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a cura di Giuseppe Carlo Rossi

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IX, 1

IST. UNIV. ORIENTALE

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Dipartimento di Studi letterari
e linguistici dell'Occidente.

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APOSTILLAS A LA PRIMERA TRADUCCION ESPAÑOLA
DE LA GUIA DE LOS DESCARRIADOS DE MAIMONIDES

De las numerosas obras de Moshé ben Maimón, (nacido en Córdoba, España, en 1135, muerto en el Cairo, Egipto, en 1204), tres tienen importancia particular:

1. El comentario general de la *Mishnáh*, escrito en árabe y terminado en 1168, bajo el título de *Kitab Al Sirāj*, el cual explica con claridad y método los códigos civil y religioso judíos;

2. *Mishné-Toráh*, intitulada más tarde *Yad Jazacá*, escrita alrededor de 1178-1180, donde se codifica y sistematiza toda la legislación judía, tanto bíblica como rabínica;

3. *Dalálat-al-Hátrin*, escrita en árabe y terminada en los últimos años del siglo XII. Esta obra fue traducida al hebreo alrededor de 1204 por el contemporáneo de Maimónides, Shmuel Ibn Tibón. Esa primera traducción hebrea, con el título de *Moré Nevochim*, fue publicada antes del año 1480, sin fecha y sin lugar de imprenta. Tampoco lleva nombre de impresor y se desconoce el país donde se ha publicado, pero prevalece la opinión de que fué en Bolonia, Italia ¹.

Otro contemporáneo de Maimónides, Yehudá Aljarizi, gran poeta hebreo, publicó también en la misma época, sin que se tenga fecha precisa, otra traducción hebrea del *Moré*. Probablemente Aljarizi lo hizo a petición de la comunidad judía de Marseilles ². Aljarizi, exquisito poeta de lengua hebrea y gran

¹ Véase P. José Llamas, O. S. A. *Maimónides, siglo XII*, (Biblioteca de la Cultura Española), Madrid, M. Aguilar, Editor, s. f., p. 16. Otras ediciones de la traducción hebrea de Ibn Tibón: Venecia, 1551; Sabioneta, 1553; Yessnitz, 1742; Berlin, 1791; la Solisburgense, 1828; Berlin, 1875, y otras más recientes.

² *PORTA MOSIS SIVE*, Dissertationes aliquod a R. Mose Maimonide, fuis in varias Mishnaioth, sive textus Talmudici partes, commentariis praemisse,

estilista, era inferior a Ibn Tibón en el campo de la filosofía¹. Mientras que la traducción de este último fue aprobada y autorizada por el mismo autor, el gran Maimónides, quien la consideró fiel y exacta, y, la cual, según el distinguido orientalista

quae ad universam sere Judaeorum disciplinam aditum aperiunt. Nunc primum Arabice prout ab ipso Autore conscriptae sunt, & Latine editae. Una cum Appendice Notarum Miscellanea, opera & studio Eduardi Pocokii Linguarum Hebraicae & Arabicae in Academia Oxoniensi Professoris. Oxoniae, 1655. En el «Praefatio ad Lectorem», (pp. sin numeración 8-10), se lee lo siguiente: «Deinde R. Iuda filius Salomonis (qui vulgo Charizi audit) rogatu Iudaeorum Massiliensium (uti ipsi in praefatione testatur) totius operis interpretationem aggressus est. (Nota del autor de este artículo: Aquí sigue una frase en hebreo que en la transcripción latina es: «kaasher divreihem havinoti, jashti velo hitmahmeiti umitzvotam hakimoti veheetakti peirush zeh harav lelashon hakodesh milashon arav»; enseguida se encuentra la explicación en latín). Cum eorum verba intellexissem festinavi, & sine mora ipsorum mandata implens Commentarios Doctoris istius in linguam Sanctam ex Arabica transtuli. Ex his, universum opus istud Hebraicum facere, ipsi in animo fuisse liquet quod tamen praestiterit necne nescimus, cum non amplius ipsius opera traductum (quod sciam) extet quam praefatio Seder Zeraim praemissa, cum quinque ejusdem tractatibus prioribus. Fuit hic vir & ingenii & stili elegantis, Poeta eximius, quique *Moreh Nevochim* etiam in linguam Hebraicam transtulit, licet versio ipsius alteri illi ab Aben Tibbon concinnatae posthabita fuerit; non forsan, quòd illa Samuelis Tibbonidae elegantior, sed materiae quae libro isto tractatur (utpote Philosophicae) congruentior: cum ut ait ipse Charizi (Nota del autor de este artículo: Aquí sigue otra frase hebrea: «jajmei kol umah hiskimu ki ein leadam lehaatik sefer ad yadá shlosa devarim: sod halashón asher yaatik migvuloteha vesod halashón asher hu maatik eileha vesod hajojmáh asher hu mefasher mileha»; enseguida se encuentra la explicación en latín). In hoc omnium gentium Sapientes conspirarint, non esse idoneum libro alicui transferendo, qui non tria haec calluerit, linguae è qua vertit, linguae in quam vertit, & scientiae cujus notiones explicat mysteria. Ipse igitur in rebus (ut videtur) Philosophicis non adeo versatus, minorem eo ex opere laudem reportavit, cum aliàs eloquentiae & Poëseos laude celeberrimus esset ut & versio ipsius *Makamat* seu Sermonum *Alhariri*, qui penu elegantiarum Arabicarum locupletissimum, eaque quae ipse Hebraicè ad ejus libri imitationem composuit abunde testantur. (Sed & hic se disciplinae Talmudice haud satis gnarum confiteri videtur, observaturu tamen omni diligentia (Nota: en hebreo: «lishmor hafnián uletakein habinián») ut sensum retineat recteque omnia digerat). Eodem hic ferè tempore quo Samuel iste floruisse videtur, idque superstite adhuc Maimonide, cujus licet ut defuncti, 1. *Makamat*, c. 46. meminerit, ipsius Abrahamum (Nota: en hebreo: «katón beshanav vegadol beinyanav»), annis juniorem, caetera grandiore vocat».

Véase también David Gonzalo Maeso, *Manual de Historia de la Literatura*

Salomón Munk, constituye un verdadero calco del original *Dalâlat-al-Hâirin*², la de Aljarizi era menos adecuada a la materia de que trata el *Moré*, es decir, a las cuestiones y problemas de índole teológica y filosófica. Aljarizi, él que tradujo admirablemente bien los *Makamat* de Alhariri donde podía demostrar sus excelentes cualidades estilísticas y poéticas, no tenía preparación filosófica suficiente para la traducción del *Moré*³.

Hebraea, Madrid, 1959, pp. 541-42, donde se compara las dos traducciones hebreas, la de Ibn Tibón con la de Aljarizi.

¹El contenido de la *Guía* era demasiado difícil para Aljarizi. El *Dalâlat-al-Hâirin* de Maimónides, jefe (*naguid*, en hebreo) de las comunidades judías de Egipto, compuesto para sostener la fe de los judíos que encontraban dificultades en conciliar el judaísmo con la filosofía, es la *Suma teológica* del judaísmo. El autor utiliza la filosofía para explicar el sentido bíblico, recurriendo amplia y frecuentemente al método alegórico. Su objeto es guiar a los que se extravían en el sentido de algunos pasajes excesivamente antropomórficos. Al tener la Biblia dos sentidos, uno literal y aparente, y otro más hondo, espiritual y oculto, las dificultades se resuelven y las soluciones se hallan en la penetración en el segundo. La interpretación de alegorías nos da la respuesta a varios problemas de la Escritura que es un pozo oculto a gran profundidad. Véase P. José Llamas, *op. cit.* y también *Maimónides, Córdoba 1135 - Cairo 1204*, folleto editado en Córdoba 1935 por el «Comité de Córdoba declarado oficial por Orden del Gobierno de la República de 8 de diciembre de 1935, en la celebración del VIII Centenario del nacimiento de Maimónides» (p. 2).

²«La version d'Ibn-Tibon qu'on peut appeler un véritable calque de l'original arabe, ne peut être bien comprise que par celui qui possède à la fois la connaissance de l'arabe et celle de l'hebreu rabbinique»; véase S. Munk, *Le Guide des Egarés, Traité de Théologie et de Philosophie*, par Moïse ben Maimoun, dit Maimonide, publié pour la première fois dans l'original arabe et accompagné d'une traduction française et de notes critiques littéraires et explicatives. Paris, Franck, 1856, T. I., Preface, pp. II-III.

Véase también A. Marx «Texts by and about Maimonides», en *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. XXV, 1934-35, pp. 385-7. El señor Marx reproduce dos versiones hebreas de una carta del Rambam a Shmuel Ibn Tibón que trata, entre otras cosas, de los métodos de traducción. Esta carta que lleva la fecha del 30 de septiembre de 1199, y escrita desde el Cairo, está también incluida en el vol. I de *A Treasury of Jewish Letters*, editado por Franz Kobler en Filadelfia, 1953.

³Maimonides, en su carta a Ibn Tibón del día 30 de septiembre de 1199, (léase mi nota anterior), le aconseja estudiar las obras de Abunazar Alfarabí (870-950) y las de Aristóteles, Alejandro de Afrodisia, Temistio y Averroes. Maimónides considera las obras de Aristóteles como la raíz de todas las ciencias. Es muy dudoso que Aljarizi haya leído a todos esos filósofos.

Es un hecho todavía inexplicable para nosotros, porque precisamente la versión hebrea de Aljarizi (y no de Ibn Tibón), publicada por la primera vez en el siglo XIX por encargo de Schlossberg, (la primera parte en 1851 en Londres, y la segunda y tercera en Viena en 1857 y 1879), sirvió de base para la traducción española de Pedro de Toledo, la más antigua en lenguas

Véase *Rabbi Mosis Majemonidis Liber Moré Nebuchim* (con letras hebreas en el original) *Doctor Perplexorum: Ad dubia & obscuriora Scripturae loca rectius intelligenda veluti Clavem continens*, Prout in Prefatione, in qua de Authoris vitâ & operis totius ratione agitur, plenius explicatur: Primum ab Authore in Lingua Arabica ante CCCCL circiter annos in Aegypto Conscriptus: Deinde à R. Samuele Aben Tybbon Hispano in Linguam Hebraeam, stylo Philosophico & scholastico, adeoque difficillimo, translatus: Nunc verò novè, ad Linguae Hebraicae cognitionem uberius propagandam, ejusque usum & amplitudinem evidentiùs Christianorum Scholis declarandam, in Linguam Latinam perspicue & fideliter Conversus, à Johanne Bustorfio, Fil. Additi sunt Indices Locorum Scripturæ, & Rerum, & Vocum Hebraicarum. Basileae, Sumptibus & impensis Ludovici Konig, excudebat Jo. Jacob Genath, 1629. Allí en el *Prefatio ad Lectorem* (págs. no numeradas, 19-20) se lee lo siguiente: «Porrò, quàm-primùm liber iste Arabice ab Authore conscriptus, inter Judaeos in Oriente innotescere & nomen obtinere coepit, cupiverunt, ut in linguam Hebraeam in eorum quoque usum transferretur, qui Arabicè nesciunt. Hinc quidam eruditione & sapientia insignes viri, Vallis praecipuè Jericho, à R. Samuele Filio R. Jehude Aben Tybbon, qui natione Hispanus erat, sed Jerichunti habitabat, instanter flagitarunt, ut propter egregiam, qua imbutus erat, utriusque tùm Arabicae, tùm Hebraicae, linguae peritiam, hoc onus in se susciperet, atque ingenti hoc beneficio ipsos obstringeret. Morem gesit is, & quandoquidem in vivis adhuc Author erat, eum de rebus dubiis per litteras consulebat. Ipso etiam Authore adhuc vivente Versiones suam absolvit, à quo ut genuina, vera & sincera approbata fuit. Testantur hac de re non solum Praefatio istius R. Samuelis Aben Tybbon, quam Operi praefecit, sed & aliae tùm ipsius, tùm R. Mosis Epistolae, quae adhuc hodiè extant, & de hac re adiri possunt. In *Juchasin* scribitur, illos petisse a R. Mose, ut ipsemet transferret eum in Linguam Sanctam: sed respondisse, sibi nunc non esse integrum, verùm esse inter ipsos sapientem R. Aben Tybbon, de quo certus sit, quòd illud sit praestiturus. At hoc non quadrat cum eo, quod Rambam ipse scribit in Epistola sua ad R. Aben Tybbon, quae incipit: «lefi shijlò, vejulè» (*Nota*: en hebreo en el original). Ibi enim scribit, sibi non constituisse, patrem ejus filium reliquisse, donec epistolam ipsius accepisset, etc. Post ipsum transtulit eum quoque R. Jehuda Alcharisi, prout in Commentaris passim citatur: sed illius translatio non fuit approbata. Sic enim scribit Abraham Zachuth in libro *Juchasin*: «Haatakat Aljarizi einá reuyá» (en hebreo en el original) h. e. translatio Alcharisi non est congrua».

vulgares, puesto que fue terminada en 1432, es decir, en la primera mitad del siglo XV. Por lo tanto se equivoca Fernando Valera al declarar en su estudio preliminar de la *Guía de los Descarriados*, (México, 1946, p. 45) que la primera traducción en lengua vulgar se hizo en italiano, en 1583, obra de Amadeo ben Recanati. Llamas¹ trae la fecha de 1580. Es un enigma muy difícil de comprender y aun no resuelto — como lo hemos ya mencionado — por qué Pedro de Toledo empieza su traducción con la versión de Aljarizi y no con la de Ibn Tibón. El hecho queda aun más extraño, puesto que Pedro tenía perfecto conocimiento de las cualidades de la obra del último y admite la superioridad de la traducción de Ibn Tibón a la de Aljarizi, como lo demuestra bien el siguiente pasaje. Al hablar de los dos traductores hebreos, afirma: «Yo lo que fiziere sy errare non sea en culpa e delo que bien dixiere, a Dios las graçias sean dadas, quanto mas que amos trasladadores² erraron en muchas cosas. Et el uno mas que el otro sin conparaçion, por que es sabido ser bueno e conplido en lenguaje e muy simple enla sçiençia e nonbrase Harizi. Et el mejor enla sçiençia nonbrase Auentabon»³. Sin embargo en el Folio XXXIX (verso) se lee la siguiente nota: «Sabed señor⁴ que por si el mi libro muy errado, traslado todo lo mas del de Auentabon de aqui adelante, bueno o malo, segun es, por que la an todos por mejor trasladaçion». Pero, en realidad, generalmente sigue traduciendo de Aljarizi.

Noticia de la traducción de Pedro de Toledo se halla en el catálogo de la Biblioteca de los Condes de Benavente. Fernán de Colón la describe en su índice bajo el número 3282 (Tomo de varios), y M. Menéndez Pelayo la menciona, al hablar de

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

² Aljarizi e Ibn Tibón.

³ Véase el Folio I, (recto), columna derecha, del manuscrito «El Moré en castellano, traducido por el Maestro P^o de Toledo», conservado en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid; Osuna: Plut. I. Lit. N, N^o 7; Rocamora N^o 162, antigua signatura KK-9, Mss. 10289. El dicho manuscrito, en encuadernación mudéjar, está citado por Mario Schiff en *La Bibliothèque du Marquis de Santillane*, Paris, Librairie Emile Bouillon, 1905, Chap. LXX, pp. 428-444.

⁴ Gómez Suárez de Figueroa.

Maimónides¹. El manuscrito es un tomo de 480 × 290 mm., escrito en 141 hojas de papel, a dos columnas, con títulos y capitales en letra roja. La foliación es antigua y la letra es de la primera mitad del siglo XV. El número de renglones por cada columna varía entre 37 y 45. El manuscrito proviene de la Biblioteca de la casa del Infantado, y José María Rocamora lo menciona en su abreviado catálogo, al venderse la rica Biblioteca de los duques de Osuna.

Mientras que el título original árabe *Dalálat-al-Hâtrin* fue traducido al hebreo bajo el nombre de *Moré Nebujim* (o *Nebuchim*, *Nevochim*, en la transcripción latina), y así se quedó para siempre durante los siglos hasta hoy día, la nomenclatura española es variada: « Guía de los Descarriados » (Extraviados, Perplejos, Turbados, Vacilantes, Los que dudan, hasta Despistados, etc.) Pedro de Toledo lo traduce por « Mostrador e enseñador de los Turbados » (Folio I, recto, columna izquierda). El P. José Llamas emplea « Doctor de Perplejos »².

Escasos son los datos acerca de la vida personal del traductor don Pedro de Toledo. José Ma. Millás Vallicrosa en su artículo « Nuevas aportaciones para el estudio de los manuscritos hebraicos de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid »³ cree que es

¹ *Historia de las Ideas Estéticas en España*, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, MCMXL, T. I.; p. 363; véase también *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles*, Madrid, C. S. I. C., MCMXLVII, Vol. II, pp. 170-73.

² *Op. cit.*

³ Revista « Sefarad », Madrid, 1943, vol. III, pp. 300-301. Allí se lee lo siguiente: « En el siglo XIV aparece una traducción castellana, anónima, de la famosa obra de Yehuda Halevi, *Libro de Cuzari*, conservado en manuscrito en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid bajo el título: « Exposición y declaración de la secta judaica, Diálogo entre rey y un filósofo, de autor indudablemente judío » (Mss. 17812 Gay. 985). Entre los años 1422-1430, el rabino Moshé Arragel de Guadalajara, por encargo de don Luis de Guzmán, Gran Maestre de la Orden de Calatrava traducía del hebreo al castellano la Biblia, ayudándose de la exégesis cristiana. La traducción de *Moré Nebuchim* de Maimónides, hecha por Pedro de Toledo entre 1410-1432, aproximadamente, y las dos arriba citadas, demuestran una actividad de traducciones del hebreo al castellano por los judíos españoles de los siglos XIV-XV y comprueban la penetración lenta pero progresiva de la lengua romance en el seno de la sinagoga ».

judío, mientras que Américo Castro supone que es un converso¹. Según Nicolás Antonio B. Vetus (T. II, p. 236, nota I): « quizás Pedro de Toledo haya compuesto *De causa ob quam angeli in diversis locis simul esse non possunt*, escrito por los años de 1433.

¹ *España en su Historia: Cristianos, Moros y Judíos*. Buenos Aires, Losada, 1948, p. 502; A. Castro, refiriéndose a la traducción de la Biblia de la Casa de Alba, afirma: « Por aquellos mismos años, Gómez Suárez de Figueroa, hijo del Maestre de Santiago don Lorenzo Suárez de Figueroa, encargaba al converso Pedro de Toledo la versión de la mayor obra de Maimónides, el *Moré Nebuchim* o *Enseñador* (sic) *de los turbados*, que hoy llaman en español *Guía de los descarriados* por influencia de traducciones extrañas; la de Pedro de Toledo no se ha publicado todavía, cosa que debiera hacerse, pese a los errores del traductor, para hacer ver cómo se entendía y se interpretaba un libro de problemas filosóficos en una época en que nada de igual densidad se había expresado todavía en castellano ». Al hablar de los siglos XIII, XIV y más tarde, Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, en *España, un enigma histórico*, Buenos Aires, Ed. Sudamericana, 1956 (Tomo II, pp. 266-67) expresa una opinión contraria: « Si se exceptúa la tardía labor cartográfica de los judíos mallorquines, desde su colaboración a las tareas culturales alfonsíes, ninguna aportación de gran relieve puede atribuirse a los hebreos españoles », (p. 266). « ... Los hebreos peninsulares vivieron de su pasado espiritual » ... (p. 267). « ... No es prudente por ello exaltar los servicios prestados por los judíos a sus mecenas cristianos. La versión de la Biblia por Mosé Arragel de Guadalajara, para el Maestre de Calatrava don Luis de Guzmán, y la del tratado de Maimónides *Guía de los Descarriados* por el converso Pedro de Toledo, para don Lorenzo Suárez de Figueroa, hijo del Maestre de Santiago, son tareas sin relieve que no pueden paragonarse con las auténticas aventuras creacionales de los cristianos de entonces » ... Estas y otras afirmaciones por el estilo — sea dicho de paso, sin documentarlo bien — se encuentran en libro de Sánchez-Albornoz, el cual no es sino una réplica al de Américo Castro *España en su historia*. S. A. lo admite con las siguientes palabras: « Sin la aparición de *España en su historia* yo habría aún tardado muchos años en decidirme a escribir una obra tan ambiciosa como esta (se refiere a su *España, un enigma histórico*), si es que alguna vez me hubiera al cabo decidido a escribirla » ... (Prefacio, T. I., p. 12). En su triste diálogo con A. Castro, Sánchez-Albornoz llega a afirmaciones un poco insolentes que huelen, en cierto modo, a la solución definitiva hitleriana del s. XX del judaísmo europeo: « Creo por todo ello — y no he de callar mi opinión aun a riesgo de escandalizar a muchos y de incurrir en la excomuniación mayor de otros — que la expulsión de los judíos hispanos fué tardía » ... (T. II, p. 258). Además, esta afirmación del señor Sánchez-Albornoz ni siquiera es suya, es decir, auténtica y original. Repite lo que afirma Trevelyan con respecto al judaísmo inglés de la Edad Media. De las opiniones de nuestro historiador hasta las cámaras de gaz para millones de seres humanos de las hordas alemanas en la segunda gue-

Y acaso era su padre (*Ibid.*, T. II, p. 154, nota 2) el maestro Juan el viejo, judío converso de Toledo quien escribió el « Memorial » hacia 1416, (*Ibid.*, p. 209)¹. Veamos lo que dice el traductor mismo acerca de su obra en el Prólogo del manuscrito (Folio I, recto, col. izq.): « Enel nonbre de Dios todo poderoso, yo maestro Pedro de Toledo, fijo de maestro Johan del Castillo, fue rrogado e mandado por mi señor Gomez Suares de Figueroa, fijo del muy alto cauallero don Lorenço Suares de Figueroa maestro que fue de la muy onrrada e alta orden de la caualleria de Santiago, que rromançase el muy altisimo libro del More que fizo el muy famoso sabio maestro Moysen de Egipto, el cortoui (*Nota*: la *t* es error del escribano; debe ser cordoui) fijo del grande juez rabi Maymon de Cordoua, en la muy alta sçiençia e sapiençia de la filosofia e meta fisica e de las profecias e ley santa de Moysen ».

En el Folio XLIX (verso, col. der.) se encuentra el explicit del traductor: « Dize maestro Pedro de Toledo: aqui es fin de la

rra mundial no hay sino un paso. Por eso no analizamos aquí las ideas u opiniones sanchezco-albornocianas; solo las traemos aquí como ejemplo de ceguera por parte de él u otros como él, tan llamados historiadores serios y prestigiados.

¹ Sobre el manuscrito del « Memorial », conservado en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, véase el catálogo de la Biblioteca fundada por el Conde Haro en 1445, publicado por don Antonio Paz y Melia en la « Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos », Madrid, T. I, N° 6, Junio de 1897, p. 26, donde se lee lo siguiente: « Tratado del sabio maestro nuestro Señor Jesucristo, y como los judíos no lo quisieron conocer ni creer ni oy día lo creen; prueba también como nuestra Señora es verdadera madre de Jesucristo nuestro Señor, siempre virgen ». Mss. 9369, antiguo B6-128, en la Bibl. Nac. de Madrid. Amador de los Ríos en *Historia social, política y religiosa de los judíos de España y Portugal*, B. Aires, 1943, T. I, pp. 527-9, transcribe un manuscrito de los archivos de la Catedral de Toledo, donde consta que un tal Maestro Pedro fue nombrado por el arzobispo de esa ciudad y su diócesis alcalde y juez mayor de los judíos del Arzobispado de Toledo. El documento fué redactado en Alcalá de Henares, el 7 de Agosto de 1395 y se refiere al: « Nombramiento de alcalde y juez mayor de las Aljamas del Arzobispado de Toledo ». Es posible que ese alcalde haya sido nuestro Pedro, el traductor del *Moré*, puesto que lleva también el título de « doctor », es decir, sabio y conocedor de letras. Cabe señalar que ese hecho no tiene nada de concreto con respecto a nuestro traductor; no es sino una conjetura más acerca de la personalidad de Pedro de Toledo.

trasladaçion que fize al primero libro del More de abrayco a rromançe segunt mas e mejor mente pude. Al dios alto ynfinito sean dadas graçias segunt aquel que el es. La qual trasladaçion fize con muy grant trabajo que en el prologo que fize en comienço deste dicho libro son contenidas e si alguna error o errores enel oviere e las emendare algunt perfecto varon, de dios aya galardon e le sean otorgadas graçias por aquel a quien yo pido que segunt me ayudo començar este primero libro asy e mas mejor me ayude acabar e feneçer todo el dicho libro, amen ».

La terminación de la primera parte del libro no lleva fecha ni lugar, mientras que en la segunda y tercera partes de la traducción indica cuándo y dónde se acabó la obra, según se lee en el Folio XC, verso, col. izq.: « Aqui es fin dela trasladaçion dela segunda parte del More en rromançe dios sea loado amen. Et feneçiose oy vierrnes veynte e çinco dias¹ en la villa de Çafra año del señor de mill e quatroçientos e diez e nueue años ... ». En el Folio CXLI termina la traducción de la tercera parte del *Moré* y del manuscrito entero. Allí se halla la siguiente nota del traductor: « Aqui es el fin dela terçera parte del More onde es todo acabado dios sea loado amen. Et acobose vierrnes ocho dias del mes de febrero año del nascimiento del nuestro Señor Jesu cristo de mill e quatroçientos e treynta e dos años, en la muy noble çibdat de Seuilla. El qual libro escriuio Alfonso Peres de Caceres vezino dela dicha çibdat dios sea loado por siempre amen. Finito libro sit laus deo cristo amen ».

La segunda parte fue terminada en la ciudad de Zafra en 1419, y la tercera en 1432; es de suponer que la primera parte fue empezada por Pedro en la primera década del s. XV. La primera parte contiene el prólogo del traductor, el prólogo de Maimónides y su introducción, con setenta y cinco capítulos; las demás ediciones del *Moré* contienen setenta y seis, pero en el manuscrito de Pedro de Toledo el cap. 17 se halla incorporado en el 16. La segunda parte contiene 49 capítulos; la tercera empieza con un prólogo (Folio CXI) y contiene 54 capítulos; termina con la nota del traductor arriba citada.

¹ Sin mencionar el mes del año 1419.

Ya lo hemos mencionado que no se sabe mucho acerca de la vida personal del traductor y de las circunstancias de la obra traductora. Lo que sí es cierto es que su mecenas, don Gómez Suárez de Figueroa le ordenó el trabajo. Un poderoso señor de Zafra y Feria, dos ciudades de la Extremadura, era durante cierto tiempo Mayordomo Mayor de la Reina Madre Catalina. Entre sus descendientes encontramos al famoso Garcilaso de la Vega, El Inca, y el poderoso embajador de Felipe II en los Países Bajos, Gómez Suárez de Figueroa de Córdoba. Su cuñado, don Íñigo López de Mendoza, Marqués de Santillana, era el esposo de Catalina Suárez de Figueroa. Es posible que el Marqués de Santillana, gran poeta y humanista español, haya tenido cierta influencia sobre su cuñado, el mecenas de Pedro de Toledo. Sin embargo, nuestro traductor lo considera « muy grande e prudente sabio, noble de condiciones ». (Folio I del manuscrito). Y, en realidad, debía tener el dicho señor una cultura refinada y enorme interés para pedir la traducción de la *Guía* a Pedro de Toledo. Al morir ese señor en 1429, no ha visto el fin de la obra traductora, puesto que se había terminado en el 1432. Empero, Pedro prosiguió su trabajo, probablemente bajo la protección del Marqués de Santillana, conocido bibliófilo en cuya Biblioteca, situada en su palacio en Guadalajara, vino sin duda a parar el manuscrito.

El manuscrito de la traducción contiene dos tipos de explicaciones: 1. la glosa del traductor, Pedro de Toledo, escrita de la misma mano que el texto; contiene notas breves concernientes a la explicación de voces o pasajes difíciles a comprender u observaciones generales del traductor o quejas de don Pedro acerca de su trabajo. Generalmente se hallan al margen del texto. 2. La glosa de un crítico mordaz de la traducción de Pedro; se trata, sin duda ninguna, de un erudito muy bien versado en la materia teológica y filosófica del texto, probablemente contemporáneo del traductor, y, a nuestro juicio, judío con un excelente dominio del árabe, hebreo y castellano. Las observaciones, glosas y explicaciones, como también las correcciones de ese comentarista interesante pero desconocido por completo, están escritas con letra y tinta distintas de las del texto de Pedro de Toledo, y las encontramos en las márgenes y entre líneas de los primeros 20 folios del manuscrito. Son

abundantes, numerosas y extremadamente mordaces, de índole filosófica, teológica y lingüística. Tratan constantemente de demostrar la incapacidad del traductor con respecto a la materia que traduce. Hemos dicho que nos parece ser judío. Sin embargo, menester es subrayar que es de nuestra parte una conjetura, y nada más, puesto que no hay noticias ningunas acerca de ese glosador lleno de sabiduría y ciencia. Nos parece que odia al traductor, como un judío es capaz de odiar a un converso. Estas glosas desaparecen por completo después del Folio 20, y no las encontramos más, aunque el texto contenga 141 Folios. La crítica del desconocido comentarista es sensata; sin embargo, a menudo es apasionada y vehemente. He aquí unos ejemplos: Al explicar don Pedro las dificultades de la traducción, se queja en su prólogo (Folio I, recto y verso) de « los traslados » que « son diuersos e de diuersos letrados », y dice lo siguiente: « E los escriuanos otrosy todos por ser non letrados erraron yerros manifestos, yo lo que fiziere sy errare non sea en culpa, e delo que bien dixiere a dios las graçias sean dadas quanto mas que amos trasladadores erraron en muchas cosas. Et el uno mas que el otro sin comparacion ... » Pedro de Toledo, al mencionar a « amos trasladadores » se refiere a Ibn Tibón y a Aljarizi. Veamos la glosa del anónimo comentarista: « Non son todos los escriuanos non letrados nin todos erraron nin mucho menos los trasladadores como dize, segunt pareçera luego adelante que el autor mismo ¹ vio la trasladaçion de Aben Tabbon e la ovo por buena aun que este trasladador ² diga que todos erraron como lo dize luego aqui adelante que amos trasladadores ³ erraron, mal sy penso descargar de si e cargar sobrellos ». Y más adelante el anónimo glosador de este modo: « salua su graçia que el mismo conponedor raby Moysen de Egipto vio la trasladaçion de Aben Tabbon e la auctorizo, verdad es que la del Harizi es errada e la suya mas ».

¹ Maimónides. Ya se ha mencionado que Maimónides aprobó la traducción de Ibn Tibón. Además es sabido que Ibn Tibón consultaba en varias cartas a Maimónides acerca de varios pasajes y explicaciones dudosos o difíciles de la *Guía*. Véase A. Marx, *op. cit.*

² Pedro de Toledo.

³ Ibn Tibón y Aljarizi.

Pedro de Toledo: (fin de su prólogo)
 Et señor sy alguna de algunas errores (a) por mi fueron fechas en aquesta mi trasladaçion, señor avetla en enxenplo de aquel que yerra a dios seruiendo non entendiendo a dios errar mas entendiendo (b) a dios seruir e de dios prinçipe del mundo aya ayuda e de mis pecados perdon e dela vuestra señoria grant prez e buen galardon Amen.»

El anónimo glosador:

(a) « Non se que quiere dezir si alguna de algunas errores saluo silo dize porque seran pocas, por ventura es error de peñola».

(b) « Esto es lo mejor delo que ha dicho e mas de creer que la su voluntad fue buena aunque la obra non respondió ala voluntad».

Según se ve no falta en la última nota (b) del glosador un chispazo de mordaz ironía para demostrar la incapacidad de nuestro traductor Pedro de Toledo.

En el Folio V, al comentar un dicho del rey Salomón, Pedro observa lo siguiente: « Nota que Salamon diz plata descorias acatada sobre tiesto etc.; lo mejor es dezir cubierta sobre tiesto ». Aquí la rabia del comentarista es grande por la audacia de Pedro de corregir a tan grande sabio como lo era el rey Salomón; da rienda suelta a su mordacidad, y comenta lo siguiente:

« Asy lo dize Salamon cubyerta, mas el trasladante lo puso acatada trocosele por equiuocacion de vocablo, mas pongamos que Salamon dixiera acatado como el fuese el auctor e tan grande sabio, donde ovo este enmendador de dezir que era megor dezir cubyerta yo querrialo saber. Como quiere que sea, este texto es en los Proverbios capitulo () mas raby Moysen de Egipto auctor deste libro nonle fallamos este texto en este passo, nin en el arabigo, nin en las trasladaçiones verdaderas; puede seer que sea error descriuano».

De las glosas es evidente que el comentarista dominaba a perfección el árabe y el hebreo, y corrige a Pedro de Toledo hasta la « et » en hebreo y hasta la pronunciación de los nombres, como Tibon (el glosador pone Tibbon o Tabbon, etc.). Pedro de Toledo aparece modesto y humilde a través de toda su obra traductora. No domina el árabe, y su conocimiento del hebreo

es relativamente débil. En el Folio CXXVIII (verso, col. izq., en la tercera parte, cap. XLVI), al discutir la voz *elem*, escrita por Pedro de Toledo así como lo halló en la traducción hebrea, añade: « Elem pareçeme erroe del escriuano que non me remienbra que es ». El traductor tiene un respeto extraordinario para la sabiduría de Maimónides ¹:

Et señor ² vuestra merçet sepa de mi una cosa, et todo aquel que por este libro estudiare si letrado fuere en todo saber e profundo sotil en las artes et en filosofia natural e moral e filosofia primera que de Moysen fasta oy ³ tal libro non se compuso segunt en la manera que es e la sciencia en que tracta, nin tal letrado sabio fue por esa manera en judios e cristianos e moros» ...

Pedro de Toledo subraya hasta la saciedad su poco saber y la dificultad de la traducción; a veces llega hasta a irritar al lector, ya que peca de mal gusto, pero nos parece que la tarea fue demasiado difícil para nuestro traductor; dice a su señor Gómez Suárez:

« que jamas non leades capitulo sin leer ante del, que seria caso de vos fazer dubdar e non entender muchas cosas por la grant profunditat de este varon en este dicho libro porque vos non marauilledes de algunos vocablos non puestos aperfeccion, ante vos marauilledes de lo que esta bien por dos rrazones que Aristotiles diz en comienço de su meta fisica segunt la trasladaçion morisca. La primera rrazon es por la profunditat de las sotiles e altas cosas e la segunda rrazon por la cortidat e pequeño capaz de nos. E asi yo por mi poco entender quanto mas mi poco saber e alcançar por la necesidat de los neçesarios trabajos mundanales» ...

¹ Folios XC verso y XCI recto, col. der.

² Gómez Suárez de Figueroa.

³ Con Maimónides llega la filosofía judía a su grado más alto. La obra de Maimónides, por su racionalismo y su libertad para interpretar alegóricamente la Sagrada Escritura suscitó una violenta polémica entre sus partidarios y los tradicionalistas. Sin embargo, la influencia de Maimónides era y es muy profunda en el pensamiento judío. De ahí el dicho: « Desde Moisés hasta Moisés no ha habido otro Moisés ». Conocida también es su influencia sobre Alberto Magno y Tomás de Aquino.

Con la excepción de algunas veces, el traductor casi nunca está contento de su trabajo. Cuando está, lo dice de una manera franca y sincera: « Este capitulo va acabadamente justo e bueno que mas non puede ser »¹, o bien afirma: « Este capitulo es de los profundos capitulos deste libro e non ay error saluo si fuer del escriuano »².

Pero, en la mayoría de los casos, don Pedro se queja constantemente de las dificultades de la traducción de todas las tres partes de la *Guía*. En las líneas anteriores hemos citado al traductor que subraya la profundidad de la obra de Maimónides y el « poco entender » y « la cortidat e pequeño capaz de nos » (del traductor). A través de la obra traductora, hay varias notas que lo subrayan a menudo. Al empezar el capítulo 49 de la primera parte³, encontramos la siguiente nota:

« Este capitulo enlo mas estan erradas anbas trasladaçiones, son erradas en trasladaçiones e gran yerro delos escriuanos e ay turbamiento enel rromançar e non se puede al fazer por que sepa mi señor la verdat, ca non so contento punto nin mas ».

En el Folio siguiente⁴ se leen las notas:

« Señor, non puedo al fazer que amas trasladaçiones en esto son tales que non an seso nin rrazon rromançadas e rrecibid lo que mejor puedo que non puedo mas ».

Y más abajo:

« En este capitulo falleçen cosas que aquel que es letrado sele entendera si mejor non puestas que puestas por la burla que es en amas trasladaçiones del es(.....) e del un trasladador ».

Otra confesión: « Algunos capitulos son verdat en abrayco, e rromançado, bien pareçen mentira, etc. »⁵. Se da bien cuenta

¹ Nota en el Folio XXXIII, col. der., cap. LXVII.

² Nota en el Folio LXV verso, col. der., cap. XIX.

³ Folio XXII verso, col. der.

⁴ Folio XXIII recto, col. der., cap. L.

⁵ Folio XVIII verso, col. der., cap. XXXVIII.

de las diferencias de los idiomas, el romance y el hebreo, y nota lo siguiente: « Estos dezires son muy notables en abrayco e en rromançe en contra mas non puede al ser »; « Este capitulo es tanto de profundo que si non por el abrayco non se puede bien entender, si non fuere grant filosofo »¹. U otra nota: « Estas cosas non se pueden bien asentar si non en abrayco, e si algunos les paresçen bien, al del abrayco pareçen muy mal »².

No está contento de su propio trabajo y de la obra traductora; afirma lo que sigue: « Este capitulo maguer ba comunal non va ami voluntat perfecta mente »³, o: « Aquí ay dezires puestos al pie dela letra sin aderesçamiento por non errar »⁴.

A pesar de la constante incertidumbre de Pedro de Toledo, y su modestia de traductor, se puede afirmar que, al comparar su texto con las traducciones hebreas de Ibn Tibón, Aljarizi y la de Munk (francesa), si bien suprime algunas ampliaciones del texto hebreo o pasajes un poco escabrosos de índole teológica o filosófica, saltando también ciertas dificultades filológicas⁵, el traductor español logra, en resumen, conservar a la « Guía de los Descarriados » su interés, importancia y peso que siempre tenía en el campo de la filosofía, y que han sido y son universalmente reconocidos.

Además, el texto de Pedro de Toledo es la única versión española no abreviada del íntegro *Moré Nevochim* y, según ya mencionamos, la primera de todas las traducciones de la *Guía* en los idiomas vulgares, todavía no publicada hasta hoy día.

ITZHAK BAR-LEWAW

¹ Folio LXVIII verso, col. izq., cap. XXI.

² Folio XCII recto, col. der., cap. II.

³ Folio XXV verso, col. izq., cap. LIII.

⁴ Folio XXXI recto, col. der., cap. LX.

⁵ Folio XVIII verso, col. der., cap. XXXVIII: « Aquí falleçe una palabra muy superflua la qual non cure de escriuir que non aprouechaba enel rromançe ». En el manuscrito se encuentran más notas por el estilo.

MACHIAVELLI RESEARCHES

The year 1969, as the five-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Niccolò Machiavelli, will be the occasion for conferences commemorating him¹. If these are to be richly rewarding, we should now take stock of the opportunities, as the time for preparation is barely adequate. Of the relevant publications that have appeared in the sixteen years since Father Walker's translation of Machiavelli's *Discourses* broadened Anglo-Saxon interest², and gave Machiavelli studies new impetus, some are works of research, based on archival and manuscript sources, but many are centred on interpretation of his writings. The preponderance of these latter works, together with the vitriol with which some of their authors have attacked critics, have perhaps helped to hide what is important, and what still needs to be done. A critical bibliography of recent work on Machiavelli (in all aspects), supplied with a synopsis of significant contributions, would demonstrate this, and could be a practical contribution in itself³.

¹ Cf. *Celebrazioni in onore di N. Machiavelli nel CDXXX anniversario della sua morte. Sancasciano in Val di Pesa, 15 settembre, 1957* (Sancasciano, 1962).

² N. Machiavelli, *The Discourses*, trans. L. J. Walker (London, 2 vols., 1950).

³ Cf. the various incomplete bibliographies cited in C. H. Clough, « Yet again Machiavelli's Prince », *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale (Sezione romanza)*, V (Naples, 1963), p. 201, n. 1. See also V. Masiello, *Momenti sintomatici della moderna critica ...* (Rome, 1964) [which is a much expanded version of the article with the same title in *Cultura e Scuola*, III, no. 11 (Luglio-Settembre, 1964), pp. 15-23], and its bibliography, especially the work of C. F. Goffis, 'M.', in *Classici italiani ...*, ed. W. Binni (Florence, 2nd ed., 1960).

