THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY
DANTE COLLECTION

SENIOR LECTURER IN ITALIAN IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

THE first exhibition of Dante’s works to be held in the John
Rylands Library was in the year 1909. In his preface to the
catalogue the late Dr. Guppy wrote of the Library as then pos­
sessing five manuscripts and nearly 6,000 printed volumes and
pamphlets relating to Dante, noting that the nucleus of this
collection, including the rarest and most important of the early
editions, had formed part of the Althorp Library bought by Mrs.
Rylands from Earl Spencer in 1892, that this had been added to
from time to time and that there was a considerable amount of
modern literature on the subject. The number of manuscripts
has now risen to seven; and in the half century since the ex­
hibition there will have been added—at a conservative estimate—
another 500 printed items, bringing the total probably to 6,500.
It is common knowledge that the Library has a large and interest­
ing Dante collection; but the extent of its wealth and its com­
position is known only to the comparatively few Dante scholars
who, having the good fortune to be in Manchester, have the
pleasure and privilege of consulting it. In the hope of making
the collection more widely known, this survey attempts to give
some idea of its treasures and at the same time, to indicate,—if
inadequately, owing to the vast amount of material involved,—
wherein lies its value and interest to the student of Dante.

The material is considered in two main sections: I: Texts,
manuscript and printed, of the Divina Commedia; Minor Works,

1 I should like to thank the John Rylands staff for dealing so promptly and
patiently with my numerous requests. I am particularly indebted to Mr. Ronald
Hall, Keeper of Printed Books, and Dr. Frank Taylor, Keeper of Manuscripts,
for their help and advice, and especially to Mr. Hall for information regarding
the editions of the Divina Commedia, and for his listing of these, which shortened
my work very considerably.

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I

Texts of the Divina Commedia

There are seven manuscripts relating to Dante. Information regarding them is given in the Hand-list published in 1930, since then there have been no new Dante acquisitions.

The earliest in date, Italian MS. 1, vellum, is "a precious codex of the canzonieri of Dante and Petrarch, written in the second half of the XIVth century". It contains sonnets and canzoni by Petrarch and two sestine and thirteen canzoni by Dante. Of Dante, two canzoni, "E m'increscie di me si malamente" and "La dispietata mente che pur mira . . ." are of the Vita Nuova period but not included by Dante in that work; two canzoni and the two sestine belong to the Pietra group; and the remainder are philosophical in content and include the three canzoni from the Convivio. There are three beautifully illuminated borders. On two are portraits of Petrarch and on the third a portrait of Dante; both are accompanied by their ladies. Two folios bear the arms of the Florentine family of the Strozzi, for the manuscript was written by a certain Paolo at the request of Lorenzo, son of Carlo degli Strozzi (d. 1383). While in the possession of Oswald Weigel of Leipzig, from 1848-1959, it was consulted by the German Dante scholar Carl Witte, who had permission to use it for his Nuove correzioni al convito di Dante Alighieri proposte da Carlo Witte (Leipzig, 1854), where it is mentioned and acknowledged. It was acquired by the Library in 1901 with manuscripts from the Bibliotheca Lindesiana of the Earls of Crawford.

There are two manuscripts of the Divina Commedia written in the fifteenth century. One, Italian MS. 2, paper, undated, also

1 M. Tyson, Hand-list of the Collections of French and Italian manuscripts in the John Rylands Library (1930), pp. 6-7, 37-8, 54-6, 58, from which much of this information is taken.  
comes from the Bibliotheca Lindesiana. Written in double columns, it has for each cantica an incipit giving a brief indication of the theme and an explicit. Preceding each incipit is a poem in terza rima dealing with the subject matter of Dante's poem and freely using lines taken therefrom. After the last explicit follows Dante's Professione di fede, that is, the paraphrase in terza rima of the Credo, Decalogue, Seven Deadly Sins, the Paternoster and Ave Maria; it concludes with a religious poem in octaves. This manuscript once belonged to Seymour Kirkup, an English painter and collector of fine books and manuscripts who lived in Florence for many years, and who is particularly remembered for having discovered Giotto's portrait in the Bargello fresco in the year 1840. His painted copy of the fresco is now the only record remaining of what it once was like, for the original has since been much altered by being painted over and restored.

The other fifteenth century manuscript, Italian MS. 49, written on paper, has the distinction of being one of the few Dante manuscripts that are dated. Written by a certain Bartholomew Landi de Landis of Prato, a notary, it gives the date of completion as 29 June 1416. There are other items in the same hand, including the Latin poem, by Benvenuto da Imola, the fourteenth century commentator, in praise of Dante; the spurious Dante canzone in praise of Florence, beginning: "Patria degna di triumphal fama . . ."; and a new translation of Cicero's De senectute which repeats Bartholomew's name and gives the date when he finished this version as 23 December 1426. This manuscript was studied by the late Dr. A. Cossio, who, after pointing out that it was unknown to Dante scholars and even to the general Dante Exhibition of 1865, noted that several rubrics show a good understanding of the artistic value of Dante in the copyist; but the numerous marginal glosses, in Latin for the Inferno and Purgatorio and in Italian for the Paradiso, are

1 "The Landi Dante Codex at Manchester", The Antiquary, June 1910, n.s., VI, 209-13. Dr. Cossio lived for many years in Manchester and was a founder-member of the Manchester Dante Society in 1906. He was the author of Sulla Vita Nuova di Dante, 1907; Teoria dell'arte e della bellezza in Dante, 1921; La Divina Commedia secondo i codici di J. P. Morgan, 1921.
not very original, being for the most part abridged copies from other commentators. He considered the manuscript very important from the point of view of the text and its numerous variants, especially for the *Inferno*, and interesting as regards orthography and grammar, for it offers useful material for the study of the language at the beginning of the fifteenth century. He also indicated its relationship with four other important manuscripts, noting that it does not depend directly on any of these but shares with them dependence upon an equally important paleographical source. A new edition of Dante's poem, based on this text, was prepared by him and the late Sig. A. Valgimigli, but it was never published. The manuscript bears on the flyleaf the autograph of G. L. Passerini, (Count G. L. Passerini of Florence, the Dante scholar, was editor of the *Giornale dantesco* from its beginning in 1893 until the year 1915) and it was bequeathed to the Library by Mrs. Rylands in 1908.

A third manuscript of the *Divina Commedia*, Italian MS. 48, is not complete. It contains the *Inferno*, and *Purgatorio* up to and including line 135 of canto xxv. It is written on vellum in a beautifully clear and even hand and bears the autograph of the Rev. Walter Sneyd (1809-88), whose family came from Keele in Staffordshire.

A modern manuscript of the *Divina Commedia*, Italian MS. 50, another of Mrs. Rylands' bequests, written and illustrated by Attilio Razzolini of Florence in 1902, is a particularly sumptuous production and an interesting example of modern illumination. There are 104 folios on vellum, each mounted on cardboard. Four of these form decorated frontispieces to the whole work and the three *cantiche*, and on the others the text is written, but only on the right side—each folio containing one canto of the poem in four columns. The left side is lavishly adorned with

1 (1) MS. of Berlin, de Batines 525; (2) Santa Croce, called MS. of Filippo Villani, Laurenziana XXVI, 1; (3) MS. Vaticano, 3199, of Boccaccio, de Batines, 319; (4) MS. Gaetani-Sermoneta, de Batines 375.
3 Information kindly supplied by Dr. Taylor.
borders and miniatures. Coloured copies of this manuscript were printed in the form of one hundred double post cards, each card containing one canto, in Milan, in 1902-3.

A late nineteenth-century manuscript, written on paper, Italian MS. 56, gives the text of the *Vita nuova*, according to Strozzi MS. 143, with variants added from a fourteenth-century manuscript in the Laurentian Library at Florence. It also includes sonnets by minor poets, Bindo Altoviti, Tommaso di Giunta and Deo Boni, and Dante's sonnet to Guido Cavalcanti, beginning: "Guido ivorre che tu elippo e dio . . ." [sic.]. It bears the ex libris of Jos. L. Passerini (the Passerini mentioned above) who used it in his preparation of the edition of the *Vita nuova* published in Florence in 1897, a copy of which is in the Library. This manuscript, too, was part of Mrs. Rylands' bequest.

Lastly, Italian MS. 57, also a bequest of Mrs. Rylands, which once belonged to G. L. Passerini, is a "Memoria" written in 1847 by Marchese Torquato Antaldi of Pesaro concerning two Dante manuscripts in Pesaro. The manuscripts in question are the Antaldino, belonging to the Antaldo family, and the Olivierano, bequeathed to the Pesaro Library.

The last two items are interesting from the point of view of the text and of G. L. Passerini's contribution to Dante studies. In addition to his *Vita nuova*, already mentioned, he produced an edition of the *Divina Commedia*, in four volumes in Florence in 1897-1901. He also wrote works on the life of Dante, such as *Sommario della vita di Dante*, 1897 and *Dante narrato agli Italiani*, 1915, and many articles and studies also of a promulgatory character. These are all in the Library. But although he owned the Landi codex there does not seem to be any evidence that he was planning to edit it. And unfortunately the Cossio-Valgimigli work on this text did not bear fruit. It is therefore very much to be hoped that before 1965 Bartholomew Landi may have found his editor, so that the omission of 1865 may be made good and he may emerge from his undeserved obscurity to become part of the septem-centenary celebrations, thus bringing further honour to the Library where he is so carefully preserved.
The Library is extremely rich in these. Its collection is probably one of the most complete in existence. As regards the early centuries in particular few libraries can boast so many rarities.

