

Adagiorum chiliades quatuor cum sesquicenturia. ... Quibus adiectae sunt Henrici Stephani animadversiones. Paris, Michael Sonnius, 1579. Folio. VH 6-8. BE IV, 194.

Adagiorum chiliades quatuor cum sesquicenturia ... emendatae et expurgatae. Cum animadversionibus H. Stephani. His accesserunt Adagia Hadriani Iunii et aliorum. Geneva, Petrus Aubertus, 1612. Folio. VH 6 - 22. BE IV, 212.

ADAGIA — Translations

The Adages of Erasmus: A Study with Translations. By Margaret Mann Phillips. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1964.

APOLOGIA DE "IN PRINCIPIO ERAT SERMO"

Apologia de In principio erat sermo. Published with Responsio ad annotationes Eduardi Lei, Eduardi Lei annotationes in Novum Testamentum. In Epistolae aliquot illustrium virorum Lei ... loquacitatem tractantium. ... Basel, Froben, 1520. 4°. On microfilm. VH 12 - 13.

APOLOGIA CONTRA LOPIDEM STUNICAM

Apologia ad Stunicae conclusiones. Printed with Exomologesis. Basel, Froben, 1524. Bound with De libero arbitrio diatribe [Petreius?, 1524]. 8°. VH 12 -4.

APOPHTHEGMATA

Apopthegmatum ex optimis utriusque linguae scriptoribus. Paulii Manutii studio atque industria ... ab omnibus mendis vindicati quae pium et veritatis catholicae studiosum lectorem poterant offendere. Brescia, Polycretus Turlinus, 1601.

ARBITRIO, DE LIBERO

See Apologia contra L. Stunicam, above.

COLLOQUIA — Translations

The Colloquies of Desiderius Erasmus, Concerning Men, Manners and Things. Translated into English by N. Bailey, with notes by the Rev. E. Johnson. London, Gibbings, 1900.

COLLOQUIA SELECTA — Translations

Funus. (The Funeral). London, R. Copeland for J. Byddell, 1534. Xerox of STC 10453.5.

Colloquia familiaria, oder Gemeinsame Gespräche vormals in lateinischer Sprach beschrieben, nunmehr aber zum Nutz der studierenden Jugend ins Hochteutsche übersetzet durch Friedrich Romberg. Second edition. Berlin, Johann Michael Rüdiger, 1705. 8°. VH 42 - 2. BE VI, 146.

Erasmus: Gespräche. Ausgewählt, übersetzt und eingeleitet von Hans Trog. Basel, Benno Schwabe, 1936.

CONCIO DE PUERO JESU — Translations

A Sermon on the Child Jesus. In an old English version (ca. 1525-40). Edited by J.H. Lupton. London, Bell, 1901.

COPIA, DE DUPLICI ...

See below, Paraphrasis in L. Vallae elegantiarum libros.

DIALOGUS CICERONIANUS

Desiderio Erasmo da Rotterdam: Il Ciceroniano o dello stile migliore. Testo latino critico, traduzione italiana, prefazione, introduzione e note a cura di Angiolo Gambaro. Brescia, La Scuole Editrice, 1965.

ENCHIRIDION MILITIS CHRISTIANI — Translations

Erasmus of Roterdame. Enchiridion. London, 1533. No. 156, The English Experience. Amsterdam, New York, Da Capo Press, 1969. STC 10479. Cf. VH 81-10. BE VIII, 256.

Enchiridion militis christiani. Introduction, traduction et notes, par A.-J. Festugière. Paris, Vrin, 1971.

EXOMOLOGESIS

See above, Apologia contra L. Stunicam.

EPISTOLAE

Thomae Mori epistolae, quibus adjectae sunt Erasmi Roterodami ad Thomam Morum epistolae, et Erasmi epistola, qua vitam Thomae Mori describit. ... *In* Mori Thomae Opera Omnia. Frankfurt, Leipzig, 1689. Folio.

EPISTOLAE — Translations

Erasmus and Cambridge: The Cambridge Letters of Erasmus. Translated by D.F.S. Thomson, with an introduction, commentary and notes by H.C. Porter. University of Toronto Press, 1963.

Erasmus and Fisher: Their Correspondence, 1511-1524. Latin and English. Translated by Jean Rouschausse. Paris, Vrin, 1968.

Erasmus and His Age: Selected Letters of Desiderius Erasmus. Edited by J. Hillerbrand. Translated by Marcus A. Haworth, S.J., New York, Harper Torchbooks, 1970.

La Correspondance d'Erasme. Traduite et annotée d'après le texte latin de P.S. Allen *et al.* Volume IV, 1519-1521, par Marcel A. Nauwelaerts. Brussels, Presses Académiques Européennes, 1970.

La Correspondance d'Erasme et de Guillaume Budé. Traduction intégrale, annotations et index biographique par Marie-Madeleine de la Garanderie. Paris, Vrin, 1967.

Erasmus von Rotterdam: Briefe. Translated and edited by Walther Köhler. Leipzig, Dieterich'sche Buchhandlung, 1938.

JULIUS EXCLUSUS

The *Julius Exclusus* of Erasmus. Translated by Paul Pascal. Bloomington/London, University of Indiana Press, 1968.

MEDICAE ARTIS ENCOMIUM

Encomium artis medicae. With a Dutch translation. *In* Opuscula selecta Neerlandicorum

de arte medica, Volume I. Published by editors of Nederlandsch Tijdschrift voor Geneeskunde. Amsterdam, F. van Rossen, 1907.

MORIAE ENCOMIUM — Translations

Witt against Wisdom, or a Panegyrick upon Folly. Penn'd in Latin by Desiderius Erasmus. Render'd into English by White Kennet. Oxford, L. Lichfield for Anthony Stephens, 1683. 8°. VH 125-4.

Der Lof der Zotheid. Facsimile of first Dutch translation, Emden, 1560 (Vol. I) and a modern Dutch translation by J.B. Kan, with notes by A.H. Kan (Vol. II). Facsimile Uitgaven, Nederland N.V., 1969.

PANEGYRICUS AD PHILIPPUM AUSTRIAE DUCEM

Panegyricus ad Philippum Principem, bound with Ioannes Frobenius, Panegyricus. Basel, Froben, 1520. 4°. VH 137-5.

PARAPHRASIS IN ELEGANTIAS LAURENTII VALLAE

D. Erasmi Roterodami in Laurentii Vallae elegantiarum libros epitome multo quam antea castigatior. Eiusdem copiae aliquot selectiores formulae, ad puerorum adcommodatae. Printed with Farrago item sordidorum verborum, per Cornelium Crocum denuo multis in locis aucta. Cologne, Martinus Gymnicus, 1546. 8°.

PSALMI

In Psalmum LXXXV expositio concionalis per Des. Erasmum Roterodamum. First edition. Basel, Hervagius and Froben, 1528. 8°. VH 162-6 (?).

QUERELA PACIS

La *Querela pacis* d'Erasme (1517). Traduction, introduction et notes par Elise Constantinescu Bagdat. Etudes d'histoire pacifiste. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1924.

Erasmus von Rotterdams Klage des Friedens. Übersetzt von D. Rudolf Liechtenhahn. Bern-Leipzig, Gotthelf-Verlag, 1934.

RESPONSIO AD ANNOTATIONES E. LEI

Responsio ad annotationes Eduardi Lei. *In* Erasmus *et al.*, De poenitentia evangelica et confessione secundum veteris theologiae doctores. Basel, 1521. 12°.

b) Works Edited by Erasmus

AUGUSTINUS, AURELIUS, DIVUS

D. Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi omnium operum primus tomus. With Epistola Erasmi ad Archiepiscopum Toletanum. Paris, Carola Guillard, 1541. Folio. VH 11-16.

Secundus tomus Divi Aurelii Augustini Episcopi Hipponensis, complectens illius epistolas, non mediocri cura emendatus per D. Erasmum Rotterodamum. Basel, Ioannes Froben, 1528. Folio. VH 11-13.

Note

The Filmed Manuscripts and Printed Books of the Vatican Library in the Pius XII Memorial Library of St. Louis University.

Robert Toupin, S.J.

For more than twenty years, the University of St. Louis, thanks to the contribution of the Knights of Columbus and the initiative of Prof. L.J. Daly, S.J., has been filming a large collection of printed books and manuscripts of the Vatican Library. During these years, the film library has accumulated about three-fourths of the Greek, Latin and Western European vernacular manuscripts. Much other material of the Vatican Library has also been acquired, where it could be of interest to scholars, either in Arabic and Hebrew, or in Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopian, Persian, Syriac and Turkish.

It is fitting to indicate, however, that the state papers of the Holy See, preserved in the Vatican Archives, that is, civil and ecclesiastical government papers, are not included in the film library.

The filmed manuscripts range from the fifth to the nineteenth century and represent virtually all Western cultural development. The collection includes rare copies of Greek and Classical works. Especially well documented are the patristic age and medieval literature, including the vernacular, such as documents in Italian, French, Provençal. A strong point of the collection is the Italian Renaissance literature. The Northern Renaissance is much less well represented. There is considerable political and ecclesiastical material scattered throughout the literary documents. The languages that dominate are Latin and Italian, then Greek, and finally the other Western European vernaculars.

The St. Louis Library has also collected many research guides, most useful to researchers, and it should be noted that there are three types of guides to the contents of the codices gathered in the various collections of the Vatican Library:

1. A Vatican card catalog of about 250,000 cards has been duplicated in the film library and covers about 7,000 codices. It has entries by author, title, subject and "incipit."

2. For a very considerable part of the Vatican Library, several catalogs and indexes have been published, but some collections, such as the Borghese, Urbino and Ferrajoli, are only partially covered.

3. For the codices not covered by these published guides, there is a third type of guide, a large set of handwritten inventories and indexes, of which the St. Louis Library has a complete microfilm copy. These inventories supplement very conveniently the unpublished catalogs. That is the case for a large number of codices of the Chigi and Barberini collections.

Other research material and tools are part of the film library, such as some older national, local, and regional bio-bibliographies, especially those that relate to medieval and Renaissance cultural history. In this respect should be mentioned the particular field of scholastic philosophy and theology.

Another category of research tools is the catalogs and histories of the various European manuscript libraries. They serve as guides to manuscript holdings other than those of the Vatican and may often supplement the historian's findings in many ways.

Since 1957, St. Louis University has issued a special periodical entitles *Manuscripts,* dealing with manuscript research based on Vatican Library resources. Several articles have appeared concerning Greek and Latin literature, the Italian Renaissance, medieval philosophy and theology, the history of religion, of medicine, etc.

Photostatic copies of individual Vatican Library manuscripts may be ordered through the film library at the following address:

The Pius XII Memorial Library, 3655 West Pine Boulevard, Saint-Louis, Missouri 63108.

Laurentian University

Rosalie L. Colie. *The Resources of Kind: Genre-Theory in the Renaissance.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973. Pp. ix, 128. $6.00.