Of major importance is the Marchese Ridolfi's admirable *Machiavelli*⁴. Its narrative is concerned with Machiavelli's life from birth to death, and is uncluttered with details of the times, with genealogy, and with problems of interpreting Machiavelli's writings. Of course, we still need a companion volume, which will provide the background, deal with Machiavelli's family, and, above all, initiate us into the mechanics of Florentine government and administration. All this was part of Niccolò's heritage, so that some of his writings entire, and many of his allusions, remain obscure until we can share what was common-knowledge to him. In due course, too, we may hope for a third volume, that will serve as a guide to Machiavelli's thought, for it is this which has earned Machiavelli his reputation.

The sources fundamental for this third volume are Machiavelli's works. No edition, so far, has helped us by printing what Machiavelli wrote in anything like the chronological sequence in which it was written, with the author's subsequent revisions⁵. We tend to forget that Machiavelli's thought developed, and even that he made revisions. While a new edition of a part (at least) of Machiavelli's *Opere* is almost a yearly event, we still require a critical edition of virtually everything that Machiavelli produced. For instance, the most recent and most complete collection of Machiavelli's *Epistolario* does not indicate the manuscript sources, or their nature; we do not know if the 'letter' is known only from a minute, or if there is the original letter that was sent; we are not told if the autograph exists⁶. Moreover, the addressee's name and the date may have been added without any indication to warn us that this has been done by the editor⁷. The series of letters to Machiavelli in MS. «Nuovi Acquisti», 1004, Biblioteca Nazionale,

⁴ R. Ridolfi, *Vita di N. Machiavelli* (Rome, 1954), and *The Life of N. Machiavelli*, trans. C. Grayson (London, 3rd ed., 1963).

⁵ Cf. J. H. Whitfield, «Machiavelli e il problema del *Principe*», in his 'Studi sul Machiavelli', in *I Problemi della Pedagogia*, III-IV (1957-58), offprint p. 16.

⁶ N. Machiavelli, «Lettere», ed. F. Gaeta, in *Opere* (Milan, Feltrinelli, 8 vols., 1960-65), VI.

⁷ *Ibid.*, e. g., Letters no. 2 and 3, and see below notes 32 and 46.

Florence, is ignored, as are various other letters⁸. It is difficult to examine in detail the nature of *The Discourses* and *The Prince*, say, without a critical text of them, but until editors are alert to the possibilities of what these works might represent, there can be no satisfactory critical edition of them. Meanwhile there is the report of a project that will publish all Machiavelli's work (drafts, notes, letters, dictation — all indicated for what they represent) in the Chancery between 1498 and 1512, and this could be invaluable⁹. Yet perhaps the best that 1969 could offer would be the establishing of an international committee of scholars dedicated to the publication of a critical edition of Machiavelli's works.

We know remarkably little about the Machiavelli family as a whole, and its individual members (with the obvious exception). A genealogy, based on archival material, and provided with a documented biographical index, would be invaluable¹⁰. From it we should be able to distinguish the various Niccolò with whom the son of Bernardo can be conflated. The part that the family as a unit played in politics in Renaissance Italy is gradually becoming appreciated. We ought to be interested in the part the Machiavelli family played in government under Lorenzo de' Medici, and from this we could judge the status of the family, and the various branches of it¹¹. What of the

⁸ Ridolfi, *Life*, pp. 311 n. 8, 314 n. 25; R. Ridolfi, «Schede per l'Epistolario del Machiavelli ...», I and II, in *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, CXXXVIII (1961), pp. 232-38, 552-56; also his «Per un'edizione critica dell'epistolario ...», *La Bibliofilia*, LXVIII (1966), pp. 31-50. M. Martelli, «Lettere inedite di F. Pucci ...», *La Bibliofilia*, LXV (1963), pp. 229-30, «... vi [Fondo Ginori Conti, B. N. Florence] si possono trovare lettere di Niccolò e di Totto Machiavelli ...».

⁹ The possibilities are admirably suggested by G. R. Sarolli, «Un dichirografo inedito del Machiavelli 'Dictante' e 'Scribente'», in *Modern Language Notes*, 80 no. 1 (1965), pp. 41-62; cf. C. H. Clough, «N. Machiavelli, Cesare Borgia and the Francesco Troche Episode», *Medievalia et Humanistica*, XVII (1966), pp. 129-49.

¹⁰ Neither P. Litta, *Famiglie celebri italiane*, «Famiglia Machiavelli», nor the table in B. Machiavelli, *Libro di Ricordi*, ed. C. Olschki (Florence, 1954), are adequate; cf. Ridolfi, *Life*, p. 258 n. 8. From the baptismal registers we can hope to learn more of Niccolò's children. G. De Ricci, «Il Priorista» has

wealth of the Machiavelli? The answers to these questions can only come through careful archival research, particularly in the State Archives, Florence. In this latter institution we are faced with the limitation of consulting a maximum of four *pezzi* a day, ordered in advance. If 1969 brings an improvement in archival facilities for genuine scholars working in Florence, this would be most rewarding — and not only for Machiavelli studies.

From the biographical index one can advance more surely to a reconstruction of the family archives of the various branches of the Machiavelli¹². The collection of documents called « Carte Machiavelli » is a misnomer and causes confusion. Many documents in the collection derive archivally from the Florentine State Archives, and this material should be recognized for what it really is. Connected is the dispersal of the family papers of Niccolò's branch, and the history of these papers, together with the formation of the various collections of Machiavelli material that now exist, would be a fascinating and most informative study¹³. The *Libro di Ricordi* of Bernardo Machiavelli, Niccolò's father, came to light only in 1954, while many letters in MS. « Nuovi Acquisti », 1004 (including one to Bernardo) derive ultimately from Niccolò's family archives¹⁴. A reconstruction of these

useful information about the family, and for the MSS. of this see D. Moreni, *Bibliografia Storico-Ragionata della Toscana ...* (Florence, 1805), p. 248.

¹¹ Cf. R. Goldthwaite, « Four Florentine Families of the Renaissance », Ph. D. thesis (1965), Columbia University, New York; N. Rubinstein, *The Government of Florence under the Medici (1434-1494)* (London, 1966); cf. also J. K. Hyde, *Padua in the Age of Dante* (Manchester, 1966).

¹² For the kind of material in such archives, and the methods of reconstruction of archives, see C. H. Clough, « The Archivio Bentivoglio in Ferrara », *Renaissance News*, XVIII (1965), pp. 11-19, and « The Chancery Letter-files of A. S. Piccolomini », forthcoming in *Atti del Convegno Pio II* (Milan, 1966).

¹³ A brief notice is in Clough, « N. Machiavelli, C. Borgia ... », p. 140 n. 61; see also archival material that came through De Ricci, now in the State Archives, Florence, mentioned by O. Tommasini, *La Vita e gli Scritti di N. Machiavelli* (Rome, 2 vols., 1883-1911), I, p. 476 n. 1, and also I, p. 78 n. 2. Letters of Totto Machiavelli to Francesco del Nero, dated 1520, are in « Signoria: Dieci di Balìa: Otto di Pratica. Legazioni e Commissarie. Missive e Responsive », Filza 72, cc. 39, 58, Archivio di Stato, Florence; see also note 8.

¹⁴ Cited above in notes 8 and 10; in the latter is a letter to Bernardo, without a date, as letter no. 18.

archives would be admirable, and solve once and for all problems relating to Bernardo's career and Niccolò's home background. Indeed an important weakness in our knowledge of Niccolò is suggested by Ridolfi's biography, where Niccolò's first thirty years — half his life — are covered in less than thirty pages; the information relating to the first twenty-eight years could be brought together in about four of those pages.

Here, then, are several potential fields for constructive research. Perhaps there may be some clues that will help to stimulate it.

I. MACHIAVELLI'S YOUTH

Bernardo Machiavelli's *Libro di Ricordi* covers the period from the end of September 1474, when his son Niccolò was aged five, until mid-August 1487. The work illustrates Bernardo's personality seen without disguise, and we can learn, too, much of the tenor of his life. Of predominant concern to Bernardo was two farms that he owned at Sant'Andrea in Percusina, some seven miles from Florence on the Siena road¹⁵. His preoccupation is not surprising when we realize, from an analysis of the details he gives concerning them, that the farms were increasingly unprofitable¹⁶. Bernardo had little money to spare, even for a dowry¹⁷. On the other hand, Bernardo was a lawyer by profession, and had been held in high esteem, for Bartolomeo Scala introduced him as « amicus et familiaris meus » in a dialogue on law set in February 1483¹⁸. Scala was Chancellor in the Florentine government from 1461, and a devoted supporter of the Medici, dedicating the dialogue to Lorenzo de' Medici¹⁹. Bernardo's friendship with Scala

¹⁵ Ridolfi, *Life*, p. 293 n. 1.

¹⁶ I. Imberciadori, « I due poderi di B. Machiavelli », in *Studi in onore di A. Saponi* (Milan, 2 vols., 1957), II, pp. 835-46.

¹⁷ B. Machiavelli, *Ricordi*, pp. 108-10, under 5 April 1480.

¹⁸ B. Scala, « *De Legibus et Iudiciis* », ed. L. Borghi, in *La Bibliofilia*, XLII (1940), pp. 256-82, especially p. 257; and cf. S. Bertelli, « Noterelle Machiavel-

suggests that Bernardo was not hostile to the Medici, at least in the 1480's, and possibly then actively currying their favour.

But the *Ricordi* indicate that Bernardo was probably not following his profession, for he makes no reference to such work. Rarely he gave legal advice to friends and received modest gifts in recompense²⁰. Moreover, Bernardo spent much of his time at Sant'Andrea, occupied with village affairs, and with his property, which included the village inn. His two sons, Niccolò and Totto, lived much of their time in the town house in Florence, and were attending classes²¹.

One cannot help but wonder if Niccolò Machiavelli's father, Bernardo, son of Niccolò, was debarred from his profession, but it would be incorrect to link this with the 1480 *Catasto*, or tax, record of Florence, where a Bernardo Machiavelli is indicated as not having paid his taxes. The 1480 tax return relates to a « Bernardo di Jac[ob]o di Piero », and not « Bernardo di Nicholo di Boninsegna », the lawyer, whose return for that year also exists²². Niccolò's father, the lawyer, had property both in Florence and in Sant'Andrea adjacent to that of Niccolò, son of Alessandro of Filippo — the very Niccolò with whom Bernardo's son, Niccolò, has been confused²³. Niccolò, son of

liane [II]. Ancora su Lucrezio e Machiavelli », in *Rivista Storica Italiana*, LXXVI (1964), p. 12 n. 43.

¹⁹ For Scala see D. Marzi, *La Cancelleria della Repubblica Fiorentina* (Rocca S. Casciano, 1910), pp. 236-77, and N. Rubinstein, « B. Scala's *Historia Florentinorum* », in *Studi di Bibliografia e di Storia in onore di T. De Marinis* (Verona, 4 vols., 1964), IV, pp. 49-59.

²⁰ Cf. C. Olschki, in his preface to his ed. B. Machiavelli, *Ricordi*, p. XIV. Bernardo could have been debarred, cf. E. Staley, *The Guilds of Florence* (London, 1906), p. 100.

²¹ B. Machiavelli, *Ricordi*, index references; Ridolfi, *Life*, pp. 34-35.

²² F. Gilbert, *Machiavelli and Guicciardini* (Princeton, N. J., 1965), pp. 318-319, referring to « Catasto » 999, campioni 1480, Santo Spirito, Gonf. Drago, c. 328r, State Archives, Florence, for the Bernardo in debt, though without giving his father's name; for Niccolò's father see Bertelli, « Noterelle, II », p. 12 n. 43, citing « Catasto » 994, campioni 1480, Santo Spirito, Gonf. Nicchio, cc. 128r-130r; cf. Ridolfi, *Life*, p. 258 n. 9.

²³ « Catasto », campioni 1498, 1511, Santo Spirito, Gonf. Nicchio, relative to Bernardo and his son Niccolò, are printed in N. Machiavelli, *Opere*, ed.

Alessandro was twenty years the senior of Bernardo's Niccolò, and well-known to Bernardo and his family circle²⁴. The two branches of the family represented by Bernardo and Niccolò, son of Alessandro, had a common great-grandfather, Filippo, who appears to have been wealthy, though division of property subsequent to his death had dispersed the wealth considerably²⁵. Niccolò, son of Alessandro, though, was not without money, and in September-October 1499 was Prior of his Guild, while at the turn of the century he held executive posts in the Florentine government, and then associated with Niccolò, son of Bernardo²⁶. Recently an original document has come to light, described as: « Rendiconto di Niccolò Machiavelli e Compagni setaiuoli, 1498-1502 »²⁷. The father's name of this Niccolò is not given in the document, but the Niccolò concerned was a man of means, guildsman of the *Arte di Seta*, and perhaps to be identified with the son of Alessandro.

We have the following letter of introduction written by Pietro Dolfi, General of the Camaldolese Order, on behalf of a Niccolò Machiavelli, whose father's name, once again, is not given²⁸:

Car[dina]lli sen[ensi Protectori]

Ciuis quidam Florentinus Nicolaus de Machiauelis, religionis nostrae amicus et benefactor haud uulgaris, habet nescio quid in urbe nego-

Fanani-Passerini-Milanesi (Florence-Rome, 6 vols., 1873-77), I, pp. LV-LIX (cf. Ridolfi, *Life*, p. 293 n. 1); see pp. LV, LVI, for Niccolò son of Alessandro.

²⁴ B. Machiavelli, *Ricordi*, index references.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, genealogy, and document cited in note 23.

²⁶ Francesco Nitti (1851-1905), *Machiavelli ...* (Naples, first volume only published, 1876), p. 31; Giovanni Cambi, « I storie fiorentine », ed. I. di San Luigi, in *Delizie degli eruditi toscani*, XXI (Florence, 1785), p. 148, for him as Prior; 1498, one of the *Signoria*, see Ridolfi, *Life*, p. 29; 1500, *Commissario* in Pistoia, see N. Machiavelli, *Opere* (Florence-Rome, 1875), III, p. 248 onwards, cf. Ridolfi, *Life*, p. 45. See also the correspondence between him and Niccolò, son of Bernardo, in N. Machiavelli, « Lettere », ed. Gaeta, index references.

²⁷ *Codici, Manoscritti e Autografi ...*, Bollettino no. 101 (Libreria Gonnelli, Via Ricasoli, 14r, Florence, 15 ottobre 1963), p. 30, item 233. I have been unable to trace its present whereabouts.

²⁸ G. Varanini, « Un intervento di Pietro Dolfi in favore del Machiavelli », *Lettere italiane*, XIV (1962), pp. 190-92, from MS. Conventi Soppressi, E. 3.405, II, cc. 746v-747r, Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence.

cij, propter quod expetendum magna fidutia censuit fauorem tuum. Et quoniam antiquam meam erga te pietatem atque obseruantiam nouit, pluribus a me precibus contendit, ut se tibi enixius commendarem. Quid autem illud sit, cuius gratia tuo indigeat patrocinio, referet coram qui has litteras tuae amplitudini redditurus est. Spero honestam pro amico petitionem fore, quoniam optimus atque integerrimus cuius creditur et de te sentit ut non nisi honestis fautorum desiderijs confidat. Inseruire igitur cum oporteat de nobis optime meritis et non reddere beneficium nequaquam liceat, sit tibi, quaeso, domine, Nicolaus hic meo nomine commendatus.

Vale, domine colendissime, cui me totum dedo.

Florentiae, die XX martij, MCCCCXCVIII.

This letter was addressed to the Cardinal of Siena, Francesco Tedeschini Piccolomini, the « Cardinal Protector » of the Camaldolese Order, who became Pope in 1503 as Pius III. The letter is known only from a transcript, which was made for Dolfin's collection of his own letters. Dolfin edited his letters in the hope that by their means his name would be remembered, and his Order honoured. He perhaps used rough drafts as his chief source for the collection, and certainly one can accept the letter of introduction as genuine, and the text that we have as being essentially like the original²⁹. One can presume that Machiavelli presented himself in person with this letter, and spoke to the Cardinal, perhaps in Siena, shortly after it was originally written by Dolfin.

Are there any clues that assist in the identification of this Niccolò? At the time Dolfin was making his selection, probably the only one of the family with a reputation was Niccolò son of Bernardo. Niccolò was known as a literary figure, for his

²⁹ Cf. G. Soranzo, « Pietro Dolfin, Generale dei Camaldolesi e il suo epistolario », *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, XIII (1959), pp. 21-28, where the reference to the MS. as no. 305 should read 405. For Cardinal Protectors see D. S. Chambers, *Cardinal Bainbridge in the Court of Rome* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 2-3. For Piccolomini as Protector, see Varanini, p. 292 n. 13, and also note 38 below.

first *Decennale* was printed in 1506³⁰. It is not impossible that Dolfin had heard of *The Prince*, if he made his selection after 1516. Certainly it seems to be the association with Machiavelli that was the primary motive for the inclusion of the letter of introduction in the collection, as there were many other letters to the Cardinal in it. Hence it is possible that Dolfin associated the Niccolò of the letter of 1498 with the son of Bernardo, and there exists some evidence to suggest that he was right in so doing.

Almost the earliest known writing in the hand of Niccolò, son of Bernardo is the minute of a letter dated 2 December, almost certainly of 1497³¹. While no addressee is given in the original, evidence suggests conclusively that it was Cardinal Lopez³². The minute concerned a dispute over the rights of presentation to the living of Pieve di Fagna in Val di Sieve, which the Machiavelli claimed as vested in their family³³. The Pazzi claimed these rights as theirs by papal gift. This dispute went back to early June 1497, at least, and the Machiavelli had the support of the Florentine *Signoria*, though given the alliance between the government and Savonarola, and Pope Alexander VI's hostility to the latter, this backing was likely to have been a handicap³⁴. The minute ends with the signature: « Maclavello-

³⁰ E. H. Wilkins, W. A. Jackson, and R. H. Rouse, « The First Decennale of Machiavelli », *Studies in the Renaissance*, XI (1964), pp. 76-91.

³¹ « Carte Machiavelli », Cassetta I, 57, Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, see Tommasini, II, pp. 1276-77; printed in Machiavelli, « Lettere », ed. Gaeta, pp. 28-29, Letter 2; see also note 73.

³² The evidence is given by Nitti, p. 37 n. 1, and his attribution of the addressee is followed by E. Alvisi in his ed. Machiavelli, *Lettere* (Florence, 1883), pp. 3-4, and by Gaeta (see note 31), neither of whom suggest that the addressee is only an attribution. The main evidence to which Nitti refers is printed in APPENDIX to this article, and for the Rev. Francesco Machiavelli, who is mentioned there, perhaps the son of Filippo, see Tommasini, I, p. 100 n. 3.

³³ E. Repetti, *Dizionario geografico-fisico-storico della Toscana* (Florence, 8 vols., 1833-46), II, pp. 85-87.

³⁴ The « Estratti di lettere di X di Balìa », under giugno 1497 give: « A Guglielmo de' Pazzi Vicario di Mugello, fatto lassù generale commissario. Che non proibisca quelli de' Machiavelli di stare nella Pieve di Fagna: di che Guglielmo facea forza in contrario sotto colore di non lasciare fare ragunata. La lettera fu de' X di », in « Carte Machiavelli », Cassetta I, 72, B. N. Florence,

rum familia. Piero, Nicholò et tutta la famiglia de' Machiavegli ». The father of the Niccolò is not indicated, but since the handwriting of the minute is that of the son of Bernardo, it is generally accepted that he is the one of the signature. The Piero was probably the son of Boninsegna, born in 1467, and under Bernardo Machiavelli's tutelage on the death of his parents³⁵. The phrase « all » was no doubt an exaggeration, since the rights were probably vested in only some of the branches of the family, probably descendants of Filippo already mentioned; perhaps those concerned were those who had similar rights over the Church of Sant'Andrea and elsewhere, though this is not certain. The significance of the minute is that Niccolò, son of Bernardo, appears to have been taking the lead in the dispute, and that Dolfin's letter of introduction was probably to the same Niccolò, and concerned with the same dispute at a later stage³⁶. Lopez, a Spaniard created Cardinal by Pope Alexander VI in 1496, was a loyal supporter of the Pope, and hence likely to have been unfavourable to the Machiavelli in the dispute. As Datary Cardinal he was concerned with petitions relating to benefices, so that presumably he had refused the Machiavelli claims to rights, and favoured the Pazzi³⁷. The candidate presented by the Machiavelli was Francesco, of their family, and he does not seem to have been of the Camaldolense Order. However, the Order appears to have enjoyed some rights over the Pieve, and hence some contact with Niccolò may have been the consequence (and this may explain Dolfin's rather glowing reference to Niccolò). As Cardinal Protector of the Order, Piccolomini could be expected to bring his weight to bear with Cardinal Lopez³⁸.

see Tommasini, II, pp. 1400-1401, and printed in Machiavelli, *Opere* (Florence-Rome, 1874), II, p. 186; see also Nitti, p. 37 n. 1.

³⁵ B. Machiavelli, *Ricordi*, p. 117, and genealogy.

³⁶ For rights of presentation, see note 59; Varanini, p. 191, suggests that Dolfin's letter relates to the dispute.

³⁷ C. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi* (Padua, 1960), II, p. 23, and p. 214, under Perugia, for him as Datary.

³⁸ For Francesco see note 32, and for the Order's rights see Repetti, II, p. 86. For Piccolomini see Eubel, II, p. 13 n. 6; Chambers, p. 3.

Dolfin called Niccolò an excellent citizen, as well as « religionis nostrae amicus et benefactor haud vulgaris », which may have been in part to make an impression. It is certain that Dolfin would not have spoken this way of Niccolò, son of Alessandro Machiavelli, who was a fervent supporter of Savonarola, known as a *piagnone*, and had signed with three hundred and fifty-seven other Florentine citizens a letter to Pope Alexander VI in favour of Savonarola (for which he was fined on Savonarola's fall). Dolfin was bitterly antagonistic to the Dominican Savonarola, and would have been to his follower³⁹. The fact that this Niccolò's name does not appear on the minute of December, but may be included in the « all », may be because the Machiavelli did not want to antagonize the Pope with the signature of a *piagnone*; at the same time, this Niccolò would have been of great help in obtaining the backing of the Florentine *Signoria*.

Granted that Niccolò, son of Alessandro, would not have been a wise choice to further the Machiavelli cause with the ecclesiastical authorities, the rise to prominence of Niccolò, son of Bernardo, is surprising, since his father was alive, and as a distinguished lawyer would appear the most suitable to take the lead. Once again one comes to some mystery about Bernardo, which is most familiar from the letter that Buonaccorsi wrote to Niccolò, 28 December 1509, on the eve of elections, when Niccolò was standing once more as a candidate for re-election to his posts (for he then held several)⁴⁰:

« E' farà domani octo dì, che uno turato [someone hidden by a mask] con dua testimoni andò ad casa el notaio de' Conservatori, et presente loro li dette una notificatione, con protestarli se non la dava etc. Conteneva che per esser nato voi di padre etc., non potete ad modo alcuno exercitare lo officio che voi tenete etc. Et benché la cosa sia stata in facto altra volta et che la legge sia in

³⁹ P. Villari, *La Storia di G. Savonarola ...* (Florence, 2 vols., rev. ed., 1930), II, p. 39, for the petition of July 1497, printed as Doc. VII (though with the names of those who signed omitted); for the fine see Cambi, p. 148.

⁴⁰ For several posts held by Machiavelli, see Ridolfi, *Life*, pp. 20, 96. Machiavelli, « Lettere », ed. Gaeta, pp. 207-209, Letter 109.

favore quanto la può, nientedimeno la qualità de' tempi et uno numero grande che s'è levato ad bocciare questa cosa et gridarla per tutto et minacciare se non è facto etc. fa che la cosa non è in molto buon termine et ha bisogno d'uno grande adiuto et di una delicata cura ...».

This situation was not isolated, for in the summer of 1507 Niccolò's appointment for the embassy to Germany was cancelled because of complaints about him. Almost certainly connected with this is the fact that on 15 May 1507 Niccolò Machiavelli obtained from the Florentine *Signoria* a patent of Florentine citizenship and nobility. This document is known only from the draft retained in the governmental files, and it refers to « Nicolaum Bernardi Jacobi », whereas the father of Niccolò's father was Niccolò and not Jacopo⁴¹. This, in turn, has given grounds for the speculation that Bernardo was illegitimate⁴². However, since this is the only document that makes this reference to a Jacopo, it is most likely that it results from a clerical error. Such an error is all the more understandable if Bernardo, son of Niccolò, was by 1507 on the *Specchio* list, like Bernardo, son of Jacobo, as we have seen. Certainly the error has been

⁴¹ S. Bertelli's preface to the 1507 Legation, in Machiavelli, « Legazioni e Commissarie », II, in *Opere* (Milan, 1964), IV, p. 1053; and see also the letter of 6 October 1506 from Buonaccorsi to Machiavelli in M. « Lettere », ed. Gaeta, p. 168, Letter 81, « ... Alamano [Salviati] ... dove v'erano anchora molti giovani, parlando di voi dixi: Io non comissi mai nula a cotesto ribaldo, poi io sono de' Dieci ... ». Tommasini, I, p. 377 n. 8, prints this patent, and cf. p. 482. The Niccolò of the patent is not mentioned as being in the chancery, though perhaps this is suggested by the phrase « carissimum nobis esse ». The patent certainly was for Niccolò the son of the lawyer, Bernardo, because it can be related to the slurs of October 1506 directed against him, and to the fact that on 18 May 1507 this Niccolò was sent on a Legation to Piombino, see N. Machiavelli, *Opere* (Florence-Milan, 1876), V, pp. 240-41 (and not reprinted by Bertelli in his edition of the Legations); cf. Ridolfi, *Life*, pp. 98-99. It is worth noting that M. had sought to win over Salviati by dedicating his *Decennale* to him, see the ed. cited in note 30, pp. 76, 89; for Salviati see Tommasini, index references.

⁴² Ridolfi, *Life*, pp. 112-13, and p. 247 n. 4, where the comments refer to Tommasini, I, pp. 482-83; Bertelli, « Noterelle, II », p. 12 n. 43.

something of a red-herring in terms of Bernardo's fault, for above all the patent reflects attempts on the part of the *Optimates* to humiliate Soderini and his Government, by means of Machiavelli and his unusual career⁴³.

The assumption of leadership by Bernardo's son, Niccolò, in the dispute about presentation coincides with his becoming a candidate for a post in the Florentine government. On 19 February 1498, a month before Dolfin's letter of introduction, the name of Niccolò was put forward by the *Consiglio de' Richiesti* as a candidate for the post of Second Chancellor. His nomination was not carried in the *Consiglio Maggiore*, and the post went to an ardent follower of Savonarola, Alessandro Braccesi⁴⁴. Savonarola was at that time at the peak of his power and influence in Florence, while Braccesi had a distinguished career in governmental service already to testify in his favour⁴⁵. Even if we cannot know which of these two factors most influenced the election, his choice seems the obvious one. We are able to deduce Machiavelli's position *vis à vis* Savonarola from the minute of a letter dated Florence, 9 March 1498, which is on the same folio as that of 2 December already mentioned⁴⁶. The minute is signed « Nicholò di M. Bernardo Machiavegli », and is probably in his hand. No addressee is named, though this has been claimed to be Riccardo Becchi⁴⁷; Machiavelli subsequently docketed the minute « 1497 Marzo

⁴³ Cf. Tommasini, I, p. 482 n. 2; and see the text above note 22 and that note.

⁴⁴ N. Rubinstein, « The beginnings of Niccolò Machiavelli's career in the Florentine Chancery », *Italian Studies*, XI (1956), pp. 76, 79.

⁴⁵ P. O. Kristeller, « An unknown correspondent of Alessandro Braccesi with ... Bartolomeo Scala, and other humanists ... », in *Classical, Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies in Honor of B. L. Ullman*, ed. C. Henderson, Jr. (Rome, 2 vols., 1964), II, p. 313.

⁴⁶ « Carte Machiavelli », Cassetta I, 58, B. N. Florence, see Tommasini, II, pp. 1276-79; printed in Machiavelli, « Lettere », ed. Gaeta, pp. 29-33, Letter 3.

⁴⁷ E. Alvisi in his ed. Machiavelli, *Lettere* (Florence, 1883), pp. 4-9, originated the attribution from unknown evidence (cf. Tommasini, II, p. 1279). Ridolfi, *Life*, p. 9 accepts the attribution as certain, and cf. R. Ridolfi, *Vita di G. Savonarola* (Rome, 2 vols., 1952), II, p. 201 n. 26.

[Florentine style for 1498]. Cose pertinente a fra ieronimo [Savonarola] »⁴⁸. This minute makes it clear that Machiavelli was not a *piagnone*, and had come to fear that Savonarola might become a tyrant by his accusations of others. At the same time Machiavelli was politically a follower of Savonarola, in that he accepted the Savonarolan constitution⁴⁹. Thus we can appreciate Braccesi's victory in the February elections, and why Machiavelli had Dolfin's support in March.

April 1498 saw a reaction in Florence against Savonarola, and this brought the dismissal from their posts in the government of his most ardent followers, including Braccesi. Those remaining in control were still dedicated to the Savonarolan constitution, and these by June came to fear that Savonarola's followers would come to power again, for Savonarola had become a martyr. One of the efforts made to counteract this was the election on 19 June of Niccolò Machiavelli to the post of Second Chancellor, which had been vacant since Braccesi left⁵⁰.

While the changes in the structure of Florentine government in the late *Quattrocento* have been carefully examined⁵¹, the issue of « citizenship » and of its relationship with eligibility for administrative posts has been left rather in the background. Apparently in 1494 the ownership of property of a certain value, as the qualification for eligibility for a post, was waived. As mentioned already, candidates for posts were proposed by the *Consiglio de' Richiesti* (which was the *Consiglio degli Ottanta*, with its name changed for this function) and the election from

⁴⁸ Tommasini, II, p. 1277, under the date 1497, XII, 2.

⁴⁹ J. H. Whitfield, « Savonarola and the purpose of *The Prince* », *Modern Language Review*, XLIV (1949), pp. 44-45; see also the *First Decennale*, ed. cited in note 30, p. 95, lines 157-65, « Io dico di quel gran Savonarola ... », etc.

⁵⁰ Rubinstein, « The beginnings ... », pp. 81-82.

⁵¹ N. Rubinstein, « I primi anni del Consiglio Maggiore di Firenze (1494-1499) », *Archivio Storico Italiano*, CXII (1954), pp. 151-347, and his « Politics and Constitution in Florence at the end of the fifteenth century », in *Italian Renaissance Studies. A Tribute to the late C. M. Ady*, ed. E. F. Jacob (London, 1960), pp. 148-83.

the nominees took place in the *Consiglio Maggiore*⁵². In a Reform of 13 February 1498 anyone in the *Consiglio de' Richiesti* could nominate for a post anyone « et di quella conditione a lui parrà et piacerà, non ostante alcuni prohibitione et divieti »⁵³. One condition was implied, and that was Florentine citizenship, which was not easy to define briefly⁵⁴. Politically there were many « citizens » who were not members of the *Consiglio Maggiore* even under the terms of the Savonarolan constitution, while the statutory age was twenty-nine⁵⁵. Probably, though, this aspect did not concern election to administrative offices. The acid test of citizenship in Florence was usually matriculation into one of the guilds; in other words, to be a citizen of Florence (even without political rights) one had to be a guildsman⁵⁶. This is the basic problem relating to Niccolò's appointment to posts in the government, as evidence strongly indicates that he was not a guildsman. His father, Bernardo, was a doctor of laws, and had matriculated in the *Arte dei Giudici e Notai*, the most powerful guild⁵⁷. Niccolò was never addressed as « ser » or « messer » and hence certainly did not

⁵² Rubinstein, « The beginnings ... », pp. 73, 79.

⁵³ *Ibid.* Marzi, p. 280 n. 2.

⁵⁴ Cf. the interesting case of Florentine citizenship granted to Guglielmo and Sallustio di Sassoferrato, in L. Martines, « The career and library of a fifteenth century lawyer: Bartolus of Sassoferrato's grandson », *Annali di Storia del Diritto*, III-IV (1959-60), pp. 324-25. The privilege in this case indicates that matriculation into the Guild was obligatory.

⁵⁵ For 'political' citizenship, see Villari, *G. Savonarola*, I, lib. ii, cap. v.

⁵⁶ M. B. Becker, « An Essay on the 'Novi Cives' and Florentine Politics, 1343-1382 », *Mediaeval Studies*, XXIV (1962), pp. 38-40.

⁵⁷ Bernardo was given the title « messer », or its Latin form « dominus »; for the former, see the letter in Marzi, p. 288, and documents of 1498, 1512. in N. Machiavelli, *Opere* (Florence-Rome, 1873), I, pp. LV, LXXXI-II; for the latter, the documents of 1498 in Rubinstein, « The beginnings ... », pp. 89-90. One could be without 'political' rights, and even be debarred from the profession, but the *Arte* could not deprive one of the title « messer », one suspects, so its use in Bernardo's case is not evidence of either. While far from adequate, see for this *Arte*, Staley, pp. 75-105. There is also S. Calleri, *L'Arte dei Giudici e Notai di Firenze ...* (Milan, 1966).

belong to this guild, and there is no evidence that he was a member of any other⁵⁸.

Herein is another enigma. If the eldest son of a family was capable, it was usual for him to follow the profession of his father. Niccolò's younger brother, Totto, was destined for the Church and a family living⁵⁹, and hence *a priori* Niccolò could have been destined for the law. Bernardo must have been aware that without guild membership, his son was doomed to obscurity, and his family to loss of social status and impoverishment. We shall see that from childhood Niccolò was trained precisely along the lines of someone destined for a career in the *Arte dei Giudici e Notai*, and we know that Bernardo had contacts with Scala and the Medici party, and so was perhaps thinking of his son's future. We may suppose that Niccolò actually served his apprenticeship for this *Arte*, but that he was eventually unable to matriculate. A potential guildsman of this *Arte* had to be of a respectable family, whose members had paid all their taxes over the past twenty years prior to matriculation; on matriculation, the guildsman had to furnish a deposit as a guarantee for his honesty⁶⁰. A possible explanation of why Niccolò never qualified and of the aspersions cast on Bernardo, is that Bernardo was on the list of the *Specchio*⁶¹.

Under the Medici the guildsman of the *Arte dei Giudici e Notai* exclusively filled administrative posts in the Florentine

⁵⁸ Ridolfi, *Life*, p. 16; Marzi, p. 289. The extract quoted by Tommasini, I, p. 601 n. 1, appears to be inaccurate. The *Archivio dell'Arte dei Giudici e Notai*, in A. S. F., is very incomplete for the period prior to 1557, for in that year the Arno flooded, and destroyed much material. There are no matriculation registers for the fifteenth century, as Professor Sergio Camerani kindly has confirmed.

⁵⁹ For the livings of Sant'Andrea in Percussina and S. Vito e Quirico alla Sodora and Totto, see Tommasini, I, p. 476 n. 1; see also Ridolfi, *Life*, pp. 34, 139, 318 n. 18.

⁶⁰ Staley, pp. 95, 79.

⁶¹ This is also Ridolfi's supposition, *Life*, pp. 112, 257 n. 4; see also the point raised by Bertelli, «Noterelle II», p. 12 n. 43. Unfortunately there are no *Specchio* records for this period now existing, see Rubinstein, «I primi anni ...», p. 164.

government⁶². The 1494 revolution brought some changes in the personnel, for those suspect of not supporting the revolution were replaced, but the replacements were always from the ranks of the *Arte dei Giudici e Notai*. The four years 1494-1498 did not greatly increase the pool of guildsmen of this *Arte*, while death and incapacity helped continually to reduce the number. The revolutionaries were faced with a problem common to revolutions — that is, in the initial stages of a revolution, the administrators on whom much depends for ultimate success, are not loyal by training to it, secondly, loyal revolutionaries may prove incapable administrators. Many dismissed in 1494 had to be recalled, Scala, for instance, after a few days. It is against this background that we should judge the Reform of 1498, which appears to have been an attempt to increase the pool of administrators⁶³. The most ardent followers of Savonarola may have felt that the revolution was handicapped by an administration in unsympathetic hands. The effect of the Reform was that anyone elected to a post in the government was considered on a par with a guildsman of the *Arte dei Giudici e Notai*, and his writings in the government service assumed the legal significance enjoyed by a qualified notary⁶⁴.

One can understand the motives of the *piagnoni* who passed this Reform, and at the same time see that in practice it was unlikely to greatly change the situation. No matter how loyal a candidate was, he would be useless in a post unless he was competent, and this depended largely on training. If an elected nominee, made eligible by this Reform, proved useless, the whole party suffered, since it could be justly accused of jobbery and of being unsuccessful. The very charge levelled at the Medici would rebound.

Machiavelli's election under this Reform was an exception⁶⁵. In June 1498 the moderate party used the Reform to suit its

⁶² Marzi, p. 280.

⁶³ *Ibid.*; Rubinstein, «Politics ...», p. 163.

⁶⁴ Marzi, pp. 280-81.

⁶⁵ Almost without exception the candidates elected from 1498, despite the Reform of February, have the title «ser» or «dominus», see «Tratte», 286,

own interests, but, like its predecessor, it had to face censure if the candidate proved incompetent on election. While, in part, Machiavelli's election may have been a reward for his devotion to the party then in power, there must have been exceptional circumstances to have made the risk worth taking. What more likely than that Machiavelli had legal training, but simply could not qualify because of his father's debts? The legal phraseology found in the minute of 2 December may have resulted from such training, and not be merely an echo of Bernardo's dictation⁶⁶. Certainly, if we look forward to the documents produced by Machiavelli in the Chancery, from the very beginning of his service, it is clear that he knew about administration. He could write minutes and reports, and these are exactly according to the pattern of the rest of the administration in *formulae*. He wrote in chancery script and used the accepted chancery abbreviations. Perhaps even more significantly, Machiavelli had a trained clerk under him, ser Agostino Vespucci, and he quickly won his respect and affection — no easy task if he had been regarded as incompetent and untrained⁶⁷.

It is not impossible that Machiavelli had proved his administrative capacity in the government's service before February 1498, for it is hard to envisage his nomination as a rival to Braccesi without some experience. From 1489, at least, the Florentine Chancery had the service of four youths, who were not obliged to be qualified notaries, and even could be on the *Specchio* list⁶⁸. These youths, presumably, were serving apprenticeship for a higher post, and in 1465 Braccesi himself had worked in a similar capacity⁶⁹. These youths were the equivalent of the modern office-boy, and assisted with mail and registers. In view of this, perhaps the so-called « Estratti di Lettere ai Dieci di Balìa » may repay investigation. These were

State Archives, Florence, cf. the extract printed by Rubinstein, « The beginnings ... », pp. 86-91. For Buonaccorsi see note 113.

⁶⁶ Ridolfi, *Life*, p. 16.

⁶⁷ For him see Marzi, index references, and note 73 below.

⁶⁸ Marzi, p. 260.

⁶⁹ Kristeller, p. 314 n. 3.

the work of several chancery officials, including ser Agostino da Terranova, Biagio Buonaccorsi and Niccolò Machiavelli⁷⁰. Other material of a rather similar nature is in the hand of Adriani⁷¹, likewise in the Chancery as we shall see. De Ricci's obsession in acquiring Machiavelli material, and the formation by him of the « Carte Machiavelli », may help to explain a misunderstanding about the nature of these « Estratti ». Indeed, the « Estratti » may eventually have been used by Machiavelli for his *History of Florence*, but appear in origin to be chancery documents, made for governmental use, and probably appropriated by De Ricci from the Florentine State Archives. Notaries were the most articulate citizens and as a class, from the thirteenth century and not merely in Florence, provided the preponderance of chroniclers and historians. There was a long tradition among notaries of incorporating chancery documents in their works, and sometimes they acquired the original documents for this purpose. The confusion of source-materials in the case of the « Estratti » could lie somewhere here⁷². Some of the early « Estratti » that are in Machiavelli's hand may have been done by him prior to June 1498 as his task in the chancery office. New light on Machiavelli's career, therefore, can be

⁷⁰ N. Machiavelli, *Opere* (Florence-Rome, 1874), II, pp. 156-217 (cf. the extract quoted in note 34 above).

⁷¹ Ridolfi, *Life*, pp. 278 n. 2, 322 n. 17.

⁷² The material printed in Machiavelli, *Opere* (Florence-Rome, 1874), II, pp. 217-81, is only known through a transcript made in 1726. However, phrases like « Ricordati dire che il partito di Pisa fu messo innanzi dal re », p. 273 (cf. Ridolfi, *Life*, p. 279) appear unusual in personal notes for the writer's reference; much material, too (cf. that in note 34) seems hardly relevant for a *History of Florence*. The documents may be chancery notes made, perhaps, for a verbal monthly report, say, to the *Dieci di Balìa*, when work accomplished in the past month was detailed; cf. Clough, « N. Machiavelli, C. Borgia ... », for a similar document. See also Tommasini, I, pp. 140-41.