**Fifteenth century.** Of the fifteen editions printed in this century, all are here except one: the Naples edition of 1474. But of this there are only three known copies, two in the British Museum and the third in the Stuttgart national library. This edition was not the first in time; three had appeared two years before. The first of these, the Foligno edition of 1472, is considered the *editio princeps* and the first that can be dated with certainty. Printed by a German printer, J. Numeister, in association with Emiliano Orfini, a rich nobleman of Foligno who worked as a goldsmith and also coined money for the Pope, it has clear, large, rounded, slightly Gothic letters, and there are few abbreviations. Of the four early editions it is judged to be nearest to the best manuscripts; and possibly it was the most generally used, for it is the least rare. Of the 300 printed there remain some forty copies. The other two editions of 1472, printed at Mantua and Jesi, are much rarer. Of the Mantuan there are four copies of the first printing, of which the Library has one, and six others of a later issue. Of the Jesi only seven copies are known. Mantua, where printing had recently been introduced, only just succeeded in issuing its Dante before Jesi, and both have at times been taken for the *editio princeps*. The Mantuan Dante is specially interesting because of its small characters and for the miniatures at the beginning of each *cantica*, the one introducing the *Inferno* being a head of the poet himself. The Jesi has the importance of being the first *Divina Commedia* to be printed exclusively by an Italian typographer. Unfortunately he made a great many mistakes. “Edizione zeppa di errori grossolani di stampa” was the harsh if correct criticism made four centuries later by Antonio Panizzi—the Italian exile who did so much to build up the famous British Museum Library—as he turned the pages of the copy that they possess.1

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To make up for the lack of the first Naples edition of 1474, the Library can point to the second one produced in Naples, in 1477, printed by one of the most famous of printers, Matthias d’Olmütz, called the Moravian, who was said to rival Nicolaus Jenson of Venice for the beauty of his letters and the excellence of his fine type. There are ten copies known of this fine book, which is interesting for the woodcut decorations of some of the initials, for the clear rounded characters and wide margins, and for the fact that there are no abbreviations, each letter of every word is printed in full, which was most unusual at this time.

Other editions show particular features of importance. For example, the Venice edition of 1477 contains Boccaccio’s life of Dante and the commentary of Jacopo della Lana, both appearing for the first time. The Nidobeatino of Milan, 1478, with commentary by M. P. Nidobeatino, is important for its text, which was widely esteemed, and for its printing in two types, Roman characters being used for the text and Gothic for the commentary. The first (and only) edition produced in Florence during the century, printed in 1481, contains the celebrated commentary by Cristoforo Landino. The value of this last lies not only in the commentary, which although “only modest” (M. Barbi) was taken as a basis by so many later commentators, but also in its preface and the illustrations. The book was looked upon by the Florentines as a triumph of patriotism, scholarship and of the art of the printer. The preface is in part a panegyric of Florence, praised for its lovely position, its churches, villas and hospitals, its learned men and theologians, its poets, orators, musicians, artists, its great families, and its trade and agriculture; there is also a discussion of the origin and nature of poetry, the supreme art, which is inspired by God, the supreme poet, whose poem is the whole of creation, while the illustrations are a very delightful series of copper engravings, designed by Botticelli (probably an adaptation of the drawings in Berlin and the Vatican) and perhaps cut by Baccio Bandinelli. The publishing of this edition was a great event. The finished book was solemnly presented to the Signoria by Landino; and in token of its appreciation and gratitude his city gave him a house in the Casentino. Possibly meant by its author as symbolical of Dante’s return in spirit to
his native Florence, the Landino edition is of special interest as affording evidence of the growing appreciation of the volgare as a literary language, and of that second phase of humanism in the quattrocento, which puts Dante firmly in his place among the classics. The Library has a fine copy of this important book; one having particular interest because of the engravings. These were meant to be placed at the beginning of the cantos, and a space was left at the head of each one. But the artists worked much more slowly than the printer, so usually only the first two engravings were printed at the same time as the text. The others were made separately and then stuck in the appropriate place. Only nineteen were cut altogether, for the first nineteen cantos of the Inferno, and in most copies some of these are omitted; in fact, copies with more than two or three are rather rare. But the Library copy has been very fortunate: it has the full series of nineteen and also an extra one to canto III, so that it possesses twenty altogether.  

Illustrations, in the form of engravings or woodcuts, are used more and more in the editions appearing towards the end of the century. All of the illustrated editions, with the exception of one at Brescia in 1487, were produced at Venice, in the years 1484, 1491 (two), 1493 and 1497; for Venice, with the most flourishing and up-to-date printing industry in Italy in these early years, excelled in the art of book illustration, and accounted for seven editions in all, of the total of fifteen produced before 1500. The Venetian edition of 1484 reprinted the Landino commentary and is of interest for its fine engravings of the initials; and, after the appearance of the Brescia edition, which, with its sixty-eight full-page woodcuts, may be considered the first "illustrated" edition of the Divina Commedia, the Venetian printers copied these, sometimes enlarging them, adapting them and adding to them. Some of these designs are thought to be by Mantegna; but they appear to be realist and popular in style rather than Mantegnesque and classical, and the figures are

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1 The extra one is quite different from the one already illustrating canto III, although it depicts the same subject, the gate of Hell; and Mr. Hall pointed out to me that perhaps there was some mistake in the printing of it, as the inscription over the gate: "Per me si va..." reads wrong way round, as if in a mirror.
depicted wearing contemporary dress. This is seen in the first 1491 edition, printed by B. Benali and Matteo da Parma. For instance, on folio cxxxiii verso the woodcut introducing the last canto of *Inferno* shows a lurid and terrifying Lucifer, with three enormous mouths full of horrible fangs, wide open in a snarling smile as he devours the helpless bodies of Judas, Brutus and Cassius, while in one corner of the picture Virgil throws a protecting arm round Dante, who seems too appalled to look at the fearful sight; and nothing could be more suggestive of humility and obedience than the kneeling figure of Dante in the full-page illustration to the *Purgatorio* (folio cxxxviii verso), where he bends down for Virgil to wash the grime of Hell from his face. Again, in the *Paradiso*, on folio cclxxv recto, there is all the vigour of reality in the illustration at the head of canto xxvi. Up in the starry sphere Dante is being examined on love by St. John; and while Beatrice, surrounded by a brilliant halo, is gazing on St. John, Dante turns to question a figure on the left, Adam. There is no doubt at all, by the intentness of their expressions, that these two are deeply engrossed in their conversation; St. John seems to be standing there patiently, while Beatrice is out of the general interest of the picture. In the bottom half, on earth, below the starry heaven, the story of Adam is enacted. An angry angel, sword in hand, has just come out with a rush through the gate from Earthly Paradise, and is threatening Adam and Eve, two rather small skulking figures on the right, who are holding enormous fig leaves in one hand, and trying to cover up some of their nakedness with the other; they seem to be shuffling shame-facedly away, like two naughty children who have been found out. The natural vivacity and spontaneity of these illustrations suggest an artist of genius, capable of giving artistic expression to delicate shades of feeling in his figures; a realist rather than an idealist, with a liking for the vivid, and occasionally for the grotesque.¹ This edition, so interesting for its woodcuts, reproduced the Landino commentary and it has the distinction of being the first edition in which Dante is referred to as “divino”. The later Venice edition of 1493, which copied these woodcuts,

¹ It is permissible to dwell on these woodcuts, for they were repeatedly copied for more than half a century.
is generally considered to be the best of the Venetian illustrated editions of this century, because of its very rich decoration and extremely clear and carefully cut type. Of this the Library has two copies and it is interesting to note that one of these is in a stamped leather binding and bears the arms of Henry VIII.

This collection of handsome books, fourteen out of a possible fifteen incunabula, will not easily be matched for rarity of editions, for beauty of typography and also for the very fine condition in which they are here preserved. Their importance in the history of typography and of early book illustration is self-evident, as is also their value for a study of various Dante matters, such as the early commentators and biographers, illustrators of the *Divina Commedia*, problems relating to the text and textual criticism, and the fame and fortune of Dante during this early period.

**Sixteenth century.** The beginning of the century saw the appearance of one of the most famous editions of Dante's poem: the Aldine of 1502, which has been called the "vulgate", for its text became the basis for most of the subsequent editions for the next 300 years. Towards the end of the century, in 1595, another carefully prepared text, based on the Aldine, was the first edition sponsored by the Crusca Academy. Both editions are in the Library. Of the thirty-five published in the intervening years the Library only lacks eight, these being for the most part reprints of earlier editions or not of first importance. Important editions are here and there are many bibliographical rarities. Among the latter may be mentioned: the 1516 Toscolano edition, which was the first in a very small format (16mo.); the 1529 Venice edition with red and black frontispiece and full-page portrait of Dante in profile, wearing a cap and laurel chaplet; the important Marcolini, Venice, edition of 1544, with omission of lines in the *Purgatorio* (the Library also has a copy with the error corrected); the Venice edition of 1555, printed by Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, in small size (12mo), very elegantly decorated with initials and tailpieces, and the first edition in which Dante's poem is given the title of *Divina Commedia*; the Venice edition of 1564, one of the editions called "al gran naso" from the portrait of Dante with a large nose; the rare second edition
of Domenico Farri, Venice, 1578, which includes Dolce’s life of Dante, Boccaccio’s sonnet in his praise and a table of difficult words; and the last edition of the century, printed in 1596 at Venice by G. B. Marchio Sessa, which later came under the censureship of Madrid for derogatory passages referring to Popes and to corruption in the Papacy; these passages in 1614 were placed on the *index expurgatorius*. ¹ The Library also possesses what appears to be an unrecorded counterfeit of the Aldine edition of 1515, as well as one of the known ones of 1502, imitating the first edition; for the counterfeiter was remarkably quick as well as remarkably clever in producing their imitations.