Since her recent tragic death enough of Professor Colie's writing on Renaissance topics has been published to make up anyone else's distinguished life-work: a magisterial study of Shakespeare's transformation of literary traditions; a collection of essays on *Lear*, which she co-edited and contributed to; and this seminal book on Renaissance genres which comprises the 1972 "Una's Lectures in the Humanities" at Berkeley. The book exhibits what we have come to expect of its author: cormorant reading, novelty of formulation, cumulative restatements that spiral toward precision but never preclude further possibility, a firm hold on particular texts, and a style that even in essays less lecturely than these conveys a witty and humane presence.

"I would like," Professor Colie wrote, "to present genre-theory as a means of accounting for connections between topic and treatment within the literary system, but also to see the connection of the literary kinds with *kinds* of knowledge and experience; to present the kinds as a major part of that *genus universum* which is part of all literary students' heritage." (p.29) This aim she speaks of in the first lecture as "reactionary" in view of current "anti-establishmentarianism." But Professor Colie has so sure a command of the evidence for genre as the organizer of our views of experience and its literary cognates, that I cannot believe *The Resources of Kind* belongs to that recent unfortunate genre of scholarship which tries to temper the winds of literary doctrine to the unshorn lambs.

The book is made up of four chapters: the first relates genre to the functions of literature; the second deals with small forms—adage, epigram—as promptings to self-knowledge and as colourations of larger forms; the third deals with inclusionism, that is with anatomy and synthesis—of experience and of literary kinds—in larger genres; and the last brings together insights into the services genre rendered the Renaissance imagination. Throughout the essays there is not only the expected concern with chains of historical development (all European literature is the book's home province), but running comment on the great works of the age, on *Lear*, on *Paradise Lost*, on *Don Quixote*, to name only a few. Readers will cherish such passages at least as much as the grand retrospect and the acute insight into mixed genres that the book provides.

Yet the work, as well as its readers, suffers the untimely loss of its author. "I am saying," she writes in the last chapter, "that in this long period, the Renaissance, the literary theory that underlies all other is *not* really expressed in its rich and varied criticism. ..." Much that had to be and might have been teased out in expansion and annotation was never written. One has the sense, for example, that the unnoted final iconographic irony in the Herbert poem quoted on p. 53 would not have resisted revision. But this is perhaps not to see the forest for a splinter.

I suppose that one should lament the absence of index and notes. They would have constituted a handlist of names, books, and topoi invaluable for the student beginning to think seriously about Renaissance poetics, and for the scholar wondering just what he has left out of account. Yet it would have been perhaps too much to impose this task on Professor Lewalski, whose gracious brief introduction suggests little of how much she has

done for all of us. Moreover, I am content with the book as it is—with the omissions that evoke Rosalie Colie's method as teacher: never uttering the self-aggrandizing, the chilling too much. It is as though the omissions say, with the half-cajoling, half-challenging concern that launched, well, perhaps not quite a thousand monographs by others: "Why don't you just look that one up? No one has quite done all that could be done with it. You can never tell where it might lead."

S.P. ZITNER, *University of Toronto*

Joseph H. Marshburn. *Murder & Witchcraft in England, 1550 - 1640.* Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971. Pp. xxvii, 287. $7.95.

This handsomely printed and grotesquely covered book consists of brief summaries of thirty-five cases of murder and witchcraft between 1550 and 1635, each of which inspired pamphlet, ballad, or dramatic literature. Each entry consists of a description of the crime and its denouement, often in an English that all too faithfully reflects the confusing syntax of the original literature, followed by complete references to the pamphlets, ballads, and plays that the case inspired. A second section, entitled "Auxiliary Entries: Incidents and Titles," includes much shorter summaries of other cases between 1553 and 1640. There is also an index of extant and non-extant plays referred to in the text. There are twenty-five illustrations, all taken from sixteenth and seventeenth century literary sources illustrating many of the cases discussed. The illustrations are very good. Neither Marshburn's Preface nor the treatment of his materials, however, inspires much scholarly confidence. Scholars familiar with the remarkable studies of Alan MacFarlane, Keith Thomas, and G.R. Elton will find little here to interest them. Nor does this study contribute anything to the recent revival of scholarly interest in crime and criminals that has characterized some recent Victorian studies. The Preface is hopelessly too compressed to offer any but the most conventional comments on the material and so badly organized that it is difficult to follow. Marshburn obviously knows the literature well, but it is doubtful that he has thought about it much. The first paragraph of the Preface purports to describe the condition of England in 1476 when Caxton set up his first printing press without the author's evidently having read any literature about late fifteenth century England published in the last forty years. Nor does Marshburn appear familiar or at all concerned with the large literature upon the subject of printing, literacy, and social history that has recently so enlivened sixteenth century studies. Many of the cases of murder and witchcraft described here describe episodes that have vexed some of the best scholars in sixteenth century history: the murder of close relatives; the social groups from which witches emerged; the peculiar concatenations of social, legal, and religious attitudes that tantalizingly lie under the surface of these jaunty, moralizing, often pompous documents. This book resembles nothing quite so much as a good graduate student's collection of notes and references at the early stages of some future seminar paper.

The book jacket, however, reminds the reader of that mysterious world of publishers' categories in which the University of Oklahoma Press imagines that this book belongs. The jacket refers to "Other Books Off the Beaten Path" that it has published, including popular accounts of American murder cases, John Greenleaf Whittier on supernaturalism, and a

study of phrenology. Such editorial judgement and advertising language probably deserve the reviews they get. It is unfortunate that editors and readers did not suggest to Marshburn that the materials he has gathered together are important and genuinely interesting and deserve to have something intelligent said about them. For this, however we must await another book, hopefully not "Off the Beaten Path," or a bright graduate student's seminar paper.

EDWARD PETERS, *University of Pennsylvania*

The Fowles of Heauen or History of Birdes, ed. Thomas P. Harrison and F. David Hoeniger. Austin: The University of Texas, 1972. Pp. xxxvi, 332. 61 colored illustrations, 3 facsimiles. $15.00.

The sixteenth and early seventeenth century writings on natural history were an outgrowth of the medieval encyclopedias which had, with few exceptions, relied on earlier works and popular lore. The approach of Longolius and Turner who identified species and noted behavior and habitat was the exception. Respect for tradition demanded that the customary ancient and medieval authorities be cited, whether valid or not, even at a time when a humanistic spirit evinced in the critical appraisal of Aristotle and Pliny and in the observation of natural phenomena, encouraged a speculative attitude, anticipating the beginnings of modern zoology. To the literary historian, Edward Topsell's translation of Gesner's *Historia Animalium* is less important for the kind of factual descriptions which prompt marginal notes such as "A story of a Linxe by D[r]. [John] Cay, taken in London by the sight of this beast in the Tower," than for its complication of conventional ideas which occur so extensively in writings of the same period to illustrate aspects of human nature. Given in detail in *The Historie of Foure-Footed Beastes* are the traditional materials which form the basis of the animal imagery used so profusely not only in renaissance drama and poetry but in many kinds of prose, including educational treatises and political pamphlets.

Implicit in this figurative treatment is the view of the world as a *speculum moralis,* the kind of approach to natural history illustrated in such works as Archibald Simson's *Hieroglyphica Animalium* (1612) and Richard Brathwaite's *The Schollers Medley* (1614). *The Fowles of Heauen* is the third and last part of Topsell's writings on the animal world. For his first two volumes on quadrupeds and serpents printed by Jaggard in 1607 and 1608 he depended almost entirely on Gesner; by 1614 he completed one fifth of a work on "the third part of livinge creatures," translating it not from the third book of Gesner's *Historia Animalium,* "qui est de avium natura," but the *Ornithologiae* of Ulysse Aldrovandi which appeared between 1599 and 1603. Topsell's incomplete work was never published and it exists in one manuscript at the Huntington (El. 1142).

In this work he reverted to the traditional method of treating birds alphabetically rather than follow Belon and Aldrovandi and "raunge them vnder their proper kindes wherein men many tymes are deceaved and the readers troubled." He never got beyond the third letter and by that time he had been forced to make some abridgement because Aldrovandi had allotted an entire book to the cock. Topsell reduced *de Pulveratricibus Domesticis* to twelve chapters, and the present editors wisely abridged the abridgement, omitting all reference to the domesticated bird. Thirty-seven wild birds are presented,

from the Alcatraz to the Cuckoo. Aldrovandi intended that his treatise should be *utile et dulce* and he endeavoured to treat each bird from all aspects giving "Aequiuora, Synonyma, Genus, Differentiae, Locus, Cognominata, Denomenata ... Moralia, Vsus, Mysteria, Hieroglyphica, Historica, Symbola, Numismata, Icones, Emblemata, Fabulae, & Apologi." As the editors remark in their useful introduction, "nothing ancient, medieval, or modern wherein the bird is named does he consider extraneous to his purpose. As the English parson confronted the task of abridging this huge tome, it is little wonder that he concluded only three letters of the alphabet." Topsell's work is a repository of ancient, medieval and renaissance ornithological lore, faithful to the authority which he is anglicizing. For this reason the publication is an important event even though the editors observe that had it been published at the time "it would have popularized the subject through the pious eyes of the translator but affected the serious study of birds very little."

This volume took some years to prepare. According to the preface, Professor Hoeniger was concerned chiefly with the text, glosses and variant readings; Professor Harrison with the other editorial matters. The simple statement minimizes the monumental task which the editors undertook. Besides establishing the sources of innumerable quotations in classical and medieval authors, the editors give locations for each bird in the first editions of Topsell's three main authorities—Aldrovandi (his chief source), Belon, and Gesner. They note where Topsell deviates from such authorities, making use of other writers such as Turner, for example, or adding—comparatively rarely—a personal observation. They give useful negative evidence when a quotation attributed to a certain author cannot be traced. They include their own valuable identifications and observations on birds. They also provide variant readings, and appendices consisting of further identifications of birds in Topsell's projected list (from *dabchicke* to *yelamber*), a glossary of heraldic terms, and a catalogue of proper names.

In addition, *The Fowles of Heauen or History of Birdes* is outstanding in terms of book production. While placing proper emphasis on the work's scholarly nature, the design is exceptionally artistic. The elegant typography, the arrangement of the illustrations on the page, the muted colorings are splendidly appropriate, and are in themselves a tribute to the importance of this first edition and to the fine achievement of the editors.

BERYL ROWLAND, *York University*

Albert Hyma. *The Life of Desiderius Erasmus.* Assen: Van Gorcum, 1972. Pp. 140.

The reader looking for the mature deliberations of the author of *The Youth of Erasmus* in this book will be disappointed, as will the reader looking for a biography of Erasmus. Far from expanding on his original work, Professor Hyma is usually content to restate it, with some modifications and some pungent remarks on those he feels gave it insufficient respect. Not a great deal of close study is given to the late Erasmus, though we are assured that its author in his teaching "always emphasized the enormous change in the character of Erasmus between 1525 and 1536." The change in question is seen in terms of a Pauline conversion, in fact a turning away from humanism and back to the *devotio moderna*—very interesting indeed if one accepts the argument that he had ever really left it.