For notaries as chroniclers see Hyde, and N. Tamassia, « Le cronache romagnole ed emiliane dei secoli XV e XVI e i primordi del giornalismo », *Atti e Memorie della Dep. di Storia Patria per la Prov. di Romagna*, serie iii, XVII (Bologna, 1898-99), pp. 213-29. F. Novati, « Il notaio nella vita e nella letteratura italiana ... », in his *Freschi e minii del Dugento* (Milan, 1908), pp. 299-328.

expected from an examination of this material, particularly with regard to the watermark, calligraphy and dates of appointment of officials such as Buonaccorsi and Terranova⁷³.

In effect Machiavelli's election in June 1498 gave him the status of citizen, but it could not make him a member of the *Arte dei Giudici e Notai*; the Florentine government could grant Machiavelli a patent of citizenship, but this did not alter the laws of the *Arte*. Thus there was an anomaly, and anyone who wished to discredit the government or Machiavelli could bring forward the equivocal nature of Machiavelli's election and holding office. It is unfortunate that we know little about the circumstances of Machiavelli's dismissal in November 1512, though no doubt it came about because of his anti-Medici activities. But then, at least, he was described as a « Florentine citizen », which must have been some consolation⁷⁴, even though without membership of the *Arte dei Giudici e Notai* he was unlikely to obtain a post again in the Florentine government.

It is unlikely that Machiavelli was elected in the first place without strong backing. On 13 February 1498 Marcello Virgilio Adriani was appointed First Chancellor, in succession to Bartolomeo Scala, who had died in the previous July. Adriani had

⁷³ Ridolfi, *Life*, p. 262 n. 12, rightly corrects Marzi, p. 287, concerning the case for Machiavelli entering the chancery prior to 1498. Seemingly, Marzi also assumed that the « Estratti » (cited in note 70 above) were written by Machiavelli at the time of the date they bear (that is, from 1494), since he makes this claim for Buonaccorsi, p. 295 n. 2, and Terranova, p. 295 n. 4; perhaps he is wrong in all cases. A most worthwhile project would be a study of Buonaccorsi and a critical edition of his « Diario, 1498-1512 », which is based on Chancery material, possibly the « Estratti » among the rest. Cf. Gilbert, p. 319 n. 1, whose position on this point is very like that suggested in the present article.

We have almost nothing in Machiavelli's autograph prior to 1498. The suggestion that he worked on a translation of Vittore Vitense, *Historia persecutionis vandalicæ*, prior to 1494 (see N. Machiavelli, *Opere*, Florence-Rome, 1873, I, pp. XII, IXL) is in error, see Tommasini, I, p. 100. He may have written some poetry prior to 1498, but no autograph for such an early date appears to exist. For his writing of 1495 and late 1497 see notes 90 and 31.

⁷⁴ Documents printed in N. Machiavelli, *Opere* (Florence-Rome, 1874), I, p. LXXXII (34), « Niccolò di messer Bernardo Machiavelli nostro cittadino et segretario ».

been reader in the Humanities at the Florentine *Studio* from 1494⁷⁵. Machiavelli, if he trained for the law, would have attended the junior school of the *Studio*, and ultimately lectures at the *Studio*⁷⁶. There is contemporary evidence that Adriani was Machiavelli's tutor. Adriani himself was a disciple of Poliziano, the tutor of Lorenzo de' Medici's children, and an intimate of the Medici circle, which included Scala. There is the possibility that Adriani was influential in supporting Niccolò, his pupil, for the post in 1498⁷⁷. In Renaissance Italy it was often the family as a unit that mattered before almost all other considerations. In moments of crisis individual members of a family might take opposing sides, but which ever side eventually won, the members looked after the interests of the family as a whole, with few exceptions. In 1498 the *Signoria* of Florence included among its number Niccolò, son of Alessandro Machiavelli⁷⁸, who we have seen was a relative and intimate of Bernardo's family circle. It is not improbable that he strongly supported the candidature of his namesake.

The gap in our knowledge of Machiavelli's youth is from 1481, when he was aged twelve, until 1498. What perhaps is worth stressing is that the training that we know Niccolò received until 1481 was typical for one destined for a career in the government's service. The evidence thus implies that Niccolò was intended by his father for the post achieved in 1498, and it is reasonable to assume that his early training was continued for that object during the hidden years, 1481-1498. At the age of six Niccolò was sent to his first teacher, and by the age of eleven he was doing arithmetic; we can trace his progress with Latin from the primer to the prose compositions when he was twelve⁷⁹. The last related reference we have is in the *Ricordi*,

⁷⁵ Marzi, pp. 281-82; S. Bertelli, « Noterelle Machiavelliane [I]. Un codice di Lucrezio e di Terenzio », *Rivista Storica Italiana*, LXXIII (1961), p. 552; see also P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum* (London-Leiden, 1963), I, index references to Adriani.

⁷⁶ Staley, p. 95.

⁷⁷ Ridolfi, *Life*, pp. 18-19.

⁷⁸ See note 26 above.

⁷⁹ Ridolfi, *Life*, p. 3, from B. Machiavelli, *Ricordi*.

which tells us that: « adì 5 di novembre 1481 Nicolò e Totto miei figliuoli cominciaron andare a imparare da ser Pagolo da Ronciglione maestro di grammatica »⁸⁰. This ser Paolo Sasso was obviously a member of the *Arte dei Giudici e Notai*, and had become a priest, instructing the clerics of the Duomo. There is a further interesting connection, since the Duomo, Santa Maria del Fiore (formerly Santa Reparata) was where Savonarola had begun to preach with force, and where Niccolò Machiavelli was baptized⁸¹. Maestro Paolo had private pupils, among whom, apart from the sons of Bernardo Machiavelli, were Pietro Riccio (better known as Crinito) and Michele, son of a chancery official, Ugo Verino. Michele, who was Niccolò's age, died young, but had already a reputation as the author of a Latin *disticha*; Crinito, four years Niccolò's senior, became the leading pupil of Poliziano. Accordingly we should not judge Machiavelli's education as in any way second-rate, but one likely to have given him a thorough grounding in the Latin Classics. Moreover, Machiavelli had the opportunity to meet the distinguished scholars of his day⁸². If Machiavelli's contact with Scala is admitted as probable, there are further possibilities. Scala was at the centre of humanist society, and his daughter learned Greek from Janus Lascaris, who lived in Florence until 1494. Machiavelli knew no Greek, but drew on the Sixth Book of Polybius' *History* for his *Discourses*, some years before 1520, when Lascaris' Latin translation appeared. The solution could be that Machiavelli learnt of the Sixth Book before 1494 direct from Lascaris, or subsequently from some other humanist of the Scala circle⁸³. We ought to be aware that by attending the meetings in the Rucellai Gardens, Machiavelli remained in touch with the intellectual atmosphere familiar to him from youth, and even in contact with some scholars known in his youth⁸⁴.

⁸⁰ B. Machiavelli, *Ricordi*, p. 138.

⁸¹ Gilbert, p. 321; for Niccolò's baptism, see Ridolfi, *Life*, p. 258 n. 10.

⁸² Gilbert, p. 321.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 320.

⁸⁴ Cf. F. Gilbert, « B. Rucellai e gli Orti Oricellari », in his *Machiavelli il suo tempo*, trans. A. de Caprariis (Bologna, 1964), p. 31.

Another problem remains, for if Bernardo destined his son for an administrative career, how was it that Bernardo allowed himself to ruin his son's chances?⁸⁵ The *Ricordi* again provide the clue in revealing Bernardo's character. He was not evidently a practical man, though a likeable one. One can see why he failed in the law, even though he was brilliant in its theory. For instance, he failed to sell some of his cheese, despite his concern for a legal contract of sale⁸⁶. He could not effectively work his farms or control the landlord of the village inn⁸⁷. He liked conversation⁸⁸, and he was a scholar, devoted to the Latin Classics and his legal handbooks. Some might explain it by the fact that he was brought up without a father's guiding hand, and was a spoilt child, precocious and intelligent⁸⁹. In all, he appears to have grown into a kind of Mr Micawber, and no doubt he expected things to get better. In one sense they did, for Niccolò did get his post. But perhaps they had got worse before that, particularly in the aftermath of 1494, when taxation increased and prices soared. Just as the Savonarolan revolution was unable effectively to change the administration, so it was powerless to alter that financial system, Lorenzo de' Medici's legacy, which has been claimed as most

We have the letter of one scholar concerning whom little is known — Bartolommeo Vespucci wrote to M. from Padua, 4 June 1504, in Machiavelli, « Lettere », ed. Gaeta, pp. 129-30, Letter 60. Vespucci lectured in astrology and mathematics at Padua University in the early sixteenth century, and for two printed lectures of his see *B. M. Catalogue*, vol. 248, col. 162; for him, see I. Facciolati, *Fasti Gymnasii Patavini* (Padua, 1757), p. 320; L. Ferrari, *Onomasticon* (Milan, 1947), p. 687; Kristeller, *Iter ...*, I, p. 207. Machiavelli's contact with the Vespucci family would repay careful study, and one can suspect that members of this family were influential in Machiavelli's advancement in 1498, and perhaps had concerned themselves with the dispute over ecclesiastical patronage.

⁸⁵ Cf. Bertelli, « Noterelle II », p. 12 n. 43.

⁸⁶ B. Machiavelli, *Ricordi*, pp. 121-22.

⁸⁷ For the farms, see note 16 above; for the inn, see B. Machiavelli, *Ricordi*, index references under Bronzini, Francesco and Meo, and Sandro di Cristofano d'Andrea.

⁸⁸ Ridolfi, *Life*, p. 35.

⁸⁹ For his studies see note 100 below; for a character sketch see Ridolfi, *Life*, p. 34.

influential in provoking the revolution. Perhaps until 1494 Bernardo had just managed, but by 1495 he appears to have become bankrupt, as did many in a like economic situation, while the prosperous became increasingly richer⁹⁰. The Reform of February 1498, with its attempt to annul the blacklisting of the *Specchio*, reflects the economic as well as the political situation.

Recently attention has focused on a manuscript that contains the texts of Lucretius' *De rerum natura* and Terence's *Eunuchus*⁹¹. Both texts are copied in the same hand, and the folios are numbered consecutively throughout by the copyist, which suggests that the two works were originally bound together⁹². The text of Lucretius, which is the first, has a colophon that reads: « Nicolaus Maclavellus scripsit foeliciter »⁹³. Once again we must ask who was this Niccolò?

Dating the texts on the evidence that we have, cannot be precise. Both texts are on paper, and the watermarks of the

⁹⁰ Rubinstein, « Politics ... », pp. 176-77; L. F. Marks, « La crisi finanziaria a Firenze dal 1494 al 1502 », *Archivio Storico Italiano*, CXII (1954), pp. 40-72. For the position of those in debt and on the *Specchio* lists by 1494 see Rubinstein, « I primi anni ... », pp. 162-63. Mr. E. Sanchez of Florence has made the important discovery that Niccolò presented the 1495 tax return, and he will be publishing a study shortly. Meanwhile, I am very grateful to him for permission to use here this find. The implications appear to be that Bernardo had become bankrupt.

⁹¹ MS. Rossiano 884, Vatican Library. S. Bertelli, « Noterelle, I », cited in note 75 above, pp. 544-57; C. Pincin, a review of Ridolfi, *Life*, in *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, CXL (1963), p. 625; R. Ridolfi, « Del Machiavelli, di un codice di Lucrezio ... », in *La Bibliofilia*, LXV (1963), 249-54; S. Bertelli, « Noterelle, II », cited in note 18 above, p. 1; S. Bertelli, « Un codice lucreziano dall'officina di Pomponio Leto », *La Parola del Passato*, fasc. C (1965), p. 37 n. 13.

⁹² Bertelli, « Noterelle I », pp. 545-46.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 546; Ridolfi, « Del Machiavelli ... », p. 252. C. E. Finch, in *The Classical Journal*, LVI (1961), pp. 29-32, on microfilm evidence only, and R. Ridolfi, pp. 252, 253 n. 6, suspect a second cancelled colophon at the end of the Terence. This, according to Ridolfi, is « imbrattato e dilavato in modo da risultare illeggibile ». Bertelli, almost certainly correctly, says this second « tratta più semplicemente dell'inchiostro che è passato attraverso la carta, com'è facile verificare ponendo il foglio controluce ».

two types of paper used, are to be found on paper dated to the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries⁹⁴. The hand of the copyist is apparently that of the colophon, and both the colophon and texts are in chancery script⁹⁵. In about the mid-nineteenth century the hand was attributed to Niccolò, son of Bernardo, for then a tracing of this Niccolò's hand, taken from the supposed autograph minute of 9 March 1498, was bound with the text to prove the copyist was Niccolò, son of Bernardo⁹⁶. Unfortunately the calligraphic evidence is not entirely convincing, and while some accept it as the hand of Niccolò, son of Bernardo, others do not⁹⁷. What other candidates are there? It is generally agreed that the hand bears no likeness to that of Niccolò, son of Alessandro⁹⁸, while the other contemporary Niccolò Machiavelli remain obscure, if they ever existed⁹⁹. The last point is suggestive, for it is hard to believe that the transcript of two classical texts was likely to have been the work of a nonentity, even in Renaissance Florence. In the case of Niccolò, son of Bernardo, Machiavelli we have similarity of handwriting (to put it no stronger) and proven interest in Latin texts against a background of humanistic studies. We know that Bernardo had a modest

⁹⁴ Bertelli, « Noterelle I », pp. 545-46.

⁹⁵ Cf. Ridolfi, « Del Machiavelli ... », p. 252, where he calls it written « in una lettera umanistica semicorsiva ». Unfortunately, there is very little certainly written by Machiavelli prior to 1498 for comparison, see note 73.

⁹⁶ For a copy made for comparison see Bertelli, « Noterelle I », p. 545; also Ridolfi, « Del Machiavelli ... », p. 253 n. 6. For the binding (some years prior to 1854 in date) with its spine title: « Autographus N. Maclaveli », see Bertelli, pp. 544-45.

⁹⁷ Bertelli, in the three studies cited in note 91, accepts the hand as Machiavelli's, and is supported by Monsignor José Ruyschaert of the Vatican Library, see « Noterelle I », p. 544 n. 1. Ridolfi, « Del Machiavelli ... », pp. 252-53 denies it, and has the support of Prof. Renato Piattoli of Florence. See also Ridolfi, « Per un'edizione ... », cited note 8, p. 31 n. 1.

⁹⁸ Ridolfi, « Del Machiavelli ... », p. 253.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, who mentions Niccolò di Alessandro di Niccolò, and Niccolò di Giovanni as possible candidates. Bertelli, « un codice lucreziano ... », p. 37 n. 13, claims that both can be excluded, as the first was born in 1498 and the first record we have of the second is 1527. We need the evidence for this. The genealogies give no other possibilities, but this is not conclusive, cf. note 10 above.

library of manuscripts and printed books, and that he may have copied some texts himself, for he borrowed manuscripts for months at a time ¹⁰⁰. What more likely than his son adding to this library? Manuscripts and printed books were expensive, and we have seen that the Machiavelli family had little money to spare for such luxuries. Furthermore, a Marcellus, perhaps Adriani and Machiavelli's tutor, appears to have been in some way an authority on Lucretius ¹⁰¹, and Machiavelli might have transcribed this text, and the Terence, when frequenting the Florentine *Studio*. The Niccolò who made the transcripts knew no Greek, and neither did Niccolò, son of Bernardo, so that there is no conflict ¹⁰². One possible link with Lucretius is known in Machiavelli's *Discourses*, and others may be found ¹⁰³, though certainly Machiavelli did not draw heavily on Lucretius in his writings, and he does not mention Terence's *Eunuchus* at all ¹⁰⁴. In 1517 a Synod of the Province of Florence was convened under the Archbishop of Florence, Giulio de' Medici, ostensibly to condemn lingering traces of Savonarolan influence. The Holy Fathers, though, with that perversity common to scholars, passed instead a resolution which threatened with excommunication those who read Lucretius in the schools, since they judged his philosophy especially pernicious ¹⁰⁵. Perhaps here is another testimony of the connection between Lucretius and Savonarolan Florence, and, indeed, various manuscript copies of Lucretius can be traced back to Florence at the time of the Republic ¹⁰⁶. Scholarship, like much else, is subject to fashion.

¹⁰⁰ Bertelli, « Noterelle I », pp. 547-49; cf. Ridolfi, *Life*, p. 257 n. 7.

¹⁰¹ Bertelli, « Noterelle I », p. 552.

¹⁰² For Machiavelli not knowing Greek see Ridolfi, *Life*, p. 3. Bertelli, « Noterelle I », p. 550, and « Del codice lucreziano ... », p. 37 n. 13, corrects Ridolfi, « Del Machiavelli ... », p. 252, concerning the point about Greek in the copyist's hand.

¹⁰³ Bertelli, « Noterelle I », p. 553.

¹⁰⁴ F. Gaeta, supplementary note to Bertelli, « Noterelle I », pp. 553-54.

¹⁰⁵ E. Sanesi, *Vicari e Canonici Fiorentini e il 'Caso Savonarola'* (Florence, 1932), p. 10.

¹⁰⁶ Bertelli, « Noterelle II », pp. 4-17.

II. MACHIAVELLI'S 'PRINCE'

The generation of Florentine historians succeeding Machiavelli's, either ignore Machiavelli, or have little good to say of him. Even Nardi, reported to have been with Filippo Strozzi at Machiavelli's death bed, scarcely mentions him in his *History* ¹⁰⁷. Yet the sentiments of these historians are often used in evidence against Machiavelli. Most commonly quoted is Giambattista Busini, who tells us that once again in 1527 Machiavelli sought to become Secretary to the Florentine Government. Machiavelli's hopes were frustrated because, Busini says ¹⁰⁸:

« L'universale [of Florence] per conto del *Principe* l'odiava: ai ricchi pareva che quel suo *Principe* fosse stato un documento da insegnare al duca [Lorenzo de' Medici] tôr loro tutta la roba, a' poveri tutta la libertà. Ai Paignoni pareva che e' fosse eretico, ai buoni disonesto, ai tristi più tristo o più valente di loro; talché ognuno l'odiava », save for Machiavelli's two supporters, Zanobi Buondelmonte and Luigi Alamanni.

The passage is from a letter dated 1549, and is not accurate reporting based on the equivalent of opinion polls among Florentines of 1527. Of much the same nature, and perhaps the same source, is the statement of Varchi, a friend of Busini, and

¹⁰⁷ G. B. Busini, *Lettere a B. Varchi*, ed. G. Milanese (Florence, 1861), p. 85; A. Pieralli, *La vita e le opere di J. Nardi* (Florence, first volume only published, 1901), for Nardi's work on Livy's Discourses; cf. E. Rossi, « Per la storia delle opere del Machiavelli », *La Cultura*, VI (1927), p. 205 and C. Pincin, review, in *G. S. L. I.*, CXLI (1964), p. 207. Cf. also G. Procacci, « L'erudizione seicentesca e settecentesca e il mito del M. repubblicano », *Annuario dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna ...*, XIII-XIV (Rome, 1964), pp. 3-106; M. Rosa, *Dispotismo e libertà nel Settecento: Interpretazioni repubblicane di Machiavelli* (Bari, 1964).

¹⁰⁸ Busini, p. 84, with the error of *Dieci* for *Otto*; cf. Ridolfi, *Life*, p. 248.

the addressee of the letter quoted above. Varchi echoes Busini with ¹⁰⁹:

«la cagione dell'odio, il quale gli [Machiavelli] era universalmente portato grandissimo, fu ... quell'opera che egli compose, e intitolato *Il Principe*, ed a Lorenzo di Piero di Lorenzo acciocché egli signore assoluto di Firenze si facesse, indirizzò».

Within five years of Machiavelli's death, Antonio Blado, the printer of Rome, published the first edition of Machiavelli's *Principe*, and prefaced it with his own dedication letter to Filippo Strozzi, where he refers to the work as intended for «un' nuovo Principe che non meno per natura che per fortuna si habbi acquistato tal' nome», which the author «dirizasse questa sua ben' ordinata fatica al' Magnifico Lorenzo de' Medici ... qual' havea el Principato effettuale» ¹¹⁰. The earliest Florentine comment on *Il Principe*, as we now know it, is in the presentation letter of Biagio Buonaccorsi, which accompanied his transcript of the *Principe* for a distant relative and patron ¹¹¹:

¹⁰⁹ B. Varchi, *Storia Fiorentina*, ed. L. Arbib (Firenze, 3 vols., 1843-44), I, pp. 266-67. See also M. Lupo Gentile, *Sulle fonti della Storia Fiorentina di B. Varchi* (Sarzana, 1906), pp. 97-104.

¹¹⁰ N. Machiavelli, *Il Principe ...* (Rome, Blado, 1532), pp. [i-ii]; reprinted in N. Machiavelli, *Il Principe ... con introduzione di F. Chabod*, ed. L. Firpo (Turin, 1960), and also in C. Pincin, «Sul testo del Machiavelli, [II] *I Discorsi ...*», in *Atti della Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, III C (1961-62), pp. 166-67.

¹¹¹ MS. Plut. XLIV. 32, f. 1r, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence; see N. Machiavelli, *Il Principe*, ed. G. Lisio (Florence, 1899), pp. xlii-iv for this MS. and for Bellacci. The letter to Bellacci is in the same hand as the rest of the MS. and preface's Machiavelli's letter to Lorenzo de' Medici. The letter to Bellacci is on a half folio of the same weight of paper, and with the same watermark, as that of the rest of the MS., but its chain lines are 29 as against 32-35 for the rest. This half folio is attached to the first gathering of five folios, and the implication is that it was added to the completed transcript. I am most grateful to Dr. Irma Merolle Tondi of the Laurenziana Library for all her help with this manuscript. The text is printed above from my transcript; it has been published in N. Machiavelli, *Opere* (Florence, Italia ed., 1819), I, p. 56 n. 1; also in part in N. Machiavelli, *Il Principe*, ed. Burd, p. 34, by Chabod, and by L. Firpo, *Appunti e testi per la Storia dell'Antimachiavellismo* (Turin, n. d., [1964]), p. 27. There is an erased coat-of-arms on f. 1r, presumably that of Bellacci. The hand appears to be that of Buonaccorsi, see note 114.

Blasius Bonaccursius Pandulpho Bellaccio amico praecipuo etc. Salutem.

Intra li altri proverbi greci, Pandolpho carissimo, se ne legge uno, il cui contenuto è: 'tutte le cose delli amici esser comune', il quale benché per la malignità de' tempi, et poca fede delli huomini sia mancato da quella antica et perfecta observantia nella quale era, non è però che non dovessi essere con quella medesima integrità, che si ricerca a una actione tanto perfecta et tanto affectuosa, conservato et continuato. Dal quale non volendo io di presente, come ho sempre per il passato partirmi, sendomi tu non solo amico ma protectore, ti mando l'operetta, composta nuovamente, de' Principati dal nostro Niccolò Machiavelli, nella quale tu troverai con somma dilucidità et brevità descripte tutte le qualità de' prencipati, tutti e modi a conservarli, tutte le offese di epsi, con una exacta notitia delle historie antiche et moderne, et molti altri documenti utilissimi, in modo che, se tu leggerai con quella medesima attentione che tu suoi le altre cose, sono certissimo trarrai non piccola utilità. Ricevilo adunque con quella promptera che si ricerca, et preparati acerrimo difensore contro a tutti quelli, che per malignità o invidia lo volessino, secondo l'uso di questi tempi, mordere et lacerare. Vale».

The letter, unfortunately, bears no date, but it could have been written between 1516 and 1523, and can possibly be narrowed to about 1517 ¹¹². Already, according to Buonaccorsi, critics were bitterly hostile to *Il Principe*, which Buonaccorsi argues was a useful work. Even here, though, things are not quite what they may seem. Buonaccorsi was dismissed from his post in the Chancery in November 1512, with Machiavelli, and his career in the government's service terminated ¹¹³. We know little of the years from then until his death in 1523, though he occupied himself in writing a history of Florence from 1498 to 1512 (precisely the years that he had worked in the Florentine Chancery), and he apparently drew on chancery material for

¹¹² Lisio, pp. xlii-iv for 1516-23; see text below note 231 for c. 1517.

¹¹³ Cf. Ridolfi, *Life*, p. 132. Buonaccorsi does not appear to have been called «Ser», and may have been elected in circumstances like Machiavelli's, cf. M., «Lettere», ed. Gaeta, p. 66, Letter 18.

this¹¹⁴. Apparently, too, he transcribed manuscripts, if the letter to Bellacci is a guide, and received some gifts in return, probably¹¹⁵. The presentation letter to Bellacci, therefore, seems to have been inspired by the same motives as the eulogistic comments of a present-day dealer in a second-hand book catalogue.

Certainly none of these sources is satisfactory evidence for Machiavelli's motives in writing his work. What evidence should we use for this, and how are we to determine Machiavelli's motives? The *Prince* itself, and Machiavelli's allied writings, are the only valid sources for evidence. The problem lies in interpretation, and to overcome this difficulty we must place ourselves in Machiavelli's shoes, and attempt to relive his life during the years 1512 to 1516. We must leave aside hindsight, and see only the political situation in Florence and Italy, as it unfolded before Machiavelli's eyes, thereby judging each development as Machiavelli saw it. In doing this we should appreciate that few people are entirely clear in their own minds as to why they do things, and that usually there are several motives for their actions, which may be disguised in part, for some reason. Hence, the reasons given for doing something by the person concerned, may not be the whole truth. Again, the motives that impelled Machiavelli to write his work in late 1513, may not have been precisely those that caused him to dedicate and present it in 1516. This latter point is most important, for it is where the Chabod thesis makes its initial mistake. The

¹¹⁴ B. Buonaccorsi, *Diario ... 1498 al 1512* (Florence, 1568), and Clough, « N. Machiavelli, Cesare Borgia ... », p. 141 n. 68, for the sources. A portion of this *Diario* (1498-1507) in what is said to be autograph is in MS. R. I. 44 = 1920, Bibl. Riccardiana, Florence, and the hand is similar to that of the Laurenziana MS. of *Il Principe*. A scholarly biography of Buonaccorsi is much needed, together with identification of his hand; a critical edition of his *Diario*, with the sources indicated, would be very worthwhile. For what little is known of Buonaccorsi see the index references of Tommasini (especially, I, p. 174 n. 3), and Villari on Machiavelli, and Marzi's *La Cancelleria ...*

¹¹⁵ For another MS. presumably in Buonaccorsi's hand, owned by the Bellacci family, see Lisio, pp. xlv-v. For the *Diario*, dedicated to Marco Bellacci, see Tommasini, cited in note 114.

line of argument goes: Busini says that Machiavelli dedicated his *Prince* to Lorenzo de' Medici to teach him how to become a despot in Florence; in 1516, Lorenzo was seeking to become a despot in Florence; therefore, in 1513, when Machiavelli was writing his work, and thinking of dedicating it to Giuliano, Machiavelli's object was to teach Giuliano how to become a despot in Florence. We must start the logical way, and see why it was that in late 1513 Machiavelli wanted to present his work to Giuliano de' Medici. If I may anticipate, we shall find that Machiavelli wrote his work with Giuliano exclusively in mind, and that the *Prince* has nothing to do with Florence.

A key document concerning Machiavelli's motives in writing the *Prince* is his often quoted letter of 10 December 1513, written in his villa at San Casciano, and addressed to Francesco Vettori in Rome. It is a letter full of wry humour¹¹⁶:

« ... Venuta la sera, mi ritorno in casa, et entro nel mio scrittoio; et in su l'uscio mi spoglio quella veste cotidiana, piena di fango e di loto, et mi metto panni reali et curiali; et rivestito condecientemente entro nelle antique corti degli antiqui huomini, dove, da loro ricevuto amorevolmente, mi pasco di quel cibo, che *solum* è mio, et che io nacqui per lui; dove io non mi vergogno parlare con loro, et domandarli della ragione delle loro actioni; et quelli per loro humanità mi rispondono; et non sento per quattro hore di tempo alcuna noia, sdimenticho ogni affanno, non temo la povertà, non mi sbigottosce la morte: tucto mi transferisco in loro. E perché Dante dice che non fa scienza senza lo ritenere lo havere inteso io ho notato quello di che per la loro conversatione ho fatto capitale, et composto uno opuscolo *De principatibus*, dove io mi profondo quanto io posso nelle cognitioni di questo subbietto, disputando che cosa è principato, di quale spetie sono, come e' si acquistano, come e' si mantengono, perché e' si perdono. Et se vi piacque mai alcuno mio ghiribizo, questo non vi doverrebbe dispiacere; et a un principe, et maxime a un principe nuovo, doverrebbe essere accetto; però io lo indirizzo alla M. tia di Giuliano. Filippo Casavecchia l'ha visto; vi potrà ragguagliare in parte et della cosa in sé, et de'

¹¹⁶ N. Machiavelli, « Lettere », ed. Gaeta, pp. 304-306, Letter 140.

ragionamenti ho hauto seco, anchor che tuttavolta io l'ingrasso et ripulisco ... Io ho ragionato con Filippo di questo mio opuscolo, se gli era ben darlo o non lo dare; et sendo ben darlo, se gli era bene che io lo portassi, o che io ve lo mandassi. El non lo dare mi faceva dubitare che da Giuliano e' non fussi, non ch'altro, letto, et che questo Ardinghelli si facessi honore di questa mia ultima faticha. Et darlo mi faceva la necessità che mi caccia, perché io mi logoro, et lungo tempo non posso star così che io non diventi per povertà contennendo, appresso al desiderio harei che questi signori Medici mi cominciassino adoperare, se dovessino cominciare a farmi voltolare un sasso; perché, se poi io non me gli guadagnassi, io mi dorrei di me; et per questa cosa, quando la fussi letta, si vedrebbe che quindici anni che io sono stato a studio all'arte dello stato, non gli ho né dormiti né giuocati; et doverrebbe ciascheduno haver caro servirsi d'uno che alle spese d'altri fussi pieno di experientia. ... et chi è stato fedele et buono quarantatré anni, che io ho, non debbe poter mutare natura; et della fede et bontà mia ne è testimonio la povertà mia ...».

Few people will accept the whole of this literally, and believe that Machiavelli actually put on a toga. He is writing to amuse and interest, though with passion. But one must consider the extract as a whole, and not select a single sentence, that will support a pre-determined case¹¹⁷. Part of the explanation for the tone of the letter lies in why the letter was ever written: Machiavelli was pleading for a post.

¹¹⁷ Cf. G. Sasso, «Filosofia o 'scopo pratico' nel *Principe*», *La Cultura*, IV (1966), p. 43 «... in primo luogo M. dice che ha composto l'opuscolo perché insegnando Dante che 'non fa scienza senza lo ritenere lo havere inteso', sentiva di dover dare espressione personale a ciò che aveva appreso dalla vita e dai libri ...». The work was thus written «... per lo schietto bisogno di meditare, non per la conquista di un posto ...». Machiavelli refers to Dante, *Paradiso*, V, 41-42; *Inferno*, VII, 16-66, deals with the miserly and wasteful employed in rolling stones, and may also have been in Machiavelli's mind when he wrote the letter. For Machiavelli and his interest in Dante see, F. Ercole, «Dante e Machiavelli» in his *La Politica di M.* (Rome, 1926); cf. V. Cian, «M. e Petrarca», *Rivista d'Italia*, fasc. vi (15 giugno, 1927), pp. 5-14.

On 7 November 1512 Machiavelli was dismissed from his post in the Florentine Chancery. Three days later he was confined to Florentine territory for a year, being obliged to find a surety of 1,000 florins; he was excluded from entering the Government buildings for this year, and as a corollary he could not be appointed for office for two years¹¹⁸. In February 1513 Machiavelli became implicated in a conspiracy aimed against the Medici. Bartolomeo Cerretani, a Medici supporter, tells us that then: «dato e' martori a Nicolò Machiavelli et tenuto su alquanti di, lo confinorno nelle Stinche in perpetuo»¹¹⁹. On 7 March Giuliano de' Medici wrote from Florence telling of the fate of the conspirators, but apparently he did not mention Machiavelli by name, though his letter is now only known from a contemporary transcript, and perhaps a portion was missed or paraphrased¹²⁰. It has been supposed that Machiavelli was included in the phrase «li altri, che non erano in dolo, son rilasciati a buon sodamento», and that Machiavelli was not released on 7 March because he could not find a surety — a circumstance likely to have been difficult in view of his record¹²¹. Machiavelli's letter of 13 March to Francesco Vettori states that he was released with the common malefactors on 11 March, when the Florentine prisons were opened to celebrate the election of

¹¹⁸ Ridolfi, *Life*, pp. 131-32; Tommasini, I, p. 601. The Documents are printed in N. Machiavelli, *Opere* (Florence-Rome, 1874), I, pp. lxxxiii-vi.

¹¹⁹ Tommasini, II, p. 967 n. 1, prints the extract from what is claimed as the autograph, entitled «Ricordi, 1500-1523», which he owned; cf. II, pp. 958-959 (Ridolfi, *Life*, p. 291 n. 19 errs in the citation). Research is needed on Cerretani and his writings, while Tommasini's MS. seems to be lost. In any event Cerretani's «Ricordi» appears to be an edited work and is not a simple diary; possibly an earlier version of it is the same author's «Istoria Fiorentina», which exists in autograph in MS. II.III. 74 (ex Strozzi), Bibl. Nazionale, Florence, and in many copies; there is a «Sommario» of this latter work in MS. II.II.177 of the same Library (and in copies). Neither the «Istoria» nor its «Sommario» contain the reference to Machiavelli printed in Tommasini; cf. also D. Moreni, *Bibliografia ...*, I, p. 249.

¹²⁰ M. Sanudo, *Diari*, XVI, col. 26, in part reprinted in P. G. Moncallero, *Il Cardinale B. Dovizi* (Florence, 1953), p. 333.

¹²¹ Ridolfi, *Life*, p. 291 n. 19.

Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici as Pope Leo X¹²². Cardinal Giulio de' Medici had left Florence for this election, while Giuliano, probably shortly after 7 March, had likewise gone to Rome¹²³. Francesco Vettori had been elected the Florentine ambassador to Pope Julius II, and had reached Rome in early February, remaining on for the election. Subsequent to 7 March, Totto, Machiavelli's brother, in something of a panic, dispatched by the courier a letter to Vettori in Rome, begging for his intercession with Giuliano and the Medici to effect Niccolò's release¹²⁴; Cerretani's claim that Machiavelli was sentenced to life imprisonment is not impossible. If Machiavelli's nephew is to be trusted, even on release on 11 March, Machiavelli was «confinato dentro alle dieci miglia fuori di Firenze»¹²⁵. This may mean that he had to serve the rest of the sentence of confinement imposed in November 1512, or it could mean that

¹²² Machiavelli, «Lettere», ed. Gaeta, p. 232, Letter 120, «... io sono uscito di prigione con la letizia universale di questa città...»; cf. Ridolfi, *Life*, p. 138 and Staley, p. 90.

¹²³ The letter 7 March 1513, from Giuliano, cited in note 120, is from Florence, and suggests that Giuliano was there then. For Vettori see note 128.

¹²⁴ Machiavelli, «Lettere», ed. Gaeta, p. 233, Letter 121, F. Vettori to Machiavelli, 15 March 1513, «... quando Totto vostro mi mandò la staffetta...».

¹²⁵ G. De Ricci, «Priorista: Quartiere S. Spirito», MS. E. B. 141, c. 270, Bibl. Nazionale, Florence (which is a part of the autograph version in 4 vols.). A version in two volumes (old no. B. A. 9, new no. BR. 22-23, Bibl. Nazionale, Florence) mentioned by Villari, *La Vita* (1912 ed.), I. p. 300, does not have this reference; Villari, II, pp. 110, 199, 201, implies that he saw BR. 22-23, but he must have seen E. B. 141; cf. also Moreni, II, pp. 248-49. For De Ricci's sources cf. Clough, «N. Machiavelli, Cesare Borgia...», p. 140 n. 61 and Tomasini, I, p. 617 n. 1. See also Machiavelli, «Lettere», ed. Gaeta, p. 233, Letter 121, Vettori to Machiavelli, 15 March 1513: «... e speriate che, poiché le cose sono posate e che la fortuna di costoro [de' Medici] supera ogni fantasia e discorso, di non havere a stare sempre in terra; et che poi siate libero da tutti e' confini...», cf. Ridolfi, *Life*, p. 291 n. 19, where this evidence is not considered. Of course, the term of Machiavelli's restriction from November 1512 had not expired, but Vettori's «di non havere a stare sempre in terra» suggests a term beyond November 1513. On 4 April 1513 the *Balia* granted full pardon to those suspected of complicity, see Villari, *Life... Machiavelli*, trans. L. Villari (London, 2 vols., 1892) II, p. 35 n. 2, but it is not clear that Machiavelli was included among them.

he was restricted for a further year from March. There is no evidence of a further surety, so perhaps the 1,000 florins found in November were allowed to serve again. While in prison Machiavelli had directly appealed to Giuliano by sending two sonnets to him, and after his release he sent Giuliano fervent thanks for his part in the release, and these thanks included a further sonnet and a gift of thrushes. He likewise sent thanks to the Vettori brothers, Paolo and Francesco though, in fact, they had done nothing for him¹²⁶.

This background helps to explain Machiavelli's letter of 10 December following to Francesco Vettori. Machiavelli, once more, was turning to his only potential supporters among the Medici and their entourage, in an effort to get a post, and at the same time solve all the problems of Italy in one. The fundamental first step, though, was a post in Giuliano's service, and hence what may appear banal today was a vital necessity for Machiavelli¹²⁷. Machiavelli was appealing to Francesco Vettori to prepare the way for a visit from Machiavelli to Giuliano in Rome. One must not forget that then Machiavelli, in

¹²⁶ Ridolfi, *Life*, pp. 136-40 for the sonnets and some thrushes; also V. Cian, *Musa Medicea...: Per Nozze Flamini-Fanelli* (Turin, 1895), pp. 19-22; Machiavelli's letters to Vettori, 13 and 18 March 1513 in his «Lettere», ed. Gaeta, pp. 232, 234, Letters 120, 122. The first of these letters shows that M. hoped for help, by means of Totto's request to the Vettori: «... per l'opera di Pagolo et vostra io sperassi il medesimo, di che vi ringrazio...». The second letter sent thanks to Francesco Vettori «... perché io posso dire che tutto quello che mi avanza di vita riconoscerlo dal magnifico Giuliano et da Pagolo vostro...». Francesco Vettori's letter to M. of 15 March, in «Lettere», ed. Gaeta, p. 233, Letter 121, makes it clear that he had not helped: «... Duolmi non vi havere potuto aiutare, chome meritava la fede havevi in me... Fecilo chome fu creato il papa, et non li domandai altra gratia che la liberatione vostra, la quale ho molto charo fussi seguita prima...». Cf. Ridolfi, *Life*, pp. 139-40.

¹²⁷ As early as 18 March 1513 M. had sought Vettori's help, writing to him: «... et se parrà a questi patroni nostri [I Medici] non mi lasciare in terra, io l'harò caro, e crederrò portarmi in modo che gli haranno ancora loro cagione di haverlo per bene...», in «Lettere», ed. Gaeta, p. 235, Letter 122. On 13 March M. had asked Vettori to commend Totto to the Pope, since Totto wanted to be enrolled in the Papal Household, but Vettori replied on 30 March that he had been unable to obtain this favour, see Ridolfi, *Life*, pp. 139, 141.

Medici eyes, was considered a dangerous person, and one who had plotted against them for fourteen years. Obviously, without some preparation Machiavelli did not stand any chance of establishing contact with Giuliano, even if he did visit Rome. Giuliano's Chancellor was Piero Ardinghelli, who did not welcome the idea of Machiavelli as a rival for influence with Giuliano, and, as Machiavelli feared, did all he could to defeat Machiavelli's purposes, for purely personal reasons. Francesco Vettori, still in Rome as the Florentine ambassador to the Medici Pope, had contact with the Medici and with Ardinghelli, and was the only person who could help Machiavelli ¹²⁸.

Vettori understood Machiavelli's objectives and he replied to Machiavelli on 24 December ¹²⁹:

«... Voi mi scrivete, et anchora Filippo [Casavecchia] me l'ha decto, che havete composta certa opera de' stati. Se voi me la manderete, l'harò chara; et anchora che non sia drento, judico che sia conveniente judichi la chosa vostra: non di meno, in quello mancherà la sufficienzia et il judicio, suplirà l'amore et la fede: e quando l'harò vista dirò mia oppenione del presentarla al magnifico Juliano o no, secondo mi parrà.