Imitation denotes appreciation and the many counterfeits of the editions of Aldus are a measure of the esteem in which these were held. In addition to the importance of its text, his first Dante is also famous as being the first *Divina Commedia* in portable size. It bears his device,² which gained such renown, of the anchor and dolphin, symbolising the Latin proverb, *festina lente*, and is printed in the wonderfully clear and beautiful italic type, first used the previous year in his Virgil and said to be modelled on the handwriting of Pietro Bembo, which set the fashion for the kind of type which was to be used predominantly throughout the century.

Preoccupation with textual problems is a feature of many of the editions of the *cinquecento*. The Library collection gives evidence of this. The Florentine edition of 1506, printed by Filippo di Giunta in small format, in imitation of Aldus, and edited by the biographer, Antonio Manetti, is based on the Aldine text, but its many corrections of this seem to have been made from various good manuscripts.³ Aldus himself endeavoured to improve on his first edition in his second, dedicated to Vittoria Colonna in 1515, for which he is said to have very carefully studied an early manuscript in his own possession written about 1360. And one or two later editions follow his second rather than his first edition, while one important edition does not follow

¹ The passages in question were: *Inf. XI*, 8-9; *Inf. XIX*, 106-18; *Par. IX*, 136-end. ² This first appeared in his *Poetae Christiani veteres*, 1501-2. ³ This edition is also interesting for Manetti’s diagram plan of the *Inferno*, frequently copied down to the beginning of the nineteenth century.
the Aldine tradition, that of the Marcolini, Venice, printed in 1544, already mentioned. This was dedicated to Pope Paul III and includes, for the first time, the commentary and life of Dante by Vellutello. Vellutello, in the life, speaks somewhat scornfully of the Aldine editions as being very incorrect; but if his judgement is not always sound, his commentary shows care and diligence in trying to find the correct readings and to supply a literal interpretation of them. The edition most interesting and most important from the textual point of view, after that of Aldus of 1502, is undoubtedly that of the Crusca of 1595. This was very carefully prepared by a group of members of the Academy, led by their secretary and founder-member, Bastiano de' Rossi, also known to fame as the editor and chief compiler of their famous dictionary, first published in 1612. Again the Aldine text is taken as the basis, but in it are incorporated emendations and corrections and many variants are given in the margins, as a result of diligent consultation of upwards of 100 manuscripts. Unfortunately, the printer, Domenico Manzani, was neither so conscientious nor so painstaking as the academicians, and many mistakes crept in. Foscolo, in his Notizie... alla serie delle edizioni della Commedia di Dante records that: "Immense furono le cure dei Signori Accademici per rettificare il testo di questo celebratissimo poema; ... ma ... l'esecuzione della stampa fu affidata al Manzani, il quale non corrispose alla laboriosa diligenza degli'illustri collaboratori, e l'edizione riusci non molto elegante e ricolma d'errori!" ¹ But, in spite of not being very elegant and with all its faults this edition is of first importance. As regards text it was an improvement on anything that had been printed so far, and it became the standard text for the whole of the eighteenth century and well into the nineteenth, thus perpetuating the Aldine tradition; and it is of the greatest interest as being a first attempt at the collation of so many manuscripts with the object of producing the most correct reading of a great poem.

If interesting from the point of view of textual problems, the editions of the sixteenth century have little to offer in the way of commentaries on the poem. There are only two complete

¹ U. Foscolo, La commedia di Dante Alighieri... (1845), iv. 115.
commentaries worth mentioning, that of Alessandro Vellutello, referred to above, and that of Bernardo Daniello, in the Venice edition of 1568. Both are in the Library. Vellutello’s short commentary, free from the usual learned digressions, and based, as far as historical data is concerned, on Landino, is an attempt to give a literal interpretation of the text; and he is interesting as being one of the first to research into Dante’s allusions to his contemporaries. But on the whole his work is mediocre in comparison with his predecessors while Daniello is not much better, being sometimes uncertain in his allegorical meanings and even on occasions misunderstanding the literal. Vellutello’s commentary is printed in three later editions and parts of it appear in the following centuries. Daniello’s appears only the once. Neither progressed much beyond Landino, and it is significant that Landino’s commentary continues to be used in many cinquecento editions and even later.

Nearly all the editions in this century are illustrated except those of Aldus, and the method used is almost invariably the wood-cut. The Marcolini of 1544 is an important turning point in the development of these sixteenth-century illustrations. Before this year all the editions show an almost complete lack of originality. The woodcuts in the famous 1491 Venice edition of B. Benali and Matteo da Parma are regularly copied, even down to the smallest details, or else servilely imitated. But with the Marcolini there is a complete change in spirit and in style. L. Volkmann notes how there is now a new treatment of form, a new conception of the whole, and a new attitude to the ancient world. The poets wear ancient costume and laurel wreaths; and there is a change in the demons, for they are no longer medieval and grotesque in their gargoyle-like character, but have become modern. Cerberus, for instance, is definitely a dog with three heads, and not a devil. This change may be seen in an examination of the editions before 1544, for instance in those of 1512, 1516, 1529 compared with that of the 1544 and the ones that come after that year, all of which are in the Library. It is symptomatic, too, that after the appearance of the Marcolini, copying of the quattrocento illustrations ceases almost entirely,

1 L. Volkmann, Iconografia Dantesca (1899), pp. 117-18.
and the Marcolini itself becomes the model for editions in the second half of the century. There is one more point of interest in connection with the illustrations which also emphasizes the completeness of the Rylands collection of editions in this century. Marcolini's edition was not only copied in Italy but also in France. There were five editions of the *Divina Commedia* printed at Lyons during the century, the earliest being in the year 1547; all are in the Library. The last four, printed by Guglielmo Rovillio, like their Italian contemporaries, have also had recourse to Marcolini for their illustrations, and they have copied, rather badly, the woodcuts of the three large title pages to preface to their printings of the three *cantiche*.

**Seventeenth century.** This, the most unfortunate century for the fame of Dante and for Dante studies, only produced three editions of the *Divina Commedia* during the whole of the period, and of these one is merely a reprint of another, though by a different printer. The Library possesses two of these very rare editions. The first in chronological order, printed at Padua in 1613, is not here; but the reprint of 1629 is in the collection. It has the title of *La visione, poema di Dante*, and includes a table giving the headings of the subjects treated in the poem. The third and more interesting was printed in the same year in Venice by Niccolo Misserini. It is in very small format (16mo) and has the subject matter and the allegories expounded for each canto. It includes two indices: one, of the most important words used by Dante with their meanings; the other, of the most notable matters in the poem. Both editions are printed in italics, and both follow the text of Ludovico Dolce in the Venice edition of 1555.

**Eighteenth century.** A characteristic of the editions in the eighteenth century is the greater importance given to commentaries, notes, indices, vocabularies, and lists of notable matters, in fact, to many kinds of aid to the better understanding and appreciation of Dante's poem. This is evident from the collection in the Library which comprises about two-thirds of some thirty produced altogether. For example, the first of the century, the Crusca Academy's second edition, printed in Naples
in 1716, has many additions in the way of topics discussed, interpretations of allegories, explanations of difficult words. The Cominiana edition, so-called from its printer, Giuseppe Comino, printed in Padua in 1727 and edited by G. A. Volpi, has an index of difficult words with meanings, a biography of Dante and of Petrarch, notes in the margin taken from Aldus, as well as a rhyming dictionary of all the lines in the poem. The Venice edition of 1784 also has a vocabulary of difficult words, placed at the end of each canto in this case, and it also provides historical and critical notes and an essay comparing Dante and Michelangelo. Some print the life of Dante by Ludovico Dolce from the sixteenth century editions, but more use contemporary biographers, such as Pierantonio Serassi and Ludovico Aretino. There is a charming little edition in two volumes (in 12mo) printed in Paris by Marcel Prault in 1768, which, in addition to a life of Dante by a certain Abate Marrini and a discourse on doctrinal matters in Dante by a Padre Berti, also includes a small pocket dictionary in Italian and French, to help the reader understand the Italian authors.