Though we can but envy the equanimity with which he footnotes his own earlier work,

almost as proof texts, it would have been valuable to see a fuller and wider survey of more recent material on Erasmus's life and thoughts, and a great deal less sniping at "the admirers of A. Renaudet," Charles Bené, "the admirers of Johan Huizinga," and R.R. Post. What are we to make of the claim that Professor Post, after disagreeing with Professor Hyma on a point of attribution, "retracted his error, no doubt as the result of admonitions by certain officials in the Roman Catholic hierarchy"? Can the differing views on how long Erasmus stayed at Oxford be all that important, in view of his lifelong attachment to Colet and More, both of that University? Can *De Contemptu Mundi* really be so vital a book, when Erasmus himself called it "the other part" of the *Encomium Matrimonii*? Can it be such a devastating blow to hear that Frederic Seebohm withdrew the first edition of *The Oxford Reformers* and uttered a new one, "having corrected some of his errors"?

Other scholars and their work aside, there is much more that can only be called eccentric in the book. That the *Enchiridion* was written to dissuade a good man from entering a monastery, rather than a bad man from beating his wife, came as news to me. That Colet studied Aquinas is no doubt true, but Erasmus tells us that Colet studied a lot and particularly disliked Aquinas, on rather questionable grounds. Professor Hyma still holds to his original view of a worldly and irreligious Erasmus, admiring Lucian, and like him "sarcastic, cynical, eager to expose abuses, and devoted to elegant literature as an end in itself"—in which he is joined by an equally worldly More "from 1503 to 1506." In *Moriae Encomium,* he thinks, Erasmus "imitated Lucian, rather than some author recommended by John Colet." Indeed? What of St. Paul, as an author very prominent in *Moriae Encomium*? Or Colet's own scorn for the *Summa Theologica* and all "blotterature," or More's rejection of Latin in Utopia as a language in which little good philosophy had been written? Seebohm may well have exaggerated the "fellow work" of these men, whether Oxford or (as Professor Hyma would have it) London reformers, but their friendship is fact, and a work like *The Praise of Folly* shows that they enjoyed an ironic vision of life and salvation through a subtlety of wit that seems lacking in this book.

More examples could be drawn, but a short review should not lapse into rhetorical questions. Although it is of considerable interest in many ways, and although one must admire Professor Hyma's learning and his rather appealing irascibility, the book is erratic in its interpretation, selective in its choice of information, and marred by its contrast between the worldly young Erasmus and the saintly old Erasmus; with due deference to an older man who has read more, I still can see no significant change in religious sincerity between the *Enchiridion* at the beginning of his career and the *De Praeparatione ad Mortem* near its end.

E.J. DEVEREUX, *University of Western Ontario*

Richard L. DeMolen (ed.). *Erasmus of Rotterdam: A Quincentennial Symposium*. New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1971. Pp. 152.

The *raison d'être* of this little book lies in an "Erasmus Symposium" held at Ithaca College in 1969. Four of the papers there delivered are included; one published elsewhere (in *Scrinium Erasmianum* vol. 2, 1969, pp. 106 - 131) is omitted, and in its place is printed a paper delivered by R.J. Schoeck in December 1969. To these is added a "diplomatic reprint"

of Margaret Roper's translation of Erasmus's *Precatio Dominica,* or "A deuout treatise upon the Pater noster ... by a yong ... gentylwoman of .xix. yere of age" (London: Thomas Berthelet, *ca.* 1525). The editor, DeMolen, is also the author of the first paper in the Symposium ("Erasmus of Rotterdam in Profile"), which re-tells the story of Erasmus's life with due emphasis on intellectual and moral aspirations. The second paper ("Erasmus the Humanist"), by James D. Tracy, discusses the definition of "humanism" and its relation to the rhetorical tradition of Cicero and Quintilian and to philology; it also discusses the views of Erasmus on the religious practice of his day, and his "humanist optimism" about reform by way of Biblical scholarship. Then follows an essay by Lewis W. Spitz entitled "Erasmus as Reformer"; after an outline of the *philosophia Christi,* Spitz looks at Erasmus in the rôles of critic, scholar and constructive theologian, and ends his survey with an attempt briefly to define Renaissance humanism and to judge how far and in what manner it was absorbed by the Reformers. The final paper in the Symposium, by John C. Olin, bears the perhaps slightly misleading title "Erasmus and His Place in History"; its principal concern is to evaluate the interpretations of Erasmus's religious position offered by a few well-known scholars of the last two generations.

R.J. Schoeck's essay, on "The Place of Erasmus Today," summarizes Olin's argument but protests against its "departmentalization" and urges a wider view, advocated by himself shortly before in a Folger Library symposium. Erasmus is represented by Schoeck as one who struggled for freedom, the freedom of dialogue, not only against institutional narrowness but against the inclination towards an oppressive dogmatism which gradually gained the upper hand (for reasons which Schoeck endeavours to sketch) in More. In conclusion, Erasmus is praised as one "who kept viable a sense of tradition," and a plea is made for a continuing re-evaluation of the humanist legacy.

There is a list of *errata,* on a detachable slip. Since it is there stated that "all of the errors will be corrected in a second edition," perhaps to the four which are recorded in it —excluding those on the pages of the *Deuout Treatise*—may be added the following, noted in passing by the reviewer: p. 13 and elsewhere, s'Hertogenbosch; p. 52, *duplica*; p. 59, "letters of reborn culture" (culture of reborn letters, surely); p. 65, Luthern; p. 72 and p. 73, Phillip's; p. 77, Patterns and; p. 81, dilletantish; p. 82, Nederlandsche (nowadays, -dse); p. 84, informus (infirmus); p. 88, *Inquisition (-tio)*; p. 126, *Colloquim Erasmusnum (Colloquium Erasmianum);* p. 128, *Ouevres;* p. 129, *Phillipum;* p. 129, *Rextgeschichte;* p. 131, *Cortinithios;* p. 131, Ichthuophagia (better, Ichthyo-); p. 131, *Epuscula Erasmi (Erasmi Opuscula);* p. 131, Herculeis Labores; p. 134, *Phillipp;* p. 134, *Ionnis;* p. 135, *ministorum;* p. 140, As; p. 144, D.S.F.; p. 151, Bishop of Cambria.

It may be asked whether "Jean le Voirier" (p. 39) is not the same person as Jehan Vitrier (p. 53 and Index). R.J. Schoeck was not appointed as "general editor" (p. 77) of the *Collected Works of Erasmus;* and for "Canadian Council" read "Canada Council" (*ibid.*).

D.F.S. THOMSON, *University of Toronto*

L. Clark Keating. *Joachim du Bellay.* Twayne's World Authors Series, 162. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1971. Pp. [6+] 149. $6.15.

Keating's "panoramic view" of Du Bellay's life and works is only the second such study to appear since Chamard's monumental *Joachim du Bellay* (1900), and is the first to be published in English. More than twenty years have passed since Saulnier's *Du Bellay* (1951)—though Keating persists in calling it "new" and "recent"—and it was undoubtedly time for a reassessment and a rethinking of the poet's work and of recent scholarship devoted to him.

Knowing that there is not the remotest chance that Du Bellay's biography will ever have to be significantly altered, Keating eschews original research and follows the accounts of Chamard and Saulnier. The life is accompanied by illustrations taken from the works—"passages choisis" which are also translated into literal and accurate English—and by summaries of the prose and of the longer poems. Keating's description of Du Bellay's career is reliable and, in spite of some awkward sentences, readable. He has put the poet's plagiarism of Speroni in *La Deffence* into proper perspective (p. 16) and has deflated his self-justifying claims of having been ill-educated through his youth and adolescence (p. 4).

Inevitably there are some points to quibble at. Why does Keating constantly misspell *Poëmata* as "*Poematia*"? Why does he so often neglect to footnote his factual assertions? Is he unaware of Spenser's translation of *Les Antiquitez*? Does he believe that the Seymour sisters are really just "three English girls" (p. 36)? Does he not know that "Contre les pétrarquistes" (1559) is only a reprint of "A une dame" (1553)?

The "Selected Bibliography" is totally inadequate. It draws over half its ninety-seven items from before 1932, i.e., from before the completion of Chamard's authoritative edition of Du Bellay's French poetry. Much worse, it overlooks twenty articles and eight books which appeared in 1961-70 and which Keating could have found had he looked in the *PMLA* bibliographies.

The foregoing implies that Keating's book is susceptible of improvement. This is not the case. At almost every step he reveals so unsure a grasp of the intellectual and literary tradition of the Pléiade as to be unsuited for treating his subject at more than the superficial level (see e.g., pp. 30-32, 66, 104). He has little sense of how poets create (see his remarks on *Les Antiquitez*, p. 93, and on the "Discours au roy," p. 114) and deprecates the use of the rose as a symbol of short-lived beauty because "rose lovers know that ... the bloom of the cultivated rose is fairly long lasting" (p. 109)! He seems to believe that *La Deffence* is holy writ, from whose precepts Du Bellay should never have departed. His critical judgments are trivial (see e.g., pp. 23, 49, 94) and he much prefers inventing anecdotes, presumably to liven things up (see e.g., pp. 10-11, 30, 61, 65).

In short we have a story book of no use to the scholar or the student.

JOHN McCLELLAND, *University of Toronto*

A.E. Creore. *A Word-Index to the Poetic Works of Ronsard.* Vol. 5 (in 2 parts) of *Compendia: Computer-Generated Aids to Literary and Linguistic Research.* Ed. R.A. Wisbey. Leeds: W.S. Maney, 1972. Pp. xii + 1652.

There is scarcely a need to justify Ronsard's poetic works as the almost perfect corpus for a study of French vocabulary in the latter half of the XVIth century. Laumonier's incomparable eighteen volume edition—begun in 1914 and completed only in 1967—had revealed to us in its extensive *apparatus* the constant revisions Ronsard had made in all his poetry throughout the six successive *oeuvres complètes* (1560-1587). As well as being structural and syntactic these revisions can also indicate changing tastes in matters of vocabulary, perhaps also semantic shifts, but until the publication of Creore's computerized index there was no means of systematically linking up isolated phenomena.

Using the Laumonier edition as his text, Creore has listed, with a few exceptions, every instance of every word in Ronsard's poetry, giving the volume, page, and line number, as well as the date; e.g., ABANDONNER [vol.] 12 [p.] 30 [v.] 47 [15] 63. In all, this produced, according to Creore (p. viii), some 375,000 entries. In a list of this magnitude some error was inevitable, and this is acknowledged, and corrections made, in the brief "errata" which precede each volume. In my own checking of 300 entries (150 from Creore to Ronsard, 150 from Ronsard to Creore), I noted the following: some minor errors in dating (notably in the references to vol. 12), one mistaken line number, and some inconsistencies in numbering interpolations, in spite of the principle established on page xi, note 4.