El respecto che voi havete a venire qui mi pare facile a risolvere, perché se voi andrete a vedere una volta il cardinale de' Soderini non vi sarà posto cura. Piero [Ardinghelli] ha fermo l'animo suo,

¹²⁸ Rosemary Hughes, « Francesco Vettori: His place in Florentine Diplomacy and Politics », Ph. D. thesis (1958), in deposit in the Senate House, University of London, which is an admirable work; of much less value are: L. Passy, *Un ami de Machiavel: Francois Vettori* (Paris, 2 vols., 1914), Vittorio di Tocco, « L'amico di M. » in *Il Marzocco*, XXXII no. 25 (19 giugno, 1927), A. Moretti, *Corrispondenza di N. M. con F. Vettori* (Florence, 1948). Vettori was elected ambassador to Julius II, originally for two months, on 30 December 1512, and reached Rome about 5 February 1513, see Passy, I, p. 36. For Ardinghelli, see Pincin, « Sul testo [II] », p. 78 and L. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, trans. (London, 1923), pp. 85-6. He is not in W. von Hofmann, *Forschungen zur Geschichte der Kurialen Behörden ... II (Quellen, Listen und Exkurse)* (Rome, 1914), and hence was a Medici servant, and between 1513 and 1516 was Giuliano's secretary. Ridolfi, *Life*, p. 162 errs in calling him a papal secretary (also cf. G. Capponi, *Storia di Firenze*, Florence, 1st ed., 1875, II, p. 581).

¹²⁹ Machiavelli, « Lettere », ed. Gaeta, pp. 311-12, Letter 142.

né credo havessi caro esser vicitato et maxime da voi, et se voi nol vicitassi non credo vi fussi imputato a ingratitude. ... E per la lettera vostra e da Filippo intendo che voi, sendo asueto a faccende et a guadagnare, con difficoltà vi riducete a starvi e logorarvi le vostre poche entrate, perché havete pure anchora qualche voglia, chome io: siamo iti examinando et qui a Roma non troviamo choxa a proposito vostro. È stato qualche ragionamento che 'l cardinale de' Medici habbi a essere facto legato in Francia, sopra che ho pensato, quando sia facto, parlare, per essere voi stato là ...; se riuscirà, col nome di Dio; se non riuscirà, non haremo perduto choxa alcuna ...».

Machiavelli's letter of 10 December was followed by a visit to Vettori by Filippo Casavecchia on Machiavelli's behalf, when, yet again, the central theme was a post for Machiavelli, and to that end the advisability of Machiavelli coming to Rome and trying to see Giuliano in order to present his work to him. The last reference that Vettori makes to this project is in his letter to Machiavelli of 18 January 1514 ¹³⁰:

«... Ho visto e' capitoli dell'opera vostra, e mi piacciono oltre modo; ma se non ho il resto, non voglio fare judicio risoluto ...».

Vettori claimed «io credo più a altri che a me medesimo, e sempre voglio prima contentare ogni altro che me» ¹³¹, and in December he had promised to help Machiavelli with the French embassy post, mentioned above ¹³². But actions speak louder than words, and Machiavelli's appeals for practical help were consistently ignored by Vettori. In 1525 Machiavelli was thinking of going to Rome to present his *History of Florence* to Pope Clement, but was dissuaded by Vettori, and even when the Pope had insisted «E' doveva venire, et credo certo ch'e' libri suoi habbino a piacere et a esser lecti volentieri», Vettori still did not encourage Machiavelli «perché e' tempi sono contrari a leggere et donare» ¹³³.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 319, Letter 144.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 316, Letter 144, Vettori to M., 18 January 1514.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 312, Letter 142, Vettori to M., 24 December 1513.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 419, Letter 196, Vettori to M., 8 March 1525; cf. Ridolfi, *Life*, p. 211.

Like Ardinghelli, Vettori had managed to accommodate himself to the change of Government in 1512, and had found employment, but since he had served the Florentine Republic his position was delicate. It is not surprising that he told Machiavelli on 30 March 1513 « non so essere in modo impronto da fare utile a me e alli altri »¹³⁴. Vettori appreciated his own ineffectiveness and had no wish to jeopardise his own position. Moreover, Vettori was asked to effect favours on behalf of various Florentines, quite apart from Machiavelli's well-known requests. From Vettori's private letters to his brother Paolo, it looks as though his conscious policy was to ignore these requests, apart from making guarded promises of trying to help when the time was favourable. Vettori understood that Pope Leo X disliked the constant appeals for patronage from Florentines, and grasped that if he wished to remain in Medici service, he would have to limit these requests¹³⁵. On 13 May 1513 Vettori wrote to his brother¹³⁶:

« ... Se tu considerrasi quanti parenti ha il papa, quanti servitori, quanti amici, ti parrebbe impossibile potere ottenere da lui chosa alcuna, e maxime che io non veggo che habbi tanto da dare, e Jacopo Salviati non li è entrato in gratia se non perché non li domanda e non ha bixogno, e Dio volessi havessi facto chosì io in principio ».

It seems likely that Vettori adopted Salviati's policy consciously, for over a year later he wrote¹³⁷: « Pontifici Maximo et reliquis nostris Medicibus sum, meo iudicio, satis gratus; tamen nihil ab illis peto ». Indeed, the only thing that Vettori seems to have achieved for relatives or friends whilst he was in Rome (official business aside) was to secure for his brother Paolo the nomination as treasurer of the *decima* to be levied on the Florentine clergy¹³⁸. Vettori evaded most requests, and not only Machiavelli's.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 237, Letter 123.

¹³⁵ Hughes, « F. Vettori ... », gives the evidence in full.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, Machiavelli, *Lettere*, ed. Alvisi (Florence, 1883), p. 366.

¹³⁸ Hughes, « F. Vettori ... ».

Machiavelli seems to have grasped the meaning of Vettori's refusal to assist him in late 1513-early 1514, and did not press, presumably fearing that this would merely break the friendship. This may be why Machiavelli did not send Vettori the rest of his *De principatibus*. His letter to Vettori, of 10 December, also hints at another reason, and this where he says that he feared that Ardinghelli might take credit for the work. Probably, in fact, Machiavelli did not really fear Ardinghelli as a plagiarist, but understood how much the latter was opposed to him as a potential rival. It seems to have been Ardinghelli who sealed the fate of Machiavelli's original project, for in January 1515 Machiavelli tried again to establish contact with Giuliano de' Medici, when Giuliano was in Florence. This time Machiavelli's go-between was Paolo Vettori, and rumour had it that Machiavelli had acquired a post, and perhaps he had, before Ardinghelli's letter to Giuliano, dated 14 February 1515¹³⁹:

« ... El Cardinale de Medici mi domandò hieri molto strectamente se io sapeuo che V. Ex.tia hauessi preso a' servitii sua Nicolò Machiauelli; et respondendoli io che non heueuo notitia, né lo credevo, S. S.ria rev.ma mi disse queste formali parole: Anchora io non lo credo; tamen perché da Firenze ce ne è avviso, io li ricordo che non è il bisogno suo, né il nostro. Questa debba essere inventionione di Paulo Vectori, come fu farlo andare ad desinare con Martino Scarfi [della Scarfa]. Scriveteli per mia parte che io lo conforto ad non s'impacciare con Niccolò; et questo non dico per insegnarli quello che habbi a fare, ma mosso da lo amore ecc. Dipoi si dolse meco di Paulo [Vettori], che hauessi decto in Firenze che il Magnifico Lorenzo si voleua far del tucto signore di quella città; et come, quando era qui, el Papa et sua S.ria reverendissima [Cardinal Giulio de' Medici] et il prefato Magnifico erono stati in secreto a questo ragionamento. Èmmi parso di tucto avisar V. Excellentia; et maxime perché possa advertire Paulo ecc. el quale dubito non sia troppo largo nel parlare ... ».

¹³⁹ Tommasini, II, p. 1064; an extract is also printed in C. Guasti, « I manoscritti Torrigiani ... », *Archivio Storico Italiano*, n. s. iii, XIX (1874), p. 231.

The only new prince who Machiavelli mentions as suitable to receive his work *De Principatibus* over the period 1513-1515 is Giuliano de' Medici, and Giuliano was the only prince with whom Machiavelli sought to establish contact, and tried to serve. It is worth stressing that Machiavelli himself claimed that his work dealt with the contemporary situation and a real prince¹⁴⁰:

«... Ma sendo l'intento mio scrivere cosa utile a chi la intenda, mi è parso più conveniente andare dietro alla verità effettuale della cosa, che alla imaginazione di essa. E molti si sono imaginati repubbliche e principati che non si sono mai visti né conosciuti essere in vero... Lasciando, adunque, indietro le cose circa uno principe imagnate, e discorrendo quelle che sono vere...».

In late 1513 new princes, as a class, were on the decline, not increasing. There were only two possible candidates — Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici. There is no evidence at all that Machiavelli tried to obtain a post from Lorenzo, or tried to establish contact with him until 1516. It is true that there is Machiavelli's somewhat eulogistic letter to Vettori, which probably can be dated to February or March, 1514, and its purpose was probably connected with *The Prince*, though indirectly. Machiavelli wanted to try and convince Vettori that helping Machiavelli would not endanger Vettori himself with the Medici; at the same time he wanted to try and soften Medici suspicion of him, and pleaded to Vettori to report his eulogy¹⁴¹:

«... E benché io sappia che da molti intenderete questo medesimo, mi è parso descrivervelo, perché col testimonio mio ne prendiate quel piacere che ne prendiamo tutti noi altri, i quali continuamente l'observiamo, et possiate, quando ne habbate occasione, farne fede per mia parte alla S.tà di N. S.».

¹⁴⁰ Machiavelli, « Il Principe », in *Tutte le opere*, ed. Mazzoni and Casella (Florence, 1929), p. 30; cf. R. Lodge, « Machiavelli's *Il Principe* », *T. R. H. S.*, series iv, XIII (1930), pp. 1-16 reprinted by De Lamar Jensen, *Machiavelli* (Boston, Mass., 1960), pp. 27-34 (though without the footnotes), especially p. 32.

¹⁴¹ Machiavelli, « Lettere », ed. Gaeta, p. 331, Letter 148.

There was considerable rivalry for political power between Lorenzo de' Medici and his uncle Giuliano. Vettori appreciated this and recognized that Lorenzo was the power to be reckoned with by August 1513, for in a letter of the 14th of that month, to his brother Paolo in Florence, he wrote¹⁴²:

«... quando l'arcivescovo si parte, bixogna ti rachomandi a Lorenzo, perché hai a pensare che lui è figliuolo di Piero, e vorrà peggio a chi gli fece male che il papa o Juliano... e harà intorno sempre quelli dello stato vechio che li persuaderanno a tenere sotto li altri...».

A month earlier, on 12 July, Vettori had written to Machiavelli¹⁴³:

«... Noi habbiamo a pensare che ciascuno di questi nostri principi [de' Medici] habbia un fine, et perché a noi è impossibile sapere il segreto loro, bisogna lo stimiamo dalle parole, dalle dimostrazioni, et qualche parte ne immaginiamo. Et cominciando al papa, diremo che il fine suo sia mantenere la Chiesa nella riputatione l'ha trovata, non volere che diminuisca di stato, se già quello che gli diminuisse non lo consegnasse a' sua, cioè a Giuliano et Lorenzo, a' quali in ogni modo pensa dare stati...».

During the summer of 1513 Lorenzo and Giuliano were both in Florence in each other's way. Originally Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, as head of the family, had favoured his brother Giuliano to govern Florence. Probably between September and November 1512, Paolo Vettori had written a tract something like Machiavelli's *Ricordo ai palleschi*, and likewise sent it to Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, though its sentiments were quite the opposite of Machiavelli's, and began¹⁴⁴:

¹⁴² Hughes, « F. Vettori... ». Cf. Tommasini, II, p. 105 n. 3.

¹⁴³ Machiavelli, « Lettere », ed. Gaeta, p. 267, Letter 132.

¹⁴⁴ For Machiavelli's « Ricordo » see note 152; « Ricordi di P. Vettori al Cardinale de' Medici sopra le cose di Firenze », no date, in R. von Albertini, *Das florentinische Staatsbewusstsein im Übergang von der Republik zum Prinzipat* (Bern, 1955), pp. 345, 345-6.

«Li antecessori vostri, cominc[i]andosi da Cosimo e venendo infino a Piero, usorno in tenere questo Stato più industria che forza. A voi è necessario usare più forza che industria, perché voi ci avete più nimici e manco ordine a soddisarli ...».

Vettori thought that it would be Giuliano who would take control in Florence, and went on to discuss the difficulty «come Giuliano si abbi a maneggiare e a chi abbi a chiedere così delle cose drento come di quelle di fuori ...». By August 1513 the situation had changed, and Francesco Vettori, for instance, then judged that Lorenzo had usurped Giuliano's position in Florence¹⁴⁵. Apparently, too, this was with the backing of Cardinal Giulio, for Cerretani wrote that the Cardinal «aiutava assai il mancar di Giuliano. Et se non fusse stato l'occhio suo l'harem fatto male». Giuliano was too easy going and unwilling to make enemies; he would not press the Medici cause in Florence, and Cerretani concluded «Giuliano era giudicato non bene»¹⁴⁶. In September 1513 Giuliano left Florence for Rome, where at Christmas he was elected a Roman citizen¹⁴⁷. Machiavelli, restricted to Florence and her territory, knew that Giuliano was in Rome, and that he had been relieved of his responsibilities in Florence, where he was replaced by Lorenzo. We know Machiavelli knew this because of his letter to Vettori requesting the latter's help with Giuliano, while Machiavelli subsequently wrote the passage quoted above concerning Lorenzo's actions in Florence¹⁴⁸. By December 1513, indeed, the uncertain situation mentioned by Vettori as existing in the pre-

¹⁴⁵ Text below note 142.

¹⁴⁶ H. Reinhard, *Lorenzo von Medici, Herzog von Urbino, 1492-1515*. Published Doctoral Thesis (Freiburg, 1935), pp. 26 n. 53, 28 n. 61. A. Borghesi, *La restaurazione Medicea in Firenze dal 1512 al 1527* (Siena, 1927), pp. 14-21.

¹⁴⁷ Giuliano de' Medici, *Poesie*, ed. G. Fatini (Florence, 1939), pp. xlvi-viii, introduction by Fatini; Antonio Altieri, *Giuliano de' Medici eletto romano il Natale 1513: Relazione inedita*, ed. L. Pasqualucci (Rome, 1881).

¹⁴⁸ Vettori wrote from Rome to M. on 23 November 1513 «... parlo ... sei [parole] al Magnifico Giuliano; et se non posso parlare a lui, parlo a Piero Ardinghelli ...», Machiavelli, «Lettere», ed. Gaeta, pp. 298-99, Letter 139; see also the letter of 10 December cited in note 116.

vious July was quite clear, and had developed along the lines that Vettori had predicted to his brother in the August. From August Machiavelli himself could have seen the development for himself, and this is the period usually assigned to the genesis of *The Prince*. Obviously, if Machiavelli had had Lorenzo in mind in December 1513, he would not have needed to have written to Vettori, but would have set about establishing contact with Lorenzo in Florence. Machiavelli wrote to Vettori because it was exclusively Giuliano that he had in mind as the new prince.

The implications of Machiavelli's *De Principatibus* being written with Giuliano exclusively in mind, are of considerable significance. Above all, it follows that the work was not concerned with Florence (City or territory), where already from September 1513 Lorenzo de' Medici was in control, using the methods outlined in Guicciardini's «*Scritti autobiografici*»¹⁴⁹. Lorenzo by December was actively engaged in moulding the system of Florentine government in the tradition of his grandfather, Lorenzo il Magnifico. The latter's practices have recently been admirably investigated¹⁵⁰, and we know that Machiavelli did not approve of them. One testimony is outstanding, and it is that of Donato Giannotti, written in 1533 of Machiavelli's work on his *History of Florence*¹⁵¹:

«... Et io la vedevo mentre che il Machiavelli la componeva ..., egli mi disse queste parole formali: 'Io non posso scrivere questa historia da che Cosimo prese lo Stato per insino alla morte di Lorenzo

¹⁴⁹ Printed in F. Guicciardini, *Opere inedite*, ed. P. and L. Guicciardini (Florence, 10 vols., 1857-67), X, pp. 96-7; see also 'Instructione al Mag. Lorenzo' in «Documenti riguardanti Giuliano dei Medici e il pontefice Leone X», ed. T. Gar, *Archivio Storico Italiano: Appendice*, VIII (1844), pp. 299-306; Borghese.

¹⁵⁰ N. Rubinstein, *The Government of Florence under the Medici, 1434-1494* (London, 1966).

¹⁵¹ Letter to M. A. Michiel, 30 June 1533, ed. L. A. Ferrai, «Lettere inedite di D. Giannotti», in *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, series vi, III (1884), pp. 1570-71, and reprinted in R. Ridolfi, «Sommaro della vita di D. Giannotti», in *Opuscoli* (Florence, 1942), p. 63.

come io la scriverei se io fossi libero da tutti i rispetti; le azioni saranno vere, et non pretermetterò cosa alcuna, solamente lascerò indietro il discorrere le cause universali delle cose; verbi gratia, io dirò gli eventi et gli casi che succedero quando Cosimo prese lo Stato; lascerò stare indietro il discorrere in che modo, et con che mezzi et astutie uno pervenga a tanta altezza, et chi vorrà anco intendere questo, noti molto bene quello ch'io farò dire ai suoi avversarii, perché quello che non vorrò dire io come da me, lo farò dire ai suoi avversarii'. Queste parole me le disse egli più volte ...».

Machiavelli wanted to tell the truth, but, not surprisingly, feared the consequences of so doing. It shows that in 1522-24 Machiavelli was still opposed to autocratic rule by the Medici in Florence.

Throughout his life Machiavelli remained convinced that only republican government could succeed in Florence, and his ideal was probably something very like the Savonarola Constitution, which he had helped to operate for fourteen years. With the return of the Medici in September 1512 Machiavelli remained at his post, hoping to be of service, and at the end of the month, apparently, he wrote what is called commonly his « Ricordo ai palleschi », backed by a letter to Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, in both of which he advised magnanimity and opposed autocratic rule in Florence¹⁵². It is most likely that these writings were influential in Machiavelli's dismissal in November. Some eight years later in a similar tract, again seemingly addressed to Cardinal Giulio, Machiavelli argued his case, now more forcefully, since Lorenzo de' Medici had died in May 1519¹⁵³:

¹⁵² The 'Ricordo' is printed in Machiavelli, *Tutte le opere*, ed. Mazzoni and Casella, pp. 791-92, and see p. 786 for the source; for its date see Ridolfi, *Life*, p. 131 and cf. Tommasini, I, pp. 599-600. For the autograph draft of the letter, which has no date, see Ridolfi, pp. 131, 289 n. 39, and Tommasini, I, p. 600 n. 2. The letter is printed in Machiavelli, *Opere*, ed. A. Panella (Milan, 2 vols., 1938), I, letter no. 8; it is not in « Lettere », ed. Gaeta.

¹⁵³ Machiavelli, « Discursus florentinarum rerum post mortem iuniores L. Medices », in Machiavelli, « Arte della guerra e scritti politici minori », ed. S. Bertelli, *Opere* (Feltrinelli, 1960), II, pp. 263-64; see also Ridolfi, *Life*, p. 308 n. 28 and Tommasini, II, p. 1012.

« ... Restaci ora a discorrere quale sia stato lo stato dal '12 a questo tempo, e quali debolezze o gagliardie sieno state le sue ... Vero è che, essendo venuta la cosa in termine, come è, per la morte del duca, che si ha da ragionare di nuovi modi di governi ... ».

In the strongest terms Machiavelli said¹⁵⁴:

« ... Ma perché fare principato dove starebbe bene repubblica, e repubblica dove starebbe bene principato, è cosa difficile, inumana e indegna di qualunque desidera essere tenuto pietoso e buono, io lascerò il ragionare più del principato, e parlerò della repubblica: sì perché Firenze è subietto attissimo da pigliare questa forma ... ».

This is nothing less than a condemnation of what Lorenzo was doing in Florence to the Florentine Government over the years 1513 to 1519. Add to this the fact that Machiavelli had obtained his post in 1498 by chance, since he was not a qualified member of his *Arte*, and that with this obstacle, and his background and beliefs, he could not have hoped for or wanted a post in the Florentine chancery under Lorenzo.

Now we have seen that Machiavelli wrote his *Prince* with only Giuliano in mind, we can examine more closely the nature of the work and the motives behind it. The text that we have on which to base our judgements, appears to be of 1516, and the modifications this includes from its conception in 1513 will be considered later. Essentially, as Chabod has maintained, we can accept the text of 1516 as being very much like that of the original composition, with the important exception of the dedication to Lorenzo de' Medici, which is of the later period.

In the eighteenth century it became popular to consider Machiavelli's *Prince* as a satire. This, of course, stemmed from divorcing the work from its historical context, and from what has already been said in this article, it should be clear that writing a satire was no more one of Machiavelli's motives than was that attributed to him by Busini¹⁵⁵. We shall see that the

¹⁵⁴ « Discursus ... », p. 268.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. H. Baron, « Machiavelli: The Republican Citizen and the author of

work supports the conclusion that it was written with Giuliano in mind, since it refers closely to his situation. In letters to Vettori in 1513 and 1514, Machiavelli stressed the merits of Ferdinand of Aragon as an ideal prince, and in some ways Ferdinand is the hero of *The Prince*¹⁵⁶. However, the main example of the work is Cesare Borgia, and above all in Chapter VII¹⁵⁷:

«... Cesare Borgia, chiamato dal vulgo duca Valentino, acquistò lo stato con la fortuna del padre, e con quella lo perdé; ... perché io non saprei quali precetti mi dare migliori a uno principe nuovo, che lo esempio delle azioni sua: e se gli ordini suoi non li profittono, non fu sua colpa, perché nacque da una straordinaria ed estrema malignità di fortuna ...».

Over the years 1499 to 1503 Machiavelli had known Cesare as an antagonist of Florence, and with some justification he could pride himself on having outwitted Cesare in the latter's attempt to incorporate Florentine territory into his new state. From practical experience Machiavelli was familiar with Cesare's objectives in Italy, and the extent to which they were success-

'The Prince', *The English Historical Review*, LXXVI (1961), pp. 218, 224. Recently the idea has been reworked by G. Mattingly, «Machiavelli's Prince: Political Science or Political Satire», in *The American Scholar*, XXVII (1958), pp. 482-491, reprinted in De Lamar Jensen, *Machiavelli*, pp. 98-108, and in *The American Reader* (New York, 1960); a condensed version is in his «About Machiavelli», in *Columbia College Today*, XI (1963), pp. 60-64; see also Mattingly's «Machiavelli» in *The Horizon Book of the Renaissance*, ed. J. H. Plumb (New York, 1961), pp. 57-64, especially pp. 62-64. The evidence opposed to this case is given by C. H. Clough, «Yet again Machiavelli's Prince», *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale (Sezione romanza)*, V (Naples, 1963), pp. 208-16.

¹⁵⁶ Above all in Machiavelli's letters of 29 April 1513, 16 April 1514; for the former see R. Ridolfi, «Per un'Edizione Critica dell'Epistolario...», *La Bibliofilia*, LXVIII (1966), p. 43; for the latter, «Lettere», ed. Gaeta, p. 332, Letter 149. For references in *The Prince* see *Tutte le opere*, Mazzoni and Casella, p. 35 (cf. *Il Principe*, ed. Burd, p. 307 note to line 2) and p. 43 (Burd, p. 338 note to line 1): «... Costui [Ferdinand] si può chiamare quasi principe nuovo ...».

¹⁵⁷ Machiavelli, «Il Principe», in *Tutte le opere*, ed. Mazzoni and Casella, pp. 14-15.

ful¹⁵⁸. Cesare, the son of Pope Alexander VI, was given by his father legal rights to cities and territory in the Papal State, and rapidly built his own new state¹⁵⁹. Early in 1503 it looked as though from this new state, and with the assured neutrality of the Spanish in the Kingdom of Naples, Cesare might gradually be able to take possession of territory under French protection, and eventually drive the French out of Italy¹⁶⁰. By then Cesare had won some esteem in the Romagna, the core of his new state, and two decades later Guicciardini, who himself ruled the region, admitted that the *romagnoli* had come to love Cesare for he had given them the best government that they had had, and this despite Guicciardini hating the name Borgia¹⁶¹. Certainly, even as late as 1506 Cesare was something of a hero in the Romagna. In the whole of his new state, save for Faenza and the Duchy of Urbino, the rulers whom he replaced were unpopular, and Cesare was considered a deliverer — the Malatesta of Rimini, for instance, were unable to persuade their former citizens to accept them after Borgia's fall¹⁶². Cesare needed large financial resources, but could draw on the Papal Treasury, and so win support by low taxation. He had imaginative schemes to improve the region. The cities were to be replanned, and new law courts and government buildings erected¹⁶³. Judges of the highest repute under President Antonio Ciochi da Monte Sansavino, whom Machiavelli calls a «uomo dottissimo e di ottima vita», presided at courts in the new state¹⁶⁴. Leonardo da Vinci was engaged to develop Porto

¹⁵⁸ Clough, «N. Machiavelli, Cesare Borgia...», p. 143; cf. A. Medin, «Il Valentino nella mente di M.», in *Rivista Europea - Rivista Internazionale*, n. s., vol. XXXII (1883), pp. 687-737, 861-982.

¹⁵⁹ W. H. Woodward, *Cesare Borgia* (London, 1913), pp. 149-56, 171, 210-211.

¹⁶⁰ Clough, «Machiavelli, C. Borgia...», pp. 131-32.

¹⁶¹ F. Guicciardini, *Opere inedite*, III, p. 393. For Cesare Borgia as a hero in 1506 see Clough, «Yet again...», pp. 215-16.

¹⁶² P. J. Jones, «The end of the Malatesta rule in Rimini», *Italian Renaissance Studies: A Tribute to C. M. Ady*, ed. E. F. Jacob (London, 1960), p. 254.

¹⁶³ Clough, «Yet again...», p. 217.

¹⁶⁴ For the judges see C. H. Clough, «The Chronicle of G. Vanni...», *Studi Urbinati*, XXXIX n. s. B (1965), pp. 335-53; dispatch of Machiavelli to the

Cesenatico and to connect it to Cesena by a canal, while there was a scheme to drain the swamps which spread disease to Piombino, Cesare's outpost in Tuscany ¹⁶⁵.

Machiavelli used Cesare Borgia because he was the best example for his particular purposes, while he rejected Ferdinand of Aragon because he was a foreigner in Italy and not related to the Pope. After Giuliano had been summoned to Rome in September 1513 he was expecting a new state to be given him by his brother, Pope Leo, in the Papal State, and this was why Machiavelli writing to Vettori in December 1513 called him a new prince. Hence there was a close parallel between Cesare Borgia's situation with a new state, and that of Giuliano's. Both were forming their new state under the aegis of the Pope, and both had the same legal right to the new state. Others besides Machiavelli saw the parallel, for Lorenzo de' Medici's mother wrote to her son on 18 March 1514 of Giuliano's achievements ¹⁶⁶:

«... perché s'egli [Giuliano] ha a seguitare come ha cominciato da uno mese in quà, el Duca Valentino non fe' mai la metà di quello che fa costui; cioè ne' principii, perché mi ricordo che el principio del Duca Valentino non fu sì grande come costui l'ha preso...».

Cesare Borgia, the new prince of his day, was the focal point for scholars seeking patronage. Hence there exists a flood of works either eulogizing Cesare, or dedicated to him, for this was a way to fame and fortune ¹⁶⁷. There were echoes,

Dieci, from Imola, 28 November 1502 in «Legazioni e Commissarie», ed. Bertelli, I, pp. 458-59.

¹⁶⁵ A. Vallentin, *Leonardo da Vinci* (New York, 1938), pp. 299-300; W. H. Woodward, *Cesare Borgia*, p. 255; L. Beltrami, *Leonardo e il Porto di Cesenatico* (Milan, 1902).

¹⁶⁶ Printed in Tommasini, II, p. 999.

¹⁶⁷ Woodward, Appendix XX; L. Pastor, *Storia dei Papi*, ed. Mercati (Rome, 1959), III, p. 557 n. 5; L. Piccioni, *Di Francesco Uberti umanista cesenate..* (Bologna, 1903); Clough, «Yet again...», pp. 215-16; D. Amram, *The Makers of Hebrew Books in Italy* (London, 1963) pp. 90, 95. A study of the literature dedicated to Cesare Borgia would be interesting.

of course, in the Court of Ferrara, where Pietro Bembo, in a sonnet most likely written at the time of his love affair with Lucrezia Borgia, could write of her brother ¹⁶⁸:

Felice imperador, ch'avanzi gli anni
con la virtute, e rendi a questi giorni
l'antico onor di Marte, e 'n pregio il torni,
e per noi riposar te stesso affanni;

...

Likewise from 1514 Giuliano became a focal point for patronage in Italy. He, like Cesare, could give rewards from the Papal Treasury. Just as Cesare had attracted Leonardo da Vinci to his service, so did Giuliano from 1513 until his death. For instance, in July 1514 Leonardo wrote that he was established in Rome «a Belvedere nello studio fattomi dal Magnifico [Giuliano]», and he was primarily engaged with a project to drain the Pontine marshes ¹⁶⁹.

Cesare Borgia was the best example but not a perfect one, because he failed. We have seen above in the quotation from Chapter VII that Machiavelli makes it appear as though Cesare did not fail through lack of *virtù*, or natural ability, yet he concluded that same Chapter ¹⁷⁰:

«... Solamente si può accusarlo [Cesare] nella creazione di Iulio pontefice, nella quale lui ebbe mala elezione... Errò, adunque, el duca in questa elezione; e fu cagione dell'ultima ruina sua».

¹⁶⁸ P. Bembo, *Prose e Rime*, ed. C. Dionisotti (Turin, 1960), pp. 576-77.

¹⁶⁹ For Giuliano's patronage in general see E. Muntz, *Raphael*, trans. and ed. W. Armstrong (London, rev. ed., 1888), pp. 88-89. Fra Giocondo dedicated his second edition of Vitruvius to him in 1513, and also his edition of Caesar's *Commentaries*, see R. Brenzoni, *Fra Giovanni Giocondo...* (Florence, 1960), pp. 90-97. E. Solmi, «L. da Vinci e i lavori di prosciugamenti delle Paludi Pontine...», *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, XV (1911), reprinted in his *Scritti Vinciani* (Florence, 1924), p. 317.

¹⁷⁰ Machiavelli, «Il Principe», in *Tutte le opere*, ed. Mazzoni and Casella, pp. 17-18.

This implies that Cesare's downfall was a result of his own error, or lack of *virtù*. The inconsistency was probably conscious, with the object of trying to convince Giuliano de' Medici that he, even if placed in a situation like Cesare, would not fail through making the same kind of mistake. Many contemporaries, indeed, thought that Cesare had failed through lack of *Fortuna*, or fortune. There is a medallion, almost certainly of Cesare, with the inscription that can be translated as: «Turn thy compassionate eyes to my lamentations, since it is Fortune's will to be so niggard»¹⁷¹. Sanudo, at the time of Cesare's successes, reported that Cesare's army was poor, but that Fortune did everything for him, laying the siege, placing the ladders, urging the battle, and finally carrying the city for him¹⁷². Hence Machiavelli's emphasis on Cesare's good fortune was not unusual. In 1513 a medallion of Giuliano de' Medici was engraved in the manner of Vittore Camelio. This bears on one side the head of Giuliano, and on the reverse there is a veiled figure of Virtue giving her right hand to the Goddess Fortune, who holds a cornucopia. This reverse bears the inscription: DUCE VIRTUTE COMITE FORTUNA¹⁷³. The

¹⁷¹ A contemporary poem expressed the view that Borgia fell through his own error of judgement:

...
 Poscia che d'alto son caduto al basso
 Non per dolo d'altri ma per error mio.
 ...

This is reprinted in «Lamenti storici...», ed. A. Medin and L. Frati, *Scelta di Curiosità Letterarie*, vol. 236 (Bologna, 1896), p. 17. For the medallion, supposedly Florentine, see G. F. Hill, *A Corpus of Italian Medals* (London, 2 vols., 1930), I, p. 276, where the evidence is given for relating it to Cesare, but errs in the conclusion that the inscription does not suit him; for a photograph of the medallion see II, plate 178; see also E. Rodocanachi, *Histoire de Rome: Une Cour Princièrè... Alexandre VI Borgia...* (Paris, 1925), plate facing p. 176, and G. Sacerdote, *Cesare Borgia* (Milan, 1950), p. 831. The reverse portrays the Goddess Fortune holding a sail and on a dolphin's back, cf. H. R. Patch, *The Goddess Fortune...* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), pp. 37, 101ff.

¹⁷² Sanudo, *Diari*, III, col. 1050.

¹⁷³ Hill, *Corpus*, I, no. 456bis, and II, plate 85 (sic); it is reproduced also in Clough, «Yet again...», p. 218, and E. Panofsky, *The Iconography of Correg-*

suggestion is that in 1513 Giuliano was thought then to possess an abundance of both *Virtù* and *Fortuna*, which were exceptionally united in him¹⁷⁴. In *The Prince* Machiavelli was flattering Giuliano on this very thing. Giuliano, like Cesare, had *Fortuna* on his side, for were not the Medici restored to power in Florence, and was not a Medici head of the Church? Both Giuliano and his brother, the Pope, were both in the prime of life, whereas Pope Alexander VI was an older man in 1498, at the time of the beginning of Cesare's *impresa*, than Pope Leo X was in 1513. Secondly, Giuliano could not fail through lack of *Virtù*, particularly with Machiavelli and his *Prince* to guide. Giuliano would certainly have appreciated Machiavelli's flattery, and seen that he was in a very similar position to Cesare, and at the same time even more favoured. If Cesare had done so much it was reasonable to expect Giuliano to have done more.

It has recently been suggested that Machiavelli uses pronouns in his *Prince* and *Discourses* with special significance¹⁷⁵:

«... as an adviser of a prince, he addresses an individual; as a teacher of political wisdom he addresses an infinite multitude. He indicates his dual capacity and the corresponding duality of his addresses by use of the second person of the personal pronoun: he uses 'Thou' when addressing the prince, and even the man who conspires against the prince, i. e., when addressing men of action, while he uses 'You' when addressing those whose interest is primarily theoretical, either simply or for the time being».

It does look as though in the case of *The Prince*, where Machiavelli uses the 'tu' form, his words have a special application to the prince to whom the work was addressed, and, as first con-

gio's Camera di San Paolo (London, 1961), fig. 35. The medallion is listed in *Mostra Medici: Palazzo Medici* (Florence, 1939), p. 135, and *Renaissance Bronzes... from the Kress Collection* (Washington, D. C., 1951), p. 171.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Panofsky, fig. 36.

¹⁷⁵ L. Strauss, *Thoughts on Machiavelli* (Glencoe, Illinois, 1958), p. 77; cf. Sarolli, cited in note 9, p. 58. For Strauss's views in general see R. J. McShea, «Leo Strauss on Machiavelli», in *The Western Political Quarterly*, XVI (Salt Lake City, 1963), pp. 782-97.

ceived, we have seen that this was exclusively Giuliano de' Medici. Once again, in *The Prince*, the course of action was being consciously pointed out for a particular person, and he, reading it, would have grasped the message.

The Prince is in the form of a treatise on princely duty. Today it may be misunderstood by those who detach it from its background, but it is hard to believe that Machiavelli's contemporaries would have been misled. Ardinghelli, without doubt, would have seen it as directed to Giuliano, and an appeal on Machiavelli's part for a post in his service. The form that he used cannot have been intended to deceive Ardinghelli, for instance, into thinking the work merely a philosophical treatise, concerned with theory. In part, one suspects that the form chosen was to amuse Giuliano, who was of a scholarly and literary frame of mind, and in this it can be compared to the sonnets of 1513 which Machiavelli addressed to Giuliano. Certainly the form was consciously chosen. Above all Italians, Florentines in the first quarter of the sixteenth century were concerned with politics, and many of the cultured wrote tracts on the subject of the Florentine political situation. Today we know perhaps twenty of these, though there were probably more, and all were meant to be practical in their application¹⁷⁶. Machiavelli writings directed to the attention of Cardinal Giulio de' Medici in 1512 and 1520, took this form, as did that of Paolo Vettori's work of 1512¹⁷⁷. We know of one of 1515, written by Gherio, governor of Piacenza in Giuliano's state, dealing with the problems of the territory that he controlled¹⁷⁸. Hence Machiavelli might suitably, and more briefly, have done something similar for Giuliano in 1513, instead of writing *The Prince* in the form that he did.

¹⁷⁶ For some such see notes 144, 152, 178.

¹⁷⁷ See notes 144, 152.

¹⁷⁸ 'Memoriale a Voi, Messer Bartolommeo nostro Segretario, da comunicare appresso lo Illustrissimo ed Eccellentissimo Signor Magnifico Iuliano de' Medici', in « Lettere di Monsignor Goro Gheri ... », ed. B. Pallastrelli and L. Scarabelli, *Archivio Storico Italiano: Appendice*, VI (1842), pp. 62-68.

There is a tendency to consider Machiavelli's *Prince* in isolation, though, in fact, in many ways it was typical of its genre — a popular one in the *Quattrocento*, the hey-day of new princes. Viewed in perspective Machiavelli's *Prince* is one of the last of its class, written in the twilight of the age of new princes. Salamonio's *De Principatu* was presented by its author to Pope Leo X in 1514¹⁷⁹. Interestingly enough, Salamonio was *Capitano del Popolo e Pretore nel Comune* of Florence from 21 October 1498 until 20 April 1499, and hence had been a colleague of Machiavelli, and his work was juridical and theoretical in its nature. Works typical of the genre were written for practical use, and to mention but two of these, both well-known in Italian when Machiavelli was in his infancy, while Pontano's in their days: Diomede Carafa's *I doveri del principe* was written Latin work of the same subject was popular in the last decade of the fifteenth century¹⁸⁰. There were some fifty or sixty similar, at least¹⁸¹. A comparison of Machiavelli's *Prince* with the genre emphasizes that many of the sentiments found in *The Prince* were typical of the genre¹⁸². As a class, these treatises were intended for practical application, and commonly used. For instance, Carafa dedicated his work to his former pupil, Eleonora d'Aragona, wife of Ercole, Duke of Ferrara, and Carafa's work, in manuscript, was used as a handbook at the Ferrarese Court¹⁸³.

¹⁷⁹ M. Salamonio, *De Principatu ...*, ed. M. d'Addio (Milan, 1955); see also E. Cochrane, « Machiavelli: 1940-1960 », in *The Journal of Modern History*, XXXIII (1961), p. 128 n. 68.

¹⁸⁰ D. Carafa, *I doveri del principe*, in T. Persico, *D. Carafa* (Naples, 1899). G. G. Pontano, « De Principe » in *Opera* (Basel, 1556), I (first printed in 1490), and translated as *I doveri del Principe ...*, M. A. Grisolia (Naples, 1784).

¹⁸¹ Allan H. Gilbert, *Machiavelli's 'Prince' and its forerunners* (Durham, N. C., 1938), pp. 238-45 gives a useful list, to which can be added a work by Tommaso dei Liuti, see J. R. Mitchell, *John Free ...* (London, 1955), p. 54.

¹⁸² A. H. Gilbert, pp. 231-37; the conclusion of Gilbert is: « ... The work of D. Carafa [is] more nearly anticipative of Machiavelli than anything else we know ... Few of the ideas expressed in *The Prince* are altogether novel; most of them are to be found in mediaeval and renaissance works belonging to the type of books of advice to Kings ... », see p. 234.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*; A. De Reumont, *The Carafas of Maddaloni ...* trans. (London, 1854), pp. 117-18.

It was usual for these treatises to be written in Latin, though Machiavelli chose the *volgar lingua*. Given his humanistic and chancery training it is hard to believe that Machiavelli could not have written in Latin, or that Giuliano would not have been capable of reading the Latin. In the case of *The Prince*, Machiavelli kept up the appearance of the genre with his Latin title: *De Principatibus*, and with the Latin titles for the Chapter headings¹⁸⁴. Perhaps the choice of Italian for the text was a further effort to catch Giuliano's interest, still within the framework of the genre. Giuliano was very much interested in the *volgar lingua* — witness the fact that Bembo gave him a leading part in his dialogue *Prose della Volgar Lingua*, and that he owned the autograph of Boccaccio's *Decameron*¹⁸⁵. Machiavelli himself was interested in the subject, and an anonymous study dealing with the *volgar lingua* is commonly attributed to Machiavelli¹⁸⁶.