Very few editions are printed without commentary; and for the most part new commentators appear. The 1732 edition printed at Lucca by the Jesuits boasts in its sub-title an explanation of the literal sense of the poem which differs in many places from that given by the ancient commentators. The anonymous commentator was the Jesuit, Pompeo Venturi, whose commentary later became the most popular, though by no means the best. It appeared again in the first edition of the Works in 1739-41, and again in the sumptuous one in five volumes printed by Antonio Zatta in 1757-8. Both these are in the Library. But among other very minor names, two commentators stand out: Baldassare Lombardi and Giovanni Jacopo Dionisi. Lombardi’s *La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri nuovamente corretta spiegata e difesa* was printed in Rome in 1791. In spite of a few misapprehensions, his interpretation of the poem, literal and allegorical, is clear and sound; but it is his achievement with regard to the text which brought him fame. Foscolo relates how he spent the best part of a long life “all’esecuzione di tanto lodevole impresa, di correggere, spiegare e difendere quest’
epico divino poema". With the aid of manuscripts not consulted by the academicians and with the examination of many printed texts, particularly early ones, and especially the Milanese one of 1478 of Martin Paolo Nidobeato, he produced the best text to date, later known as the Nidobeatino del Lombardi. He must have been a man of immense industry and tremendous patience. For it is related how, when after very many years of hard work, he finished the text, he decided to send it to Naples to be printed. On the journey there it got lost. Nothing loath, he quietly and determinedly set himself to do it all over again. His edition was finally printed in Rome and thus gained for itself the distinction of being the first complete Roman edition of Dante's poem. The copy in the Library is a rarity, being printed on blue paper. The other commentator mentioned above, G. J. Dionisi of Verona, whose criticism of Dante in his Aneddotti danteschi, 1785-94, was much in advance of his times, and whose textual studies revealed that the "Ottimo commento" and that of Jacopo della Lana were two quite different commentaries, produced a magnificent edition at Parma printed by the most famous printer of the century, Bodoni. This is also a rare and much sought-after book. The text is basically that of the Crusca, corrected from manuscripts not before taken into account; but it is noted by Foscolo that this edition would have been even better if Dionisi, in his wish to rival Lombardi, had not sometimes allowed his text to be spoilt because his jealousy interfered with his better judgement. There were only 130 copies of this edition printed. Lombardi had felt it necessary to "defend" Dante; and other editions also have an echo of the Dante controversy which raged during the century, roused particularly by Saverio Bettinelli's famous Lettere virgiliane. For example, the edition of the Works printed by Zatta in 1757-8 also includes Gaspare Gozzi's Difesa di Dante, the direct reply to Bettinelli; and later, Vincenzo Martinelli's life of Dante and Due lettere apologetiche, defending Dante from the criticism of Voltaire, are printed with the 1778 London (Leghorn) edition. All these works may be consulted in the Library.

1 U. Foscolo, La commedia, op. cit. p. 123.
From the point of view of book illustration the important editions are here. Not all the settecento editions have illustrations. There is indeed the beginning of a dividing line between the de luxe editions with illustrations and the economical ones without, and most of the illustrations are copper-plates, which have now almost entirely supplanted the woodcuts. The two most interesting illustrated editions are both by the same printer, A. Zatta, of Venice. These are the 1757-8 edition of the Works and the 1784 of the Commedia. The first is baroque, "showing skill in technique with lack of ideas and want of distinction in form", while the second is rococo, so very different, a pretty pocket Dante, decorated with graceful prints, in which everything is "serene and elegant, executed in the most minute fashion, and full of pleasing effects". But there is not a trace of a serious understanding of the subject or of a real comprehension of Dante. The illustrators would seem to be behind the commentators, who are beginning to study more critically the quality of Dante's poetry. The Difesa di Dante of G. Gozzi and the Aneddoti danteschi by G. J. Dionisi, both mentioned above, are cases in point. For the study of Dante's portrait two editions here are of particular interest: the 1749 Verona edition includes the portrait by Bernardino India, a portrait which was copied throughout the eighteenth century, until we come to Dionisi's edition in 1795; in this the famous portrait by Stefano Tofanelli, cut by R. Morghen, appears. This later completely ousted Bernardino India's and it was used regularly until 1840, when with the discovery of Giotto's portrait by Kirkup, this last was taken to be the nearest likeness to the real Dante, and became the one to be most copied—after the painting by Kirkup, as is seen, for example in Foscolo's London edition of 1842-3.

Nineteenth century. During the century which saw the Romantic movement and the struggle for independence and unity, Dante came into his own. The men of the Risorgimento, somewhat falsifying Dante's thought, looked upon him as a prophet of Italian unity (Mazzini), and as the most Italian of all Italians (Balbo), and the Divina Commedia became the "sacro

1L. Volkmann, op. cit. p. 128.
2Ibid.
libro degli Italiani”. In the last half of the previous century a
growing and more truly appreciative understanding of the poem
is seen in the increase and in the quality of the editions pub­
lished; and this tendency gains momentum almost from the
beginning of the present century. While in the eighteenth
century an edition appears roughly every three or four years,
now there is hardly a year that passes without a new edition, and
often there are two or three in a year. In all some 380-400
editions were published, including reprints, and of these the
present collection has rather less than half. But these are in
the main the editions of greatest value or importance.

Among rarities and highly prized editions are the following :
the Crusca of 1807, in Bodoni type, by G. Masi, Leghorn, the
text of which is taken mainly from a manuscript earlier than
1333, and including the now popular portrait of Dante by
Stefano Tofanelli, cut by Morghen; the first London edition
of 1808-9, by Zotti, again with the Morghen portrait; the
1815-17 Roman, with engravings by Flaxman; the 1817-19
Florentine, all'Insegna dell'Ancora, a magnificent de luxe
edition, dedicated to Canova, with a series of pictures drawn by
Luigi Ademollo and Francesco Nenci, which was based on the
celebrated manuscript supposed to have been written by
Boccaccio and which was annotated by Petrarch, to whom it
belonged (presuming that it is the copy that Boccaccio sent to
his friend with a letter in 1359, earnestly begging him to read
Dante's poem); the 1827-9 Pisan, with the first edition of the
"Ottimo commento"; the first edition of N. Tommaseo in
Venice, 1837; the 1840-2 Florentine by Domenico Fabris with
plates by Flaxman, Ademollo and Bartolommeo Pinelli; the
first edition of the commentary of Francesco Buti, in 1858-62 at
Pisa, of which there were only 300 copies; the fine edition of
the commentary of Jacopo della Lana, Milan, 1865, of which
only 200 copies were printed; the first printing of the Cassinese
codex, 1865, Cassino; the first edition in Italy of the whole poem

1 Not however, of great artistic worth; see L. Volkmann, op. cit. p. 150.
2 "Accogli, ti prego questo tuo condittadino, e dotto insieme e poeta; accog­
lilo, leggilo, uniscilo a' tuoi, onoralo, lodalo." Thus wrote Boccaccio. N. Sapegno,
with the G. Doré illustrations, in 1869, Milan; and, finally, the 1878 Padua "Dantino", a microscopic edition, measuring only 56 mm. by 34 mm.

The Library does not possess the 1804 edition printed in Penning, Saxony, to which were attached, in an atlas, illustrations by Flaxman, but it has other Flaxman editions. Of the year 1804 there is here the important Milan edition, in the series Biblioteca de' Classici Italiani, a vast publishing enterprise of 250 volumes, significant for the history of the rise of the national conscience at this time. This has the commentary of Jacopo della Lana, notes by Lombardi and an essay on astronomical problems in the Divina Commedia by a group of Milan astronomers, showing a widening of interest in many matters connected with Dante's poem.

In this list of rarities, names of some of the earliest commentators are mentioned. The "Ottimo" had appeared in 1827, but it is particularly in the second half of the century that the fourteenth century commentators are studied, translated and given critical editions. In addition to Francesco Buti and Jacopo della Lana, the commentary of Benvenuto da Imola was translated into Italian and printed with the text of the poem in 1855-6 by G. Tamburini at Imola. W. Warren Vernon published the whole of this commentary in Latin in a critical text in London in 1887 and he based his Readings on the Inferno, Purgatorio and Paradiso, London, 6 vols., 1894-6, on it. Jacopo had another edition in 1866 at Bologna. An unpublished early Latin commentary by a certain S. Talice da Ricaldone (?1374), found in the Royal Library at Turin, was printed in 1886 by command of King Umberto I, and dedicated to his son, Victor Emmanuel, then a youth of about seventeen years of age, "in premio al suo amore allo studio". All these works are in the Library, as is also the one which, in the next century, crowned all these efforts towards a comparative study of the early commentators and a deeper understanding of their background: the monumental work edited by Guido Biagi, La Divina Commedia nella figurazione artistica e nel secolare commento, Florence, 1924-7, which, with the text of G. Vandelli, prints a revision, in

chronological order, of all the significant commentators, ancient and modern, from Jacopo della Lana to Raffaele Andreoli; that is, from the year 1325 to 1856. Unfortunately, Biagi did not live to see his great work completed. It was continued after his death by E. Rostagno and G. L. Passerini.