Although Creore wanted the *Word-Index* to be as complete as possible, he was obliged to make various concessions, notably involving the omission of a number of shorter, very common words. His mistake is not to tell us exactly which ones (see p. viii, where a tantalizing "etc." leaves us wondering). Anomalies result: VOTRE figures in the index but it actually represents *le vôtre* (*le* and *votre* were both proscribed); *moi-même* does not appear either—not even under MEME—in spite of its importance; was it really necessary to list all 8,657 principal uses of *être* and all 5,200 uses of *tout*? On the other hand he has wisely distinguished between *ainsi* and *ainsi que*, *la mort* and *le mort*, etc.

Creore neglects to inform us that he indexes the words in their simplest form: all nouns are given in the singular, all adjectives in the masculine singular, all verb forms in the infinitive. Well, not quite all. Some past participles used adjectivally have separate listings (*agité, mort, ravi*); others, equally adjectival, do not (*armé, emprisonné, marqué*). Much the same thing is true for the present participle. It would also have been wise to differentiate between reflexive and non-reflexive uses of the verb.

To facilitate consultation Creore has worked out a system of cross-reference "in many cases" (p. x). But again he has neglected certain possibilities, e.g., we are grateful that *je ne sais quoi* is indexed separately, but wish there was a reference to it under SAVOIR. Two further aids to consultation, both welcome and indispensable, follow the main index. The first is an alphabetical list of the words in the main list, with the number of their uses; the second a list of the same words according to frequency. Finally Creore lists the words in reverse alphabetical order, but to no apparent purpose, since the words appear not as they do in the text, but in the standardized spellings and forms of the original list. We can thus deduce nothing about morphology or rhyme, and the purpose of reverse alphabetical order is defeated.

Two further criticisms. Creore has failed to correct his basic text using the *errata* provided by the editors. He has thus missed some variants (e.g., in vol. 12) and has wrongly indexed some words (e.g. in vol. 15). He has also omitted Ronsard's prose works from his index, hoping they will be the subject of a "supplementary volume" (p. viii). Since in rela-

tive dimensions the prose works are trifling—166 pages in all—and since they are complete in Laumonier's edition, it seems needless economy to have left them out.

Criticisms, however, pale into insignificance in the face of the sheer weight of effort and years Professor Creore has devoted to his task. Whatever the shortcomings—and, taken all in all, they are minor—we now have an *instrument de travail* which is eminently usable and which will make our own work both easier and more accurate.

JOHN McCLELLAND, *University of Toronto*

Florence M. Weinberg. *The Wine and the Will: Rabelais's [sic] Bacchic Christianity.* Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1972. Pp. 188. $10.95.

Henri Weber in a recent article (*Europe,* Jan. - Feb. 1972, p. 3) suggests that, among the ultra-up-to-date French intellectuals, the word is: don't read Montaigne, read Rabelais. So nowadays Montaigne stands modestly aside, probably feeling grateful that there is at least Butor to keep his name alive in avant-garde circles; and the younger French seiziémistes almost all concentrate on Rabelais, using an approach based on structural linguistics, and work either from or towards Michel Beaujour's admirably challenging slogan: "Rabelais *ne veut rien dire*" (*Le Jeu de Rabelais,* 1969, p. 26; italics his.)

Still, some people continue to be convinced that Rabelais really did mean to say something. Weinberg certainly is convinced; and the main objection I have to her valuable study is the same one that I have for other literary historians like Saulnier and Screech: it is that they all give the impression that Rabelais mainly meant to say *one* thing. They don't agree about exactly what the message is, but they are out to convince us that there is a single, coherent, though concealed, message. Doesn't Rabelais tell us so, in the Prologue to *Gargantua?* The retort from Beaujour, Jean Paris, François Rigolot, and other contemporary critics is, of course, that Rabelais doesn't tell us anything anywhere; his narrator and his various personages say all sorts of ambiguous and contradictory things—notably in that same Prologue. But Weinberg believes we should take the first part of the Prologue literally, and so she searches for the substantific marrow.

What she discovers is summed up in the two nouns of her title. For the second noun, I find her argument more ingenious than convincing, and it would be unfair therefore if I tried to summarize it. It has to do with an unexpected reading of the celebrated rule of the Abbey of Thélème—a reading which nevertheless makes sense in terms of the message Weinberg reads in the Five Books.

My preference is for her longer and more fully developed first section, devoted to the wine-theme. She shows how Renaissance syncretism assimilated into the Christian mythology many elements of the Bacchic myth in hermetic tradition, and how Rabelais exploits this fusion of traditions and develops out of the wine-theme an intricate system of images. These can easily be read in either of the contradictory ways suggested in the *Gargantua* Prologue, but to Weinberg the system seems justified only if one accepts the hypothesis that the marrow is a single message, saying essentially that evangelical Christianity is best.

What intrigues me is not so much this reading of the message, a reading which is now widely accepted; it is rather the way Weinberg connects elements of the Bacchic myth with the *topoi* of voyage and search that dominate the last three books of Rabelais. Not

seeing these elements so clearly in the first two books, I had not been able to give myself a satisfying explanation about why all five books hold together so admirably. Weinberg's analysis of the system of images associated with the Bacchic myth makes clear the unifying factor which had not been successfully identified before. She demonstrates that the great drinking scenes in the first two books represent the same thing as the dialogues of the Third Book and the voyage of the last two—that is, the search for truth, to be achieved by divine inspiration as manifested in the reeling dionysian furor, in accordance with the traditions of both pagan and Christian symbolism. Score yet another point for the literary historians' study of sources.

JOHN A. WALKER, *University of Toronto*

Arthur P. Stabler. *The Legend of Marguerite de Roberval.* Washington State University Press, 1972. Pp. i, 78. $3.00.

A young woman and her lover exiled on a bleak island off the eastern coast of Canada, their struggle to survive against physical and psychological obstacles, and the woman's ultimate rescue after her lover's death—this is the stuff of which adventure movies are made. It is also the stuff of which many a good tale has been composed since Marguerite de Navarre's first account of the adventure in 1558. Arthur Stabler's task of uncovering the first Renaissance versions of the story, establishing what relationships exist among them and tracing their various descendants throughout four centuries has been well done and clearly reported in this intriguing account of the "story of the story." This amply documented, well-organized study is unpretentious, readable, and clearly "a labor of love," as Professor Stabler informs us in his preface.

A chronological treatment automatically assists the reader. In Chapter One ("Sixteenth-Century Versions and the 'Authentic' Story"), Professor Stabler analyzes in detail the three sixteenth-century versions and with the help of textual comparisons establishes inter-relationships among all three. The chapter concludes with the author's convincing reconstruction of what the authentic story might have been. Chapter Two ("Marguerite de Roberval in Literature after 1600") contains plot summaries of all later versions of the story. What is particularly interesting about this chapter is the insight it offers into what influences the evolution of a story. Successive recountings of the tale engender numerous embellishments and perpetuate misreadings which in turn become part of the story. And the literary temperament of the time in which a particular version is published will often mark the plot as well. Thus, the stark struggle to survive becomes in the nineteenth century a Rousseau-like idyll complete with a detailed explanation of the moral formation of the daughter born to the marooned couple. Predictably, the latest version of the story written in our century adds to the tale a few contemporary touches such as "the first full-Hollywood happy ending" and "liberal (for 1953) dashes of explicit sex." Chapter Three ("Marguerite de Roberval in History"), the last and the shortest, rapidly traces the historical accounts of Marguerite's adventures.

Although Professor Stabler discusses the development of Marguerite's story chronologically, the derivation of particular accounts is at times difficult to keep in mind. Despite repeated references in the text to the original source from which the story under consider-

ation is descended, confusion is inevitable. A "family tree" showing relationships, common plot details, and shared derivations would be of great assistance, adding considerably to the value of the study. This sort of chart or perhaps a series of charts could also reduce the amount of space given in the text to plot summaries, summaries which are necessary, but somewhat too repetitious. Also, the book would profit from more detailed considerations of the historical and/or aesthetic influence of each century upon the framework of the story. Finally, the lack of a bibliography is disappointing.

The Legend of Marguerite de Roberval is not an important book, nor an indispensable one. But it is an interesting study and will be of special appeal to those who marvel at the human capacity for perpetuating a good story. Although Marguerite's tale belongs to a corpus of written rather than oral tradition, folklorists should be interested in the mechanics of this story's transmission and transformation. Students of Canadian history, folklore, and literature should find it of particular concern since this tale of new-world adventure is one of the earliest on record and has lasted longer than most. The author has noted in his preface that there is an "enduring fascination about the adventures of Marguerite." His study testifies to an equally enduring fascination with discovering how and why such a story lives so long.

KAREN F. WILEY, *University of Vermont*

Louis Green. *Chronicle into History: An Essay on the Interpretation of History in Florentine Fourteenth-century Chronicles.* Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1972. Pp. 178. $12.50.

The transition from the intellectual values of the early Trecento to humanist attitudes almost a hundred years later, as seen in the Florentine chroniclers, is the subject of this study. The author traces the "mechanism of change" by which the basic elements of historical interpretation evolved in the works of Giovanni and Matteo Villani, Marchionne di Coppo Stefani, pseudo-Minerbetti, and Goro Dati. The work fills a gap in Florentine studies. To date, these chronicles have been examined for their factual content, their ideology on specific subjects (the foundation of Florence, the papacy, etc.), or for psychological portraits of the author. Mr. Green is the first to subject them to analysis as history, demonstrating how successive chroniclers, in response to changing conditions, adjusted or rejected the world view of their predecessors. The result is a study that, while complete in itself, also complements and enriches the work of other leading interpreters of Florentine thought; most notably, it provides background for the development of Florentine civic humanism in the late Trecento and early Quattrocento.

The most striking evolution in the chronicles, Green argues, was the gradual weakening of the connection between the spiritual and the natural world. For Giovanni Villani, the two functioned together perfectly. History was the working out of divine justice on the Florentine scene. Divine providence decreed a correspondence between physical reality and spiritual forces. Thus political events were accompanied or preceded by omens; astrology was "yet another mirror of the ways of providence ... " (35) Human behavior, inherently cyclic, formed part of a "rhythmically operating cosmic design" (151) in which good fortune led to vice, which brought on disaster and punishment. But what if events refused to

fit into the morally structured interpretation, as happened during Giovanni's last unhappy years of economic reverses and political upheavals? Green points out that two solutions were available to him. In dealing with the material of history, either he could overemphasize the role of the supernatural, interpreting omens and signs in an apocalyptic way (the solution chosen by Villani), or he could blame human folly for the failure of events to work out as they should. Giovanni's brother Matteo and his successors chose the latter alternative.