Two things that are unique in Machiavelli's *Prince*, in terms of its genre, apart from the *volgar lingua*, are his example of Cesare Borgia, and the whole of Chapter III, entitled: « De Principatibus Mixtis »¹⁸⁷. Therefore these seem promising clues to Machiavelli's intentions. Just as Machiavelli's new prince was exhorted to do, we must keep before our eyes the example of Cesare Borgia, and remember that this was to be applied in practice to a real state by a new prince, Giuliano de' Medici and no other. We shall find, not surprisingly, that the new state that Machiavelli had in mind was like that of Cesare Borgia, for that is precisely what he thought Giuliano's new state would be like. Chapter III begins¹⁸⁸:

¹⁸⁴ See the text printed in Mazzoni and Casella's edition of Machiavelli, *Tutte le opere*; see Ridolfi, *Life*, p. 308 n. 28, for Machiavelli's tendency to use Latin titles.

¹⁸⁵ V. Branca and P. G. Ricci, *Un autografo del Decameron* (Padua, 1962), pp. 18-19.

¹⁸⁶ For the bibliography see N. Machiavelli, « Il teatro ... », ed. F. Gaeta in *Opere* (Feltrinelli, 1965), VIII, p. xxii; there should be added also C. Grayson, « Lorenzo, Machiavelli and the Italian Language », in *Italian Renaissance Studies...*, ed. Jacob, pp. 410-32. See also Ridolfi, *Life*, p. 304 n. 32.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. A. H. Gilbert, pp. 24, 42.

¹⁸⁸ Machiavelli, « Il Principe », in *Tutte le opere*, ed. Mazzoni and Casella, p. 6.

« Ma nel principato nuovo consistono le difficoltà. E prima, se non è tutto nuovo, ma come membro (che si può chiamare tutto insieme quasi misto) le variazioni sua nascono in prima da una naturale difficoltà, quale è in tutti e' principati nuovi: le quali sono che li uomini mutano volentieri signore, credendo migliorare ... ».

If the laws of logic are applied to this, one can prove that it is illogical¹⁸⁹. Yet what Machiavelli means is clear, for he is talking of a new state that is composed of several former principalities, each one of which had been under its own individual prince. This single new state has expanded somewhat rapidly (otherwise it would not be new) to incorporate into it these various former principalities. This is exactly like the new state that Cesare Borgia created between 1498 and 1503¹⁹⁰, and this is what the Chapter III and « principati misti » is about. Machiavelli has it in mind for Giuliano's new state throughout the work. For example, Chapter XX, concerned with fortresses, contains the passage: « Ma quando uno principe acquista uno stato nuovo che, come membro, si aggiunga al suo vecchio, allora è necessario disarmare quello stato »¹⁹¹. What is this but the *principato misto*?

In a letter to Francesco Vettori, dated 31 January 1515, Machiavelli discussed Giuliano's new state and the problems that it presented¹⁹²:

« Pagolo vostro [Vettori's brother] è suto qui [Florence] con il Magnifico [Giuliano], et intra qualche ragionamento ha havuto meco delle speranze sue, mi ha detto come sua Signoria gli ha promesso farlo governatore di una di quelle terre, delle quali prende hora la

¹⁸⁹ Cf. Sasso, « Filosofia ... », pp. 46-49. F. Chabod, « Il Segretario Fiorentino », in his *Scritti su Machiavelli* (Turin, 1964), p. 252 does not expect Machiavelli to be entirely logical: « ... Altre volte ancora M. risolve la situazione non con un giudizio logico ... ».

¹⁹⁰ The best account of this state and its formation is in Woodward.

¹⁹¹ Machiavelli, « Il Principe », in *Tutte le Opere*, ed. Mazzoni and Casella, p. 41.

¹⁹² Machiavelli, « Lettere », ed. Gaeta, pp. 374-75, Letter 163. See also Tommasini, II, p. 103 n. 2.

signoria. Et havendo io inteso, non da Pagolo, ma da una comune voce, che egli diventa signore di Parma, Piacenza, Modena et Reggio, mi pare che questa signoria fosse bella et forte, et da poterla in ogni evento tenere, quando nel principio la fosse governata bene. Et a volerla governare bene, bisogna intendere bene la qualità del subbiecto. Questi stati nuovi, occupati da un signore nuovo, hanno, volendosi mantenere, infinite difficoltà. Et se si truova difficoltà in mantenere quelli che sono consueti ad esser tutti un corpo, come, verbigratia, sarebbe il ducato di Ferrara, assai più difficoltà si trouva a mantenere quelli che sono di nuovo composti di diverse membra, come sarebbe questo del signore Giuliano, perché una parte di esso è membro di Milano, un'altra di Ferrara. Debbe pertanto chi ne diventa principe pensare di farne un medesimo corpo, et avvezzarli a riconoscere uno il più presto può. Il che si può fare in due modi: o con il fermarvisi personalmente, o con preprovi un suo luogotenente che comandi a tutti, acciò che quelli sudditi, *etiam* di diverse terre, et distratti in varie oppenioni, comincino a riguardare un solo, et conoscerlo per principe. Et quando sua Signoria, volendo stare per ancora a Roma, vi preponesse uno che conoscesse bene la natura delle cose et le condizioni de' luoghi, farebbe un gran fondamento a questo suo stato nuovo. Ma se e' mette in ogni terra il suo capo, et sua Signoria non vi stia, si starà sempre quello stato disunito, senza sua riputazione, et senza potere portare al principe riverenza o timore. Il duca Valentino, l'opere del quale io imiterei sempre quando io fossi principe nuovo, conosciuta questa necessità, fece Messer Rimiro presidente in Romagna; la quale deliberazione fece quei populi uniti, timorosi dell'autorità sua, affectionati alla sua potenza, confidenti di quella; et tutto lo amore gli portavano, che era grande, considerata la novità sua, nacque da questa deliberazione. Io credo che questa cosa si potesse facilmente persuadere, perché è vera; et quando e' toccasse a Pagolo vostro, sarebbe questo un grado da farsi conoscere non solo al signore Magnifico, ma a tutta Italia; et con utile et honore di sua Signoria, potrebbe dare riputazione a sé, a voi et alla casa sua. Io ne parlai seco; piacqueli, et penserà d'aiutarsene. Mi è parso scrivere a voi, acciò sappiate i ragionamenti nostri, et possiate, dove bisognasse, lastricare la via a questa cosa».

There is much similarity between the core of *The Prince* and this letter. In both, the new prince is the same — Giuliano de' Medici — in both, Machiavelli is trying to guide Giuliano by the example of Cesare Borgia, through the Vettori. One thing is different. At the time of writing *The Prince*, the precise region of Giuliano's new state, within the Papal States, was still uncertain, and hence so was the nature of the composition of Giuliano's new state. This accounts for the vagueness found on this point: it was a real new state, but of uncertain location at the time of writing. Probably this uncertainty was of primary importance in determining Machiavelli to select the genre of a treatise, as against a tract, for his work. The tract was precise and apropos, while the treatise could be more general and allow for more alternatives. As conceived by Machiavelli, his work was to be presented to Giuliano before the latter had received his new state, not least because Machiavelli hoped to be the first governor of it. By January 1515 things were more precise, for Giuliano's new state was taking shape, and Giuliano was to be appointed governor in perpetuity of Parma, Piacenza, Modena and Reggio. Then Machiavelli could apply his general rule of a new state to the particular example of Giuliano. The letter quoted to Vettori is *The Prince* revised and in a nutshell.

If we continue to take Cesare Borgia as our guide, we can speculate reasonably as to what region Machiavelli thought likely to be that of Giuliano's new state in September 1513 onwards, when he was working on his *Prince*. Cesare had taken over the Roman Campagna, which had long been used to papal control, and from it as a base, he expanded his new state by taking possession, one by one, of the bordering principedoms in the Romagna and the Marche. This was much as Pope Pius II had done, on a smaller scale, forty years before, when he established his nephew Antonio Piccolomini as a new prince in the Romagna¹⁹³. Pope Julius II continued Cesare's policy,

¹⁹³ G. Soranzo, *Pio II e la politica italiana nella lotta contro i Malatesta* (1457-1463) (Padua, 1911), pp. 449-51. A. R. Natale, «La Lega Italica ...» in

liquidating gradually the remaining princedoms within the Papal States; for instance, he recovered Perugia, Bologna and Mirandola, and devoted much energy to trying to obtain Ferrara. In 1513, on the death of Pope Julius and the election of Pope Leo X as his successor, we have seen from a letter of Vettori to Machiavelli, that Vettori expected Pope Leo to pursue a policy like that of his predecessor, but that he might grant princedoms, within the Papal States, to his relatives. We know, too, that by December 1513 it was Giuliano who was expected to receive this new state. By analogy, therefore, Machiavelli could reasonably have expected that Giuliano's new state, within the Papal States, would be in the Romagna, from whence Giuliano could expand by capturing Urbino and Ferrara, say. In such a case, Giuliano would be the legal successor to papal rulers, usually legates, who had governed the Romagna cities in the name of the Pope, since Cesare's fall in 1504. If he expanded, he would be the legal successor to territory that had long accepted the idea (if not the practice) of being within the Papal States. Once again we are back to the « stato misto » of *The Prince*. By January 1515 the nature of Giuliano's new state was different, because a region that Machiavelli had not included in his 1513 speculations, was now defined as a part of it. The region was to be made up of different members, cut from old states, and in no way used to the idea of being within the Papal States, but with other, and separate, centres of interest. Hence the problem of Giuliano as a new prince was even greater than Machiavelli had envisaged, and he wrote the corollary to cover this development. Once Giuliano had welded together this region, and began to add principalities to it, then the situation would be once more that of the « stato misto » of *The Prince*. In any event the rules for governing the « stato misto » were very like those required to rule Giuliano's region of different members, and hence *The Prince* was still valid, though the pace of Giuliano's expansion would be slower than Machiavelli had envisaged in 1513.

R. Dep. di Storia Patria per la Lombardia: *Atti e Memorie del primo congresso storico Lombardo (Como-Varese, 1936)* (Milan, 1937), pp. 399-407. See also note 224.

All roads lead from Florence, for once again we have seen that as first conceived *The Prince*, which barely mentions Florence, was not concerned with Florence in any way, but with a new state in the Papal States. This new state for Giuliano was not thought of by Machiavelli as a « principato assoluto », but as a « principato civile ». This is a distinction that Professor Whitfield has been pressing for some years, and with effect¹⁹⁴. Recently Professor Sasso has provided us with definitions that cannot be bettered¹⁹⁵:

« ... È civile quel principe che conquista il potere con il favore degli 'altri suoi cittadini' (popoli o grandi), e non per 'scelleratezza o altra intollerabile violenza' ...; è 'civile' quel principe che sa 'convertire' le crudeltà impiegate nella conquista 'in più utilità de' sudditi che si può'. Nel primo caso, un principe perventuo al potere con modi 'civili' può (in ipotesi) degenerare in principe 'assoluto' nel concreto esercizio del potere. Nel secondo, il principe è civile, anche se pervenuto al potere con la 'violenza', in quanto coscientemente ha eletto di essere tale piuttosto che 'assoluto'. Tra i due casi, è questo il più importante: a Machiavelli interessa non tanto che un principe pervenga al potere con modi civili, ma che del potere comunque conquistato faccia un uso politico, civile e non assoluto ... ».

Cesare Borgia had used force to acquire his new state, and in late 1513 Machiavelli contemplated a situation when Giuliano might have to do the same — that is, when Giuliano came to form a 'mixed' state. Machiavelli believed that what mattered was that Giuliano governed his entire new state in the best interest of all his subjects.

There is a further reason why Machiavelli believed that Giuliano should be a 'civil' prince, and this, of course, is the famous last Chapter of *The Prince*. By good government (and this was the only way, Machiavelli believed) the new prince

¹⁹⁴ J. H. Whitfield, « Savonarola and the purpose of 'The Prince' », cited in note 49, pp. 51-52 especially.

¹⁹⁵ Sasso, « Filosofia ... », pp. 52-53.

could win affection in his state, and go on to drive the foreigners out of Italy. This last Chapter, which amounts to a passionate plea, must be set in the context of the times, and immediately, while it no longer remains unique or chimerical, it is the practical nature of the appeal that impresses. It is not a mere prophetic voice crying « Fuori i barbari », but a constructive scheme to this end, based on the realities of the political situation in Italy, and on developments in the rest of Europe. With the example of Cesare Borgia in mind, and the favourable parallel situation of Giuliano, Machiavelli thought that the latter, beginning from a new state, could expand it, and eventually eliminate, one by one, the other Italian states. It is likely that Machiavelli was thinking of Italian unity on the model of contemporary France, where the numerous principalities had become unified under one King of France¹⁹⁶. Giuliano, as King of Italy, would have continued to have ruled in the best interest of all his subjects, and hence Florence (where Machiavelli firmly believed only republican rule could succeed) would have retained something like the Savonarola Constitution. How precisely Machiavelli envisaged the confederation working we do not know, but perhaps he thought of some form of *parlement* on the French lines. In a letter of 10 August 1513 we can see the process by which Machiavelli reached his solution, for after discussing the political situation of Italy, and its exploitation by foreign powers, he came to the idea of a League against them¹⁹⁷:

¹⁹⁶ In one instance, though not directly parallel here, Machiavelli compared Cesare to the King of France, see his letter to Vettori, 25 August 1513, in his « Lettere », ed. Gaeta, p. 294, Letter 137. See also F. Catalano, « Scorci Machiavelliani », in *Nuova rivista storica*, XLIX (1965), p. 551, where Machiavelli's reasons for the wealth of the King of France is cited as being derived from « li molti stati che li sono pervenuti ». Cf. R. De Mattei, « M. e l'idea di Unità Nazionale Italiana », in *Cultura e Scuola*, III, no. 12 (Ottobre-Dicembre, 1964), pp. 72-82.

¹⁹⁷ For Parliaments in Italy see A. Marongiu, *Il Parlamento in Italia ...* (Milan, 1962), especially pp. 256-63. Machiavelli, « Lettere », ed. Gaeta, p. 279, Letter 135; cf. V. de Caprariis in his introduction to N. Machiavelli, *Il Principe ed altri scritti* (Bari, 1962), p. xxxiv. Both Bertelli and Felix Gilbert consider the last Chapter to have been added in 1516, see F. Gilbert, *Machiavelli e il suo tempo*, p. 246.

« ... Quanto alla unione delli altri Italiani [as a League], voi mi fate ridere: primo, perché non ci fia mai unione veruna a fare ben veruno; et se pure e' fussino uniti e' capi, e' non sono per bastare, sì per non ci essere armi che vagliono un quattrino, dagli Spagnuoli in fuori, et quelli per esser pochi non possono esser bastanti; secondo, per non esser le code unite co' capi; né prima moverà questa generazione un passo per qualche accidente che nasca, che si farà a gara a diventare loro ».

With the example of the League of Venice formed against France in 1495, Machiavelli had strong evidence to support what he said. The reduction of the states in Italy to one, was Machiavelli's solution, and only then could Italy be on anything like equal terms with France. It looked as though the process of reduction to one state in Italy was inevitable, as we shall see, and Machiavelli's *Prince* aimed at accelerating the process.

In Machiavelli's eyes the King of Italy would have been a symbol uniting the various regions and the various states, just as in France the King united the rival duchies. The French took a pride in being French, and the Italian King's subjects would have a similar pride in being Italian, while they would remain Florentines, Venetians and the rest. The French had become unified through their wars with the English, and it was clear to Italians from 1494, that French patriotism was a force to be reckoned with, and that the King of France, however ineffectual he was personally, gave the nation a sense of purpose and union. Machiavelli may have concluded that the wars between the French and Italian could bring Italy the same benefits. Associated with this, also, was Machiavelli's belief in a citizen army, which united under a King would be most effective¹⁹⁸. The problem in Italy lay in finding a suitable leader

¹⁹⁸ Cf. De Caprariis, p. xxxv, for a consideration of the work as intended to solve the military problems of Italy. For the importance of the 1494 war on Machiavelli's thinking see M. P. Gilmore, « Individualism in Renaissance Historians », in his *Humanists and Jurists* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), pp. 38-60; see also Cochrane, p. 126.

in the first place, and if one considers the field in 1513, who besides Giuliano was there?

Looking back over past history, in 1513, could not have been very encouraging for Machiavelli's hopes. At the turn of the fifteenth century it was Florence, by defying the Visconti, that had hindered the process of unification¹⁹⁹. The mid-century brought the Peace of Lodi and an attempt to guarantee that states would not be absorbed²⁰⁰. The consequence was the increase of princedoms. This was brought about by the major powers setting up satellite states, since they could not legitimately extend their frontiers. These satellite states were created particularly in the Romagna, where the spheres of influence of Florence, Venice and Milan (with Cotignola) clashed²⁰¹. Much of Cesare Borgia's success in this region came because the major powers were individually anxious to see their rivals overthrown in the Romagna. Again, Cesare was able to profit from the chaotic situation caused by the French capture of Milan, and his attack on the territory of Caterina Sforza (a satellite state of the Sforza of Milan) neatly synchronized with this²⁰². Both these aspects, by the way, are ignored entirely by Machiavelli in his *Prince*. Every major Italian power throughout the *Quattrocento* sought to dominate Italy, and after 1499 it looked as though Venice would. In 1509, when the King of France recklessly exposed his army to the Venetians by crossing the Adda River, a veteran Italian warrior in the French forces, Giangiorgio Trivulzio, is reported as saying:

¹⁹⁹ This is the thesis of H. Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance* (Princeton, 2nd ed., 1966).

²⁰⁰ G. Soranzo, *La Lega Italica (1454-55)* (Milan, 1924), and his « Studi e discussioni su la Lega Italica ... », in *Studi storici in onore di G. Volpe* (Florence, 1958), pp. 971-95.

²⁰¹ C. H. Clough, « The sources for the Biography of Caterina Sforza ... », forthcoming in *Atti e Memorie della Dep. di Storia Patria per le province di Romagna* (Bologna); for the Tuscany see D. L. Hicks, « The Education of a Prince: Ludovico il Moro and the rise of Pandolfo Petrucci », in *Studies in the Renaissance*, VIII (1961), pp. 88-102.

²⁰² Clough, cited in note 201.

« Io veggo oggi Veneziani signori d'Italia tutta »²⁰³. At that time, when Venice was faced with a coalition known as the League of Cambray, some Venetian senators wanted to try and win Italian sympathy and even support, by proposing that Venetian standards should have borne the words: DEFENSIO ITALIAE, though, in fact, Venetian forces limited themselves to shouting as their battle cry at Geradadda in the May of that year: « Italia e libertà »²⁰⁴. In the late 1513 events were favouring Venice once again, and Machiavelli, presumably, did not welcome the idea of Italy under Venice, perhaps because this would have meant the government of the whole of Italy in the interest of the Venetian patricians. Machiavelli's hope, slender though it must have been, was in a new prince — Giuliano. The Popes Alexander VI and Julius II had stressed the « Italianità » of their policies, and Pope Leo X might be persuaded to take these policies to their logical conclusion — a united Italy — if it was his family, and his brother, who was to unite it²⁰⁵. Moreover, the Venetians had many enemies in Italy, so that unification under them would have presented difficulties. A new prince, particularly Giuliano, was untried, and this could be converted to an asset, since it would not bring to the fore past feuds and suspicions.

Machiavelli in his famous letter of 10 December 1513, quoted above, claimed that he had behind him fifteen years of experience in politics to draw upon, and could use it in the service of the Medici. He wanted to put his experience to practical use in their interest and his own. Connected with

²⁰³ L. da Porto, *Lettere Storiche*, ed. B. Bressan (Florence, 1857), p. 49.

²⁰⁴ Cf. A. Battistella, « Il sentimento nazionale italiano nella Repubblica di Venezia », *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, lettere ed arti*, LXXXIV (1924-25), p. 230.

²⁰⁵ See the important study of V. Ilardi, « 'Italianità' among some Italian Intellectuals in the early sixteenth century », *Traditio*, XII (1956), pp. 339-67; for Machiavelli's attitude to Venice see F. Chabod, « Del Principe ... », in his *Scritti ...*, p. 72. Cf. F. Gilbert, « The Concept of Nationalism in Machiavelli's *Prince* », in *Studies in the Renaissance*, I (Austin, 1954), pp. 41-44, reprinted in F. Gilbert, *Machiavelli e il suo tempo*, trans. A. de Caprariis (Bologna, 1964). For Pius II in the tradition of « Italianità » see Natale cited in note 193.

this is something that is often given pride of place in considering Machiavelli — his realism²⁰⁶. One way of approaching the purpose of *The Prince* that is original, I think, is to examine those aspects of political life that were of fundamental consideration for a new prince in 1513, and for Giuliano, but which Machiavelli slurred over²⁰⁷. Important factors that account for Cesare's success in building his new state, and which Machiavelli plays down, have already been discussed. In fact, by May 1503 Cesare's new state was probably as large as it was likely ever to have been, and it probably would have collapsed, irrespective of Pope Alexander's death and Cesare's own severe illness. Cesare believed that he had to build as large a state as possible while Pope Alexander VI lived; this was reasonable, since he would have to defend it when his father died. But by 1503 it was the French, protecting Bologna and Tuscany, that prevented Cesare's expansion. Cesare in 1503 was turning to Spain, but the best that he could have hoped for was a stalemate. The French, indeed, gained ground in Siena, replacing Pandolfo Petrucci, and as the French army grew, subsequent to their withdrawing entirely from the Kingdom of Naples, it would not have been unlikely that the French would have attacked Cesare's state²⁰⁸. The Aragonese King of Naples had seen what kind of an ally Ferdinand of Spain was, when in 1501 he grabbed for himself the Kingdom. Cesare in 1503 could not have hoped for much better treatment, for the Pope's excommunication was the only weapon; in 1504, Cesare did receive exactly the kind of treatment from Spain that he ought to have expected. Machiavelli in the spring of 1503 had taken part in furthering a Tuscan League against Cesare. The Florentine Republic was tied to the coat-tail of the King of France, and

²⁰⁶ Cf. N. Machiavelli, *Teoria della politica: Testi scelti*, ed. A. Pasa (Treviso, 1958), where the editor begins with « Il Realismo di Machiavelli ».

²⁰⁷ Strauss does consider Machiavelli's « silences », but not against the political background, cf. McShea, p. 790. F. Chabod, « Del Principe ... », p. 74 on, has a section « Gli errori della valutazione storica del M. », but its orientation is different from that of the present article.

²⁰⁸ Clough, « N. Machiavelli, C. Borgia ... », pp. 131-32.

faced with enormous expenses resulting from the Pisan War, already in its ninth year, so that Machiavelli and the Florentine Government were pre-occupied by the threat of Cesare, and possible consequences²⁰⁹. But all this must have brought home to Machiavelli, the realist, the significance of power politics. He must have known that in the summer of 1503 the political situation was becoming increasingly unfavourable for Cesare. Hence Machiavelli's new prince in 1513 ought to have been instructed how to deal with the major powers so that he could build his new state. This was a serious problem that faced any prince, especially a new one, and as the new state grew would have become increasingly important. Moreover, there was the question of loyalty. By and large, and with some striking exceptions, the subject of any state in Italy, considered himself and his family before all else. In consequence, it was almost impossible for a prince to find loyal servants in moments of crisis. This effected the administration and the army. A judge of repute like Girolamo Vanni of Urbino, served his Duke, Guidobaldo da Montefeltro, until the arrival of Cesare, when he took service under him. After a month, when it appeared that Guidobaldo was recovering his state, Vanni changed sides again. When it became clear that Guidobaldo was defeated, Vanni turned back to Cesare²¹⁰. The same was true of the condottieri, witness the career of Gasparo Sanseverino, who likewise served Cesare for a time²¹¹.

In a theoretical work these problems might have found a place, but Machiavelli's *Prince* had that practical objective of trying to convince Giuliano, and to have placed almost insoluble obstacles in the way would have doomed the whole project. Machiavelli was realist and practical enough to select his material in order to make a convincing and persuasive case.

The object of considering the weaknesses, so to speak, of Machiavelli's work, has not been to deny the greatness of work,

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 140-41.

²¹⁰ Clough, « The Chronicle ... of G. Vanni », pp. 335-53.

²¹¹ C. H. Clough, « Gasparo Sanseverino ... », *Philological Quarterly*, XLIII (1964), pp. 276-80.

or its originality, but to show precisely where these lie. Machiavelli in his letter of 10 December 1513 was pleading desperately for a post, and he was doing so in his *Prince*, for in Chapter XX we find ²¹²:

«... Hanno e' principi, et praesertim quelli che sono nuovi, trovato più fede e più utilità in quegli uomini che nel principio del loro stato sono suti tenuti sospetti, che in quelli che nel principio erano confidenti ...».

which seems a blatant reference to Machiavelli's own situation. Giuliano, reading Chapter XXII would have seen, too, that Machiavelli aspired to play to him a part like that of Antonio da Venafro to Pandolfo Petrucci of Siena. This was an allusion that Giuliano would have recognized, since he knew the Petrucci family, just as he was familiar with Cesare Borgia, and had actually been with him for a time during his *impresa*, as Machiavelli himself would have known ²¹³. Machiavelli's project was a gamble, but the first step was for Machiavelli to obtain a post with Giuliano, preferably as secretary, to deal with the administration of Giuliano's new state.

No version of *The Prince* with a dedication to Giuliano de' Medici is known, and this implies that Machiavelli did not present the work to Giuliano, particularly as we have no evidence at all that hints at such a presentation. Various reasons may explain why Machiavelli changed his mind and did not present the work, as he intended in December 1513. Machiavelli was frustrated by Vettori at the initial stage of making contact with Giuliano, and Machiavelli wanted to present the work before Giuliano appointed other governors. Machiavelli

²¹² Machiavelli, « Il Principe », in *Tutte le opere*, ed. Mazzoni and Casella, p. 42; see also Clough, « Yet again ... », p. 219 for further evidence on this point.

²¹³ For Venafro see « Il Principe », p. 45; cf. Lodge, in *Machiavelli*, ed. De Lamar Jensen, pp. 30-31. Letter of Giuliano de' Medici to B. Petrucci (son of Pandolfo), 15 May 1513, in « Autografi Palatini », vol. 7, no. 89, Bibl. Nazionale, Florence, for the original. For Giuliano in Cesare's service see Fatini, p. xxxi, and for contact between the Medici and the Borgia see G. B. Picotti, *La giovinezza di Leone X* (Milan, 1927), p. 268.

wanted to be in control, so that he could put his scheme of social science into practice. Probably, too, Machiavelli saw the weakness of Giuliano's character, and that he was not suitable. Here was the fatal flaw, for a capable prince would have little needed a guide like Machiavelli, while one who did, would be likely to be ineffective. Furthermore, the papal foreign policy was tortuous and vacillatory, and it looked, at times, as though Giuliano's new state might not even be in the Papal States, for there were secret negotiations to obtain for him the papal fief of the Kingdom of Naples. As time went on, Machiavelli probably saw the idea as more hopeless. First, it became clear that the new state was to be less united and more complicated to administer, than Machiavelli had speculated. In January 1515 Machiavelli wrote to Vettori stressing what Giuliano ought to do, and, as we can see by following the career of Goro Gheri as governor of Piacenza, 1514-1515, Giuliano did exactly the opposite ²¹⁴. In any event, Ardinghelli's natural jealousy seems to have prevented Machiavelli from obtaining a post, and he was not going to present his work without the chance of a reward, apparently.

It had been Pope Alexander VI's death that had ruined the chances of Cesare's state, according to Machiavelli's analysis in *The Prince*. By one of those freaks of Fortune, which upset the most balanced judgements, it was Giuliano, and not his elder brother Pope Leo X, who died first, in March 1516. Between the time of Giuliano's death, and almost certainly before the end of the following September, Machiavelli presented his *Prince* to Giuliano's former rival, Lorenzo de' Medici. What is the evidence for such a presentation? The Florentine Riccardo Riccardi, who was collecting information concerning Machiavelli in the second half of the sixteenth century, gives us the following ²¹⁵:

²¹⁴ « Lettere di G. Gheri », cited in note 178 for Gheri's career; for the vacillations of Papal policy see note 223.

²¹⁵ R. Riccardi, « Zibaldone », MS. 785 (old no. N. I. 16), c. 56r, in *Bibl. Riccardiana*, Florence; printed by Alvisi in his ed. of Machiavelli, *Lettere*, p. xiv, where the reference to MS. 985 errs. The page is headed 'Dibitum', and is in

«... Niccolò Machiavelli presentò a (Lorenzo di) Pier de' Medici il suo libro del *Principe* e si abbatté a darliene in tempo che gli fu donato una coppia di cani da giugnere, dove e' fece più grata cera, et più amorevole rispose a quel che i cani gl' avrà dato, che a lui: dove se ne parti sdegnato, et ebbe a dire colli amici suoi, che lui era huomo da far congiure contro al principe, ma sibbene se loro si tenessero a' modi suoi che ne vedrebbero seguire di quelle, quasi volessi dire che il libro suo farebbe per lui la vendetta ...».

Admittedly this was written some sixty years after the event, but it may represent a tradition handed down from Machiavelli's friends. The dedication to Lorenzo is the only dedication that is known, and is found in all the earliest manuscript copies save one, and in all the early printings²¹⁶. This does not oppose, but rather supports, the idea of Machiavelli keeping his work to himself (apart from the portion seen by Vettori before the end of January 1514) until after the actual presentation, when copies could have been made from the presentation copy, over which Machiavelli would have had no rights, once he had given it. In the dedication Machiavelli does not address Lorenzo as *Duca*, which he probably would have done after September 1516, when Lorenzo was invested with the Duchy of Urbino. Hence it is most likely that the actual dedication was written between March and September 1516, and the presenta-

Riccardi's hand, perhaps written about 1580; cf. MS. 2503 (old no. S. III. 4), c. 20 in the Riccardiana for a letter in Riccardi's autograph. For Riccardi, b. 1548, see I. Lamio, *Vita ...* (Florence, 1748), especially in copy pressmark EEE III. 1000, of the Riccardiana, which has annotations indicating where his material is to be found in that Library.

²¹⁶ Machiavelli, *Il Principe*, ed. G. Lisio, for the early manuscripts, particularly pp. xliii-iv for Buonaccorsi's transcript. Buonaccorsi's letter to Bellacci (quoted below note 111) referst o those who wanted to « mordere et lacerare », which indicates the work was then in circulation, and « composta nuovamente »; see also note 232, for MS. Barb. Lat. 5093, which is also of the early period, and a study of its script by F. A. Thomson is shortly to be published. J. H. Whitfield is publishing a study on the manuscript that has no dedication in *Italian Studies*, XXII. The fact that Agostino Nifo de' Medici could publish a plagiarized version in Naples in 1523 suggests the diffusion of copies by then, see Lisio, p. xii.

tion of the work towards the end of this period²¹⁷. The dedication ends²¹⁸:

«... E se Vostra Magnificenza dallo apice della sua altezza qualche volta volgerà gli occhi in questi luoghi bassi, conoscerà quanto io indegnamente sopporti una grande e continua malignità di fortuna».

Machiavelli was still asking for a position suited to his talents.

How was it that Machiavelli having written it exclusively with Giuliano in mind, finally came to present it to Lorenzo? When Giuliano died, Lorenzo was in control of Florence, but he also inherited the « new state » that had been Giuliano's. Therefore in 1516 Lorenzo was also a « new prince », and as we shall see he was referred to as such then. Parma and Piacenza had been surrendered to the King of France in October 1515, as a consequence of the Battle of Marignano. The Pope had promised also to the King that he would restore Reggio and Modena to the Duke of Ferrara, but he did not do this, and sought to ensure by secret negotiations that he would never have to do so and, indeed, that he would recover eventually Parma and Piacenza. From mid-June 1516 Lorenzo governed Reggio and Modena. By August, it was commonly believed that he would be invested with the Duchy of Urbino and perhaps other territory, for in June he had launched an expedition and captured Urbino, while a few weeks before that he had failed to take Piombino²¹⁹. Here, once again, was the suggestion of the 'mixed state' of Machiavelli's *Prince*, with new

²¹⁷ E. Rossi, « Per la storia ... », pp. 193-95.

²¹⁸ Machiavelli, « Il Principe ... », in *Tutte le opere*, ed. Mazzoni and Casella, p. 3.

²¹⁹ Ridolfi, *Life*, pp. 163-64. For Lorenzo, see A. Verdi, *Gli ultimi anni di Lorenzo de' Medici* (1515-19) (Este, 1905), Borghesi, and A. Giorgetti, « Lorenzo, Capitano Generale ... », in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, series i, XI (1884), pp. 194-215, have useful information for the crucial years 1516-17. Reinhard ends in 1515, while A. Corsini, *Malattia e Morte di Lorenzo de' Medici ...* (Florence, 1913), covers the years 1517-19. A scholarly biography of Lorenzo would be of great interest and value. For Lorenzo ruling Modena and Reggio see T. Sandonni, *Modena sotto il governo dei papi* (Modena, 1879), pp. 28-34.

territory being added to an existing state. Once again the parallel with Cesare Borgia was valid, for Lorenzo, with his forceful character and military interests, both known to Florentines by 1516 from experience, was a candidate more likely to succeed in Machiavelli's project for his *Prince* than Giuliano had been ²²⁰.

The Florentine Lodovico Alamanni wrote to Alberto Pio, Ambassador of the Emperor, in a letter dated Rome, 27 December 1516, telling him of the problems of Italy, and how these related to the new prince, Lorenzo. In many ways Alamanni's ideas are very like those of Machiavelli in his *Prince*. For instance, Alamanni discusses the various forms of military service, and concludes ²²¹:

«... Ma le militie proprie che da buon capi sono assuefatte ad servir bene e buoni ordini, sendo tutte d'una patria, tutte si conoscono, tutte si amono et sono sempre ne' percioli unite...». [Alamanni applied this to Lorenzo's situation, and likewise his fiscal policy]...». E mi pare ... che ad tutti e principi nuovi sia dal' un canto per conservare e popoli necessario esser tenuti liberali et magnanimi ... Ma lo Ill.mo Duca nostro [Lorenzo] ha un modo di accumulare forse non mai più havuto, perché, con l'essere remuneratore et liberale, potrebbe adunare quel thesoro che volessi in dua modi ...»

of which the principal was from the papal treasury, and the second by drawing on the wealth of Florence. Alamanni went on to consider the territory of Modena and Reggio, which Duke Lorenzo held as Imperial fiefs, and he argued that the House of the Medici had fallen in 1494 because of the French:

«... Et quel che più ha fatto palese questo fato, è che mai poté questa Ill.ma Casa [of the Medici] resurgere se prima quella [of France] non fu cacciata d'Italia: et per questo sempre temerei che la grandezza di Francia in Italia non fusse la ruina de' S.ri Medici. Et

²²⁰ For Lorenzo compared by contemporaries to Cesare see Tommasini, I, pp. 93 n. 1, 104.

²²¹ Printed in Albertini, pp. 373, 374, 376.

parmi che hoggimai debbiamo esser chiari quanto l'amicitie loro sieno dannose et l'impromesse fallaci. Più utile sarebbe adunche intrattenersi la M.stà Cesarea che la Cristianissima ...».

Alamanni's object was to propose a league between Duke Lorenzo and the Emperor, aimed at France. The Emperor was the successor of Ferdinand of Aragon, and hence what Alamanni was suggesting was precisely what Cesare Borgia had been negotiating in 1503 in order to try and expand his new state.

Side by side with this letter, we should consider another work of Alamanni, which is a tract that has recently been entitled « Discorso sopra il fermare lo stato di Firenze nella devotione de' Medici ». The work is dated 25 November 1516, and was written in the form of a letter, perhaps addressed to one of the Guicciardini family ²²². The fundamental point was that Duke Lorenzo:

«... per nessuno conto faccia poco capitale dello stato fiorentino, perché senza epso ogni altra sua grandezza sarà come quella del Conte Hieronimo, del Duca Valentino ...».

Alamanni had claimed:

«... Se Sua Ecc.tia fa poco capitale dello stato fiorentino o spera senza epso doppo el Papa potersi mantenere reputatione o altro stato, ella si prepara manifestissima ruina; perché ogni sua maggior grandezza et maggiore stato ragionevolmente sarà in Italia, et dependerà dalla Chiesa, come è Urbino, e l'altre cose simile, che forse harà et facilmente non harà, per consentire malvolentieri e principi ultramontani che hanno parte in Italia tanta grandezza de uno Italiano ...».

Part of the value of this testimony is that Alamanni feared that Lorenzo might attempt to build a 'new state' and neglect Florence in the attempt. It was rumoured that Lorenzo wished

²²² *Ibid.*, pp. 365, 363.

to conquer Lucca and Siena, and to form a central State in Italy, stretching from the Adriatic to the Tuscan shores, and that eventually he would have himself made King of Tuscany²²³.

Machiavelli's presentation of his *Prince* to Lorenzo should be related to the 'new state' and not applied at Florence, as Busini and the rest, seeing it out of focus, thought. Perhaps hidden in Riccardi's story of the presentation is the fact that Machiavelli believed that Lorenzo might think the work applied to Florence, and that without Machiavelli to guide him, would wrongly apply the work, with fatal consequences. Consistently, as we have seen, Machiavelli believed that only republican government could succeed in Florence, and that any attempt to impose a «civil prince», or worse a tyrant, would result in misery and the prince's eventual downfall. This may have been Machiavelli's *vendetta*, which Riccardi did not understand. Machiavelli never explained himself, and perhaps his silence was motivated, in part, by this *vendetta*. Again, Machiavelli may have decided that explanation would not help his project, and merely do himself harm. In fact, within a few years Machiavelli did receive employment from the Medici, modest though this was, and far from his ideal of 1513-1516, and the misunderstanding by the Medici, and other Florentines, of the nature and purpose of *The Prince* cannot have hindered the reconciliation. Indirectly, and for the entirely wrong reasons, *The Prince* did eventually help the advancement of Machiavelli and what can be called his rehabilitation.

Machiavelli, once again, probably appreciated that Lorenzo was unlikely to be influenced by him in any way, or even read his *Prince*, let alone adopt it as his guide. The work was probably presented as a final gamble, perhaps even with the

²²³ Ridolfi, *Life*, pp. 163-64. See also Francesco Nitti (1872-1945), *Leone X e la sua politica* (Florence, 1902) and F. Nitti, «Documenti ... riguardanti la politica ...», in *Archivio della R. Soc. Romana*, XVI (1893), pp. 181-231, which deal with the Pope's vacillating policy. In 1515 the Pope had tried to negotiate with the King of France an alliance whereby Giuliano de' Medici was to receive the Kingdom of Naples, see the two letters of Canossa printed by T. Gar, cited in note 149, pp. 296-97, 306, 317.

hope that it would be misunderstood and indirectly benefit Machiavelli in consequence. In any event, Lorenzo was already governing Florence by autocratic means, and so the work could do little harm in giving Lorenzo the wrong ideas. It might have shifted Lorenzo's interest from Florence to his new state, and so saved Florence from political misfortunes; if Lorenzo misused the work, as already mentioned, it might serve as a *vendetta*, and hasten Lorenzo's downfall in Florence.

The presentation seems to have been done in haste, for Machiavelli did not bother to bring his treatise up-to-date, and so meet precisely Lorenzo's situation. The circumstances about mid-June 1516 were not what Machiavelli had anticipated in the months following the summer of 1513, when he was working on *The Prince*. In 1516 the nature of Lorenzo's new state was more complicated than Machiavelli had thought, but Machiavelli did not bother to make the necessary amendments, or even include the points that he had made in his letter of January 1515 to Vettori, and which were equally relevant for Lorenzo. The weakness of *The Prince* in the interest of making it persuasive has already been touched upon, and the two letters of Alamanni underlines this. Alamanni deals with Lorenzo's problem in its fullest context, and his solution to the problem of foreign intervention, was a League with the Emperor. Hence, Alamanni's two letters together, are something like *The Prince*, revised to meet precisely Lorenzo's situation in 1516, and since Alamanni was not seeking a post in the way Machiavelli had to, his assessment of the difficulty involved is more realistic than Machiavelli's in his *Prince*. Again, Alamanni's stress on the key position of Florence in determining Lorenzo's actions is interesting and suggestive. The fact that Lorenzo controlled Florence made Machiavelli's parallel with Cesare Borgia much less applicable, and his entire neglect of Florence almost inexplicable. One can perhaps suspect that if Machiavelli had had sufficient energy to have rewritten the work for Lorenzo's situation, he would have included Florence, and argued that it could best support the «new prince» if allowed to retain republican government.