Textual studies made enormous strides in this century after Foscolo's *Discorso sul testo della Divina Commedia*, 1825, and more particularly towards the end of the century with the rise of the German school of philology and the appearance of Dante scholars in that country and in England. In the early years of the century the Nidobeatino del Lombardi was often taken as the basis, as in the Rome editions of 1806 and 1815 and the London one of 1808; and the Cominiana was occasionally used with the commentaries of either Volpi or Venturi of the last century. But towards the 1820s a keener interest in textual studies is seen in the 1817 edition of the Crusca at Florence; the 1822 edition of the Minerva at Padua, which includes the collation of a great number of texts; and in the printing of the Bartolinian codex at Udine in 1823-8. An attempt at a comparison of all known texts was made in 1832 in *Rivista delle varie lezioni della Divina Commedia sinora avvisate, col catalogo delle più importanti edizioni*, Angelo Sicca, Padova. But the most important edition before the Foscolian in 1842-3 is the Cruscan of 1837, based on Nidobeatino but with the collation of many Florentine manuscripts and early editions, in which the stated aim of the collaborators was to restore the text to its "primitiva orginalità". Among the collaborators were major figures in the literary world: G. B. Niccolini, Gino Capponi and Giuseppe Borghi. Foscolo, their contemporary and friend, realizing, as they did, the need for a completely fresh start and an orderly and objective study of the manuscript sources, brings to bear on the problem far greater critical acumen in his *Discorso*, where he lays down certain important norms for the examination of a text. These are: a text is not the most authoritative because it is the oldest, but because it can be shown to be nearest to the original; one must distinguish between variants made by scribes, those made by commentators and those made by the author himself;

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in a choice of readings the \textit{lectio difficilior} is the one preferable; a text can only be properly interpreted if the reasons for its being written and the times in which it was produced are carefully studied; and, finally, the ultimate aim must never be forgotten: a better understanding of the poetry, which is the object of all study, even of philology. The influence of Foscolo is seen to some extent in the Cruscan edition of 1837 just mentioned (and attested by his correspondence with the collaborators, who were his friends); but it is not so much in Italy, as abroad, that a more scientific approach to textual studies is discernible, in the latter half of the century, stimulated by work done by German philologists, such as Frederick Schlosser, Edoard Böhmer and Carl Witte. The latter's \textit{La Divina Commedia, ricorretta sopra quattro dei più autorevoli testi a penna}, Berlin, 1862, with an introduction giving a history of the printed editions, became a milestone in the history of the textual criticism of Dante's poem and paved the way for the important works in this sense which appeared towards the end of the century. For example, the edition by another German Dantist, G. A. Scartazzini, in 1874-80; that of A. J. Butler, London, 1890; and of G. Poletto, Tournay, in the same year; until we come to that most important work by Edward Moore, \textit{Contributions to the Textual Criticism of the Divina Commedia}, Cambridge, 1891, followed soon after by his edition of \textit{Tutte le opere}, Oxford, 1894. Meanwhile, in Italy the 1865 sexcentenary anniversary celebrations of Dante's birth, coinciding with the attainment of national independence, called forth much printing and many studies of codices from all parts of Italy, as each city vied to do honour to the greatest of Italians and to attract notice to its Dante treasures. In addition to the Cassinese codex mentioned above, there are publications relating to texts from places as far apart as Mantua and Sarzana, Milan, Bologna and Cividale, Udine, Belluno, Bergamo and Rome. There is ample material for the study of all these matters in the Library, which possesses all the items enumerated so far, and has a particularly large selection of textual studies of many kinds published about this time.

The main commentaries of the century are also here: that of Biagioli in 1818-19, Paris, important for his interpretation of
Dante's poetry and particularly for his appreciation of the *Paradiso* at a time when this *cantoica* was considered of less value than the other two because of its preoccupation with theological and doctrinal matters; the Roman 1820-2 edition, following Biagioli, but revised by the poet Vincenzo Monti and by G. Perticari and P. Costa; the 1826-7 commentary by D. G. Rossetti, London, with his esoteric interpretation; the Tommaseo, 1837, and the Foscolian, 1842-3, already mentioned; an edition of 1866 annotated by Gioberti; and, towards the end of the century, such famous names in Dante scholarship appear as T. Casini, P. Fraticelli, I. del Lungo, F. Torraca, F. d'Ovidio, M. Barbi and N. Zingarelli.

Pictorial illustrations of this century may be conveniently studied here. Bibliography\(^1\) is ample and there are many of the most interesting examples for reference. The neo-classical style, for instance, is well seen in the Flaxman editions, particularly, 1815-17, Rome; the transition from the classical to the romantic in the lavish Florentine edition of 1817-19, All'insegna dell'Ancora, dedicated to Canova, with illustrations by Ademollo and Nenci. This last comes in for some scathing remarks by Volkmann,\(^2\) who considers that the affected classicism of Ademollo does not prevent him from being coarse and crude, that his sense of form is defective and his tendency to exaggeration strong. Some of his figures, the "Virgil... with well-trimmed whiskers", for example, or the female personages with Greek hair styles on modern heads, he finds quite repulsive. (One wonders what Canova thought about them!) Foscolo, too, who was never one to mince words, is scornful of them, and calls them vulgar and exaggerated; but he is also scornful of the preface to the volume of illustrations, calling it "una dissertazione pedantescamente teologica di cose rifritte inintelligibili".\(^3\)

Yet these illustrations were printed many times and were, moreover, chosen for the de luxe Florentine edition, the *Album dantesco*, printed for the 1865 anniversary celebrations. This volume, as well as all those mentioned previously, may be seen in the Library; and on examination of the illustrations it will perhaps

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2 L. Volkmann, op. cit. pp. 149-150.
3 *La Commedia di D.A.*, iv. 130.
be agreed that the whiskered Virgil is all that Volkmann claims. The newly awakened interest in History seen in the desire to reproduce the correct background to Dante's poem is exemplified in the Pisan edition of the "Ottimo commento" in 1827-9, particularly in the realistic picture of the Torre della fame, and the Florentine edition of 1840-2 by D. Fabris, with its number of historical pictures and representations of landscapes illustrates the same tendency, while the large volume by Corrado Ricci, *La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri illustrata nei luoghi e nelle persone*, Hoepli, Milan, 1898, may be taken as the culmination of this trend. Here the aim is to take the reader into Dante's world of thought by reproducing the places he visited, the landscapes he describes and contemporary likenesses of the people he met. It is very carefully and cleverly done; but if it helps us to understand the material world in which Dante lived, it cannot take us into his world of the mind. As Volkmann remarks, these are not so much pictures to the poem as illustrations to the commentaries. Linked with these illustrations of a didactic kind are the diagrams and plans of the three realms, which appear more and more frequently. The earliest of any consequence was the *Inferno* of Antonio Manetti, which appeared as early as 1506, in the Florentine Giunta edition and which was copied even in the century under review. But the first important series is that of the Lombardi Roman edition of 1791, by Antonio Fulgoni, in part inspired by Botticelli's drawings; this was also much copied. Foscolo's edition of 1842-3 follows this tradition, as do most others with slight modifications. All the relevant editions containing interesting diagrams are in the present collection.

Twentieth century. In the first year of the century Edward Moore published a revised edition of his *Tutte le opere* (Oxford), and this remained the best text until the critical edition appeared in 1921. This was prepared for the centenary, at the instigation of Michele Barbi and under the auspices of the Società dantesca italiana, by a group of famous Dante scholars, E. G. Parodi, F. Pellegrini, E. Pistelli, P. Rajna, E. Rostagno, and G. Vandelli,

1 L. Volkmann, op. cit. p. 199. 2 See above p. 185.
led by M. Barbi himself. Among the editions of interest published before this important event, the Library boasts two copies of the Ashendene Press Dante, Oxford, 1902-5; the editions of T. Casini, G. A. Scartazzini, and an early one by G. Vandelli, 1902—this last illustrated by various Italian artists, and meant for use by the public attending lectures on Dante \(^1\); and an edition of 1911, by G. L. Passerini, dedicated to King Victor Emmanuel III, on the anniversary of his accession, and including a preface by D'Annunzio. Of this only 306 copies were printed. The year of celebration saw many Dante publications. Among highly prized editions may be cited: two de-luxe editions from Germany, one from Berlin, with the Botticelli drawings, and the other by Carl Toth, published in Zurich, Leipzig and Vienna, containing photographs and coloured plates. An important *Facsimile del codice landiano del 1336* was published by Olschki, Florence, with an introduction by A. Balsamo and G. Bertoni. The *landiano* was so-called from Marchese Ferdinando Landi (1778-1853) who left the codex to the Library at Piacenza. In the explicit we read that it was translated in 1336 at the command of Beccario Beccaria, podestà of Genoa, by a certain Antonio da Fermo. It is therefore the oldest of all *dated* manuscripts of the *Divina Commedia*. Of this edition only 175 copies were printed. Meanwhile, after the centenary, Giuseppe Vandelli, who, of the group of scholars mentioned above, was chosen to edit the *Divina Commedia* text and who was one of the most scrupulous and indefatigable of textual critics, brought out another revised edition of his text in 1923 (Le Monnier, Florence), another again four years later, and yet another in 1928, with Hoepli, Milan, and in the following year a further edition with the Scartazzini commentary completely revised. He was still occupied with this work when he died in 1937. But on the foundations of this achievement others are building. In particular a younger generation of Dantists, who, under the chairmanship of Gianfranco Contini, and again with the blessing and aid of the Società dantesca italiana, is planning what is hoped will be the definitive text for the anniversary in 1965. The magnitude of

\(^1\) G. Vandelli was the promoter of the "Lecturae Dantis" held in Florence since 1900.
the task will be realized when it is remembered that for the *Commedia* alone more than 600 manuscripts will be taken into account. The 1921 critical edition of all the works is, of course, in the Library, together with Vandelli's editions and the essential bibliography for a study of the textual criticism of the *Commedia* and of relative problems. For example, E. Moore, *Textual Criticism of the Divina Commedia*, Cambridge, 1889; M. Barbi, *Per il testo della Divina Commedia*, Roma, 1891; M. Casella's preface to the edition of his critical text in 1923; Vandelli's preface to his text of 1927; D. Guerri's in his edition of 1918; as well as the many studies on the subject in *Studi danteschi* during this period by E. G. Parodi, F. D'Ovidio, and G. Mazzoni, in addition to those of the scholars already mentioned.