The Black Death, Florentine factional strife, and a politically alienated papacy dominated the pages of Giovanni's brother Matteo Villani. In those bad times, "history could ... only be a series of disasters interspersed with periods when heedless human folly had free play." (45) Giovanni Villani's grand design was shattered; Matteo had to come to terms with a world in which no human resources were truly dependable. Retaining a moral interpretation, he emphasized the weakness of man's nature as responsible for contemporary evil. History, the record of man's folly, could show him the error of his ways and thereby induce reform. Thus, Green argues, Matteo Villani felt that history no longer so much revealed the workings of divine providence as taught ethics. And, since man must learn from the past, his sphere of action was broadened.

Signs and wonders still influenced history in Matteo Villani's chronicle, but occurred only in relation to specific events, not the overall pattern of reality; thus their importance was diminished. In his successors both divine providence and preternatural signs disappeared almost completely from the scene. In the works of Stefani and pseudo-Minerbetti, the separation of the supernatural and natural world was complete, the chronicler's inspiration secular, and facts interpreted only in terms of the natural world. With Dati, history took a new turn, part of the re-evaluation of the Florentine past and present now called civic humanism. Here Green's work should be read in conjunction with Hans Baron's analysis of Dati in his *Crisis of the Italian Renaissance*. Most interesting is Green's comparison of Dati with Giovanni Villani in his re-imposition of a set of moral imperatives, now secular, on the interpretation of history, a new twist on the old way of making events fit the historian's world view and inexorably fulfill the destiny of Florence.

This is a rich analysis, sound in its conception. Not every student of Florence will agree with every element of Green's interpretation, but this is an intellectually honest study that accomplishes what it set out to do. The author's style is unfortunately difficult, given his tendency to use six words where three would do; but Florentinists will rise above this minor defect to appreciate the merits of the work.

MARCELLA GRENDLER, *Ithaca, N.Y.*

William R. Shea. *Galileo's Intellectual Revolution. Middle Period, 1610-1632*. New York: Neale Watson Academic Publications, Inc., 1972. Pp. xii, 204.

This is a well written and philosophically literate account of Galileo's work in the years when he "worked out the methodology of his intellectual revolution," concentrating upon his researches in hydrostatics and astronomy and on his support for the heliocentric theory. Shea's purpose enables him almost to ignore Galileo's conflict with the church as merely incidental, and to place his investigations of motion in the background. The result is a

book of novel but persuasive balance, that conveys a coherent and broadly convincing picture of the development of Galileo's scientific thought. There are seven chapters, on his debt to Archimedes, work on hydrostatics, sunspots, the comets of 1618, and a detailed analysis of the *Dialogue Concerning the Two Chief World Systems* (The End of the Aristotelian Cosmos; The World in Motion; and The Physical Proof from the Tides). The emphasis throughout is on Galileo's methodology, and Shea's demonstration of the significance of geometry therein is particularly cogent. Thus, for example, Galileo is represented as declaring himself in favour of the Copernican system only after he had succeeded in using mathematics in dismantling the latest published argument against the motion of the earth, and his proof of the earth's motion from the behaviour of the tides is presented in terms of a derivation from geometrised physical postulates.

Shea is convincing whenever he is dealing with particular texts or particular sequences of argument and experiment, and, for example in his careful use of manuscript revisions, exhibits a fine historical sense. His generalisations and attempts to portray Galileo in the world picture of his age are, on the whole, less happy, perhaps because less fully documented. The appeal of Copernicanism to young intellectual radicals is postulated but inadequately substantiated, and Galileo's relations with Renaissance humanism and Platonism are alluded to but not made apparent. Shea enters with zest into the debate on Galileo's Platonism, claiming that "Galilean science was not so much an experimental game as a Platonic gamble," but this claim is weakened by his use of Platonism to indicate merely the use of mathematics in science, and the application of reason to experience to educe knowledge. In view of the clear recognition of Galileo's skill in rhetoric, the uncritical acceptance of Galileo's use of Plato's name as evidence of subscription to Platonism is disappointing. Shea's research supports Koyre's position that "Galileo conducted most of his experiments in his head and on paper," but recent scholarship indicates that this is far from being a settled issue. Also in relation to the Platonic controversy, the presentation of circular inertia and perfect circular motion as cornerstones of the heliocentric theory is weakened by Galileo's own counter-statements (*e.g.* p. 90) and Shea's arguments that Galileo regarded astronomy as a science of description and representation. Yet these controversial points are clearly and forcefully argued, and Shea's book is an original and valuable addition to the literature. It is supplemented by a brief but well-chosen bibliography and helpful index.

T.H. LEVERE, *University of Toronto*

Anthony Molho, *Florentine Public Finances in the Early Renaissance, 1400-1433*, Harvard Historical Monographs 65, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1971. Pp. xiv, 234. $10.50.

Professor Molho has given us the fiscal history of a brief, but turbulent, period in the political life of Florence which encompassed both a decade of relative peace and stability and a decade of war and defeat. As a result, the study benefits from the opportunity to contrast the commune's fiscal policy under varying conditions and to observe her capacity to respond to intense crisis. A highly condensed chapter on communal expenditures, mainly for military purposes and debt service, is followed by a short chapter on the regular sour-

ces of income, taxes on the contado and the gabelles. Since income, even in the best of times, was inadequate to cover expenses, the next two chapters are devoted to forced loans as a device for meeting the deficit and to the economic and political consequences of attempts to cut costs and to increase revenues. Failure to balance income against expenses led inevitably to the liquidity crisis of 1431-33; the book concludes with a highly suggestive, though cautious and responsible probe into the possible connections between fiscal difficulties and subsequent political and constitutional mutations.

Despite the fact, which Molho himself clearly acknowledges, that the uninventoried records of the Monte would have provided substantial additional documentary material, the book presents much that is original. Further, the statistical matter is normally set forth in clear and lucid form in a number of tables and several valuable appendices—an accomplishment that no one who has worked with late medieval fiscal and monetary records will lightly dismiss. The book, therefore, would seem an indispensable point of departure for future political or economic studies of Florence and indeed a useful reference for urban fiscal history on a more general level.

Some areas remain cloudy, however. The attempt to compare the relative burdens of taxation on Datini, Palmieri, and the Medici (pp. 94-102) suffers from the non-comparable nature of the records. Varying accounting practices and the relative disparity in political power among the three make the comparison more impressionistic than statistical. The Datini figures, for example, seem to suggest a rough order correlation between the rate of interest and the amount loaned. Such a result might occur either because the interest rate rose when fiscal demands were heaviest or because Datini was capable of protecting himself from forced impositions unless the return was sufficient to entice him to risk his funds. Some consideration of these alternatives would have been welcome. Again, Appendix D which gives the silver value of the florin from 1389 to 1432 would seem to require adjustment for the changing gold content of the florin as it is discussed on p. 131. In the same vein, the mechanism by which a heavier florin might be expected to enhance Florence's position in international trade requires development; the size of a gold coin is normally less significant than its integrity and stability, while the impact of a strengthened coinage on imports might well, under certain circumstances, differ from that on exports.

In essence, however, such criticism is of minor importance. Professor Molho has given us an extremely useful and original study of Florentine finance, and in his final chapter, an agenda for future work that makes one anticipate further studies of the same high quality.

HARRY A. MISKIMIN, *Yale University*

Julius A. Molinaro, ed. *Petrarch to Pirandello: Studies in Italian Literature in Honour of Beatrice Corrigan.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973. Pp. xvi, 259. $15.00.

In "A Bibliography of the Published Works of Beatrice Corrigan," which is the concluding tribute (J.H. Parker's) in the volume that honours "one of Canada's truly outstanding scholars in the humanities"—the geographical limitation seems unjust to me—those who have followed the "dolce guida e cara" through so many areas of Italian and foreign letters can find the summation of her interests. It is hardly necessary to stress her many compara-

tist interests and achievements, especially in the domain of Italo-English relations. Nor was Miss Corrigan ever limited to one particular genre although her particular penchant for the theatre, in particular that of the Renaissance, has always been in evidence. Her *Catalogue of Italian Plays, 1500-1700, in the Library of the University of Toronto* (1961) has become an important reference tool while many of her articles give new insight into the work of several important dramatists, especially Tasso, Trissino, and Pirandello.

The Introduction by Julius A. Molinaro brings into focus the new perspectives which these contributions open up for all those interested in literature and criticism. It is difficult for the reviewer not to dip into these summaries since the editor of the volume has brought out what is essential.

The first article is Thomas G. Bergin's translation and brief explanation of Petrarch's first *Bucolicum carmen,* the "Parthenias." These twelve compositions in dialogue form—called eclogues by the poet himself—on whose merits opinions have differed so widely deal with a great variety of subjects. The first one "depicts the life-long conflict of the poet, both as a man and as an artist torn between his conviction of the values of Christian otherworldliness and his enthusiasm for the classical tradition" (p. 4). While the allegory in some of the other eclogues is quite obscure, it is not so here. Aldo S. Bernardo spots the "Parthenias" as one of the important timbers in the vast woodlands of his important exploration, "Petrarch and the Art of Literature"; that is, Bernardo calls the *Epistolae Familiares* X. 4 "perhaps the clearest explanation of Petrarch's poetics" (p. 21) while Bergin had engaged the same letter as the most useful elucidation of "Parthenias." The main point made by Petrarch here is, as Bernardo remarks, that "the difference between poetry and theology is very slight indeed." The theologian and the poet can enjoy a fruitful coexistence. To continue for a moment with Molinaro: "Petrarch's theory of literature was also developed in the *Africa* and in the *Trionfi* where the poet's 'religiosity' is viewed no longer as 'religion' but rather as a product of artistic taste" (p. x). Towards the end of his study Bernardo calls to our attention that "perhaps the most original and modern quality that marks Petrarch's poetics is his profound awareness of his predicament" (p. 42). It is this self-awareness, especially in the *Canzoniere,* which has in fact given a new stimulus to the Petrarch criticism of our time.

Louise George Clubb, whose interest in Italian Renaissance plays has run parallel with Beatrice Corrigan's for many years, takes us into the hidden wings of the sylvan scenario. In "The Making of the Pastoral Play: Some Italian Experiments between 1573 and 1590" she sets out to prove that Tasso's *Aminta* and Guarini's *Pastor Fido* have held the centre of the stage for too long. Between 1573 and 1590 lesser writers of the academies and courts, like Borghini, Castelletti, Pasquaglio, and Pino (the last-named not mentioned by Carrara) wrote about twenty pastoral plays that show a curious blend of adherence to Tasso and sorties away from him. Prof. Clubb groups these plays according to various traits, thus revealing new strands in the texture of courtly and popular elements in Italian drama. For instance, "some pastoralists tried to draw nearer to the plausibility expected of urban *commedia erudita* by banishing magic. The result is city comedy in the country" (p. 54). These liberalizing trends gain in importance through the echo they had in England. Here is the surprising conclusion, amply substantiated by the examples that precede it: "It is the effect of multiplicity achieved by juxtaposition of contrasting elements and levels of style that makes the many Elizabethan plays in which pastoral elements are used with-

out declaration of form seem alien to the Italian genre as represented by *Aminta* and *Pastor Fido"* (p. 72).