With the foregoing picture of the change in motives behind Machiavelli's *Prince* over the years 1513 to 1516, it ought to

be possible to solve some of the textual problems of the work, and eventually prepare yet another edition. Chabod argued rightly from the *post* Giuliano text of 1516 or so, that the work had undergone only a few minor changes since it was first written in the period 1513-1514²²⁴. This was illustrated by references to facts that are true of 1516, but not of 1513-1514, about which Machiavelli was unlikely to have been misinformed, or not likely to have distorted²²⁵. Obviously, this kind of analysis of probabilities presents difficulties, though perhaps a more extensive consideration of these «revisions» should be made now²²⁶. Certainly Chabod seems correct in stating that the revisions were slight and do not really affect our consideration of the nature of the work.

So far, no portion of *The Prince*, in any form or draft, has been identified as autograph, and no manuscript, even, has been related directly to any autograph version. In fact, despite the intense interest in the work, there has been little consideration of the early manuscripts and early printed editions for many years, and here is a field for research of value, which needs to be re-explored. A hitherto unknown manuscript of *The Prince*, which has no dedication at all, will be the subject of a study to be published shortly. This manuscript can be tied, perhaps, to 1527 and Machiavelli's desire to publish in Rome an edition of his collected works²²⁷. A scholar is work-

²²⁴ I agree entirely with Chabod's dating of Machiavelli's writing of his *Principe*, and in this article I seek to use it as a basis. For this dating see F. Chabod, «Sulla composizione de 'Il Principe'», in his *Scritti* ..., pp. 139-93, especially pp. 142-45, see also his «Del Principe ...», in his *Scritti*, p. 34 n. 3. For an evaluation of Chabod's important work see F. Fido, «Chabod on M.», *Italian Quarterly*, VIII (1965), pp. 19-27; for Chabod himself see G. Sasso, *Profilo di F. Chabod* (Bari, 1961).

²²⁵ Without the 1513-14 draft this was the only possible method of reconstructing in part this version. Baron, «Machiavelli: The Republican Citizen ...», p. 238 suggests: «The lack of earlier manuscripts [than those of the 1516 version] suggests that Machiavelli in 1513 had not allowed his work to be circulated».

²²⁶ Chabod, «Del Principe ...», in his *Scritti*, p. 34 n. 3 does list many revisions, but these need to be linked with the stages of the text's development as suggested below.

²²⁷ The only detailed consideration of the relationship of the early manu-

ing on the elegant Barberini manuscript, and eventually we can hope to see again the Phillipps manuscript, which has been lost to sight for over a century, and its very existence is not known to many scholars²²⁸.

Tommasini, while misunderstanding the significance, one suspects, gave some evidence of what he considered was a second stage in the *post* Giuliano text of *The Prince*²²⁹. The point that he made is worth re-considering, particularly as we have had hints of Machiavelli's possible revisions to the *Mandragola*, and we should bear in mind the possibility of Machiavelli having made some changes to the text of *The Prince* after the presentation to Lorenzo in 1516²³⁰. For instance, there may have been minor changes made for a 1527 version (if this is what the manuscript without the dedication represents). Part of the problem of relating the early manuscripts to a text that changed over the years, and which is hypothetical at all stages, is that the manuscripts incorporate variants, often made unconsciously, by the various copyists. Such variants have nothing to do with Machiavelli, but they will be difficult to distinguish and attribute for what they are, until manuscripts can be classified by families, or related groups. Two considerations that have tended to be neglected, may bear significant clues: the provenance of each manuscript, and its date of transcription.

scripts and printed editions is that by Lisio, cited in note 111. Useful information concerning the manuscripts and editions is given by: Tommasini, cited in notes 13, 229; Mazzoni and Casella, cited in note 140; Gerber, cited in note 272. For the manuscript without a dedication see note 216. For evidence of Machiavelli revising several of his works in 1527 see above notes 281, 309.

²²⁸ For the Barberini MS. see note 216; the Phillipps MS. is now owned by W. H. Robinson of Pall Mall, London.

²²⁹ O. Tommasini, «Intorno alla nuova edizione del *Principe* ... curata dal Prof. G. Lisio. Nota», in *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei: Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, IX (1900), p. 322, and cf. Chabod, *Scritti*, p. 34 n. 3.

²³⁰ N. Machiavelli, *La Mandragola*, ed. R. Ridolfi (Florence, 1965), and its review in *The Time. Literary Supplement*, no. 3, 369 (22 September 1966), p. 882. See also: Lorenzo de' Medici, *Opere*, ed. A. Simioni (Bari, 2 vols., 1914), II, p. 333 no. 25, and R. Tissoni, «Per una nuova edizione della *Mandragola* ...», *G. S. L. I.*, CXLIII (1966), pp. 1-18.

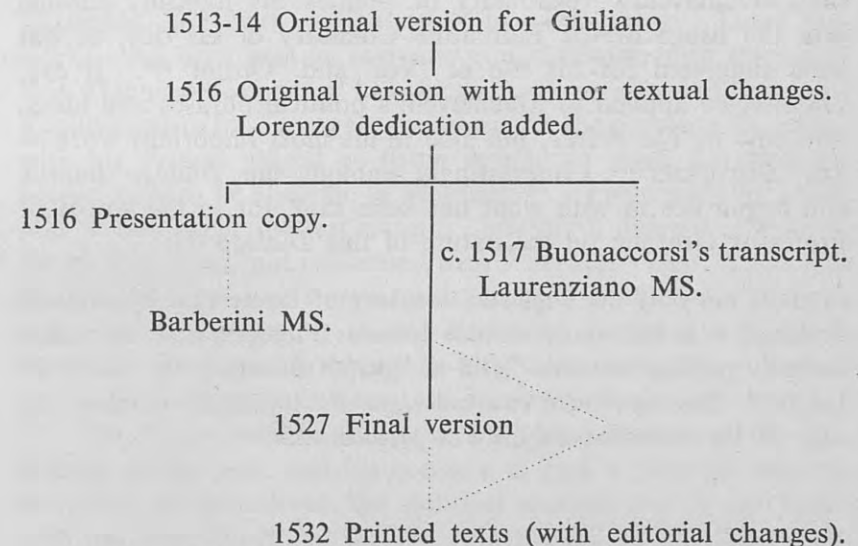
Buonaccorsi claimed that the text that he had copied was « composta nuovamente », and one can speculate that Buonaccorsi may have had access to Machiavelli's own copy. Hence, Buonaccorsi's transcript may represent Machiavelli's text as it was revised for presentation in 1516 (though including some of the copyist's errors)²³¹. Some have thought that the Barberini manuscript is the presentation copy, though probably it is only closely related to it²³². Possibly other manuscripts exist that can be related to Machiavelli's text as it existed for presentation. Of course, once we have a reconstruction of Machiavelli's text of 1516, it will be hazardous to attempt to trace the changes made to the version prepared for Giuliano, but all other ways to that first text appear barred. Once the 1516 text is established it will be possible to consider the subsequent changes, and see which of these can be attributed to Machiavelli himself. It is likely that Machiavelli came to intend his *Prince* as a general contribution to political philosophy, once the original purposes had failed. It may be in this spirit that he prepared the final version for publication, and that he then did little more than alter the title, and make some minor changes to the format, such as omitting the marginal tabulations to the text, and perhaps most significantly not including any dedication. The textual changes in the final stage will need careful consideration. However, and this must be stressed, the final version is inconsequential for determining the original motives for the composition of the work. One can suspect that the 1532 printings of Blado and Giunta can be related to Machiavelli's final version, though they include linguistic changes made by editor and printer, and may incorporate other alterations, such as the restoration of the dedication to Lorenzo de' Medici, which by 1527 Machiavelli had rejected. The various pirated texts are of interest in revealing the kind of alterations that editors of

²³¹ See note 111.

²³² Lisio, p. xlviij gives the evidence for it not being the presentation copy, but see also note 216.

the time made, and among these there is the Corsini manuscript, and probably the Gotha manuscript²³³.

A table of the hypothetical stages of development of the work, which may help classify the early manuscripts and printed editions, appears as:



In the first place Machiavelli wanted his work to be understood by Giuliano de' Medici, and we know that Machiavelli was interested in the problems of expressing oneself, particularly in Tuscan²³⁴. It is unlikely, accordingly, that Machiavelli would have used a complicated and abstract terminology. Ma-

²³³ The marginal tabulations are in Buonaccorsi's transcript and the Barberini MS. For the Corsini and Gotha MSS. see Gerber, cited in note 272, I, pp. 88-90, 94-97. For Nifo's version see note 216.

²³⁴ See note 186. H. Baron, « Machiavelli ... the date and place of his 'Dialogo' ... », in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, XXIII (1961), pp. 449-476, argues the case for ascribing it to the Autumn of 1515; see also Baron's review of Pincin's articles (cited in notes 110, 312) in *The English Historical Review*, LXXX (1965), p. 827, for evidence relating to the *Orti* and interest in linguistics, though Trissino's visit does not really help the dating on Machiavelli's work, since interest in Tuscan anticipated Trissino.

chiavelli's idea of *stato*, *ordine*, *legge*, and so on, should be seen against the background of his experience and motive in writing *The Prince*²³⁵. We have seen that Machiavelli almost certainly was by training a notary, and that he had experience, undoubtedly, in the Florentine Chancery, so that it is likely that Machiavelli's vocabulary of politics fits logically enough into the usage of the Florentine Chancery of his day, as has been suggested for his use of 'Voi' and 'Ordini'²³⁶. It can, likewise, be applied to Machiavelli's political phrases and ideas, not only in *The Prince*, but also in his most important work — *The Discourses*²³⁷. Interestingly enough the *Dialogo intorno alla lingua* ties in with what has been said, for in the words of Professor Grayson on the nature of this *Dialogo*²³⁸:

«... It is not only the linguistic treachery of Dante that Machiavelli deplores; it is his whole attitude towards Florence, and his fundamentally political outlook. Did he not put Brutus in the mouth of Lucifer? This republican *campanilismo* of Machiavelli sharpens the edge of his trenchant linguistic arguments ...».

²³⁵ Cf. L. Mossini, *Necessità e legge nell'opera del Machiavelli* (Milan, 1962), H. De Vries, *Essai sur la terminologie constitutionnelle chez M. (Il Principe)*, Doctoral Thesis, University of Amsterdam (1957); Baron, «Machiavelli: Republican Citizen ...», p. 226 n. 1; Cochrane, pp. 123-24; Clough, «Yet again ...», p. 216 n. 6; J. H. Hexter, «The Loom of Language ...», *The American Historical Review*, LXIX (1964), pp. 945-68; Gilbert, *Machiavelli and Guicciardini*, pp. 177ff; F. Chabod, *L'idea di Nazione* (Bari, 1962), pp. 145-53 for «Stato» as used by M., and pp. 153-86 for usage by others in the sixteenth century (this is not reprinted in Chabod's *Scritti* ...). L. von Ranke, *History of the Latin and Teutonic Nations* ..., trans. G. R. Dennis (London, 1909), p. 38. See also note 253.

²³⁶ Sarolli, p. 58; J. H. Whitfield, «Machiavelli's use of *ordini*», *Italian Studies*, X (1955), pp. 19-39, and his «The Politics of Machiavelli», *The Modern Language Review*, L (1955), pp. 433-43. Cf. Baron, «Machiavelli: The Republican Citizen ...», pp. 226-27 and Cochrane, p. 124 n. 47.

²³⁷ Cf. J. H. Whitfield, review of Gilbert, *Machiavelli and Guicciardini*, in *Italian Studies*, XXI (1966), p. 119.

²³⁸ Grayson, pp. 425-26.

III. 'THE DISCOURSES', AND MACHIAVELLI'S LAST DAYS

The progression from *The Prince* to *The Discourses* is justifiable, for both works refer to each other. These two works have been seen as mutually contradictory, with the result that Machiavelli appears like Janus, looking one way to plead Republicanism for Florence, and gazing in the opposite direction, with his *Prince*, judged as being written to teach Lorenzo de' Medici how to be absolute in Florence²³⁹. From what has been said in this paper the last claim is certainly a misrepresentation, for his *Prince* was not concerned with Florence. Here it remains to show that the two works form a united whole, with Machiavelli looking consistently in one direction. Unfortunately, while *The Discourses* are Machiavelli's weightiest work, they are that on which the greatest amount of research remains to be done.

The Prince and *The Discourses* both stem from Machiavelli's interest in the past, and his concern to find a practical remedy for what he considered the political misfortunes of his time. This has been illustrated for *The Prince*, and for *The Discourses* we cannot do better than consider the preface to the First Book of this work itself²⁴⁰:

«... ho deliberato entrare per una via, la quale, non essendo suta ancora da alcuno trita ... E tanto più, quanto io veggo nelle differenze che intra cittadini civilmente nascono, o nelle malattie nelle

²³⁹ Baron, «Machiavelli: The Republican Citizen ...», pp. 217-53, and his review of Clough, «Yet again ...», in *The English Historical Review*, LXXX (1965), p. 588. Cf. N. Machiavelli, *The Prince*, trans. G. Bull (London, 1961), pp. 19-20, introductory remarks by the translator; also the review of J. R. Hale, *Machiavelli ...* (London, 1961), in *The Times Literary Supplement*, no. 3090 (19 May 1961), p. 310.

²⁴⁰ Machiavelli, «I Discorsi», in *Tutte le opere*, ed. Mazzoni and Casella, pp. 56-57; see also Machiavelli's letter to Vettori, 10 December 1513, quoted below note 116, and his dedication letter to Lorenzo de' Medici, which prefaces *The Prince*, for similar claims concerning the use of the ancients in relation to *The Prince*.

quali li uomini incorrono, essersi sempre ricorso a quelli iudizii o a quelli remedii che dagli antichi sono stati iudicati o ordinati... Nondimanco, nello ordinare le republiche, nel mantenere li stati, nel governare e' regni, nello ordinare la milizia ed amministrare la guerra, nel iudicare e' sudditi, nello accrescere l'imperio, non si truova principe né repubblica che agli esempi delli antiqui ricorra... Volendo, pertanto, trarre li uomini di questo errore, ho giudicato necessario scrivere, sopra tutti quelli libri di Tito Livio... quello che io, secondo le cognizione delle antique e moderne cose, iudicherò essere necessario per maggiore intelligenza di essi, a ciò che coloro che leggeranno queste mie dichiarazioni, possino più facilmente trarne quella utilità per la quale si debbe cercare la cognizione delle istorie...».

Professor Gilmore, commenting on this, suggests a parallel²⁴¹:

«... Machiavelli, whose father was a lawyer, was impressed with the fact that in both medicine and law the particular case was assimilated to a general rule, and this general rule had been tested by many authorities of classical antiquity. Those who had contemplated the course of history had indeed found examples of virtue and vice, of wisdom and foolishness, but these had never been reduced to a system; there existed no systematic body of knowledge which could be compared to that accumulated by the commentators on the civil law and this was the focal point of Machiavelli's criticism of the humanist tradition — a tradition from which he had himself started, and upon which he had built, but which he found wanting as he reflected on the failure of the Italian political institutions to meet the shock of the northern invasions...».

The principal of imitation was not merely practiced by lawyers and medical men, but universal in its application in Renaissance Italy²⁴². Military generals consciously tried to

²⁴¹ M. P. Gilmore, «The Lessons of History», in his *Humanists and Jurists* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), pp. 27-28.

²⁴² See the examples given by Gilbert, *Machiavelli and Guicciardini*, pp. 38-40; for the practice of imitation in literary works see G. Santangelo, *Il Bembo critico e il principio d'Imitazione* (Florence, 1950).

adapt the tactics and strategy of classical times, just as Machiavelli turned to the idea of a citizen army like that of the Roman Republic was held to have had²⁴³. It is not only today that the hair-line has become of importance. Donato Giannotti tells us of the illustrious Venetian General, Girolamo Savorgnan (died 1529), who wore²⁴⁴:

«... secondo il costume degl'illustri Capitani di guerra [of classical times]... i capelli lunghi fin sotto alle orecchie, e... la barba rasa; il che a qualunque ha veduto le antiche immagini de' famosi guerrieri dell'età passata, è non ignobile esempio dell'antichità veneranda...».

Machiavelli was collecting together in his work examples of what had happened in the past in given political situations. Some may resent the word 'system' to describe what Machiavelli was doing, since it is not what he says himself. His own words are that he was writing «sopra tutti quelli libri di Tito Livio», and these have resulted in the conviction that Machiavelli was writing a commentary on Livy. One consequence of this conviction has been an attempt on the part of Professor Felix Gilbert to provide a table of concordance between Machiavelli's *Discourses* and Livy²⁴⁵. This table has been widely accepted in North America and in Italy²⁴⁶, and has done much

²⁴³ F. L. Taylor, *The Art of War in Italy: 1494-1529* (Cambridge, 1929), pp. 156, 176-79; see also pp. 185-87 for the carts designed like the chariots of Darius and used at the Battle of Ravenna in 1512, and for drawings of these based on Valturius see *Italian Illuminated Manuscripts, 1400-1550: Catalogue of an Exhibition held in the Bodleian Library, Oxford* (Oxford, 1948), p. 15, plate XV; *Bibl. Phillipica, n. s. Medieval, II. A Catalogue of Forty-four MSS. ...* (Sotheby Sale Catalogue, London, 29 November 1966), pp. 107-108, item 80, «Notitia Dignitatum».

²⁴⁴ D. Giannotti, *Opere ...*, (Milan, 4 vols., 1830), IV, p. 141.

²⁴⁵ F. Gilbert, «Composizione e struttura dei *Discorsi*», in his *Machiavelli e il suo tempo*, pp. 171-72; it is based on the table provided by J. L. Walker in his trans. and ed. Machiavelli, *The Discourses*, II, pp. 221-32.

²⁴⁶ Cf. S. Bertelli's note in his ed. Machiavelli, «Il Principe...», *Opere* (Feltrinelli, 1960), I, pp. 112-13: «il Gilbert costruiva con minuzioso e preciso quadro prospettico delle dipendenze del Machiavelli dal testo liviano».

to diffuse the idea of Machiavelli's work as a commentary before all else. This table, though, is particularly misleading, since, in Whitfield's words, «Machiavelli did not always chastely quote one Livy passage to a chapter as the table shows him doing»²⁴⁷. Whitfield goes on to demolish the table with a striking example:

«... In D. I. xxxi, Machiavelli is made by this table to refer only to Livy V, 8-11; but if we turn to read the chapter we shall find that he prefaces this citation with the remark, 'Uno esempio ci è...', and afterwards proceeds to bid a little higher for another dip into Livy: 'Non ci è più bello esempio che quello di Varrone'. This commendation is for an instance from Livy XXII, 61. After which he finishes the chapter with a reference to Livy VIII, 33. Now if I had to pick the principal of these three references, I know no reason why I should not choose the one which Machiavelli asserts as best (*non ci è più bello esempio*); but I should feel it necessary to record all Machiavelli's references to Livy if I were about to base conclusions on them about his handling of the *Discorsi* considered as a commentary to Livy. Gilbert instead reduces all the chapters to one reference which he claims to be the chief, and which yet may not be what Machiavelli said was best; and in this case he effaces from the record for D. I. xxxi all mention of either Livy XXII or Livy VIII ...».

A table showing all Machiavelli's references to Livy, and to other authorities, would be of inestimable value, but the idea of *The Discourses* as a commentary on Livy is just as false as Gilbert's table. So far there has not appeared a solid study of the genre of Renaissance commentaries. There was such a genre, and Boccaccio's *De Claris Mulieribus* may mark its origin. This work contains the biographies of women, but more besides, for it has the characteristics of the encyclopaedia and the *Speculum*. Above all else it examined the ancient myths and sought to show that beneath them were universal truths. In a sense the work is a commentary on classical myths, but it also instr-

²⁴⁷ J. H. Whitfield, «Discourses on Machiavelli VII», Gilbert, Hexter and Baron, in *Italian Studies*, XIII (1958), p. 23.

ucted the reader on what has been termed «the moral civilization of antiquity» as against Christian truths, and was meant to be a practical guide for life²⁴⁸. When Machiavelli was a child, the humanist Perotti was devoting his energy to Martial. His incomplete work was published shortly after his death under the title *Cornucopiae seu Latinae linguae commentarii*, and amounts to a dictionary arranged in the form of a complicated commentary on Martial. However irritating we may find it, the work was meant to be practical in its application²⁴⁹. The Renaissance mind was asking somewhat different questions from those that preoccupy today, and the answers, of course, were in keeping with the times. Machiavelli's work on Livy should be judged in this light, and in modern terminology one can say that he was presenting a system of social and political science to his contemporaries, for use.

A searching study of Machiavelli's idea of history, strange to say, remains to be made²⁵⁰. Meanwhile, we can readily admit that part of the problem of Machiavelli's idea of history is that it changed over the years, just as did that of Guicciardini²⁵¹. One of the consequences of not editing Machiavelli's works in chronological sequence, is that the change of his ideas is obscured. In any event, if we take only Machiavelli's mature writing, particularly his *Discourses* and his *History of Florence*, we can see that Machiavelli had come to accept an evolutionary concept of history. This, in the simplest terms, meant that primitive society consisted of groups of savages, each group under a king, and that there was gradual development to the zenith of civilization exemplified by the Italian cities, and Flo-

²⁴⁸ Introduction by G. A. Guarino to his trans. G. Boccaccio, *Concerning famous women* (London, 1964), p. x.

²⁴⁹ R. P. Oliver, ed. N. Perotti, *The Enchiridion of Epictetus* (Urbana, Illinois, 1954), pp. 11-12.

²⁵⁰ Some slight studies are listed in A. Norsa, *Il Principio della Forza...* (Milan, 1936), p. 143, while F. Schevill's «Machiavelli» in his *Six Historians* (Chicago, 1956) is not satisfactory.

²⁵¹ Cf. Gilbert, *Machiavelli and Guicciardini*, pp. 115 ff, and also see M. Martelli, «Le due redazioni delle *Laurentii Medicei Vita* di N. Valori», in *La Bibliofilia*, LXVI (1964), pp. 235-53.

rence above all ²⁵². Given Aristotle's *Politics*, known directly in translation, or indirectly through the medieval thinkers, the evolutionary idea was not extraordinary; the nature of primitive societies of the New World was common gossip, and gave the picture of primitive society more colour. This concept of evolution or progress was something quite apart from Machiavelli's cyclic concept, of which much has been written, though often in isolation ²⁵³. In the broad sweep of evolution there could be detected numerous cycles, which retarded evolution, but could not entirely prevent it. In terms of government the evolutionary process was from Kings, or Princes, to Republics. There were various kinds of princely government, and various kinds of republics, much like Aristotle's classification, and there was what can be called a ladder of perfection within the two broad classifications: the government by a «civil» prince was the most perfect of the first category, while what can be termed «repubblica mista» was virtually paradise on earth, for which Machiavelli turned to the example of Rome, where ²⁵⁴:

«... E tanto le fu favorevole la fortuna, che, benché si passasse dal governo de' Re e delli Ottimati al Popolo, per quelli medesimi gradi e per quelle medesime cagioni che di sopra si sono discorse; nondimeno non si tolse mai, per dare autorità agli Ottimati, tutta l'autorità alle qualità regie; né si diminuì l'autorità in tutto agli Ottimati per darla al Popolo; ma rimanendo mista, fece una repubblica perfetta ...».

²⁵² A. Pasa, cited in note 206, has sought to arrange selections from M.'s writings to illustrate the development of thought. See also G. S. Rousseau, «The Discorsi (sic) of Machiavelli: History and Theory», in *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale*, IX (1965), pp. 143-61, and K. von Vorys, «The Political Sociology of Machiavelli», *Bucknell Review*, IX (Lewisburg, Penna., 1961), pp. 318-32.

²⁵³ B. T. Wilkins, «Machiavelli on History and Fortune», in *Bucknell Review*, VIII (1959), pp. 225-45; Cochrane, p. 124; Gilbert, *Machiavelli and Guicciardini*, pp. 40-43; cf. also R. Palmarocchi, «Il concetto di Fortuna» in his *Studi Guicciardiniani* (Florence, 1947), pp. 31-58 and Patch cited in note 171.

²⁵⁴ Machiavelli, «I Discorsi», in *Tutte le opere*, ed. Mazzoni and Casella, p. 62.

Perfection in government was relative, since it depended on where a society was in the evolutionary process, and the problem lay in fitting the right government to the society concerned. Florentines, from 1494 in particular, had become alert to the difficulty of matching government to society in order to produce the greatest satisfaction for the whole of the society. Machiavelli thought that he could see some general principals that served as a guide in determining the correct government for a society. The most important of these, was that he believed that a city used to being governed by prince could continue to be so ruled, provided that the prince ruled in the interest of all his subjects, as a 'civil' prince; otherwise, opposition and factions would result, and bring civil war and ultimately the republican form of government. Machiavelli seems to have thought that, in the long run, the development from government by prince to a republican form was inevitable, as the society progressed, but he did believe that a good prince, that is a 'civil' one, could retard the process. On the other hand, Machiavelli was equally convinced that once a city was used to republican government, there were no means by which the evolutionary process could be reversed, and the society of the city would never accept the rule of a prince, even if he ruled as a 'civil' one.

The object of Machiavelli's *Discourses* was to provide the laws of political evolution. He buttressed the proof of every law with reference to Livy, which was the best evidence available, and the one which his Florentine contemporaries would have most readily recognized and approved ²⁵⁵. The work is a com-

²⁵⁵ Gilbert, *Machiavelli and Guicciardini*, pp. 38-40. Livy, as a historian of Republican Rome, was of particular interest to the Florentine «civic» humanists, see Baron, *The Crisis ...* (2nd ed., 1966), p. 70; see also F. Gilbert, «B. Rucellai and gli Orti Oricellari», in his *Machiavelli e il suo tempo*, pp. 7-58, illustrates how Bernardo Rucellai and his friends were discussing many of the same problems covered by «The Discourses» as early as 1502-1506; Cochrane, p. 128. Livy was widely studied in Italy, and there exists in the Bibl. Nat., Paris, his printed edition of Rome, 1472, with the marginal notes of Antonio Petrucci Conte di Policastro, see E. Perito, *La Congiura dei Baroni e il Conte di Policastro* (Bari, 1926), pp. 59-61. A study of Renaissance interest in Livy will be of considerable value, and J. H. Whitfield is currently working in this field; meanwhile see B. L.

mentary on Livy to demonstrate these laws, and to convince Florentines, above all, that they existed. The work was for practical application, just as lawyers applied the body of law that they had accumulated. It is here, then, that we have what can be termed a system. Anyone wishing to use the work had only to make one judgement: he had to decide at what point of evolution the society of interest was. Since the system was for contemporary Italian society, and for individuals familiar with that society, Machiavelli presumably did not think there would be serious danger of the judgements being misinformed. To sum up, *The Discourses* were meant by Machiavelli to be the equivalent of Aristotle's politics, brought up to date for practical application in Renaissance Italy, and particularly in Florence.

Once again we come back to there being no conflict between *The Prince* and *The Discourses*. The former fits into Machiavelli's general evolutionary idea of history, and in no way clashes with the laws deduced by Machiavelli in his *Discourses*. Indeed, *The Prince* is really a part of Machiavelli's scheme of social science, devised for application to a particular problem. *The Prince* is an example — the unique one — of Machiavelli applying the laws that he had deduced to a given situation. It was the one opportunity that Machiavelli had of testing his laws in practice, apart from his limited powers and experience in the Florentine chancery. In the case of Giuliano's new state, ultimately inherited by Lorenzo, the cities and territories concerned, were used to princely rule, and hence 'civil' rule by a new prince would have maintained the situation.

In terms of Florence, for Machiavelli, the Savonarolan Constitution, as modified in 1498 (but excluding the 1512 reform in favour of the aristocrats) was his idea of « una repubblica mista »²⁵⁶. Machiavelli had helped it to work for fourteen years, and remained loyal to its perfection, for Florence, through-

Ullman, « The post-mortem adventures of Livy », in his *Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (Rome, 1955), pp. 55-79.

²⁵⁶ For this Constitution see Gilbert, *Machiavelli and Guicciardini*.

out. Any weaknesses that existed he probably attributed to external influences, and the residue of Medici factional interests. In this, Machiavelli, probably unconsciously, was really backing his own interest, and in this he can be paralleled with Francesco Guicciardini, who favoured aristocratic government, since this gave him and his family greater opportunity²⁵⁷. One of the weaknesses of the Renaissance tracts and treatises on politics, especially the Florentine ones, is that the authors could not detach themselves from the political scene. The solution that each one presents often tended to further the personal and family interest of its author. In this they reflect the intensity and the complexity of Italian political life, and help to explain Machiavelli's own work on the subject.

The thorniest of all Machiavelli researches is that related to the text of *The Discourses*. It has been shown how Machiavelli's purposes for *The Prince* changed over the years, and resulted in some modifications to the text. Investigation along similar lines might help us to appreciate most fully the motivation behind *The Discourses*, and lead to a deeper understanding of the nature of the work. We are immediately faced with the fact that we have not the autograph text of the work to guide us. Moreover, rather remarkably, there is very little external evidence. We can perhaps best begin by tying Machiavelli's interest in Livy with his early training, and with Florentine Civic Humanism. Machiavelli's father was devoted to the classics, as we have seen, and we know that he received printed sheets of Livy, in return for compiling an index of names to the text; young Niccolò took these sheets to be bound²⁵⁸. Apparently in 1503 Machiavelli wrote his *Del modo di trattare ...*, and quoted *in extensio* a portion of Livy²⁵⁹. There is the tradition that some ten years or so later Machiavelli « lectured upon the subject of *The Discourses* » in the Rucellai Gardens of Florence.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 95 ff; also R. Palmarecchi, « Stato e governo nel pensiero di F. Guicciardini », in his *Studi Guicciardiani*, pp. 9-30.

²⁵⁸ B. Machiavelli, *Libro di Ricordi*, pp. 14, 35, 222.

²⁵⁹ Baron, « Machiavelli: The Republican Citizen ... », pp. 244-45, where evidence concerning Machiavelli's interest in Livy in 1500 and 1512 is also given.

This, however, has developed from a misunderstanding of the source, Nerli, who merely says that the assembly in the Rucellai Gardens exercised itself particularly in the reading of histories, and on these histories and at the instance of the participants Machiavelli wrote his work. There is no hint that Machiavelli lectured on Livy, or on any other text ²⁶⁰.

There is no reference to *The Discourses* in Machiavelli's *epistolario*, or in documents of the period 1513 to 1519. The text of *The Prince* as presented in mid-1516, probably, has the reference to «Io lascerò indrieto el ragionare delle republiche, perchè altra volta ne ragionai a lungo», and this is usually taken to refer to *The Discourses* ²⁶¹. Of some interest is the fact that the text of *The Discourses* refers to *The Prince* on one occasion by its title *De Principati*, and on another as *Principe*, so that the question of the revision of the text of *The Prince* may have some bearing on dating the respective passages of *The Discourses* ²⁶². Otherwise, with one important exception, we have only the internal evidence of the text of *The Discourses* to assist us with the chronology of its composition.

The broadest *termini* for the dates of the composition are commonly taken to be 1513 and 1519. The former date, essentially, is inferred because Machiavelli had little spare time before then; the latter date is fixed because the dedication letter of the work, is addressed to Cosimo Rucellai, and written as though he was alive. Rucellai died in 1519, and logically it is thought that the dedication letter would have been written only when Machiavelli had finished his work. There have been several ingenious interpretations of the text seeking to establish the chronology of portions of the text, all within the limits 1513-1519 ²⁶³. Machiavelli cites examples drawn from contemporary

²⁶⁰ Whitfield, «Discourses...», p. 25; cf. E. Rossi, «Per la storia...», p. 197. For the evidence of M. as one of the members of the *Orti* see P. O. Kristeller, *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* (Rome, 1956), pp. 299 n. 51, 300 n. 52, and Baron, pp. 236, 239 n. 2.

²⁶¹ Machiavelli, «Il Principe», in *Tutte le opere*, ed. Mazzoni and Casella, p. 5, cf. ed. Burd, pp. 179-80 and Baron, «Machiavelli: The Republican Citizen...», p. 231 n. 1; Ridolfi, *Life*, p. 294 n. 10.

²⁶² There are three references in Machiavelli, «I Discorsi», *Tutte le opere*,

events (as he does in *The Prince*) in order to demonstrate his laws. All these references can be dated to 1517 at the latest (with one ambiguous exception) ²⁶⁴. The hypothesis that at present leads the field, dates the work to 1516-1517. The arguments for this, are that it is a more profound work than *The Prince*, and hence came after it, while expounding propositions already written in the earlier work between 1513 and 1514; the two works are seen as fundamentally opposed in sentiment ²⁶⁵. The present paper has sought to show the mistake of the latter assumption, and, indeed, there is no solid case for dating *The Discourses*. An abortive attempt was made ten years ago to try and date a portion of the work that depended on Polybius' *History*, Book VI, from the evidence of the availability of a Latin text of this to Machiavelli ²⁶⁶. Recently an interesting study has considered some apparent inconsistencies in Machiavelli's laws, and suggested a development in Machiavelli's thought over the years, though, once again, there is no solid ground for precisely dating these inconsistencies ²⁶⁷. All these methods of considering the problem of the composition are admirable, though so far only the dating of contemporary events has been exhaustively pursued, and there has been little attempt to inter-relate the various discoveries. We still do not know

ed. Mazzoni and Casella: (i) II.i, «nostro trattato de' Principati», (ii) III.xix, «nostro trattato sopra questa materia», (iii) III.xlii «nostro trattato De Principe», pp. 138, 229, 257, respectively.

²⁶³ For Machiavelli having no time prior to 1513 see Baron, «Machiavelli: The Republican Citizen...», p. 245; for Rucellai's death see Tommasini, II, p. 209 n. 00.

²⁶⁴ Pincin, «Sul testo... [II]», pp. 85-88 gives a list, as does Walker in his ed. of Machiavelli's *Discourses*, II, table xiv, pp. 309-10, and p. 310 no. 20 for the ambiguous instance, which some have thought refers to 1521, though Walker is almost certainly right in insisting on 1515.

²⁶⁵ Baron, «Machiavelli: The Republican Citizen...», pp. 217-53, particularly p. 239; cf. Cochrane, pp. 132-36.

²⁶⁶ J. H. Hexter, «Seysssel, Machiavelli and Polybius VI: The Mystery of the Missing Translation», in *Studies in the Renaissance*, III (1956), pp. 75-96; Cochrane, pp. 134-35; see also note 83.

²⁶⁷ G. Sasso, «Intorno a due capitoli dei Discorsi...», *La Cultura*, IV (1966), pp. 179-212.

if Machiavelli had access directly to the writings of Polybius in Latin²⁶⁸. We still require a table of all Machiavelli's references to Livy and other sources, as already said, and we need some discussion of the actual texts, of Livy and the rest, that Machiavelli used, for corruptions may have affected Machiavelli's work, just as such corruptions should enable us to detect the text that Machiavelli used²⁶⁹.

Machiavelli's Preface to Book I tells us that he judged it «necessario scrivere, sopra tutti quelli libri di Tito Livio che dalla malignità de' tempi non ci sono stati intercetti»²⁷⁰. Father Walker's table gives the impression that Machiavelli's Three Books of *The Discourses* only cover the First Decade of Livy's *History*, and so it is sometimes said that Machiavelli's work is incomplete. It seems that once again Father Walker's table is misleading, for Machiavelli's *Discourses* do cover the period and events narrated in the rest of Livy's known *history*. There is no justification in believing that Machiavelli did not complete his work in terms of its relationship to the scope of Livy²⁷¹.

²⁶⁸ For Polybius see notes 83 and 266.

²⁶⁹ For the sources see Walker, II, table XIII, pp. 271-305; Cochrane, pp. 129-130. For the possible printed text of Livy used by M. see C. H. Clough, «Indexers», *The Times Literary Supplement*, no. 3282 (21 January 1965), p. 47. Bertelli, «Noterelle ... I», p. 549, considers it likely the sheets Bernardo received (see above note 258) while printed were never actually published, since no copy of such an edition now exists, though this is not entirely convincing. Certainly we need to know more of the printed texts and manuscripts of Livy, as they existed during the Renaissance.

²⁷⁰ Machiavelli, «I Discorsi», in *Tutte le opere*, ed. Mazzoni and Casella, pp. 56-57.

²⁷¹ Walker, II, table II, p. 222, is headed: «The Period covered by Livy's First Decade, 753-293 B. C.»; cf. C. Pincin, «Le Prefazioni e la Dedicatoria dei *Discorsi* ...», in *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, CXLIII (1966), p. 82 «al terzo libro, ultima parte di questa prima deca (D.III.i, p. 196) altre parti dovevano seguire». But Walker's tables III-IV indicate the *Discorsi* as referring to events mentioned in the books succeeding the First Decade of Livy. The reference to «ultima parte ...» may be a relic of Machiavelli's first plan. As printed in 1531 the work bore the title «Discorsi sopra la prima deca di T. Livio». This may not have been Machiavelli's title, however, which may have been simply «Discorsi» (cf. the references to the work by Guicciardini and others, see the text to notes 286, 295). The editor may have misunderstood

To some extent it is the tinkering of successive editors that has bemused us, for they certainly have adulterated Machiavelli's text. When both Blado and Giunta independently printed the work in 1531, the dedication letter addressed to Zenobi Buondelmonti and Cosimo Ruscellai was placed at the end of the Third Book, that is, at the end of the entire work; now it is always printed before the Preface to the First Book, without a warning as to what change has been made²⁷². There is no certainty that the dedication letter itself must have been written when Rucellai was alive, and it was not uncommon for the dedication letter to be written before the work it was to accompany was finished. Aenas Silvius Piccolomini in the winter of 1457 began writing his *History of Bohemia*, and he wrote a dedicatory letter to Alfonso of Aragona before the work was finished, and he used this after King Alfonso's death in June 1458, without modification²⁷³. We have it on the impeccable authority of Petrarch that his own tutor would begin by writing a title, follow it with a preface, which Petrarch affirms ought to have been written last, and then turn his mind to some other literary project, without writing any text at all²⁷⁴. The Brera Library in Milan has a splendid manuscript of Berlinghieri's *Geography*, which has the dedication «Allo Illustrissimo Federigo Duca d'Urbino». Despite this, Federigo never actually received the work because he died before it was completely written, and Berlinghieri tells us that he decided to dedicate the work to the Sultan Zizim, brother of Baized II²⁷⁵. Pietro

Machiavelli's intentions and given the fuller title (cf. the text above note 302 for Gaddi's rearrangement).

²⁷² E. Rossi, «Per la storia ...», pp. 198-99: «Il Blado e il Giunta hanno stampato in coda al terzo libro la lettera dedicatoria al Buondelmonti e al Rucellai. È da credere, che tale fosse la sua collocazione nel manoscritto autografo ...»; G. Mazzoni, «Sul testo dei 'Discorsi' ...», in *Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, Classe Scienze morali*, series vi, IX (1932), p. 54. Cf. Pincin, cited in note 271, does not mention this position of the Dedication Letter, which is that found in the Harley MS, see A. Gerber, *N. Machiavelli: Die Handschriften ...*, ed. L. Firpo (Turin, 1962), I, p. 32.

²⁷³ R. J. Mitchell, *The Laurels and the Tiara ...* (London, 1962), p. 119.

²⁷⁴ M. Bishop, *Petrarch and his World* (London, 1964), p. 19.

²⁷⁵ G. Franceschini, *Figure del rinascimento urbinato* (Urbino, 1959), p. 137.

Bembo falsified the dedication of his *Prose* in order to give the impression that he had written it before he had²⁷⁶. Machiavelli wrote a dedication to his *History of Florence*, and presented the work, before it was finished²⁷⁷. Varthema, in the dedication letter of his travel book, refers to Duke Guidobaldo of Urbino as alive, yet if the letter was written when the work was finished (as the dedication itself claims) the Duke had been dead for several months²⁷⁸. Perhaps even of more importance, there is no justification for excluding the possibility of Machiavelli making changes to the text of *The Discourses* after he had written the dedication letter²⁷⁹. We have seen that in the case of *The Prince* there were several stages of development, and even if the dedication letter of *The Discourses* was written by 1519, this does not prove that the text we now have of the whole work is precisely as it was in 1519. Truly there is external evidence that Machiavelli himself revised the work in part, for in 1531 Giunta wrote²⁸⁰:

« ... Ma hauendo inteso da alcuni suoi amici, & domestici, che esso [Machiavelli] non bene si satisfaceua di quelli [Discorsi], & haueua intentione di ridurre i lor capi à minor numero, & alcuni altri meglio trattare, (di che ne appare alcuni segni di sua mano nel primo originale) ... ».

²⁷⁶ C. Dionisotti, ed. P. Bembo, *Prose e Rime* (Turin, 1960), p. 73 n. 1.

²⁷⁷ The History ends in 1492, though in Book VIII, Chapter 18, Machiavelli promised to deal with Ludovico Sforza and the ruin of Italy, but never did this, see N. Machiavelli, *Istorie Fiorentine*, ed. P. Carli (Florence, 2 vols., 1927), II, p. 193.