The critical edition inspired Moore to further effort, and in the library is his 4th edition of *Tutte le opere* 1924, in which the text is a compromise between the critical and the traditional. Many other editions appeared in the 1920s. The most important were those of V. Rossi (1923), L. Pietrobono (1924-7), and F. Flamini & A. Pompeati (1925-30), a Berlin edition with the Botticelli drawings, in 3 volumes edited by C. Weber (1925), and the Vandelli-Scartazzini (1929) already referred to. All these are in the collection, but there are lacunae in the 1930s and after. It should be noted that new ones not in the collection, such as, for instance, M. Scherillo (1937-8), D. Provenzal (1938) or E. Mestica (1938), are not to be preferred to the Vandelli of 1929, still superior both as regards text and commentary. But as the "aesthetic" trend in Dante criticism of the last twenty to thirty years is not very well represented in the commentaries here, that of C. Grabber (1934) and more particularly of A. Momigliano (1945-7) would be useful additions. However, the most important recent edition has found its way into the Library: *Dante Alighieri, La Divina Commedia*, Milan, 1957, in the series *La letteratura italiana, Storia e testi* (a series as vast in scope as the famous *Classici* of 1804), edited by N. Sapegno. This edition, with its masterly introduction, recapitulating main critical problems, its full bibliography, a text based on the last Vandelli, and a commentary which takes account of the entire exegetical
tradition, gives a clear and concise picture of Dante studies in our own day, and is a fitting conclusion to this survey of the editions of his poem over the centuries.

Translations of the *Divina Commedia*. After the Bible the *Divina Commedia* is probably the book that has been most frequently translated, and the Library has a very fine collection of translations in upwards of thirty different languages. The main European languages represented include Latin and Greek, English, French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, Danish, Swedish, and Modern Greek. Of the Slav languages there are Russian, Polish, Serbian, and Czech. Also represented are Hungarian, Welsh, Catalan, Maltese, and some Italian dialects, such as Calabrese and Venetian, while among Far Eastern tongues are Japanese and Siamese (selections). There are also selections in Sanskrit.

The large majority of the versions is, naturally, English and there are some fifty to sixty translators, including American. Some of the earliest versions are here. Canto XXXIII of the *Inferno* in English verse by F. Howard, Earl of Carlisle, in 1773, was the first translation into English of any considerable part of the poem. Charles Rogers’ *Inferno* in 1782 and Henry Boyd’s *Inferno* in 1795 are both first editions, as is also Boyd’s verse translation of the whole poem in 1802. The latter is not much more than a paraphrase, and a much greater achievement is Henry F. Cary’s version, the *Inferno*, which first appeared in 1805. All these are included in the collection, as also is William M. Rossetti’s blank verse version in 1865 and Longfellow’s version of 1867. Some translators adopt the Spenserian stanza, such as G. Musgrave, 1893, and C. Gordon Wright, 1905. Charles Shadwell, 1883, adopts the Marvellian stanza. But, later, more attempts were made to reproduce Dante’s rhyme and rhythm, as, for example by Lacy Lockert, Princeton, and J. B. Fletcher, New York, both in 1931. The best of these interpretations is that of the English poet Lawrence Binyon, *Inferno, Purgatorio, Paradiso* (1933-43). Two interesting versions more recently are those of the late Dorothy L. Sayers, also in triple rhyme, *The Comedy of Dante Alighieri, the Florentine, Cantica I,*
Hell, 1949, and II, Purgatory, 1955; and the prose version by J. D. Sinclair, Dante. The Divine Comedy, 3 vols., 1939-46, a polyglot edition with the English prose version printed on the opposite page to the poem.

There are some twenty-five to thirty translations into French, including the first translation made of the whole poem in 1597 by an anonymous translator and dedicated to King Henry IV. There is a verse translation in 1776 and a prose version in 1796, and many, in verse, in the nineteenth century. Towards the end of the century a useful study of the earliest versions in French appeared in C. Morel, Les plus anciennes traductions françaises de la Divine Comédie, 1895-9. Morel printed some of the earliest known versions in French: from a manuscript in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Turin of the Inferno, from another in Vienna, which is presumed to be the oldest (probably early second half of the sixteenth century), and from fragments in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, dedicated to the wife of Francis I. All these works are in the collection. There are also two of special interest from the pictorial point of view: a version of the Inferno in 1861 with designs by G. Doré, and in 1908 a translation by A. Meliot illustrated by portraits of Dante by Giotto and Masaccio. Finally, the most recent is also here, that by Alexandre Masseron, Paris (1947-50), 4 vols.

There are also some interesting translations into German. A prose version of the whole Comedy in 1767-8 seems to have been the earliest. This is not in the collection, but the first translation in verse, in 1839, by the Dante enthusiast King John of Saxony “Philalethes” is here, and also a later edition of 1868-71. The collection includes about twenty versions. Among them are a verse translation in 1842 by August Kopesch and another, 1870-1, by Wilhelm Krigar with illustrations by Doré, and an introduction by Carl Witte. Karl Witte also produced a German version in 1876. In 1921 there were half a dozen or more, including one by Stefan George and one by Konrad Falke. The most recent German version is also included in the collection, that by Hermann Gmelin, 1949, Stuttgart.

There are about half a dozen translations into Latin and the same number into Spanish. The most interesting in Latin are
two. A polyglot edition appeared in 1728 by C. d'Aquino, Naples, but not complete. In 1891 a certain Fra Giovanni de Serravalle translated the whole of the commedia into Latin, and published it in Prato with a Latin commentary of the fifteenth century. In Spanish there is an early edition of the *Inferno* only, dated 1515 by Don Pedro Fernandez de Villegas, Burgos; an edition of the whole poem in 1916 by A. Aranda Sanjuán, illustrated by A. Saló; and a later one in 1931 by Juan de la Pezuela. There is also a study of the earliest versions in Spanish which are to be found in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid in the *Festschrift* for Professor Menendez y Pidal, published in 1891. The first translations into Russian, Polish, Danish and Swedish were made about the middle of the nineteenth century; these are not in the Library. The Library's copies are all dated early this century. Finally there is a curiosity: a translation of the first canto of the *Inferno* into Volapuk, an artificial international language, which might be taken as a symbol of the realization of the universality of Dante's genius.

*Minor Works, editions, translations, bibliography.* There is a large selection of editions of the Minor Works. Rarities and highly prized editions include: two copies of the editio princeps of the *Vita Nuova*, 1576; the editio princeps of the Convito, Florence, 1490; the first edition of the *Monarchia* to be printed in Italy, in 1740, Venice, included with other works of Dante (the rare first Basle edition is not in the Library); a rare facsimile of the first edition, 1577, of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* made in 1892, at Venice (of which there were only 250 copies); and similarly of the first edition of the *Quaestio* of 1508, of which only 250 copies were made in 1905. Some of the Canzoniere poems are included in the 1477 edition of the *Commedia*, which is in the Library; and other early editions of these are in a 1527 edition of *Sonetti e canzoni di diversi autori toscani*, and in the rare first edition of the *Vita Nuova* in 1576, mentioned above. There are two rare early editions of the *Convito*: the 1529, *l'Amoroso convito di D.* with portrait and woodcuts, by Niccolò di Aristotile detto lo Zoppino, Venice, and the one by Marchio Sessa, Venice, of 1531. There is also an early edition of *I sette
salmi penitenziali, translated by Abate F. S. Quadrio, in 1752, from an early fifteenth-century text. This eighteenth-century critic is better known for his *Della Storia e della Ragione di ogni poesia*, Bologna, 1739-52, which was a first serious attempt at an encyclopedia of world literature. Among the many de luxe editions of the *Vita Nuova* and *Canzoniere* are those translated and illustrated by D. G. Rossetti, the so-called Preraphaelite editions.

The editio princiips of the *Vita Nuova*: “ *Vita Nuova di D.A. con XV canzoni del medesimo, e la vita di esso Dante scritta da G. Boccaccio, Firenze, stamperia Bartolomeo Sermartelli*”, is of special interest for it was censured by the Florentine Inquisitor General and all references to the divinity in connection with Beatrice had to be suppressed; for instance “gloriosa”, referring to Beatrice, becomes “graziosa” and “beatitudine” is changed to “felicitas”! Among the very many editions of the *Vita Nuova* the most important are here to be found, from this first edition to the critical edition by M. Barbi in 1921. The following may be mentioned: A. D'Ancona (1872), T. Casini (1890), F. Beck (1896), M. Scherillo and D. Guerri (both 1921), and also the works of such critics as A. D'Ancona, P. Fraticelli, C. Witte, T. Casini, D. G. Rossetti, F. Beck, I. del Lungo, V. Rossi, M. Casella, Ed. Moore, E. Chiorboli, J. E. Shaw and C. Vossler. The greater number of critics come from the last half of last century and the first decades of this, but there are also more modern studies, such as those by C. Williams (1943), C. S. Singleton (1949), and a special subject in E. Beaumont, *The theme of Beatrice in the plays of Claudel*, London, 1954. There are many translations. Of the English versions those of D. G. Rossetti are well known and there are also in the collection translations into French, German, Swedish, Spanish, Hungarian and Japanese.