The article by Danilo Aguzzi-Barbagli dealing with *"Ingegno, acutezza,* and *meraviglia* in the Sixteenth Century Great Commentaries to Aristotle's *Poetics"* combines the virtues of sound classical scholarship with fine aesthetic sensibilities. As one reads the title of Aguzzi-Barbagli's study, one anticipates that the various Greco-Roman and Renaissance tributaries will eventually merge into the turbulent waters of the Baroque. This expectation is admirably fulfilled. Aristotle's fundamental types of metaphors were propagated by Quintilian and Cicero. Robortello reinforced Aristotle by a passage from *De oratore,* "which was bound henceforth to be remembered in practically all the analyses of metaphorical style during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries" (p. 75). Emanuele Tesauro still used the same classical resources in his *Canocchiale aristotelico* of 1674, well over a century after Robortello, but Tesauro cleverly drew the new sap of *ingegno, meraviglia,* and *acutezza* from the old trunks. Other commentators added fresh nuances to the ancient heritage. We can quite agree with Piccolomini, who felt that the principal merit of the metaphor is its novelty. As we read towards the end of this important article, "The rise of Marinistic poetry proved that the direction taken by [Piccolomini's] investigation was not lost among his immediate successors." It bears repeating here that Tesauro conceived *ingegno* as the faculty in man that enables him to approach God's creative power.

C.P. Brand, in "Tasso, Spenser, and the *Orlando Furioso,"* adds new data to the existing literature on the influence of Ariosto and shows along which avenues each writer "went back to Ariosto as his starting point and ... refashioned the romance to meet his own artistic purposes and cultural situation" (p. 110).

Hannibal S. Noce has given attention to "Early Italian Translations of Addison's *Cato,*" showing the appeal of this "Roman" subject to Italian translators, ranging from those, like Anton Maria Salvini, who produced a literal "metaphrase" (the expression is Dryden's) to the more liberally conceived paraphrase. We learn here, far beyond the chronological delimitations, how translations can be successfully delivered and how they can be miscarried.

Among other post-Renaissance papers we find the late Ulrich Leo's close-knit investigation *"Il passero solitario:* Study of a Motif," which originally appeared in German ten years ago in a Festschrift dedicated to another distinguished humanist and 'Petrarchist,' Fritz Schalk.[1] Leo remains rather shut-in by his vast cultural and philological knowledge and I found, then as now, his voyage from the Old Testament to Leopardi, via Paulinus Nolanus, Albertus Magnus, and Petrarch, heavy going, leading to a serious drain of poetic feeling by the time one reaches the conclusion that the Italian Romantic did not have a lonely sparrow in mind, but that the "title of the Leopardi poem means precisely what the psalm denotes in the original Hebrew, namely: *the lonely bird,* and, more specifically, *the bird, lonely on the old tower"* (p. 149). The chairman of the Department of Italian at the University of Toronto, S.B. Chandler, has written on "The Moment in Manzoni," where the fountainhead is St. Augustine's *Confessions.* What is meant by "the moment"? On the one hand, "like Massillon and Bossuet, Manzoni recalls the Church's warning to sinners of the uncertainty of the moment and manner of death" (p. 157), and, in a broader sense, "time and human lives are composed of moments, at each of which man is his complete self and accountable as such" (p. 167). Chandler's study is replete with meaningful references to authors outside Italy, especially French and German ones. However, when one

finds a mention of Sartre's "facticity" in this context, one has to regret the absence of Bergson's "cinematography."

For the sake of condensation, one could combine Giovanni Cecchetti's "Verga and *verismo:* The Search for Style and Language" and "The Italian Novel and the avant-garde" by Dante della Terza, where Verga also plays a prominent part. Cecchetti brings out that Verga, rejecting all linguistic patterns that he considered shopworn, was striving to create a language which was born of the inner life of his characters, a quest he launched when he was writing the short stories gathered under the title *Vita dei campi.* Of course the term *verismo* remains applicable in the purely stylistic area. Verga and Capuana keep their pride of place where the evolution of the modern Italian novel is concerned. Della Terza courageously follows "the useful path of history" (p. 238). Traditional cultural values were first seriously questioned in the 1880s. We readily see Pirandello and Svevo among the questioners, Marinetti as a radical destroyer, and D'Annunzio outside the avant-garde. Those who were preoccupied with "the tension towards the future" (p. 240) were Moravia, Gadda, Vittorini, and, to a lesser extent, Pavese. There is perhaps an excessive play here with the terms "avant-garde" and "neo-avant-garde," and in the discussion of Vittorini one might add a reference to the opening passages of his *Diario in pubblico* (1957), where D'Annunzio is bluntly called inferior while the message and meaning of Verga for the young writers of his day (the entry is dated 1929) are put very much in doubt.

Two more papers deal with the theatre, Maddalena Kuitunen's "Ibsen in the Theatre of Roberto Bracco" and "Pirandello's *La Patente:* Play and Story" by Olga Ragusa. In Kuitenen's discussion we learn to what extent Bracco was dependent upon and independent from Ibsen, faring rather well in the final balance sheet. As a champion of women's rights this Italian dramatist has achieved a new relevance. Every full study of Pirandello has to deal with the dramatization of his *novelle.* Among these, *La Patente* now gets the attention it deserves—although the author is generous with her acknowledgement of the perceptive remarks made by Morpurgo, Rauhut, and D. Vittorini. Prof. Ragusa has fully accomplished her plan to let "play light up story, and story play" (p. 228)—the short story was first published in 1911, the play in 1918—but, more than that, she makes clear that this one-acter rightfully belongs among those plays showing "the emergence of the character without an author" (*ibid.*). Both the *novella* and its dramatic *rifacimento* are deeply imbedded in Sicilian superstition (the *iettatura* of the play, or *malocchio*), to which is given an additional ominous dimension by the "coda" that Pirandello added to the play, the death of the canary, not caused by a gust of wind, according to the by now power-drunk Chiarchiaro, but by the occult powers that he claims to possess even before the conferral of the license (or diploma). This warped identity must be recognized by "Tutti!" a point which O. Ragusa strengthens by quoting from an article by B. Corrigan ("Pirandello and the Theatre of the Absurd"): "Pirandello holds that the individual cannot feel secure in his illusion unless he can persuade others to share it."

From Pirandello it may seem a long way to the present scholarly preoccupations of Beatrice Corrigan, the *Collected Works of Erasmus* in English, a vast enterprise of which she is Co-ordinating Editor. But the erstwhile professor and perennial scholar has covered such diverse areas of thought for many years, and *From Petrarch to Pirandello* is close to being a true reflection of the exceptional range of her knowledge and apperceptions.

BODO L.O. RICHTER, *State University of New York at Buffalo*

Note

1 *Wort und Text: Festschrift für Fritz Schalk.* The first word of the title has been printed erroneously as *Worte* (Introd., p. v). In the middle of the same page, "point" should be "points." Other oversights should be corrected as follows: *Originalita: Originalità* (p. 24, n. 2); CLUB: CLUBB (top of p. 68); égale: égal (p. 165); *expérimentelle: expérimentale* (p. 175, n. 10); *veriste: vériste* (p. 176, n. 12); exceptionelles: exceptionnels (p. 190); Mundtartdramatiker: Mundartdramatiker (p. 206, n. 17); déjà-vue: déjà-vu (p. 248). On the same page, the comma after "several people at once" should be changed to a period.

Fenlon, Dermot. *Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy: Cardinal Pole and the Counter Reformation.* Cambridge University Press, 1972. $18.95.

The Italian Evangelists or *spirituali,* as Dermot Fenlon calls them, using the sixteenth century term, were men who, believing in the doctrine of justification by faith alone, hoped to reach an agreement with Luther while preserving the religious order of the Roman Church. Since many of them were members of the highest reaches in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, this group enjoyed a certain power until the 1540's. But in 1541, Juan de Valdés' death, the collapse of the meeting of reunion at Regensburg, and finally, Cardinal Gasparo Contarini's death, spelled trouble for the *spirituali.* Most of them, however, failed to recognize the signs of crisis, and soon regrouped at Viterbo around Cardinal Reginald Pole.

Fenlon's book deals mainly with Pole's involvement with the *spirituali,* a subject which he feels shows the influence of the Reformation on the Catholic Church. Until the approval of the Tridentine decree on justification by faith in January 1547, the *spirituali* continued to believe that their dream of reunion would be realized. The dream ended at Trent; Cardinal Pole became their final spokesman when, during the council, he very reluctantly expressed his views on justification by faith. Following this, the Viterbo circle disbanded, with most of its members accepting the stand taken by the Catholic Church. Thus, for the moment at least, it seemed that the *spirituali's* ambiguous support of Luther's view on faith had been forgotten. Unfortunately, this was not so; some of the *spirituali* were later tried by the Inquisition, while others, like Pole, were persecuted by the accusation that they had held Protestant beliefs. When Paul IV Carafa was elected to the pontificate in 1555, Pole's orthodoxy was openly challenged, and by the time of his death in 1558, the English cardinal was regarded "in Rome as a Lutheran and in Germany as a Papist" (p. 280).

Fenlon's book is an intelligent account of the role of the *spirituali* in the history of the Catholic Church and a worthwhile contribution to the scholarship on the religious battles of the crucial decades of mid-sixteenth century Italy. The author handles his sources with ease, carefully blending accuracy and imagination. His portrayal of Pole's ambiguous and enigmatic character is vivid and coherent, especially during the years of the first phase of Trent. Also, there is real sophistication in Fenlon's handling of the complex problem of the nature and beliefs of the Italian *spirituali.*

Yet there are a few things which I find unconvincing. Fenlon's introduction is at times unnecessarily obscure. For instance, to be sure of the identity of "the work which, more than any other, has been regarded as the most typical expression of Italian Evangelism," (p. 15), one must read nearly fifty pages. The same holds true for "the man who, more

than anyone, induced in Pole a sympathy with the psychological disposition animating Luther." (p. 20). Also, I find Fenlon's portrayal of Carafa rather harsh. Paul IV was not a likeable figure, but perhaps if put in the proper historical context, his pontificate and his handling of the heretical question have more merits than Fenlon seems willing to give them. Finally, I have some doubts about Fenlon's reconstruction of Pole's years after the Tridentine decree on justification by faith. Fenlon admits that "Pole's public standing was at no time in jeopardy before the reign of Paul IV." (p. 280) At the same time he suggests that Pole's position was becoming increasingly less secure. This statement does not seem justified by the evidence. It is true that the charge of unorthodoxy against the cardinal would come up during the period from 1549 onwards. On the other hand, the fact that Pole was a strong candidate for the papacy in 1549-50, in the 1555 conclave which elected Marcellus II, and in the conclave of the same year which chose Paul IV, seems to indicate that, in spite of these accusation, Pole's standing on the eve of Carafa's election in 1555 was as strong as it had ever been.