²⁷⁸ L. de Varthema, *Itinerario ...* (Rome, 6 Dec. 1510); the Dedication Letter is to Agnesina Feltre Colonna. For evidence concerning the antedating of the Letter see R. C. Temple's introduction to his trans. (London, 1928), p. lxxxv; also see E. Casamassima, « Ludovico degli Arrighi, ... copista dell'*Itinerario* del Varthema », *La Bibliofilia*, LXIV (1962), pp. 117-62, especially p. 123.

²⁷⁹ Cf. Baron, « Machiavelli: The Republican Citizen ... », pp. 238-39, which accepts the case for *The Prince*, but does not consider it for *The Discourses*.

²⁸⁰ For this edition see Gerber, II, pp. 10-11, where the Dedication Letter of Giunta to Ottaviano de' Medici is reprinted; the Letter is also in Pincin, « Sul testo ... [II] », pp. 163-64.

Just as in 1513 to 1518 Machiavelli turned to political science for consolation and profit, so he could have done in 1527, when once again he was deluded in his hopes. In the case of *The Prince* we have seen that the author's revisions did not include new facts to any significant extent, and the same could be true of his revisions of *The Discourses* in 1527. These words of Giunta are often regarded as special pleading, for he was eager to sell his edition of the work, in competition with that of his rival Blado of Rome. Certainly Blado in his text, which appeared a few weeks before that of Giunta, had claimed²⁸¹:

« ... Quanto à la scrittura io mi terrò sempre giustificato con l'originale di propria mano de l'Autore, donde per benifitio di Mons. Reuerendissimo de' Ridolfi, Padron mio, si sono fedelissimamente cauati ... ».

Again, in the *Errata-corrige*, the reader is warned that certain errors of names and facts exist in the text « dal non esser l'opera riveduta, di che ne fa fede la finestra lasciata, per il computo de li tre iugeri e sette once, a carte LXVIJ ». Hence it is thought that Giunta did not want to be outdone, and felt that he too had to prove that he had used the autograph. It is likely that Giunta did want to impress the public with the authenticity of his text, but he does not say that he used the autograph, or even that he saw it. Either claim would have been more effective than what he did say, and equally hard to disprove. It does really look as though he wrote what he thought was true, and that there were reports of Machiavelli revising his work. The implication is that he did not finish this revision, and that it was carried out towards the end of his life, though this is not stated.

Giunta did not pirate Blado's text, but used an independent transcript of the original, probably, and we know that several

²⁸¹ Gerber, II, pp. 8-9; Pincin, « Sul testo ... [II] », pp. 161-63, and see pp. 112-113 for the dispute between the printers over printing rights; Ridolfi, *Life*, p. 331 n. 2. For the *Errata-corrige* see also Mazzoni, « Sul testo dei 'Discorsi'... », p. 45.

such were in circulation ²⁸². Giunta was in Florence and therefore in an excellent position to sound Machiavelli's acquaintances. It is certain that Giunta saw Blado's printed text before his own edition was printed, and made some comparison of the two texts, and he tells us ²⁸³:

«... LETTORE, quanto trouerai di diuersità nel Cap. XVII. del Terzo libro da gli altri Impresso, tutto è stato da noi coretto, secondo l'autorità di T. Liuius ...».

Evidently, Giunta made some minor corrections to his text, where he thought Blado's an improvement, and this complicates, in some degree, the relationship of the two printed texts and their sources. Moreover, it appears that both Blado and Giunta, independently, improved the text with editorial amendments, Blado particularly where Machiavelli referred to the Church²⁸⁴. None of the textual changes, however, is considerable.

The Blado and Giunta texts are the basis of all the subsequent early printings, it seems, and are the only early texts that can be dated with precision. We know that as early as 1530 manuscripts of Machiavelli's *Discourses* were in circulation. Filippo Strozzi wrote a letter from Rome on 23 October 1530, to Francesco Vettori in Florence, which ends with the postscript: «E discorsi del Machiavelli vedete che venghino, che sono desiderati assai, e in breve così torberanno»²⁸⁵. At some time, too, before the first printed edition of Blado, Claudio Tolomei wrote a letter (now known without the date) from Bologna to Antonio Allegretti²⁸⁶:

²⁸² For these transcripts see the letter printed below note 286. Pincin, «Sul testo ... [II]», pp. 161-63, reprints the Dedication Letter of Blado of 1531, where mention is made of those who «a guisa della favolosa cornice, de le lor spoglie come di proprie penne si abbellivano», which suggests partial and distorted versions existed.

²⁸³ Colophon notice, reprinted in Gerber, II, p. 11; see also Pincin, «Sul testo ... [II]», pp. 111-12.

²⁸⁴ Pincin, «Sul testo ... [II]», pp. 108-109, 111-12; Mazzoni, «Sul testo ...», p. 45.

²⁸⁵ Pincin, «Sul testo ... [II]», p. 102.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

«Hor potete a modo vostro dar fuore i discorsi del Machiavello; la prima copia n'ha partorite de l'altre: non istate più in sul tirato. Non si può hoggimai maritarla per pulzella: e poi che si sono scoperti altri figliuoli, che bisogna che voi teniate il vostro nascosto? e massimamente essendo lui, per quanto io credo, il primogenito. Io non so s'io mi debbo ricordarvi, che già in Roma mi prometteste che come n'uscivan fuore altre copie, o pur una sola, voi non mi negareste la vostra. Ricordatevene voi? Direte forse: Ove son queste altre? Hanne una Francesco Bandini, Baccio Cavalcanti n'ha l'altra, M. Emilio Ferretto ha la terza; e qui in Bologna ho trovato non so che sconciatura, perché M. Girolamo Mandoli, nostro cittadino, n'ha XXXVIII discorsi soli. Che ve ne pare? èssi affrettata in sì poco tempo la meretrice? pensate, vi prego, quel ch'ella farà per l'avvenire! Sì che, se volete mantenermi la fede, e innanzi ch'ella si divolghi, farmela vedere, mi sarà caro; altrimenti sarò forzato, corrompendo qualche sua fantesca, procacciare anch'io di haverne un figliuolo, o almeno godermela qualche giorno. State sano. Di Bologna».

Today very few manuscripts of even portions of *The Discourses* exist, and there are only two of the complete text, neither of which can be identified with any manuscript mentioned in Tolomei's letter. The earliest of the existing manuscripts of the full text is of the first half of the sixteenth century (Harleian MS, British Museum, London), while the other is of the mid-eighteenth century²⁸⁷. The Harleian manuscript can be used to demonstrate the textual editing of the printed texts of Blado and Giunta, previously discussed²⁸⁸. But the fundamental problem is to establish the relationship of these three early texts with the original in Machiavelli's hand, which we have seen by 1531 was owned by Cardinal Ridolfi. Blado's text claims to be direct from the original, and this claim seems acceptable. We know that Cardinal Ridolfi formed a distinguished library, and may have acquired some of Machiavelli's literary papers through Giovanni Gaddi, to whom Blado dedic-

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 72-74. See also note 306.

²⁸⁸ See note 284.

ated *The Discourses*, and wrote the passage concerning the ownership of the original²⁸⁹. Gaddi was influential in the Papal Camera, and he seems to have assisted Blado with his printing of Machiavelli's work: he helped Blado obtain the Papal privilege for the publication, and was probably Blado's contact with Ridolfi²⁹⁰. Interestingly enough, Giovanni Gaddi was a relative of Francesco Gaddi, Machiavelli's predecessor in the Second Chancery, and had some contact with Giunta²⁹¹. Allegretti, whom we know from Tolomei's letter owned a transcript from the original, lived in Gaddi's household in Rome²⁹².

Strozzi's letter to Vettori suggests that by October 1530 manuscripts of *The Discourses* were circulating in Florence, and we can assume that one such came into Giunta's hands. Once again it is Giovanni Gaddi who may have permitted the transcripts to be made from the original. One can postulate the original being in Florence, with Machiavelli's literary papers at his death in 1527. We know little about the dispersal of these papers, and his will makes no provision for literary executors²⁹³. Probably Gaddi obtained some of the material about 1530, and allowed transcripts to be made of *The Discourses* in Florence, before taking the original to Rome, where it passed to Cardinal Ridolfi. The similarity of the texts of Blado, Giunta and the Harleian manuscript suggest that all three derive from the original, the last two perhaps indirectly. A consideration of the linguistic variants of the Harleian manuscript may help

²⁸⁹ R. Ridolfi, «La Biblioteca del Cardinale N. Ridolfi (1501-1550)», in *La Bibliofilia*, XLII (1929), pp. 173-93; B. Lawns, «Four recently discovered letters of Cardinal Ridolfi», in *La Bibliofilia*, LXVI (1964), pp. 71-78; further evidence may be found in the *filza* of letters covering the years 1520-50, some addressed to Cardinal Ridolfi, in MS. Acquisti e Doni, 68, Archivio di Stato, Florence, where there is much relating to the Gaddi family and to Lorenzo Lenzi. For Machiavelli's papers see Pincin, «Sul testo ... [II]», p. 105, and the recently discovered *Clizia* MS. appears to be connected with the Ridolfi family, see above note 312.

²⁹⁰ Pincin, «Sul testo ... [II]», pp. 104-106.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

²⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 98 n. 1.

²⁹³ For his heirs cf. Ridolfi, *Life*, pp. 204, 321 n. 9, 331 n. 2.

to establish the birthplace of the copyist, and so tie the provenance of the manuscript more tightly. The conclusion is that the text as printed in 1531 is essentially like the original as it existed then.

We can now turn back to Giunta's claim that Machiavelli was rearranging his work, but did not complete this, and link this with Dr. Baron's comment²⁹⁴:

«... In 1953, Felix Gilbert drew attention to the fact that, while the introductory parts of each of the three books of the *Discourses* have been worked up into a rounded treatise on politics (and into a rounded picture of ancient Rome, one should add), there follows sections in the latter parts of all three books that look like a simple commentary, with each chapter centred on the discussion of one or a few important passages of Livy. Here, the succession of the chapters is not according to the problems with which they deal, but parallels the sequence of the selected passages in Livy's narrative. It would be very hard to think of any other genesis of this unusual arrangement but that Machiavelli originally had worked out comments following Livy's order, and that he subsequently broke down this commentary into three books according to contents, expanding some — especially the introductory — chapters of each book into treatises no longer closely connected with Livy, while the unchanged, or little changed, pieces of each commentary were left together in subsequent portions of each book, often in their original order ...».

What is this but something very like Giunta's claim? *The Discourses* may well be unfinished in the sense that the author had not concluded his rearrangement.

At some time prior to the publication of *The Discourses* in 1531, Francesco Guicciardini saw a manuscript of the work, and made his notes that are known as *Considerazioni sopra alcuni Discorsi*. This work of Guicciardini exists in autograph, though the time of its composition cannot be exactly dated²⁹⁵. Pal-

²⁹⁴ Baron, «Machiavelli: The Republican Citizen ...», p. 237.

²⁹⁵ *Filza* IX delle Carte di Francesco Guicciardini, Archivio Guicciardini,

marocchi makes a case for Guicciardini having written the notes in 1529-1530²⁹⁶, while Ridolfi suggests that it can be assigned to April 1530²⁹⁷. Palmarocchi commented on something that so far has been ignored by Machiavelli researchers²⁹⁸:

«... nel manoscritto i capitoli sono numerati tutti di seguito, nonostante la partizione in *Libri*, che vi è pure segnalata. È da notare che questo sistema non ha riscontro nelle prime edizioni dei *Discorsi*; così la Bladiana come la Giuntina ricominciano la numerazione ad ogni *Libro* [and one can add, so does the Harleian manuscript]. Né si può pensare che il Guicciardini abbia voluto semplicemente dare un numero progressivo ai suoi paragrafi: i molti salti, corrispondenti ai capitoli lasciati senza commento, dimostrano che egli intese di adottare la numerazione del Machiavelli... Bisogna concludere che il Guicciardini lavorò sopra un manoscritto nel quale la numerazione dei capitoli era progressiva per tutti i *Libri*...».

What this amounts to can best be shown by a table²⁹⁹:

GUICCIARDINI'S *Considerazioni*MACHIARELLI'S *Discorsi*

| Folio No. | <i>Discorsi</i> numbered | <i>Incipit</i> of each <i>Considerazione</i> | Numbered in the Harelian MS., Blado, and Giunta |
|-----------|--------------------------|--|---|
| 130 | I. 1. | Nel primo discorso ... | I. I. |
| 131 | 2. | E non è dubio ... | II. |
| 133 | 3. | E posto troppo ... | III. |
| 134 | 4. | Io ho altra volta ... | IV. |
| 135 | V. | Io non intendo ... | V. |
| 137 | VI. | Io credo ... | VI. |

Florence, cf. R. Ridolfi, *L'Archivio della famiglia Guicciardini* (Florence, 2nd ed., 1931), pp. 60-61; Pincin, «Sul testo ... [II]», pp. 93-94.

²⁹⁶ F. Guicciardini, *Scritti Politici e Ricordi*, ed. R. Palmarocchi (Bari, 1933), pp. 1-65 prints it; p. 339 for the date; cf. Pincin, «Sul testo ... [II]», p. 96.

²⁹⁷ F. Guicciardini, *Le Cose Fiorentine*, ed. R. Ridolfi (Florence, 1945), pp. xxiii-iv; cf. R. Ridolfi, *Vita di F. Guicciardini* (Rome, 1960), pp. 324-25.

²⁹⁸ Guicciardini, *Scritti* ..., cited in note 296, p. 339; cf. Pincin, «Sul testo ... [II]», p. 115.

²⁹⁹ Pincin, «Sul testo ... [II]», pp. 94-95.

GUICCIARDINI'S *Considerazioni*MACHIARELLI'S *Discorsi*

| Folio No. | <i>Discorsi</i> numbered | <i>Incipit</i> of each <i>Considerazione</i> | Numbered in the Harelian MS., Blado, and Giunta |
|-----------|-----------------------------|--|---|
| 138 | VII. | E verissimo ... | VII. |
| 139 | VIII. | E vera ... | VIII. |
| 140 | IX. | Non è dubio ... | IX. |
| 141 | X. | Il titolo di questo ... | X. |
| 142 | XI. | Certo è ... | XI. |
| 143 | XII. | Non si può dire ... | XII. |
| 144 | 14. | Non ho per certo ... | XIV. |
| 145 | XVI. | Io fo in questo discorso. | XVI. |
| 147 | XVII & XVIII | — | — |
| 149 | XXIII | Io non credo ... | XXIII. |
| 150 | XXIII | Si può dire ... | XXIV. |
| 151 | XXV, XXVI | La conclusione ...; Sono alcune ... | XXV, XXVI. |
| 152 | XXVIII. | Se Roma ... | XXVIII. |
| 153 | XXVIII. | Se bene ... | XXIX. |
| 154 | XXX, XXXII. | Io laudo ...; Altro è ... | XXX, XXXII. |
| 155v | XXXV. | — | — |
| 156 | XXXVI. | — | — |
| 157 | XXXVIII. | Io non credo ... | XXXIX. |
| 158 | XXXVIII. | Io mi persuado ... | XL. |
| 159 | XLVI | Quello che dice ... | XLVII. |
| 160 | XLIX | E questo discorso ... | XLIX. |
| 161 | LVII. | Difficile impresa ... | LVIII. |
| 163 | LIX. | Non si ricorda ... | LX. |
| 164 | Nel prohemio del sec. libro | La conclusione ... | II. proemio. |
| 165 | LXI. | — | — |
| 166 | LXIII. | — | — |
| 167 | LXIX. | Chi fu ... | X. |
| 168 | LXXI. | Se nel ... | XII. |
| 170 | LXXII. | Se lo scriptore ... | XIII. |
| 171 | LXXIII. | La conclusione ... | XIV. |
| 171v | LXXIII. | Da due cagioni ... | XV. |
| 172 | LXXV. | — | — |

GUICCIARDINI'S *Considerazioni*MACHIAVELLI'S *Discorsi*

| Folio No. | <i>Discorsi</i> numbered | <i>Incipit</i> of each <i>Considerazione</i> | Numbered in the Harelian MS., Blado, and Giunta |
|-----------|--------------------------|--|---|
| 173 | LXXVI | — | — |
| 174 | LXXVII. | — | — |
| 175 | LXXVIII. | Chi dubita ... | XIX. |
| 176 | LXXX. | — | — |
| 177 | LXXXIII. | Non si debbe ... | XXIV. |
| 179 | XCI. | — | — |
| 180 | LXXXXVIII. | — | — |
| 182 | CV. | — | — |
| 183 | CIX. | Molto più s'ha ... | III. XVII. |
| 184 | CXI. | La severità ... | XIX. |
| 185 | CXIII CXIII. | — | — |
| 186 | CXVI. | Non è dubio ... | XXIV. |
| 187 | CXIX. | — | — |
| 188 | CXXVI. | — | — |
| 189 | CXXVIII. | — | — |
| 190 | CXXIX. | — | — |
| 191 | CXXX. | — | — |

If one accepts that Guicciardini saw *The Discourses* in about 1529-30, and wrote his *Considerazioni* then, one must account for the discrepancy between his source, and what we know the original to have been like in 1530-1531. We do not know Guicciardini's source, but since he knew Machiavelli, it is not impossible that he saw the original when it was among his literary papers. Machiavelli had died in 1527, and if Guicciardini's *Considerazioni* faithfully represent *The Discourses* as they existed about 1529, it must have been someone other than Machiavelli who ordered them into the form that existed in 1530. Who could have done this? In the dedication of Blado of 1531 to Monsignor Giovanni Gaddi, we find³⁰⁰:

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95, gives some evidence to suggest that Guicciardini saw a version of the *Discorsi* by 1525; see also pp. 96-98, 116. This evidence is not

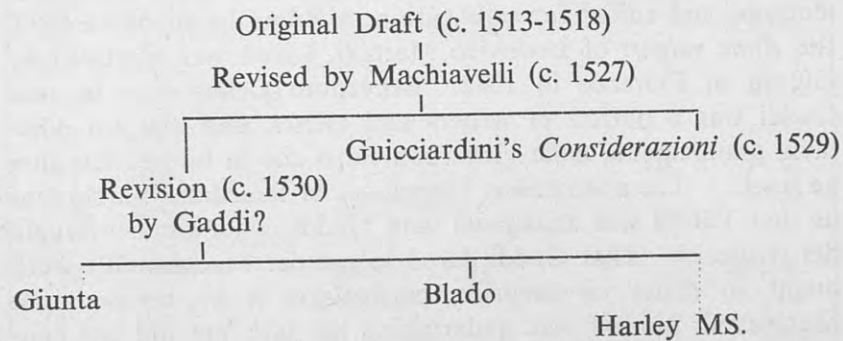
«... Sendo ella [V. S., i. e. Gaddi] stata tanto amica, quanto io intendo, de l'autore di essa [opera], et tanto affectionata de le cose sue: Et di più sendo tal libro uscito di casa sua, et da gli huomini suoi mandato in luce, et con gran fatica corretto ...».

This suggests that Gaddi had established himself as Machiavelli's literary executor, and it may be that he himself had undertaken to prepare the work for publication. Gaddi had literary pretensions, and edited for publication in Rome by Blado in 1533, the *Rime volgari* of Lodovico Martelli, which was reprinted by Giunta in Florence in 1548. Benvenuto Cellini tells us that Gaddi was a patron of writers and artists, and that «si diletta grandemente delle virtù, con tutto che in lui nessuna non ne fussi». The anonymous biographer of Benedetto Varchi tells us that Varchi was associated with Gaddi, who was a «refugio dei virtuosi». That Gaddi dared to reorder Machiavelli's work ought to cause no surprise, particularly if he believed that Machiavelli himself was undertaking the task but did not conclude it. We should remember the editorial practices of the day — Pietro Bembo's literary executors, esteemed literary figures themselves, did not scruple to edit Bembo's work for publication³⁰¹. From the evidence that we have, it is impossible to have a clear idea of the extent of Gaddi's ordering of Machiavelli's text, but Guicciardini's *Considerazioni* suggests that he saw the First Book much as it is known today. Gaddi probably worked mainly on the Second and Third Books, presumably seeking to carry out what he believed to be Machiavelli's intentions.

very conclusive and does not exclude Guicciardini seeing the later version in about 1529-30; cf. also pp. 89-92 for a possible derivation from the *Discorsi* in Nifo's work of 1523. See also C. Pincin, review of C. H. Clough, «Yet again ...», in *G. S. L. I.*, CXLI (1964), pp. 605-606. For Blado's dedication see note 281.

³⁰¹ C. H. Clough, *Pietro Bembo's Library represented in the British Museum* (London, 1965), pp. 4-5; E. Teza, «Correzioni alla 'Storia Veneziana' ...», in *Annali delle Università Toscane*, XVIII (Pisa, 1883). For similar editorial methods see C. H. Clough, «Cesare Anselmi ...», *Commentari dell'Ateneo di Brescia per* 1961, CLX (1963), pp. 219-27.

It is true that we do not know if *The Discourses* was edited in any way after Machiavelli's death until Gaddi, but even if we accept that it was not touched during this period, as was probably the case, we can now detect three layers of revisions: Machiavelli's own in about 1527; Gaddi's in about 1530; those of the two printers in 1531. Diagrammatically, therefore, we can see the text developed as follows:



The manuscript transcripts were all made from the original (or copies of it) after this had been rearranged by Gaddi, so that their general agreement does not prove the nature of the original before Gaddi's rearrangement. Guicciardini does not mention the dedication letter, which was hardly of significance for his interests. It is, however, strange that the original had this letter at the end of the Third Book by 1530. It is by no means unlikely that Gaddi placed the letter there, when Machiavelli himself in 1527 had rejected it, and so we should be chary of attaching much importance to it. The only portion of *The Discourses* in Machiavelli's hand is the Preface of the First Book³⁰². Unfortunately dating this by the watermark and calligraphic evidence cannot give a precise date, and hitherto it has been assumed that this autograph portion is a rejected draft of the Preface, written by Machiavelli by 1519, at the

³⁰² C. Pincin, « Sul testo ... [I] », *Atti della Accademia delle scienze di Torino*, CXIV (1959-60), pp. 506-18. See also note 306.

latest, and changed by Machiavelli into the Preface found in the texts represented by Blado, Giunta and the Harleian manuscript³⁰³. While the evidence is not conclusive in itself, it is noteworthy that the watermark of the paper of this supposed draft is like that used by Machiavelli for his *History of Florence*, and hence he could have been using such paper about 1527. It has been demonstrated that some ideas found in the autograph version of the Preface are expressed in almost similar form in the Preface of the original as it existed about 1530 and the Dedication Letter. From this it has been argued that the last two superceded the former. However, we should recall the doubtful position of the Dedication Letter, which was probably rejected by Machiavelli in 1527, and we can admit that the autograph draft could be Machiavelli's revision of about 1527, intended to replace the Dedication Letter and the Preface. When making his rearrangement Gaddi was presented with a fair copy of the Preface, and one in rough, and he understandably selected the fair copy, though this did not represent Machiavelli's last wishes. Presumably, too, Gaddi did not find the Dedication Letter in front of the work, which itself suggests that Machiavelli had rejected it, for Gaddi placed it at the end³⁰⁴.

Some forty years ago Mazzoni incautiously claimed that he had found a variant of Book III, xvii, in the Giunta text, as it is not in Blado's edition or in the Harleian manuscript. Mazzoni went so far as to suggest that the variant was one of Machiavelli's retouches of 1527³⁰⁵. Perhaps in the 1520's, Pietro Ardinghelli copied a portion of *The Discourses* consisting of the present parts numbered III, vi; I, i, iv, vi (another early

³⁰³ The case has been most fully presented by C. Pincin, « La Prefazione e la Dedicatoria ... », *G. S. L. I.*, CXLIII (1966), pp. 72-83.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 80, where phrases from the autograph draft are paralleled with those in the printed Preface and Dedication Letter. This suggests clearly that it is possible for the former to have been intended to replace the latter two. Pincin's approach is the traditional one, cf. the Mazzoni and Casella edition of Machiavelli, *Tutte le opere*, p. lxviii, and Mazzoni, « Sul testo ... », pp. 54-55.

³⁰⁵ Mazzoni, « Sul testo ... », pp. 48-51; but see text below note 283.

transcript not related directly to that of Ardinghelli also exists), though the present numbers are not found in the transcription. Despite Mazzoni's error, the portion known in Ardinghelli's transcript, suggests that pieces became detached from the original draft. One can imagine inserted pages, which became detached. Interestingly enough another partial transcript of the late sixteenth century (MS. Barb. lat. 5368, formerly LVIII.47, in the Vatican Library) contains traces of the Preface to Book I as we have it in Machiavelli's autograph³⁰⁶.

To sum up, therefore, it is not likely that we can ever reconstruct with confidence Machiavelli's text as it existed before his revision of 1527, or even as it was at the time of his death. Future editors, though, should recognize the problem and illustrate the revisions and editing. Clearly, also, the orthography of the work must remain somewhat suspect, in that Machiavelli's

³⁰⁶ For the partial transcripts see Pincin, «Sul testo ... [III]», pp. 74-78, and cf. Baron's review of this in *The English Historical Review*, 80 (1965), p. 826 for the speculation that these were portions released by Machiavelli to friends before the work was completed. These transcripts are printed by Pincin, pp. 118-149.

MS. Barb. lat. 5368 (LVIII.47), Vatican Library, c. 140, contains «Principio del Proemio de' Discorsi diverso dallo stampato», written c. 1590. This version known to Mazzoni («Sul Testo ...», p. 55), appears to derive from De Ricci's transcript, made about 1580, from the autograph version of the Preface (see note 302 above); see also Tommasini, I, pp. 662-63. Likewise the Cambiagi printed version probably derives from this autograph, but has suffered from editorial emendations. None of this material, therefore, need be considered for the text of the *Discorsi*, cf. Tommasini, II, p. 145 n. 2, I, p. 617 n. 1.

There are various precis of the *Discorsi*: (i) Bongianni Guicciardini, c. 1550, printed by Pincin, «Sul testo ... [III]», pp. 172-76; (ii) «Transunto», in MS. R. I. 50 = 2246, cc. 1-48, Bibl. Riccardiana, Florence, c. 1580, perhaps done for Riccardi; (iii) «Ristretto dei tre libri ...», in MS. Barb. lat. 5286 (LVII.50), cc. 76v-150r, in the Vatican Library, perhaps the work of Tommaso Campanella; there is a transcript of this in MS. Barb. lat. 5289 (LVII.53), cc. 19v-80r. Both were made about 1590, and cf. Tommasini, II, p. 118 n. 1; (iv) a MS in Spanish, see Tommasini, II, p. 145 n. 2. All these appear to derive from the 1531 printed texts (or the reprints of these) and these do not help with the textual problems. About 1580 Muzio was engaged in preparing an edition of the *Discorsi*, see S. Bonghi, *Annali di G. Giolito ...* (Rome, 2 vols., 1895), II, pp. 422-32, and Tommasini, II, p. 923. A thorough investigation of the sources used for the various sixteenth century printed texts is needed.

original language may have been obscured by the 1530 editor, and further still by the printer or transcriber of manuscripts; in the case of *Il Principe* we know that the printer Blado, for instance, did alter Machiavelli's language. We cannot argue too closely from the text. This is not to detract from the work, which is Machiavelli's masterpiece; quite the reverse, for now it should be possible to see the reasons for some of its deficiencies. The evidence of revision and subsequent editing, at least, does help to explain how the purpose of Machiavelli's work, as he finally intended it, has become obscured. Gaddi, in all probability, misunderstood Machiavelli's final wishes, and in some measure rearranged the material as a textual exposition of Livy, where Machiavelli had been reordering it into a system of social science.

If we look at Machiavelli through the right end of the telescope, and in focus, we see that he was trained from birth for the Florentine Chancery, and that he fitted perfectly the tradition of Florentine Civic Humanism. Garin has written of the great names of this Chancery of the early *Quattrocento*³⁰⁷:

«... Notai esperti di scienza giuridica e di retorica, ossia delle tecniche del discorso persuasivo e delle relazioni umane, i Cancellieri fiorentini, stabili nel rapido variare delle supreme magistrature della Repubblica, rappresentavano un elemento di continuità politica, di sapienza nutrita oltre che di dottrina specifica di esperienze e di contatti personali, di amicizie autorevoli consolidate dal fascino di un gran nome ...».

Machiavelli saw himself in this tradition, and his *Discourses*, in the very system that they present, are a logical growth from this tradition. Machiavelli was as practical a humanist as his predecessors of the Florentine Chancery³⁰⁸. Times had chang-

³⁰⁷ E. Garin, «I cancellieri umanisti della Repubblica Fiorentina», in his *La Cultura Filosofica del Rinascimento Italiano* (Florence, 1961), p. 5.

³⁰⁸ This is accepted even by J. E. Seigel, «'Civic Humanism' or Ciceronian Rhetoric», in *Past and Present*, 34 (July, 1966), p. 25 n. 58, which is severely critical of the whole concept of Civic Humanism.

ed, and in many ways he represented a political continuity that had outlived its day. The very beliefs that had resulted in his appointment in 1498 were effectively those that produced his dismissal in 1512. Hence, progressively, Machiavelli appeared as a contradiction, for he was a practical humanist, whose aspirations were impractical, because they were out of tune with the times.

In 1527 Machiavelli may have been thinking in terms of publishing an edition of his works, including *The Discourses*. Unexpectedly, there has come to light a manuscript of Machiavelli's *Clizia*, written in the hand of Arrighi³⁰⁹. It seems most likely that Machiavelli took a revised version of this play to Rome in 1527, and that he left it with Arrighi, who prepared a manuscript in the form of a lay-out for printing — which is the manuscript that has been discovered³¹⁰. Apparently, though, the work was not printed, probably because Arrighi was killed in the Sack of Rome, and his *bottega* probably destroyed too³¹¹. Perhaps the lay-out of the *Clizia* was salvaged from the debris, and illumination added, together with a coat of arms, which relates to the union of a Ridolfi with a Strozzi bride: such a marriage took place in 1529³¹². A manuscript of the music of the *Clizia* apparently exists with illumination very like that on Arrighi's lay-out³¹³. We have seen that both the Ridolfi

³⁰⁹ B. M. Corrigan, « An unrecorded MS. of Machiavelli's 'La Clizia' », in *La Bibliofilia*, LXIII (1961), pp. 72-87.

³¹⁰ F. A. Thomson, « The Significance of the Clizia MS. », in *Calligraphy and Palaeography: Essays presented to A. Fairbank*, ed. A. S. Osley (London, 1965), pp. 121-33.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*, though I do not accept the case for a lost printing of 1527 as argued at pp. 129-30.

³¹² Ridolfi, *Life*, p. 315 n. 7; but cf. Thomson, pp. 131-32. Litta gives the date 1529 for the wedding, and his evidence for this requires investigation, for certainly Ridolfi provides no document of the actual wedding as being in 1525, despite his claims to this effect — all the documents that Ridolfi gives relate to the betrothal in 1525.

³¹³ This MS. is being studied by Professor H. Colin Slim, Department of Music, University of Chicago. I am most grateful to Professor B. M. Corrigan for this information. See also Ridolfi, *Life*, p. 321 n. 9.

and Strozzi families had contact with Machiavelli, and it is not impossible that the two manuscripts of the *Clizia* were a wedding present to the Ridolfi groom³¹⁴. Even in the case of these manuscripts one is aware of a change in their purpose over the years. It is testimony of the complicated nature of Machiavelli researches³¹⁵.

University of Birmingham, England.

CECIL H. CLOUGH

³¹⁴ One can speculate that perhaps Gaddi was instrumental in the presentation. For the Strozzi see above notes 107, 110, and 285, and G. Pampaloni, *Palazzo Strozzi* (Rome, 1963), pp. 110-111.

³¹⁵ I am most grateful to Professor J. H. Whitfield for his patience and help on many points. I am sure that the long discussions over various drafts of this paper have greatly improved this final version. I am indebted to Carlo Pincin for information and constructive criticism.

APPENDIX

The letter of 25 April 1498 from the Florentine Government to Cardinal Lopez, relating to the rights of presentation of the Machiavelli.

This letter has never been printed, though Nitti, cited note 26 p. 37 n. 2, prints an extract, and refers to the letter as in a « Registro di lettere esterne 1497-1500 ». The letter is found in « Signori — Carteggi: Missive, I, Cancelleria », Filza 51 (1497, luglio 14 - 1500, maggio 20), c. 42r-v, Archivio di Stato, Florence. The volume in which it is found consists of transcripts of letters sent by the Florentine Government, and these transcripts are contemporary copies made for official use and reference. In the original transcript of this letter of 25 April 1498, there are many abbreviations, and these have been expanded largely with the help of Monsignor Corrado Leonardi of Urbana, to whom I am much indebted. For the importance of the document see above note 32, and that note.

Cardinali Perusino.

Reverendissime in Christo Pater. Facit summa humanitas Reverendissimae Dominationis nostrae et singularis quaedam in nos benevolentia ut cum de re aliqua personaliter vel privata nobis in Curia Romana sit agendum patrocinio et opera eius libenter utamur. Sed nec alium Romae experimur quo magis uti possimus intercessore et defensore rerum nostrarum quae cuncta ad petendum quotidie confidentiores nos reddunt confidentissimos vero in his quam umillima intercessione nulla opera labore ne indigeant, sed arbitrio tantum et voluntate Reverendissimi Domini. Quare hoc est quod his litteris petimus: Hinc est iam multis mensibus pro plebe Sanctae Mariae Fagnie: quo iure patronatus debetur Machiavellis civibus nostris cui etiam Plebaniae praefecerunt Franciscum ex eadem familia virum diu in religione versatum et sua virtute dignum, qui illi ecclesiae praeerat: sed ut fit aliter placuit summo Pontifici, curam eius ecclesiae demandavit Reverendissimo Domino Vestro Camerae praefecto qui parum dignitate et paucis operibus minor esset, tanta virtute et ho-

nore eius ob quam non dubitamus posse nos eam ecclesiam nostra intercessione redimere civibus nostris: et impetrare ut possint suo patronatu uti quem majores sui suis operibus et pietate maxima constituerunt. Propterea tamen cum eo animo sint etiam res omnes et commodo et utilite Domini Vestri agere constituerint. Quod impetrare cupimus id est: ut in gratiam nostram vero id fiat semper res diximus eam ecclesiam relinquentes civibus nostris ut possit suo honore gaudere et ecclesiam ruinosam iterum instaurare: ne pereat monumentum et majorum suorum: quod unum illis etiam praecipimus in hac re est desiderium: dumtaxat sibi eo beneficio Reverendissima Dominatio Vestra et nobile et multis virtutibus claram familiam in civitate nostra et nos habebimus illud ingentis beneficii loco. Ex Palatio nostro. Die xxv Aprilis MCCCCLXXXVIII.

AMBIGÜEDAD Y FRUTOS DEL AZAR EN LA FILOLOGIA MEDIEVAL

*Al maestro D. Rafael Lapesa Melgar, modelo
y guía de las nuevas generaciones.*

La intención de estas notas no va más allá de querer confirmarnos, en primer lugar, en la dificultad de llegar a conclusiones válidas y definitivas en el campo de la filología medieval: en tanto no dispongamos de fondos lexicográficos exhaustivos, es muy frecuente encontrarse ante la imposibilidad de escoger entre varias explicaciones de un mismo hecho. En segundo lugar, aconsejar voto de modestia, ante lo azaroso de los pequeños descubrimientos que de tales estudios se suelen seguir.

* * *

Mientras trabajábamos acerca de los problemas filológicos que plantea el léxico medieval relativo a la expresión de los sentimientos, hemos tenido que ocuparnos de un grupo de palabras que el ilustre filólogo Yakov Malkiel, en un ejemplar estudio¹, considera como variantes de una misma fuente etimológica latina: FACIĒ GELĀTU. Estas formas se encuentran en tres autores distintos: Gonzalo de Berceo (cinco casos), el anónimo autor del *Alexandre* (cuatro ejemplos), y el Marqués de Santillana (un caso). Este es el punto de partida e hilo conductor de las digresiones posteriores.

¹ *The Ancient Hispanic Verbs posfaçar, porfaçar, profaçar* (RPh, III, 1949-50, vid. p. 55-56).

Lo primero que nos sorprendió en este grupo de palabras fue la distancia entre los primeros y el último testimonio. Aunque la escasa sistematización de la lexicografía medieval suele dejar en la oscuridad periodos enteros en la evolución significativa de las palabras, la reaparición, en un solo caso aislado del siglo XV, de un término del XIII, y en forma morfológica y sintáctica diferentes, nos hizo reflexionar sobre la posible disparidad entre el término del mester de clerecía y el empleado por el poeta castellano pre-renacentista. Veamos los ejemplos en un contexto suficiente²:

- 1) Berceo, *San Millán*, (ed. 1780), 205b: (los diablos) maguer que ementaban muchos otros tractados, / Por esta cosa sola estaban *fezilados* /. Dizien que est serrano los avie afrontados, / Ont se tienen por muertos o por descabezados. (circa 1235)
- 2) Ibid., 455b: Perdieron dos sennales Moros en la rancada / por qui sue generación fue siempre *fatilada* /.
- 3) Ibid., 355d: Yxieron los lhantores, dos ratiellos passados, / dando a sus cabezas con los punnos cerrados, / el padre e la madre de todos delantados, / los que los corazones tienen mas *fazilados*.
- 4) Berceo, *V. Sta Oria* (1928) 186b: Desque murió la fija sancta enparedada, / andaua la su madre por ella *fetillada*. / Solo que la podiesse sonnar una uegada, / Tenja se por guarida e por muy confortada. (circa 1265)
- 5) Berceo, *Duelo de la Virgen* (ed. 1870) 13c: Fraire, disso la duenna, esme cosa pessada / refrescar las mis penas, ca so glorificada, / pero la mi *fetila* no la he olvidada / ca en el coraçon la tengo bien fincada.
- 6) *Alexandre* (manuscrito O, s. XIV) 1216c: (El padre) Quando los uio muertos, paros desarrado / estido un grant dia todo desco-nortado / non podie echar lagrimas, tant era *fatilado* / si duras en el sieglo, fuera demoniado.
- 7) Ibid., 1242b: Parmeno el dioso que lo ouo criado / por poco non morie, tant era *fatilado* / de .iii. fijos tan buenos, unol auie fincado / el que sin fues nado, fuera bien auenturado.

² En adelante nos referiremos a los textos por su número.

- 8) Ibid., 1182b: Quando la luna se cambia, por sygno demostrar / a ellos annunçia que lles uien grant pesar / si el sol se tornasse, deuiemos nos dubdar / mas esto por esto deuedes alegría mostrar. / La negrura demuestra los quebrantos passados / los que de nos prisionon, onde son *fatilados* / la uermeiura demuestra que ora seran rancados / perderan mucha sangre, mas seremos ondrados. (el ms. P, s. XV, variante: *façillados*)
- 9) Ibid., 2492c: Sennor conna tu muerte, más gentes as matadas / que non mateste en uida, tu nen tus mesnadas / sennor todas las tierras son con tu muerte *fatiladas* / ca eran contigo todas alegres e pagadas. (en esta lamentación, *fatilada* va precedido de una serie de adjetivos como «desarrados ... cuitados, sorrostrada, etc.)
- 10) Santillana, *Sueño* (Clás. Cast.) p. 347: E fuimonos acercando / donde la Diesa estava / Dó mi viso *fazelava* / en su fulgor aca-tando.

Analizando el empleo del término, vemos un evidente primer contraste en el variado uso como participio pasivo, adjetivo participial y sustantivo en Berceo, y el uniforme empleo pasivo del Alexandre de un lado, y de otro la forma de imperfecto de indicativo que usa el Marqués. El segundo evidente contraste aparece al analizar el significado a partir de los contextos. En todos los casos del siglo XIII, las personas, en su integridad, son o están fetiladas. En el del XV, es el *viso* el que fazela. En cuanto al sentido estricto de *fazelava*, el contexto parece a primera vista apoyar el significado originario latino de FACIĒ GELĀTU, 'con rostro helado, henchido de terror' (Malkiel: 'with a frozen, terror-stricken face'), si tomamos *viso* en el sentido de 'cara'. Sorprende, sin embargo, el uso pleonástico, pues la idea de rostro quedaría doblemente señalada en el sustantivo y en el FACIES del étimo. Cabría un desconocimiento etimológico del término en Santillana, o una intención estilística arcaizante, explicaciones que mutuamente se excluyen. Pero parece evidente que, para ambas explicaciones, habría que aceptar una regresión en el uso del término hacia su primitivo sentido latino, de aceptar la etimología que Malkiel toma en Cornu. A pesar de lo improbable de una tal regresión, se podría aceptar si no implicara de uno u otro modo una contradicción: si esta-

mos ante un resultado de erudición etimológica, ¿cómo explicar el torpe uso pleonástico implicado en *viso* y *facies*?; si estamos ante una intención estilística que busque precisamente una paronomasia etimológica, habrá que confesar que no conocemos otros casos de este empleo estilístico — más bien típico de la prosa arabizante — en la lírica de Santillana.