The *Convito* is no less well served. The edition of 1827 is included by Pogliani, Milan, edited by Marchese Gian Giacomo Trivulzio, Vincenzo Monti and Gian Antonio Maggi, and is important for its text. Also the Paduan edition of the same year (della Minerva) with a study by P. Mazzucchelli, entitled *Luoghi degli autori citati da Dante nel Convivio*, most important for the
study of Dante's culture and thought. Interesting for the text are also: *Il convito di Dante Alighieri, riprodotto in fototipia*, by F. Schneider, Rome, 1832, and the edition of G. B. Giuliani, Florence, in 1874, dedicated to C. Witte; the latter was added by the Crusca to its list of texts, serving as a basis for the dictionary, in the following year. But the final word on the text is, however, not here. This is the edition of Busnelli and Vandelli, 1934, based on the critical edition of 1921, with many corrections and emendations. This has been brought further up to date in a recent edition (1954). Critics engaged in various matters in connection with the *Convivio* are to be found here, as for example, those who studied the text and chronology, R. Fornaciari, N. Angeletti, P. Venturi; those concerned with Dante's thought and culture, as Ed. Moore in *Dante Studies*, Oxford, 1896, in which is a study of Scripture and classical authors in Dante; Paget Toynbee's *Dante Studies and Researches*, London, 1902, which are fundamental; as also later works such as those by G. Zuccante (1905), J. E. Shaw (1938); and contemporary critics, such as B. Nardi and E. Gilson. Of the translations to be found here, that of W. M. Rossetti (1910) is one of the most interesting.

The *Monarchia* is represented by fewer editions. There is the interesting one of 1853, with C. Balbo's *Ragionamenti sulla Monarchia*, propounding his neo-guelph programme for the independence of Italy; one by C. Witte in 1874; Ed. Moore's of 1894; the critical edition of 1921; and a later one, in Rome, 1930, making use of an unpublished Vatican text. But the two latest editions, A. C. Volpe, Modena, 1946, and G. Vinay, Florence, 1950, are not in the collection. There is, however, the useful translation into Italian by N. Vianello, Genova, 1921. Of the vast literature on the Monarchy and on Dante's political thought, there is a very great deal. The date of the treatise particularly occupied critics of the later 1800s, a large number of whom are included here, as C. Witte, E. G. Parodi, N. Zingarelli, F. Tocco. On Dante's political thought G. Carmignani wrote as long ago as 1865, and his work is still of interest. Following him came studies by A. D'Ancona, P. Villari, C. Cipolla, A. Pisani. The subject seems to have come
particularly to the fore in 1921, when there appeared: C. Foligno’s study in the Essays in Commemoration, Oxford; A. Bonella y San Martin Dante y su tratado de Monarchia, Madrid; S. Scandura, Il de Monarchia di Dante e i suoi tempi; S. Vento, La filosofia politica di Dante nel De Monarchia; and, most important, A. Solmi, Il pensiero politico di Dante, 1922, in Studi su Dante. There are many later works, including that of F. Ercole, Il pensiero politico di Dante, 1927-8, and, more recently, A. P. D’Entrèves, Dante as Political Thinker, 1952. The works of B. Nardi and E. Gilson must also be remembered in this context, and the recent N. Matteini, Il più antico oppositore politico di Dante, 1958, a study on Fra Guido da Rimini, who in his treatise spoke of Dante’s “dottrina pestifera”. There are English translations of the treatise in the Library, notably those of Dean Church and P. H. Wicksteed, and there are also German versions and one Hungarian.

The editio princeps of the De Vulgari Eloquentia in the Library in the facsimile form mentioned above (1892), was taken from a manuscript at Grenoble; and from this was made the Trivulziana copy which served G. G. Trissino for his Italian translation in Vicenza, 1529, the appearance of which revived the controversy regarding the language problem. A copy of Trissino’s translation is in the Library in the anthology Degli autori del ben parlare per secolari e religiosi, vol. I, 1643. The scholar who has most occupied himself with problems concerning this work is P. Rajna, whose critical edition was published in 1896, and again, with emendations in 1897. This was used, with a few alterations, for the critical edition of 1921, which is also in the Library. Another item of interest to be found is: 1868, Della volgare eloquenza di Dante Alighieri tradotta da G. G. Trissino 1529, con una lettera di A. Manzoni e una di Gino Capponi, a letter from Manzoni to the Minister of Education R. Bonghi, giving his views regarding Florentine speech as being most suitable as the Italian literary language. Another interesting edition is that of 1917, by L. Bertalot, Dante Alighieri De Vulgari Eloquentia, (Friedrichsdorf, apud Francofurtum ad Main, recensuit Luodovicus Bertalot), the result of the discovery of a new manuscript in the State Library at Berlin.
In addition to the studies of Rajna, those of F. d'Ovidio, B. Nardi and P. Toynbee are particularly important; all, again, are in the Library.

The Eclogues are best studied in the critical text by P. H. Wicksteed and E. G. Gardner in *Dante and Giovanni del Virgilio* which includes an edition of the text, with commentary and a translation into English, published in London, 1902. The Library also has the standard work by G. Albini, *Dantis Eclogae, Testo con versione*, Florence, 1903, and a later Latin-Italian edition by G. Cortese in 1920. The Letters have been particularly a subject of study by Paget Toynbee, whose edition of 1920 with text, notes and translation is in the Library, as is also the critical text of 1921 by A. Monti, Milan. The Quaestio in the 1905 facsimile edition of the editio princeps of 1508, of which the Library has two copies, has an historical introduction by G. Boffito and a scientific one by O. Zanetti-Bianco, and the Latin text is accompanied by versions in five languages: Italian, French, Spanish, English and German. The Library also has the 1907 edition, by V. Biagi, Florence, with a full bibliography of studies on this treatise and a critical note on its authenticity. Studies by G. L. Passerini (1891), V. Russo (1901) and Toynbee (1918) are also here, and, although what is generally taken as the best edition, that of F. Angeletti, of 1932, is not, the most important work of this writer on scientific subjects connected with Dante is present: *Su Dante e l'Astronomia*, Roma, 1921. In the Library are also his studies on stars in the Purgatory and on date deduced by astronomical observation. The treatise has been translated into English notably by C. H. Bromley (1897), P. H. Wicksteed (1904), and by C. L. Shadwell (1909).

II

*General Bibliography, Periodicals, Handbooks, Dictionaries*

The student of Dante will find that usually his needs are handsomely supplied. There being no one general Dante biblio-

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1 For studies on scientific subjects relating to Dante, see Ed. Moore, *Studies*, 1905, which includes essays on Dante and astronomy, time sequences in the *Divina Commedia* and the geography of Dante. Also M. A. Orr, *Dante and the Mediaeval Astronomers*, 1913. All these are in the Library.
graphy, the following are usually consulted. For the period before the appearance of periodicals devoted to Dante study (that is, before the *Alighieri* in 1889): P. Colomb de Batines, *Bibliografia dantesca*, Prato, 1845-6, with the index, 1883, by A. Bacchi della Lega, and in 1888 G. Biagi’s additions and corrections; also G. Ferrazzi, *Manuale dantesco*, 1865-77. These are all in the collection. In 1889 the *Alighieri* marks the beginning of the periodicals (where further bibliographical data must be sought). It flourished in Verona-Venezia from 1889-93, and was then followed by the *Giornale dantesco*, edited by G. L. Passerini from 1893-1915; the relevant indices are by G. Boggito, Florence, 1916. After a brief break of two years, probably due to difficult conditions during the first World War, it continued as *Il Nuovo Giornale dantesco*, edited by L. Pietrobono, from 1917-21; it then became the *Giornale dantesco* down to the year 1943. Meanwhile the *Bulletin della Società dantesca italiana* was published in Florence from 1890 to 1921, in which year the new *Studi danteschi*, directed by M. Barbi, took its place. Another vast bibliographical work should also be consulted: T. Wesley Koch’s *The Catalogue of the Dante Collection presented by W. Fiske to the Cornell University Library, Ithaca-New York*, 1898-1900, with M. Fowler’s Additions, 1898-1920. For editions of Dante’s works and for translations there is G. Mambelli, *Gli annali delle edizioni dantesche*, 1931. All the above mentioned are to be found in the Library, with many other necessary bibliographical works. To avoid the tediousness of simply making lists, it may be stated that with the exception of one or two lacunae, the Library has everything essential in the way of bibliographical collections. The lacunae appear in the 1930s, when there are some gaps in the D. Evola bibliographies, and towards the end of that decade, when, with the rumours of World War II, the *Studi danteschi*, the French *Revue des études italiennes*, and the German *Deutsche Dante Jahrbuch* ceased, and have not been resumed since. But Dante

1 By D. Evola, H. Wieruszowski, L. Pietrobono, and, for more recent years, A. Vallone.

2 Efforts are being made to complete the *Lectura Dantis* series, of which the Library has all of the first quarter of a century, i.e. 1900-1925, and many numbers since.
studies are all-embracing and often find hospitality in the pages of periodicals other than those exclusively devoted to our Poet. There are some thirty periodicals in the Library (which has a very full collection) which deal, more or less frequently, with Dante studies, those most involved being the Giornale Storico della letteratura italiana, Italian Studies, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, Medium Aevum, Mediaeval Studies, Nuova antologia, Speculum, and the Year's Work in Modern Language Studies, which latter always has a section on Dante.