ANTONIO SANTOSUOSSO, *University of Western Ontario*

Ninth Annual Report (1972-1973)
Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies
Victoria University - October 1973

As the Centre begins its tenth year, it is appropriate to pay tribute to those who have contributed so much of their talents, time and energy to the founding and effective operation of the Centre. From the very beginning it has been a collective venture involving the cooperation of persons both within and outside Victoria University. It behooves us, however, to single out for special mention Professor F. David Hoeniger who, as founding Director, really created the Centre and through his vision and dynamic leadership made it into a flourishing institution which would be able to continue on its own. Mention should be made here also of the many years of loyal service given by Mrs. Shirley Vincent, who resigned last winter as Centre Secretary. Her thorough understanding of the practical side of the Centre's work, her courteousness toward staff and students, and her interest in the Centre's activities all helped to ensure its success. The new secretary, Miss Bev Jahnke, has performed outstanding service since taking over her assignment.

In the last year or so the Centre has tried to provide an increased amount of supervision in the Centre library. This has been possible only because of the very loyal and generous service given by the Fellows and other members of the Centre staff. Our thanks go to Mrs. D. Sewell who has been cataloguing the Erasmus items, Miss Christine Forsyth, Miss Maud M. Hutcheson, and Miss Carla Salvador, all of whom contributed to the Bio-bibliographical project on Renaissance best sellers, under the directorship of Professor Ruth Harvey. Mr. Kenneth Bartlett, a new Bibliographical Fellow, has been researching an aspect of the Cambridge Platonists while working on his dissertation. Mrs. Diane Hughes will be carrying out her own research project as Research Fellow under the auspices of the Centre. Mr. Paul Agius, an undergraduate, is doing some part-time work as supervisor in the Centre library. Mrs. Elizabeth Bourne, a Victoria alumna, has recently been appointed as Research Assistant for revision of the Centre brochure and preparation of submissions for donations from various foundations.

The Centre's readers have also been greatly aided through the services of the Librarian and staff of the E.J. Pratt Library. Much of the smoothness of operation of the Centre is due to the cooperation given in readers services, as well as in cataloguing, book acquisitions, preparations and binding. The Centre's collection, processed mainly by the Victoria University Library staff, now stands at approximately 14,000 volumes.

With reductions in our book budget limiting the number of purchases, we have established certain criteria for narrowing down and specializing our new acquisitions, priority being given to purchases of Erasmus materials needed by CWE, to books needed by professors and students in graduate courses and to materials needed by local scholars in particular research projects. Some attention is also being given to the areas of British drama 1450-1650, Renaissance translations, humanist texts, Zwingli and the Strasbourg and Rhine Valley reformers. Voluntary coordination of purchases with local libraries has helped to reduce costs.

Last year we purchased a number of reprints of scholarly works, some in fac-simile editions, and also many critical editions of Renaissance literary works. Group VIII in the

English Experience has now arrived. The Parker Society holdings are now complete. We have continued to buy Renaissance translations of the classics, concentrating on those in Italian. A few more volumes of the new critical edition of Erasmus' works have arrived from Amsterdam. A very useful acquisition has been the *Index Aureliensis* which attempts to list all sixteenth century imprints. Other additions include sixteenth century humanist commentaries on Aristotle and Plato, the *Opera* of Adrian Turnebus (Strasbourg, 1600) and several editions of the *Adagia* not already in the Erasmus collection.

We wish to express appreciation to those institutions and individuals who generously contributed book gifts to the Centre library. Victoria Library gave us Erasmus' *De ratione studii ac legendi interpretandique auctores liber* (Strasbourg: Schürer, 1512). Any gifts of editions of works by or edited by Erasmus, especially those published before 1545, will be gratefully appreciated. It is gratifying to note how the Collection, originally given to Victorian University by Professor A. Bell, has grown.

It is encouraging to note the increasing circulation of the *Bulletin,* published jointly by the Toronto Renaissance and Reformation Colloquium and CRRS. The editor, Professor Julius A. Moinaro, reports that a number of interesting manuscripts for possible publication have been submitted by scholars from English Canadian universities. He has also let it be known that articles in French from scholars in Quebec would be most welcome.

The Colloquium was organized to facilitate meetings of Renaissance and Reformation scholars and students in the general Toronto area, but has some regular members from farther afield. This year's chairman, Professor James K. McConica, CSB, of the Pontifical Institute for Mediaeval Studies, sent out a letter with information on the dinner meetings and announced lectures.

Last year Professors Ruth Harvey and H.R. Secor offered INV 201, a course on Renaissance Culture for undergraduates. They again wish to express their thanks to other members of the University of Toronto community who very generously gave guest lectures. This teaching experience proved to be a most interesting and demanding challenge to those involved. Many of the students were keenly interested in using research materials in the CRRS library, and some indicated their wish to pursue more advanced studies in a specialized area of the Renaissance in one or more departments.

The establishment of a Centre for Renaissance Studies within the School of Graduate Studies, modelled after the Centre for Medieval Studies, has been sought during the last five or six years. Owing to budget cuts, only tentative plans have been projected and for the moment the Renaissance Centre will have to operate on a modest budget, serving essentially as an agency whereby students interested in pursuing studies in Renaissance subjects may have their programme coordinated with respect to departmental offerings. (See School of Graduate Studies Calendar 1973-74, pp. 280-81. Inquiries concerning the Centre for Renaissance Studies should be addressed to Prof. Sheldon Zitner, Academic Secretary, or to Professor Stillman Drake, Acting Director.)

In the last year the Centre has had a number of distinguished visitors and speakers. Frequently we were able to co-sponsor lectures by well-known scholars.

Professor Jacques Courvoisier, Professor of Church History at the University of Geneva, lectured on "Zwingli and his Doctrine of the Sacraments" and "Calvin and the Roman Church" at the joint invitation of CRRS and the Toronto School of Theology. Professor V.E. Graham, Professor of French at University College, lectured on "Poetry as Propagan-

da in Sixteenth Century France," as the "Erasmus" lecturer in the Victoria College lecture series sponsored by CRRS.

In the new year, CRRS and the Graduate Department of History each sponsored one of two lectures by Professor Robert M. Kingdon, Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin: "The Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre (1572): 1. Protestant Reaction, 2. Catholic Reaction." CRRS invited Professor Jean Delumeau, a prominent French historian from the Sorbonne who was teaching for a few months at l'Université de Sherbrooke, to lecture on "Les Chrétiens à l'époque de la Réforme." Professor Earl Miner, Department of English at Princeton University, accepted our invitation to be the "Erasmus" lecturer in February on the topic "Assaying the Golden World of Renaissance Poetics."

Mention should be made of the excellent and friendly relationship we have with the Renaissance Centre at Sherbrooke. Professors F.D. Hoeniger and H.R. Secor, when asked last year to carry out an evaluation study of the Sherbrooke Centre, gave their full support to the programme and activities proposed for the Centre by the Director, Professor J.M. de Bujanda. We feel that this spirit of cordial cooperation with Sherbrooke has important possibilities for the future in terms of student exchanges, cooperative projects, etc.

Lest anyone think that not enough concern has been given to Reformation interests, we hasten to add that the latter has not been neglected. Frequently there has been consultation with members of the theological colleges and joint sponsoring of lecturers. Even so, the present director has thought that CRRS would greatly benefit from having several theologian-historians appointed as Reformation Consultants. As listed last year, Pastor Walther Dedi, now in Milan, is our official European Representative, concerned chiefly with the Swiss-German Reformers, especially in Zürich, Berne and Basel. Last spring the Managing Committee unanimously approved the appointment of R. Gerald Hobbs, Professor at Huntington College in Laurentian University, as Reformation Consultant. He is a graduate of Victoria and Emmanuel Colleges and the Faculté de théologie at Strasbourg. He will concentrate on the Protestant Reformation in Strasbourg and the Rhine Valley, and, thanks to his knowledge of Hebrew, will be able to develop our library holdings with materials on the revival of Hebrew studies as a humanistic discipline at the time of the Reformation.

It is perhaps premature to give much information on what we shall label the Zwingli Project. In brief, it would involve the publishing of five volumes or so of selected works of Zwingli in English translation. Presumably, CRRS would not necessarily be the publisher, but serve rather as the agency to set in motion the entire project. At a meeting of the Managing Committee held on May 16, 1973, a sub-committee whose members are Professors D. Demson, J.W. Grant and A. Farris, was authorized to investigate the possibility of CRRS sponsoring the publication named above. During the summer Professor Demson was able to consult with Dr. Ulrich Gaebler in Switzerland on this matter and has also been corresponding with several scholars in the United States, among them Professor Ford Lewis Battles, on the subject of publication. Further information will be available in the next frew months.

Among those who have contributed to the Centre during the last year, we wish especially to thank the Harold J. Fox Educational Foundation, which once again made a contribution of $1,000. Our thanks go also to Professor Hoeniger who through his spring stamp and book sales raised approximately $1,000.

In recent years, as the financial situation has grown more critical in the universities, the

budget reductions have seriously hindered the development of new programmes of study and research projects. Yet if the Centre is to be run on a truly professional basis, it must attempt to secure adequate funds to provide grants and salaries that are realistic in present-day terms. The director would like to see the establishment of six or eight research fellowships of about $8,000 each for highly qualified Ph.D.'s, for whom there are no teaching jobs available in universities at present. The Centre would also like to have the funds to invite a senior Renaissance scholar to the University campus to give a series of lectures and seminars in fields not usually covered in the regular curriculum. The Centre is also facing a dwindling purchasing power in the book budget, as prices of antiquarian books have risen three-fold over the course of the last few years and the prices of new scholarly books limit the amount of our acquisitions, even though within the decade they will be difficult to find.

Because of these serious requirements for more funds, the Centre is now preparing several appeals for funds and submissions it can present to various foundations and departments of the Provincial Government. We believe a good case can be made for CRRS projects; however, we will need the continued support and interest of friends of the Centre in this venture.

H.R. SECOR, *Director*

AUTORENLEXIKON ZUR DEUTSCHEN LITERATUR ZWISCHEN CA. 1450 UND CA. 1620

A major new project of considerable interest to Renaissance scholars has been initiated at the Institute for German Philology and General and Comparative Literature at the Technical University of Berlin: a biographical dictionary for German literature between ca. 1450 and ca. 1620. The enterprise is being supported by the German Research Council (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft) and is to be published by the house of de Gruyter in Berlin.

The concept of "German Literature" is being kept to its broadest to include technical and neo-Latin texts of all kinds.

A team of scholars in Berlin is in the process of gathering the research materials. Primary and secondary bibliography and, as far as necessary and possible, texts themselves will be provided by this team to all contributors.

Contributors are being sought in all fields: theology, history, German language and literature, comparative literature, literary, bibliographical, and cultural history, history of pedagogy, history of science, etc. This includes colleagues and qualified graduate students in all such fields.

Some background information can be found in: *Euphorion*, LVI (1962), 125ff. and *Jahrbuch für internationale Germanistik*, IV, 1 (1972), 183-186.

For further information, prospective contributors should contact:

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INDEX TO VOLUME X (1974)

AUTHORS

AVALLE-ARCE, Juan Bautista. (Review) Arthur Efron, *Don Quixote and the Dulcineated World,* 53-54

BRETT-EVANS, David. (Review) Frank L. Borchardt, *German Antiquity in Renaissance Myth,* 73-75

BROWN, Russell M. (Review) Aldo Scaglione, *The Classical Theory of Composition: From Its Origins to the Present,* 69-70

CORTADA, James W. "Who was Christopher Columbus?" 99-102

DALY, J.W. (Review) G.R. Elton, *Policy and Police: The Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell,* 47-48

DE BUJANDA, J.M. "L'influence de Sebond en Espagne au XVIe Siècle." 78-84

DEVEREUX, E.J. (Review) Albert Hyma, *The Life of Desiderius Erasmus,* 125-26

DOOB, P.B.R. and SHAND, G.B. "Jonson's Tortoise and Avian," 43

DRAKE, Stillman. (Review) W.P.D. Wightman, *Science in a Renaissance Society,* and A.G.R. Smith, *Science and Society in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,* 52-53

DÜNNHAUPT, Gerhard. "'Historia Vom Rasenden Roland'—The First German Ariosto Translation," 37-44

FOURNIER, Hannah. (Review) Joseph L. Allaire, ed. *Marguerite d'Angouleme Reine de Navarre* "Le Miroir de l'Ame Pecheresse," 73

FRANK, Roberta. (Review) Lynn White, Jr. ed. *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies,* Volume 2, 47

GIANTURCO, Elio (Review) Frederick Hartt. *History of Italian Renaissance Art,* 66-69

GRENDLER, Marcella. (Review) Louis Green. *Chronicle into History: An Essay on the Interpretation of History in Florentine Fourteenth-century Chronicles,* 132-33

HEGYI, Otmar. (Review) Augusta Espantosa Foley. *Occult Arts and Doctrine in the Theatre of Juan Ruiz de Alarcón,* 58-60

KEMP, Walter H. (Review) Jerome Roche. *Palestrina,* 70-72

LACEY, Stephen. (Review) Gerald Eades Bentley. *The Profession of Dramatists in Shakespeare's Time, 1590-1642,* 64-66

LEVERE, T.H. (Review) William R. Shea. *Galileo's Intellectual Revolution. Middle Period, 1610-1632,* 133-34

LYTLE, Guy Fitch, (Review) J.M. Bujanda ed. *Érasme de Rotterdam, Liberté et Unité dans l'Eglise,* 45-46

MacCURDY, Raymond R. (Review) Jack H. Parker and Arthur M. Fox, general editors. *Calderon de la Barca Studies, 1951-69. A Critical Survey and Annotated Bibliography,* 60-61

McCONICA James K. (Review) Derek Wilson. *A Tudor Tapestry: Men, Women and Society in Reformation England,* 48-49

McCLELLAND, John. (Review) L. Clark Keating, *Joachim du Bellay,* 128

McCLELLAND, John. (Review) *A Word-Index to the Poetic Works of Ronsard,* 128-30

McLUHAN, Marshall, "Francis Bacon: Ancient or Modern?" 93-98

McSORLEY, Harry. (Review) Gordon Rupp. *Patterns of Reformation,* 49-50

MISKIMIN, Harry A. (Review) Anthony Molho, *Florentine Public Finances in the Early Renaissance, 1400-1433,* 134-35

MOLINARO, Julius A. "Avarice and Sloth in the *"Orlando Furioso",* 103-15

NORTON, Glyn, P. "Translation Theory in Renaissance France: Etienne Dolet and the Rhetorical Tradition," 1-13

PARKER, Douglas H. (Review) Dickie A. Spurgeon, ed. *Tudor Translations of the Colloquies of Erasmus (1536-1584),* 46-47.

PARKER, J.H., Thomas E. Case, Ed. *A Critical and Annotated Edition of Lope de Vega's "Las almenas de Toro",* and Fred M. Clark, *Objective Methods for Testing Authenticity and the Study of Ten Doubtful "Comedias" attributed to Lope de Vega,* 56-58

PATTERSON, Annabel. (Review) Forrest G. Robinson. *The Shape of Things Known: Sidney's Apology in its Philosophical Tradition,* 62-64

PETERS, Edward. (Review) Joseph H. Marshburn, *Murder & Witchcraft in England, 1550-1640,* 123-24

PREDMORE, Richard L. (Review) Margaret Church. *Don Quixote· The Knight of La Mancha,* 54-55

PRIESTLEY, John. "Montaigne and History," 85-92

REID, Stanford, W. "John Knox and His Interpreters," 14-24

RICHTER, Bodo L. O. (Review) Julius A. Molinaro, ed. *Petrarch to Pirandello,* 135-39

ROWLAND, Beryl. (Review) Thomas P. Harrison and F. David Hoeniger, eds. *The Fowles of Heauen or History of Birdes,* 124-25

SANDERS, Leslie. "*The Revenger's Tragedy.* A Play on the Revenge Play," 25-36

SANTOSUOSSO, Antonio. (Review) Dermot Fenlon, *Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy: Cardinal Pole and the Counter Reformation,* 139-40

SECOR, H.R. The Ninth Annual Report, CRRS, 141-44

SEWELL, D. Swift. "The Erasmus Collection in the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies," 116-19

SHAND, G.B. See DOOB

TAYLOR, Robert R. (Review) Albert Douglas Menut, ed. *Maistre Nicole Oresme: Le Livre de Politiques d'Aristotle,* 62

THOMSON, D.F.S. (Review) Richard L. De Molen, ed. *Erasmus of Rotterdam: A Quincentennial Symposium,* 126-27

TOUPIN, Robert, S.J. "The Filmed Manuscripts and Printed Books of the Vatican Library," 120-21

WALKER, John A. (Review) Florence M. Weinberg, *The Wine and the Will: Rabelais's Bacchic Christianity,* 130-31

WEBBER, Edwin J. (Review) Ruth Pike. *Aristocrats and Traders. Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century,* 55-56

WILEY, Karen F. (Review) Arthur P. Stabler, *The Legend of Marguerite de Roberval,* 131-32

WOOD, Chauncey. (Review) Wayne Shumaker. *The Occult Sciences in the Renaissance: A Study in Intellectual Patterns,* 51-52

ZITNER, S.P. (Review) Rosalie L. Colie, *The Resources of Kind: Genre-Theory in the Renaissance,* 122-23

BOOKS REVIEWED

ALLAIRE, Joseph L. ed. *Marguerite d'Angouleme Reine de Navarre. Le Miroir de l'Ame Pecheresse,* 73

BENTLEY, Gerald Eades. *The Profession of Dramatist in Shakespeare's Time, 1590-1642,* 64-66

BORCHARDT, Frank L. *German Antiquity in Renaissance Myth,* 73-75

BUJANDA, J.M. ed. *Érasme de Rotterdam, Liberté et Unité dans l'Église,* 45-46

BUSH, M.L. *Renaissance, Reformation and the Outer World, 1450-1660,* 50

CASE, Thomas E. ed. *A Critical and annotated Edition of Lope de Vega's "Las almenas de Toro,"* 56-57

CHURCH, Margaret. *Don Quixote: The Knight of La Mancha,* 54-55

CLARK, Fred M. *Objective Methods for Testing Authenticity and the Study of Ten Doubtful "Comedias" Attributed to Lope de Vega,* 57-58

COLIE, Rosalie L. *The Resources of Kind: Genre-Theory in the Renaissance,* 122-23

CREORE, A.E. *A Word-Index to the Poetic Works of Ronsard,* 128-30

De MOLEN, Richard L. *Erasmus of Rotterdam: A Quincentennial Symposium,* 126-27

EFRON, Arthur. *Don Quixote and the Dulcineated World,* 53-54

ELTON, G.R. *Policy and Police: The Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell,* 47-48

FENLON, Dermot, *Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy: Cardinal Pole and The Counter Reformation,* 139-40

FOLEY, Augusta Espantosa. *Occult Arts and Doctrine in the Theatre of Juan Ruiz de Alarcón,* 58-60

FOX, M. Arthur. See PARKER, Jack H.

GREEN, Louis, *Chronicle into History: An Essay on the Interpretation of History in Florentine Fourteenth-Century Chronicles,* 132-33

HARRISON, Thomas P. and F. David HOENIGER, eds. *The Fowles of Heauen or History of Birdes,* 124-25

HARTT, Frederick. *History of Italian Renaissance Art,* 66-69

HYMA, Albert. *The Life of Desiderius Erasmus,* 125-26

KEATING, L. Clark. *Joachim du Bellay,* 128

MARSHBURN, Joseph H. *Murder & Witchcraft in England, 1550-1640,* 123-24

MENUT, Albert Douglas, ed. *Maistre Nicole Oresme: Le Livre de Politiques d'Aristotle,* 62

MOIHO, Anthony. *Florentine Public Finances in the Early Renaissance, 1400-1433,* 134-35

MOLINARO, Julius A. ed. *Petrarch to Pirandello,* 135-39

PARKER, Jack H. and Arthur M. FOX, general editors. *Calderón de la Barca Studies, 1951-69. A Critical Survey and Annotated Bibliography,* 60-61

PIKE, Ruth. *Aristocrats and Traders. Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century,* 55-56

ROBINSON, Forrest G. *The Shape of Things Known: Sidney's Apology in the Philosophical Tradition,* 62-64

ROCHE, Jerome. *Palestrina,* 70-72

RUPP, Gordon. *Patterns of Reformation,* 49-50

SCAGLIONE, Aldo. *The Classical Theory of Composition: From Its Origins to the Present,* 69-70

SHEA, William, *R. Galileo's Intellectual Revolution. Middle Period, 1610-1632,* 133-34

SHUMAKER, Wayne. *The Occult Sciences in the Renaissance: A Study in Intellectual Patterns,* 51-52

SMITH, A.G.R., *Science and Society in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,* 52-53

SPURGEON, Dickie A. ed. *Tudor Translations of the Colloquies of Erasmus (1536-1584),* 46-47

STABLER, Arthur P. *The Legend of Marguerite de Roberval,* 131-32

WEINBERG, Florence M. *The Wine and the Will: Rabelais's Bacchic Christianity,* 130-31

WHITE, Lynn Jr. ed. *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies,* Volume 2, 47

WIGHTMAN, W.P.D. *Science in a Renaissance Society,* 52-53

WILSON, Derek. *A Tudor Tapestry: Men, Women and Society in Reformation England,* 48-49