Essential handbooks, dictionaries and concordances are all at hand. The early G. Poletto, Dizionario dantesco (with special reference to St. Thomas), Siena, 1885-92, vols. 1 and 2, and A. Fiammazzo, vol. III, 1905, are here, but the English student will use Paget Toynbee's A Dictionary of proper names and notable matters in the works of Dante, Oxford, 1898, or the Concise dictionary by Toynbee, Oxford, 1941. There is also an index of names and notable matters in the works of Dante, compiled by M. Casella in 1921 for the centenary edition of the complete works. American scholars have been mostly responsible for the concordances. All are to be found here: concordance of the Divine Comedy by E. A. Fay, Boston, 1888; the Concordanza delle opere italiane in prosa e del canzoniere di Dante by E. S. Sheldon & A. C. White, Oxford, 1905; the D. A. Operum latinorum Concordantiae, by E. K. Rand & E. H. Wilkins & A. C. White, Oxford, 1912; and the more recent Supplementary concordance to the Minor Italian Works of Dante, by L. H. Gordon, 1936, Harvard U.P.; while G. Falorsi's Le concordanze dantesche, Introduzione analititica a un commento sintetico della D.C. Florence, 1920, is also included. Among the handbooks and monographs most to be recommended (all of which are here) are those of G. Agnelli, Topocronografia del viaggio dantesco, 1891; Ed. Moore, Studies in Dante, 1896; G. A. Scartazzini, Dantologia, 1906; P. Toynbee, Dante, his life and work, 1910; H. Hauvette, Dante, Introduction à l'étude de la D.C., 1912; N. Zingarelli, I tempi, la vita e le opere di Dante, 1899-1903, and U. Cosmo, Guida a 'Dante (in translation, by D. Moore, 1950).
Biography. The sources: the early commentaries are all available, as are also the chronicle of Villani and the Vita and Compendio of Boccaccio, in Boccaccio Il commento alla Divina Commedia e gli altri scritti intorno a Dante, D. Guerri, 1918; also G. L. Passerini, Le vite di D. scritte da G. & F. Villani... da G. Boccaccio, L. Aretino e G. Manetti, 1918; and the essential Ed. Moore, Dante and his early biographers, 1890. But the later work of R. Piattoli (1950), Codice diplomatico dantesco is missing. This is a useful work which gathers together all the legal documents concerning Dante and his family from 1189 to 1371 and now forms an indispensable reference for further study. However, the literature in the library on various aspects of Dante's life is vast. It includes Dante scholars, such as (in Italy) F. Torracca, A. D'Ancona, O. Bacci, M. Barbi, R. Fraticelli, Gallaratti-Scotti, M. Scherillo, I. del Lungo, C. Ricci, N. Zingarelli, F. de Sanctis, and G. L. Passerini; (in England) Dantists such as Ed. Moore, E. H. Plumptre, P. H. Wicksteed, P. Toynbee and A. J. Butler; (in France) F. G. Bergmann and P. Gauthiez; and (in Germany) A. Bassermann, F. X. Kraus, C. Falk and F. Schneider. Almost any aspect of the subject may be here studied. It should be noted that some new information about Dante’s life, particularly as regards his wanderings, came to light in 1921 in the many commemorative studies published by the various cities eager to emphasize their connections and claims to kinship with the great poet. Most of these studies are in the Library. We may select: Dante e Verona, 1921, Dante e Siena, 1921, Dante e Lucca, 1922, and Dante e Arezzo, 1922. The earliest studies of Dante's exile by A. Bassermann, Orme di Dante in Italia, 1902, and C. Ricci’s L' Ultimo rifugio, 1921, are in the collection; but not the later C. Pedrazzini, Le peregrinazioni di Dante, 1938, nor U. Cosmo, La vita di Dante, 1934.

Commedia. So that we may not lose our way in the “selva oscura” of the vast literature on the Divina Commedia, only one or two subjects will be briefly considered, in an attempt to

1 See G. Biagi, La D.C. nella figurazione artistica e nel secolare commento, 1924-7.
indicate some aspects of the usefulness of the collection. For instance, there is ample material for a study of the sources of the poem. We may select, for the medieval visions and legends: P. Villari, *Antiche leggende e tradizioni che illustrano la D.C.*, 1865; works by A. D' Ancona, V. Capetti and F. Torraca; and the *Visio Alberici* in the della Minerva, Padua, edition of the poem in 1822. For Arabic sources, M. Asin Palacios, *La escatologia musulmana en la Divina Comedia*, 1919, with the reply to that work by G. Gabrieli, and writings by E. G. Parodi and the recent E. Cerulli, *Il libro della scala e la questione delle fonti arabo-spagnuole*, 1949. For biblical sources: Ed. Moore in *Studies in Dante* and also the work by C. Cavedoni, *Raffronti tra gli autori biblici e sacri e la D.C.*, 1896. For the classical world Ed. Moore, op. cit. and works by M. Scherillo, D. Comparetti, and the recent P. Renucci, *Dante, Disciple et Juge du Monde Greco-Latin*, 1954. For the mystics: works by F. X. Kraus, Edmund Gardner and the recent A. Masseron, *Dante et St. Bernard*, 1953, are all here, while C. Vossler's *La D.C. studiata nella sua genesi e interpretata*, 1927, with its examination of various sources emphasizes the vastness of Dante's world. Of the enormous amount of literature on the allegory and on the moral system of Dante's poem with which it is closely linked all the important authors are here represented, from the fundamental works by Edward Moore and G. Busnelli to the esoteric interpretations of G. Pascoli, L. Valli and Flamini, as well as works by B. Nardi, E. Gilson and the recent A. Pézard, *Dante sous le pluie de feu*, 1950. Poetry in the *Divina Commedia*, particularly since B. Croce's *La poesia di Dante*, 1921, in which he distinguished between Dante the theologian and moralist and Dante the poet, and which gave rise to discussion of the problem of the relationship between poetry and structure in the *Commedia*, may be studied in the work of L. Russo, while two interesting recent studies on the poetry may be quoted: Y. Batard, *Dante, Minerve, Apollon : les images dans la Divine Comédie*, 1952, and S. Ralphs, *Etterno Spiro, a Study of the Nature of Dante's Paradise*, 1959, the latter an example of the recent studies which endeavour to define more closely the poetic tone of the third *cantica* and establish the relationship between learning and poetry.
Dante's fortunes, both in Italy and abroad, may well be followed here. Rare works such as V. Borghini's defence of Dante against Bembo in the sixteenth century, the *Difesa di Dante* by Jacopo Mazzoni (1573) and the "Letture" of B. Varchi and G. Gelli, of the same century are here. Also the works of the main writers concerned in the Dante controversy in the *settecento*, with such fundamental studies as E. Cavallari, *La fortuna di Dante nel trecento*, 1921; V. Rossi, *La fortuna di Dante nel tre e nel quattrocento*, in *Saggio e discorsi*; M. Barbi, *Della fortuna di Dante nel secolo XVI*; A. Farinelli, *Dante in Spagna, Francia, Inghilterra, Germania*, 1922; T. Ostermann, *Dante in Deutschland*, 1929; P. Toynbee's *Dante in English Literature from Chaucer to Cary*, 1909, and *Britain's Tribute to Dante*, 1921.

It is also interesting to note the appeal of Dante to another civilisation than ours in the *Bibliografia dantesca giapponese*, by Jukichi Oga, Osaka (translated, Florence, 1930).

Some particular features of the collection remain to be noted. Anniversary celebrations in connection with Dante centenaries are well documented in numerous pamphlets, offprints, reports of special events and in catalogues of exhibitions, as are also the activities of various Dante Societies. The first to be founded—the Deutsche Dante-Gesellschaft in Dresden in 1865—was followed in 1876 by the Oxford Dante Society and, in 1886, by the Cambridge (Mass.) Dante Society. The first in Italy came into being in Florence in 1888, as the Società dantesca italiana, to be followed by the Dante Alighieri in 1899, the London Dante Society in 1904 and the Manchester Dante Society in 1906. Periodicals, reports and papers of all these Societies are in the collection, though, as has been noted, these are not in every case complete. Attention might also be drawn to the vast amount of knowledge that may be gleaned on numerous particular topics connected with Dante that are represented in the Library, such as monuments to Dante, dramatic representation of episodes in his poem, portraits, pictorial illustration, art, education, poems on Dante, ethics, psychical science, religion, law, Dante and Sardinia, and many more. The majority of the authors of these articles fall between the two centenaries, i.e. from 1865 to 1921.
It will now be evident that the Dante Collection—apart from the wealth of early printed books and from some of the most interesting recent studies of particular problems,—is especially rich in Danteana of the last quarter of last century and of the first thirty years or so of this. But this was the hey-day of Dante studies. In its bibliography, a recent handbook notes that there are certain collections of studies by Dante specialists, not particularly modern, which, nevertheless have gained such a place of first importance for their solution of principal problems of Dante scholarship, that they cannot be neglected by the Dante scholar of today. Among these may be noted: F. De Sanctis, Saggi danteschi; M. Barbi, Problemi di critica dantesca . . .; T. Casini, Scritti danteschi; C. Cipolla, Gli studi danteschi; A. D'Ancona, Scritti danteschi; F. D'Ovidio, Studi sulla Divina Commedia; G. Federzoni, Studi e diporti danteschi; R. Fornaciari Studi su Dante; F. Torraca, Studi danteschi; and V. Rossi, Scritti di critica letteraria. All these Dante scholars are well represented in the Library and their names have occurred again and again in this survey of the Library's fine Dante collection.