Una detenida consideración del contexto nos proporciona una nueva pista. La presencia del término VISO nos ofrecía doble alternativa: interpretarlo en el sentido medieval español, como 'sentido de la vista' (vid. Corominas, s/v VER), o aceptar, como hemos ido haciendo hasta ahora, VISO como sinónimo de rostro. No habría entonces más aparente solución que considerarlo como italianismo. Más adelante veremos que sería igualmente explicable a través del catalán, pero por el camino del italianismo llegamos a una nueva y plausible interpretación del texto de Santillana. Es evidente que el poeta castellano ha compuesto su poema dentro de las nuevas normas del estilo italiano, al menos por lo que respecta al tema — de visión sobrenatural — de claros antecedentes dantescos. Verificando textos de *La Divina Commedia*, que el Marqués conoció, vemos que es frecuente, sobre todo en el tercer canto, la expresión de el rostro iluminado o transfigurado por el resplandor emanante del personaje objeto de la visión (así, el rostro de Beatrice resplandeciente ante la luz divina -/ *Paradiso*, I, 46 ss; XXVII, 94 ss). De estas consideraciones podemos aventurar una primera interpretación de FAZELAR como 'brillar, chispear'. La interpretación puede apoyarse en la presencia del término FACELLA 'chispa, resplandor, llama' en Dante (*Paradiso*, IX, 29; XVIII, 70; XXIII, 94) y al menos una vez en Petrarca (*Canz.*, 31, 5, apud Bellini, Diz.). Pero esta etimología para FAZELAR podría discutirse a partir del probable desconocimiento del toscano por Santillana, implícito en el hecho de haber dispuesto la traducción de la *Commedia* y de sus comentadores (en latín) por Enrique de Villena. Verificamos el manuscrito de dicha traducción en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, sin éxito: Villena traduce FACELLA por « llama pequeña », « jovial llama » y « estrella » respectivamente. Revisando el contenido de la biblioteca del Marqués, se nos presenta la traducción catalana de la misma obra, realizada por Andreu Febrer. En la edición

de la misma por Vidal y Valenciano (1878), vemos que el catalán traduce respectivamente « Faxella », « jovial faya », « fayella ». Observamos también en Febrer la traducción del verbo SFAYILLARE 'chispear' por « favillar »¹. Se ha discutido la existencia del manuscrito de Febrer en la biblioteca de Santillana basándose en el fragmento de su carta al Condestable de Portugal (que el DH de la Academia fecha c. 1445-1449):

Mossen Febrer fiço obras notables e algunos afirman aya traydo el Dante de lengua florentina en catalán.

Por otra parte, el *Sueño* del Marqués ha sido fechado circa 1430 en el mismo DH, mientras que la traducción de Febrer es de 1429. Si no hay posibilidad de modificar las fechas para apoyar la sugestión de un influjo de Febrer, no creemos que sea tampoco un temprano conocimiento de la traducción catalana, y una simple coincidencia de traducción del sugestivo término italiano sería plausible. No valdría objetar el desconocimiento del toscano por Santillana, ya que pudo muy bien manejar los textos italianos que poseía, confrontándolos con la traducción de Villena, no sólo al final de ésta, sino incluso durante su confección. Haremos observar que el término FACELLA es extremadamente raro en italiano, y Bellini no trae en su diccionario sino apenas los ejemplos citados, considerándolo exclusivo del lenguaje poético de la época. ¿No resulta, en consecuencia, digno de consideración el hecho de la perfecta traducción que Villena dá al término en todos y cada uno de los casos, diferentes según el contexto? ¿Fue únicamente gracias a los comentarios latinos de Pietro Alighieri? De cualquier modo, el traductor catalán disponía en su lengua de términos prácticamente equivalentes, y etimológicamente relacionados,

¹ *Paradis*, XXVIII, 90: Relacionado con este término, y con la idea de la comunicación del resplandor de la aparición al rostro del contemplador nos aparece el fragmento del *Llibre de Fortuna e Prudència* de Bernat Metge. Después de una aparición esplendorosa, la Prudencia se despide y comenta el contemplador: « E sembla'm que'b falhes de foch m'agues hom donat per la cara » (Ed. Martín de Riquer, 1959) 'y me pareció que me hubiesen dado por la cara con antorchas de fuego'.

como FALHA (FACULA) 'antorcha', que hemos visto en Bernat Metge (nota precedente). Tampoco el término de Santillana hace figura solitaria en el léxico castellano. Habría que objetar en primer lugar que la construcción verbal sería exclusiva del Marqués, a partir de un sustantivo toscano. Un extraordinario azar nos depara en el manuscrito del *Cancionero de Baena* un poema de Francisco Imperial, *Dezir al nacimiento del Príncipe Don Juan*, de 1405, al que pertenecen estos versos:

Tanta agudeza, nunca en foçilar
vey en çentellas de byuo caruon
commo quando mercurio quiso hablar,
mostró en sus ojos e su descriçion¹.

En ellos, FOÇILAR, partiendo sin duda de la inspiración italiana indiscutible, es prácticamente sinónimo del verbo empleado por Santillana. Cabría así, sencillamente, suponer un error del manuscrito del Marqués, y leer «do mi viso fozilava», pero resistiremos a esta tentación de excesiva facilidad. Baste con suponer que la inspiración directa del texto dantesco pudo llevar a Santillana a rehacer el neologismo de Micer Francisco. Y aquí vamos a reanudar el hilo que dejamos suelto al comienzo de nuestro trabajo, sobre la posibilidad de interpretar VISO de otra manera que como sinónimo de rostro. El texto de Imperial señala el chispear tanto en la «descriçion» como en los ojos de Mercurio. Viso podría, pues, ser 'sentido de la vista', como ya señalábamos anteriormente. El terreno de la filología medieval es extremadamente movedizo, y la acumulación de datos pone al curioso lector en una encrucijada de múltiples sugerencias: Andreu Febrer ha traducido el término de Dante por «VIS» (*Paradís*, XXVII, 95):

qui m' resplandí / quand me giré al seu dolç vis rizent.
(Vid. igualmente *Paradís*, XXIX, 77). No terminan aquí las posibilidades. Otra versión del poema de Santillana nos ofrece la lectura: «do mi viso bazilaua» (Clás. Cast., 347). Si interpretamos entonces «viso» como 'sentido de la vista', no sería

¹ *Cancionero de Baena*, fol. 70 r^ob.

difícil asimilar esta versión a situaciones semejantes del *Paradiso* dantesco, p. ej.:

Oh vero sfavillar del Santo Spiro! / Come si fece sùbito e
candente / agli occhi miei che, vinti, non soffriro!

Es decir, 'mis ojos, vencidos del esplendor radiante del Espíritu Santo, no pudieron soportarlo'. En fin, el último verso de la estrofa de Santillana: «en su fulgor acatando», contribuye con nueva ambigüedad al contexto. El *Diccionario Histórico* de la Real Academia Española establece claramente dos grandes grupos de significación para «acatar». Uno, con sentido de 'mirar, ver', apoyaría la interpretación de «viso» en el valor de 'sentido de la vista'. Pero son más abundantes los casos que presentan una «idea de consideración, respeto, sumisión y obediencia» (DHLE, 316). Precisamente entre las autoridades citadas por el Diccionario para esta segunda serie de significados, hay un ejemplo de Santillana. Y para mayor fuerza, la construcción «acatar en» está atestiguada sólo en éste último grupo, nunca en el primero.

¿Cómo decidirse, pues, por una u otra interpretación de «viso»? ¿Qué lectura aceptar: fazilava, bacilaua? ¿Por qué no ambas? O más fácil aún: ¿por qué no dar como indiscutible la reminiscencia del antiguo término del mester de clerecía, como quiere el maestro Malkiel? De ésto último, podríamos decir como los comentaristas de la *Celestina*: si Melibea no hubiera contestado: «¿En qué, Calisto», no hubiera tragicomedia.

* * *

La vida de las palabras, a medida que nos alejamos en el tiempo pretérito, nos depara infinitas ocasiones de asombro y de vacilación — ¿o de fozilación?—. Volvamos de nuevo al grupo de vocablos del mester, en busca de nuevas luces. Nos damos cuenta de que tanto el autor del *Alexandre* como Berceo presentan en su lenguaje evidentes y ya señaladas características aragonesas. Surge, pues, la tentación de buscar un parentesco de éstos términos con la familia catalano-aragonesa FETILLA, FATILLA, FETILLEJAR, FATILLEJAR, FETILLER, etc. que tienen el sentido de 'hechicería, hechizar, hechicero', señalados

en la tradición medieval por el diccionario Alcover-Moll, e incluso por el actual valenciano FETILLÓS, 'raro, caprichoso', que no cita el Diccionario, pero que se usa en Játiva, ciudad de fuerte contingente aragonés. A estos términos da Moll la etimología *FICTILIA¹. Los términos están atestiguados en la tradición medieval temprana. Releamos ahora el texto n. 4 de Berceo: no sólo la grafía corresponde al término aragonés, sino que el significado no sufre de idéntica interpretación semántica: 'desde que la hija santa murió emparedada, su madre andaba como hechizada por su causa, y se tenía por aliviada y por muy confortada con sólo poder soñar con ella una vez'. Así interpretamos el texto n. 4. No nos parece difícil relacionar la interpretación 'acongojada, preocupada' con la de embrujada, a través del común aspecto fisionómico y corporales actitudes de las personas preocupadas, y de las supuestas víctimas de un hechizo. Aún hoy tiene valor la comparación « parece embrujada » para la persona que presenta ese comportamiento propio de las víctimas de una preocupación obsesiva, de un intenso dolor físico o moral. Y parecido uso tiene el ya señalado FETILLÓS que hemos oído en Játiva (Valencia).

¿Cómo no relacionar igualmente el sentido del término FETILA con el de CUITA? Varios contextos nos autorizan: tomemos el n. 5 de Berceo. En los primeros versos del *Duelo*, el autor expresa que el deseo de San Bernardo es componer sobre (y para ello previamente saber) el duelo, la cuita de la Virgen por la muerte de su Hijo: « Quiso saber la cuita del duelo que uos digo » (*Duelo*, 3b). En ese contexto previo, la respuesta de la Virgen es la ya citada en el n. 5. Veamos a continuación el texto n. 6, del Alexandre, en el que « demoniado » está en evidente relación con « fatilado » del verso precedente, y apoya así fuertemente nuestra interpretación de 'embrujado'. Pero prosiguiendo en el mismo contexto, vemos cómo el antagonista del desesperado padre, va a respetar su dolor:

¹ La etimología no nos parece enteramente segura. Tanto por su sentido como por sus variantes con FA-, podría tal vez asimilarse a la familia de FATA, FATUM, de antigua raigambre también en aragonés y catalán. Fatilado sería el correspondiente del cast. ant. fadado.

Nol querie el griego // la cabeza tornar / veyenno en grant cueta // queriello escusar. (op. cit., v. 1219)

donde « cueta » es dado como sustantivo significativamente relacionado con « fatilado ». Nos preguntamos qué nos impide relacionar el occitano « coitar » con COGITARE en lugar de aceptar el supuesto *COCTARE de la etimología al uso. Fonéticamente no nos parece arriesgado, y semánticamente nos ahorraríamos evidentes malabarismos evolutivos. La coexistencia de « cuydar » y « cuydado » con « coyta » ya desde *Mio Cid* no invalida nuestra sugerencia: los primeros son términos castellanos, el segundo, término importado de cuyo común origen con los primeros no habría que suponer necesariamente el conocimiento en los poetas medievales.

¿Están « fetilladas » las palabras, o lo estamos nosotros? He aquí que, para ejemplificar el doble uso cuydado/coyta, vamos a utilizar un par -fadiga/fatiga, de los cuales uno va a reemplazar a « cuita » en un lento proceso que creemos se inicia hacia el siglo XIII y que culmina en el veredicto de Juan de Valdés: « En lugar de cuyta dezimos fatiga ».

El término FATIGARE está atestiguado en textos jurídicos bajo latinos de Aragón y Cataluña, desde el s. XI. La FATICA es « el tanteo y retracto que las legislaciones de la corona de Aragón reconocen a los poseedores del dominio directo en las anfitesis, y a los señores en los feudos, cuando el enfiteuta o el vasallo enajenan sus derechos ». Y por extensión, la cantidad recibida por el dueño o señor por la renuncia de su derecho de prelación. Del *Glossarium Inf. et M. Lat.* se deduce claramente el área de empleo catalano-aragonesa-provenzal del término. Este, no sólo dentro de su estricto significado legal, sino en las derivaciones de su sentido primitivo, fué sin duda considerado como latinismo. Así lo deducimos de la confrontación de las versiones latina y castellana del *Fuero Juzgo*, donde a « pro fatigatione eius » corresponde « porque lo fizo trabajar »¹.

¹ He aquí los contextos completos: Libr. I, tit. I, leg. xviii: « Si quis iudici pro aduersario suo querelam intulerit, et ipse eum audire noluerit, aut sigillum negaverit, et per diversas occasiones causam eius protraxerit, pro patrocinio aut

Igualmente en el *Glosario de Toledo*, (copia del s. XIV, de letra aragonesa, según especifica su editor Américo Castro), aparece: «Fatigor, -garis, -tus sum por cansar»¹. ¿Quiere esto decir que el vocablo era desconocido en la lengua común del XIV? Habría que precisar primeramente que estos glosarios son de uso docente, y no dan nada por sabido; y en segundo lugar, que la copia del XIV presupone un texto anterior. Esta última hipótesis queda apoyada por la presencia del término en textos literarios del XIV, como veremos más adelante. La forma romanizada FADIGA está atestiguada desde el siglo XIII en textos aragoneses, o relativos a la corona de Aragón² así como en provenzal antiguo, con las variantes FADIGA, FADIGAR, FADIA, FADIAR señaladas por Von Wartburg³.

amicitia nolens legibus obtemperare, et ipse qui petit hoc testibus potuerit adprobare; det ille iudex ei quem audire noluit, pro fatigatione eius, tantum quantum ipse ab aduersario suo secundum legale iudicium fuerat accepturus». Texto trad.: «Si algun omne se querella al iuez dotri, i el iuez nol quiere oyr, o nol quiere dar su seello, o porluenga el pleito por alguna escusacion, o por algun enganno, o por amor que quiera fazer al otra parte, o por otra cosa; si aquel querelloso pudiese esto mostrar por testigos, devel dar el iuez, porque lo fizo trabajar, quantol devie pechar su aduersario».

¹ A. Castro, *Glosarios de la E. Media*, p. 61 y 125.

² 1268, documento murciano citado por Pottier, BHi, 1957, 215 s-v fatigar, «fadiga»; no da el contexto.

1311, Colección diplomática de D. Juan Manuel (ed. 1932), p. 391: una uestra carta (...) en que dizia que por la fiadura que Don Bernalt de Sarrian fiso por mi a don Rremen Almerique mercadero de Montpesler por la debda quel yo deuo (.) que falláredes en mi fadiga porque non quis entregar al dicho Don Bernalt de aquella quantía que era por mi obligado al dicho debdo. (carta a Don Jaime II, es pues, probablemente, copia de un término empleado por el rey aragonés).

1330, Juan Ruiz, *Libro de Buen Amor* (ed. Ducamin) 648: Fuese doña Venus, ami dexo en fadig(u)a. / ssyle conortan no lo sanan al doliente los joglares /.../ consejome doña Venus mas no me tyro pesares. (la fatiga o pesares son del amor de Doña Endrina).

1373, *Documentos Lingüísticos del Alto Aragón*, ed. 1957, 127, 16: Se hoferece dar ael por precio de aquellya, conel dito trehudo e fadiga ensemble (...) dos mil .DC. sueldos.

³ FEW, 434.

Las formas más latinizantes con *t* son de uso corriente tanto en textos jurídicos como literarios durante el siglo XV¹, y es evidente que en éstos últimos es el equivalente de «cuita». Si volvemos la mirada a la tradición europea, veremos que FATICA aparece en la lengua toscana del siglo XIII como uno de los términos favoritos en el lenguaje sentimental de Dante, Petrarca y Boccaccio. El diccionario de Oxford y el del *Middle English* en curso de publicación, coinciden en suponer un origen latino de la familia (*fatigate, fatigacioun*, etc.), y el segundo supone además un camino a través del antiguo francés. Habría que concretar más bien al provenzal, puesto que los ejemplos franceses del norte no remontan más allá del siglo XV, salvo en un documento jurídico de 1375 y en una traducción de un texto histórico latino redactado por un monje italiano (vid. Godeffroy). *El Diccionario Catalán-Valenciano-Balear* de Alcover y Moll aduce un rico conjunto de antiguos testimonios y variedades de uso de las formas con D. y coincidentes con las provenzales en muchos casos por la pérdida de la G intervocálica.

Es ciertamente posible que el gusto de los poetas castellanos por la imitación toscana pudiera justificar las grafías con *t* del siglo XV, pero la abundancia de testimonios en textos tan poco literarios como las *Ordenanzas de Guadalajara* y las minutas de las Cortes de Burgos nos incitan a considerar tal hipótesis como aventurada. Hay, además, dos ejemplos de «fatigar» del siglo XIV:

- 1) *Biblia Judeo-Cristiana* del siglo XIV (ed. 1950), 78: fatiguose toda tierra de egipto e tierra de canaam de la fambre.
- 2) 1386 Pero López de Ayala, *Libro de la caza*. (ed. 1879), 144: Así como el ocio, segund dicho auemos, traie estos daptos et males al alma, asi trae gran dapno al cuerpo, que cuando el ome esta ocioso sin facer exercicio (...) fatiganse los humores et al cuerpo dende le recrecen dolencias et enfermedades.

¹ Ejemplos en Santillana (NBAE, XIX, 535b), Juan de Mena, Gómez Manrique, Antón de Montoro, Juan de Lucena, Palencia, Nebrija, etc.:

... con peligros e vana fatiga / pudo vna barca tomar a su conde
(Mena, *Laberinto*, NBAE, XIX, 170b).

A estos se pueden añadir los abundantes casos de « fatigar », « fatiga », « fatigado » y aun del adverbio « fatigadamente » que aparecen en la *Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, que el *Diccionario Histórico* de la R. A. E. fecha circa 1295, pero cabe siempre la duda de que la edición de 1503, que conocemos, haya alterado el original. Esperamos que un anunciado estudio del profesor Bleuca (hijo) nos aporte pronto definitivas luces sobre los múltiples avatares de este curioso libro.

* * *

La búsqueda de últimos ejemplos tardíos del uso de FADIGA nos lleva a una curiosa comprobación: en el siglo XIV, los tres penúltimos ejemplos son los dos citados de D. Juan Manuel y el Arcipreste de Hita, más una serie de ellos en la colección diplomática de Fernando IV¹. Mayoría, pues, de textos relativos a Aragón, salvo la excepción del Arcipreste, sospechosa de « tort de la rime » por estar en fin de verso y ser caso único en el de Hita. Y, en el siglo XV, el último testimonio nos lleva de la mano a la perla en el amasijo de datos deslavados que ya va siendo nuestro trabajo: encontramos en el Cancionero de Baena el último caso de FADIGA, único para el siglo XV:

Todo el mundo los persigua
a los que uos persyguierdes
Non les ffallesca ffadiga
nin tierra fallen amiga.

¿Quién es el autor de este poema? Juan de Viena, según la edición de P. J. Pidal. De este poeta no se tienen más noticias ni se conservan más poemas. Verificamos en la más prestigiosa bibliografía española, de J. Simón Díaz (vol. III). Allá se cita a Juan de Viena, autor de nuestros versos. ¿Qué hace un vie-

¹ Documento de 1300, ed. 1860, vol. II, p. 201b: empero si las dictas cosas querades vender que las vendades a los omes de vuestra tenencia con fadiga nuestra. (+ 1 en la misma página.)

nés en la corte castellana de don Juan, componiendo lucidos poemas castellanos? El hecho de ser el último testimonio conocido de FADIGA nos impulsó, más que otra cosa, a cotejar el manuscrito del *Cancionero*. Verificamos en el folio 156, vuelto, la exactitud de la grafía con D. La lectura más arriba dada es copia fiel del manuscrito. Pero al leer el texto introductorio al poema descubrimos lo que es sin duda craso error de P. J. Pidal, repetido después por F. Michel en la edición de Leipzig, y que el alegre desenfado de eruditos ha perpetuado hasta hoy. La lectura « juan de uiena » debe corregirse por « juan de mena ». El cotejo gráfico apoya totalmente esta nueva lectura, que nuestras letras de imprenta no pueden reproducir. Es evidente que nuestra lectura sería discutible, y como tal ya tiene el precedente de Ochoa que insinuó la posibilidad de tal error, pero sin atreverse a confirmarlo. El poema lleva indudablemente el *copyright* de Juan de Mena. La circunstancia histórica a que alude apunta también al cordobés. Y en fin, revisando la edición de las poesías del siglo XV, encontramos la definitiva confirmación en la transcripción del poema exacto, a nombre de Mena (NBAE, XIX, ed. Foulché Delbosch). Señalemos, en fin, que el mismo Simón Díaz cita el poema dos veces; una atribuyéndolo al imaginario Juan de Viena, otra a su auténtico padre. Pase, pues, el poeta nonato a las « Antologías traducidas » de nuestro contemporáneo Max Aub, padre de cien otros poetas apócrifos.

* * *

¿Es simple coincidencia que la aparición de « fatiga » y demás vocablos de la familia léxica suceda a la desaparición del grupo « fetilla, fazilado », etc. del mester de clerecía, mientras que el valor semántico 'acongojar, preocupar' se conserva en « fatigar » y sus congéneres? ¿Hubo una confusión entre los términos, ambos de origen aragonés, acabando por subsistir los del grupo « fatiga »? ¿Pudo influir en la preferencia el uso toscano? La temprana desaparición de « fazilar, fetila », etc. no nos permite aceptar ésta última suposición. Otra posibilidad estaría en refutar la etimología *fictilia, así como la de recambio a partir de FATA, FATUM, y considerarlos malas lecturas del término latino FATICA, pero nos parece igualmente improba-

ble porque hay que suponer en los clérigos un mediano conocimiento del latín.

A partir, pues, de dos grupos etimológicos distintos, pero cercanos tanto por su valor semántico como por su forma fonética, uno de los dos, fortalecido por su tradición jurídica, detiene el progreso del otro. Parece fuera de dudas que «fatiga» ha cubierto la casilla dentro del vocabulario de sensaciones y sentimientos, aunque no sin trabajo, puesto que el occitano «cuita» ocupa el lugar preferente hasta mediados o fines del XV, y el espaldarazo de Valdés indica aún cierta persistencia del último, si bien rítmicamente las posibilidades estilísticas del trisílabo son superiores. Señalemos que en textos tan significativos como la *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea* ya se aprecia claramente el uso de «cuita» y sus derivados únicamente en frases hechas y proverbiales, mientras que «fatiga» es el término activo del mismo campo semántico, junto con otros de distinto origen, como «dolor» y «congoxa»¹.

* * *

Esperamos, a última cuenta, haber conseguido comunicar a nuestros posibles lectores el sentimiento maravillado con que siempre afrontamos el estudio filológico de los textos medievales, disponiéndonos continuamente a la sorpresa, a la contradicción. Sensación frecuente como la que debió experimentar el fabuloso asno de Buridán, y profundo sentimiento de humildad ante los azarosos descubrimientos, que le faltara a otro famoso asno de fábula. Pero no desesperamos de que este desbroce de pequeñas parcelas en el inmenso campo filológico de nuestro medievo pueda ser útil para más firmes conclusiones.

IGNACIO SOLDEVILA-DURANTE

¹ En un trabajo en curso sobre el lenguaje de los sentimientos esperamos poder aducir pruebas de que la variedad y abundancia de los términos relativos al sentimiento de la inquietud espiritual (angustia, congoxa, etc.) están ligados a la «casta» judeo-española, lo que no /dejaría/ de alegrar al maestro Castro, si no lo supiera ya, como creemos.

ORIENTACION DE LA NOVELISTICA ESPANOLA ACTUAL

En un reciente artículo publicado por la revista madrileña «Insula», el insigne crítico literario hispano-argentino Guillermo de Torre declara: «no existe una generación española del 1936». Acepta sin embargo la opinión de otro crítico exilado español, Ricardo Gullón, que pretende: «el hecho generacional y paradójicamente aglutinador es la guerra».

No existe, en realidad, contradicción *in terminis*. Gullón y de Torre no llegan a reconocer una uniformidad en las aspiraciones y tendencias de los literatos que habían sido marcados por la terrible contienda. Pero no discuten, sin embargo, la repercusión de la guerra civil sobre todos los hombres que la vivieron.

Parece evidente pues que todas las atrocidades que marcaron esos funestos años del 36 al 39 habían de imprimir profundos surcos en el corazón y la memoria de toda la generación que los padeció.

Además, si queremos estudiar las tendencias actuales de la novela española, es indispensable situar un punto de partida. El estudio de las obras publicadas después de la guerra civil nos revela una modificación total en la inspiración de los autores. Todos son dirigidos por un cuidado evidente de realismo. Todos consideran la objetividad como el blanco supremo a alcanzar. Eso nos invita a ciertas reflexiones.

Entre la novelística anterior a la contienda y la de posguerra se creó una quiebra. Entre todos los literatos que toman o que vuelven a tomar la pluma después de 1939, distinguimos a dos grupos:

- 1) casi todos cuantos habían alcanzado la madurez y recibido una formación intelectual antes de los acontecimientos escogen el camino del exilio. Este fué el caso para Ramón Sender, Max Aub, Arturo Barea y Serrano Poncela;

2) la extensa mayoría de los otros efectúan sus primeros pasos en la literatura y lo hacen en su propia patria, dolorida y desgarrada, los ojos todavía repletos de las escenas trágicas que presenciaron. Sobresalen Cela, Luis Romero, Ignacio Agustí y José-María Gironella.

En 1940 estos escritores, todavía jóvenes, tenían entre 23 y 25 años. Y aquí se plantea el problema de los límites, de las fronteras y de la jerarquía: selecciones preferidas de los críticos. Como no quiero someterme al reproche que frecuentemente se hace a los profesores por sus deseos inagotables de categorizar a los escritores, no diré tampoco que haya existido, desde el principio, un corifeo que dirigiese a sus compañeros. Esto sólo aparece con la perspectiva, con la evolución de los años. Además, el español es demasiado individualista para aceptar reglas y jefes literarios sobre todo cuando no ha encontrado todavía su modo de expresión.

Pero, desde 1940, todos se conforman a una necesidad: la de un cambio de rumbo, la de una revolución en las inspiraciones de la novela.

El gran quebranto de la guerra civil aisló económica y políticamente a España, lejos de un mundo en ardiente contienda. Además se había apartado del mismo modo de las grandes corrientes culturales internacionales. Apenas se sabía en España lo que sucedía realmente allende sus fronteras.

El lector español — escaso por tradición y entonces más que nunca — perdía su tiempo en lecturas heteróclitas de traducciones extranjeras buenas o malas, de los autores más diversos.

Hubiera sido el momento adecuado para restaurar una tradición perdida o crear otra original e independiente.

Para evitar precisamente el ser « generacional » cada escritor se convertiría en un caso. Pero la personalidad que domina este período fué la de Camilo-José Cela. Y sin embargo, los pocos años que siguen a 1940 parecen grises y estériles.

En 1942, cuando él publica *La familia de Pascual Duarte*, el empleo de un nuevo vocabulario, crudo y materialista, el relato de una acción erizada de violencias y desgarros bastaron para que la palabra *tremendismo* surgiese de la pluma de los críticos.

En vez de centrar el motivo de la novela sobre el odio del

protagonista por su madre, lo esboza de soslayo o pretende sugerirlo, evitando las escenas convincentes.

Entre otras cosas inverosímiles, citaremos al episodio del hijo que huye de su madre para resistir a la tentación de matarla. La visita del « Estirao » a casa de Pascual para llevarse otra vez a la hermana de éste es puro melodrama.

Pero los efectos dramáticos no existen aquí. Aparecen más bien en el manejo hábil de un estilo brutal y seco. La destreza de Cela es incomparable para encontrar la expresión conmovedora, la increpación verbal de un ser intelectualmente limitado que nos obliga a admitir su propia psicología. La realidad humana presenta menos importancia aquí que la potencia de la expresión, la magia del estilo.

La Familia de Pascual Duarte inaugura en España la novela realista negra sin renunciar a características específicamente españolas: al intelectualismo de *l'Etranger* de Camus — publicado, lo recordaremos, en el mismo año — se opone la vitalidad de la novela española.

Efectivamente, la obra de Cela denunciaba lo absurdo del español que se entrega a sus impulsos, celebrados como virtudes nacionales y que no son sino perjuicios de una sociedad marchita, vinculada a prohibiciones de otro tiempo.

Al obedecer a las leyes rígidas del honor, Pascual Duarte se convierte en asesino. Y, ridículamente, lo es más, cuando sabemos que rodean a este defensor de la elegancia moral varias mediocridades, entre viciosos e incapaces.

En 1942, en una España neutra pero deseando la victoria alemana, sumergida en el mercado negro y entregada a la corrupción, la ociosidad y el hambre diario, todo el mundo quiere vivir y burlar sus desilusiones o su fastidio, realizando trabajos inútiles o gozando de los placeres sexuales.

La segunda novela de Cela, *La colmena* (1951), será el retrato de una sociedad abigarrada, de unos 300 personajes, tipos vulgares de la vida madrileña, dominados por el hambre, el sexo y las más apremiantes necesidades.

La novela toma así las dimensiones de una novela colectivista. El auténtico protagonista es la ciudad de Madrid, descrita como un ser vivo, como una colmena de miles y miles de celdas en las que el autor nos introduce sucesivamente para revelarnos la trágica, lamentable o torturada vida de cada uno de sus ocupantes. Sus

instintos toman rápidamente una superioridad sobre los otros sentimientos para revelarnos la crueldad, la implacable dictadura de la que sólo el sueño nos permite una evasión ...

El prologuista de la traducción francesa, José-María Castellet, lo llamó (en 1958): « une sorte de révolté contre les tabous imposés par la religion et en même temps une protestation contre l'idéalisme brandi comme un drapeau par la féodalité toujours vivante ».

Para la juventud literaria española, de 1940 a 1950, se elaboran las reglas, los principios de la nueva novelística. Julien Benda, no obstante desea que ésta fuese una observación de la vida y un juicio sobre la misma; es además un modo de afirmar la personalidad del escritor. Sea lo que sea, una novela realmente objetiva debe defenderse de aceptar subjetivamente las ideas de su autor. Así es cómo, a partir de 1940, la novela española se aparta completamente del ideal de la novela francesa y cuanto más que la ignora.

Desde Proust, el autor francés ha pretendido siempre expresar su «yo». Sartre ha destruido la estructura clásica de la novela para introducir en ella no la imagen del objeto sino la huella que deja en el espíritu de sus personajes. Montherlant llega hasta a reservar varios aspectos de su propia psicología.

La nueva novela española pretende, al contrario, ser impersonal, realista, y socialmente reivindicadora. Se ve extraordinariamente marcada por la situación económica y social de su país.

No podemos olvidar, efectivamente, que España tardó varios años en curar de sus heridas. El fragor de las armas había apenas cesado en la península que empezaba ya la segunda guerra mundial.

Además, privada del oro del Banco de la República, sin ninguna ayuda económica extranjera, España no borró rápida ni fácilmente las huellas desastrosas de la guerra civil.

Apenas conseguida la paz internacional, nuevas sanciones económicas la aislan del mundo libre hundiéndola, entre 1946 y 1948, en un nuevo marasmo.

Cada día se hacía más crítica la situación económica de la nación, empeorada aún por una administración autarcica, cerrada, que paralizaba la industria en vez de reanimarla.

Fué necesario llegar a la firma de los acuerdos hispano-americanos de 1953-1963, para que muy lentamente primero, más pronto después, se viese un cambio en la vida del español torturado por la angustia de la pobreza, de la desocupación y del hambre.

Prácticamente, la situación económica española tardó más o menos 20 años en recuperar su equilibrio, todavía provisional. En 1960, aparecen señales evidentes de una reactivación económica, acompañada por un aumento general de la situación social. A partir de esta época, España recobra vitalidad y alimenta esperanzas nuevas.

Surge una planificación económica más realista, mejor pensada y más coordinada, con deseos sinceros de liberalización política y administrativa, y un ablandamiento de las rígidas consignas políticas.

Se prepara el famoso plan de desarrollo (1963-67), punto de partida de la reacción general de la industria y de la economía del país.

Pero si estos hechos anuncian los elementos dinámicos actuales de la futura prosperidad de la nación, en 1960, no habían sido todavía constituidos.

Claro es, que de 1950 a 1960 España toma conciencia de su miseria social, tanto más cuanto multiplica sus contactos con el extranjero y compara su condición de vida con las ajenas.

Entonces el deseo de los novelistas será constituir con sus obras un llamamiento a las reformas económicas y sobre todo las sociales. Pero este grito tendría en cuenta los imperativos de la condición moral del escritor español.

España se había enfrentado durante tres años a una oposición armada abierta, teniendo que conservar sus armas listas contra una hostilidad que, por ser muda y paralizada, no dejaba de existir entre los límites de su territorio nacional y los países extranjeros.

Esta vigilancia política y militar no podía favorecer los escritos sediciosos ni una literatura tendenciosa.

Digámoslo: los escritores españoles tuvieron que contar con la severidad de la censura.

Esto explica por qué han suavizado sus quejas, han moderado sus ataques, han vaciado sus descripciones de las características que pudieran ofender al régimen o atacar a una clase social determinada. Al contrario, varios escritores orientaron sus novelas hacia un relato tan objetivo como fuese posible de la guerra civil vista a través de la existencia de una familia (Gironella) o de un soldado cualquiera en el frente (de la Reguera).

Otros, como Carmen Laforet y Luis Romero, prefirieron denunciar la lucha vana y desesperada de unos individuos contra una sociedad injusta, hipócrita y egoísta. Este es el caso de *Nada* (1944) y de *Los otros* (1956).

Si a esta generación de escritores se la ha llamado a veces la «generación del medio siglo» es porque prácticamente sitúa sus obras más características entre 1950 y 1960, sin que podamos ignorar las que prepara ese brotar novelístico.

Para mí, el grito de guerra, el grito de rebelión de la generación es *La Familia de Pascual Duarte* (1942).

Nada de Carmen Laforet es una acusación de la juventud contra la incompreensión, el egoísmo de los mayores. Después aparecen poco a poco las obras que permitirán establecer las tendencias y orientaciones de la novelística actual.

Las novelas de la guerra. — A partir de 1943, Ignacio Agustí, en una serie cíclica — *La ceniza fué árbol* — evoca el ascenso social de una familia barcelonesa. Publica sucesivamente: *Mariona Rebull* (1943), *El viudo Riús* (1945), *Desiderio* (1957) y *19 de julio* (1965). A pesar de que el protagonista sea Joaquín Riús, que representa a la tenaz burguesía que forjó la potencia económica de la ciudad condal, tanto la primera como la segunda novela constituyen una amplia crónica de la vida urbana. Bajo este aspecto nos recuerda el unanimismo de Jules Romains en su París de *Les hommes de bonne volonté*. Pero, en el tercer volumen — que se hizo esperar hasta 1957 — Agustí modifica su óptica. El fondo y el marco de la novela los componen las fiestas de Barcelona, su aspecto cosmopolita y teatral, sus brillantes tertulias. Las calidades descriptivas del autor quedan evidenciadas a pesar de que no encontremos en sus novelas esa preocupación de renovación artística que admirábamos en las de Laforet y sobre todo en las de Cela.

19 de Julio confronta a la familia Riús con los desórdenes de la 2a República española y los primeros días de la insurrección nacionalista. Ha sido galardonado con el Premio de Literatura Miguel de Cervantes, a raíz de su incontestable valor literario. Es una evocación auténtica del ambiente de Barcelona durante los años de la República.

Si Ignacio Agustí ha evocado la existencia de una familia en un marco histórico tras el cual se divisan los primeros rumores de la guerra civil, cuatro autores se esfuerzan en situar la acción de sus novelas después del 18 de julio de 1936.

A los dos primeros, escritores en exilio, Arturo Barea y Max Aub, debemos *La forja de un rebelde* (1948) y el ciclo constituido

por *El laberinto mágico* (1943/45) en donde denuncia principalmente, en forma de trilogía, los horrores bélicos.

Fernando de la Reguera con *Cuerpo a tierra* (1947) y Luis Romero con *Tudá* (1957) presentan una relación humana y conmovedora de la vida del combatiente.

Pero la obra maestra del género la debemos a José-Maria Giro-nella. Nacido en 1917, tenía como Cela unos 20 años cuando estalló la guerra civil española.

Ya en 1948, con *La marea*, se empeñó en denunciar la postura moral insostenible, la quiebra de un materialismo sin límites, la satánica vanidad de un autócrata sin humanidad ninguna y sin el mínimo respeto por los derechos del hombre. La acción abarcaba los años de la segunda guerra mundial hasta la caída final del régimen nazi. La calidad de la prosa no bastó para compensar que el libro llegase en mala hora. España, todavía aislada por las Naciones Unidas, reaccionaba con viva germanofilia y no podía acoger con simpatía a un autor estigmatizando los defectos de los alemanes.

Pero el anuncio de la publicación de la enorme trilogía considerada como «la novela político-social de la España contemporánea» despertó una viva curiosidad popular. Se saludó la aparición del primer tomo, *Los cipreses creen en Dios* (1952) como una reconstrucción absolutamente objetiva de la vida de una modesta familia gerundense durante los últimos meses anteriores a la revolución. El autor había evitado toda pasión en la evocación de los hechos políticos. Aun más, era difícil, de esta primera obra, deducir qué partido iban a tomar él mismo y sus protagonistas. La objetividad parecía ser su calidad mayor. Constituía una paciente reconstitución de los ambientes prerevolucionarios y revolucionarios.

Además, la acción se situaba en la zona controlada por los republicanos. El novelista hubiera podido llevar a sus personajes a remolque de los acontecimientos políticos o haberlos debilitado por los sucesos.

El éxito fué enorme ya que, por primera vez, la opinión pública española, de cualquier tendencia que fuese, reconocía a la novela un esfuerzo y un talento objetivos muy raros en la mayoría de las obras. Trataban siempre el tema con pasión. Además, pudo apreciarse la belleza plástica del relato, las magníficas páginas sobre el amor familiar, la pintura conmovedora de los sentimientos huma-

nos, la fidelidad de la evocación de un mundo político y social llamado a desaparecer.

El segundo volumen del tríptico, *Un millón de muertos* (1961), oscila progresivamente hacia la ideología determinada por la historia, pero lo hace con tanto tino y tan progresiva delicadeza que casi reúne todos los sufragios del lector.

Pretende ser «una crónica para los propios españoles tan escasamente dotados para abrazar sin apasionamiento la totalidad de los hechos». Pretende también ser una réplica novelada a las otras obras escritas fuera de España y que, a pesar de sus evidentes calidades literarias — como las de Hemingway, Malraux y Bernanos — pecan de injustas, arbitrarias o de incompletas evocaciones del problema complejo, de la auténtica forma de aquella guerra fratricida.

No obstante, es más bien una historia documental que una novela propiamente dicha. Esperamos la publicación de la 3a parte de la trilogía — *Ha estallado la paz* — para formular una opinión definitiva. Pero ya podemos avanzar que este enorme trabajo no tiene parecido en las letras españolas si exceptuamos a los *Episodios Nacionales* de Galdós y sabemos por *Los fantasmas de mi cerebro*, cuantas versiones y correcciones costaron a Gironella. Su talento literario le permitió escribir casi de manera histórica los capítulos más discutidos de la España contemporánea. Las obras posteriores, como *El Janón y su duende* (1963), *Mujer, levántate y anda* (1963), *China, lágrima innumerable* (1965), no se pueden comparar ni en valor literario ni en interés costumbrista.

La novela costumbrista. — A la otra extremidad de la inspiración actual se sitúa la novela costumbrista o campestre. Es el caso que varios autores se refugian en la descripción de la vida regional, en la pintura minuciosa de las costumbres locales, para escapar a las exigencias de la época, del tiempo. Así sucede con todas las novelas de *Zunzuneguí* relacionadas con el mundo de Bilbao; con las obras de *Ignacio Aldecoa*, fiel evocador de distintos oficios; con los libros difíciles pero bien escritos de *Juan-Sebastián Arbó*; y con las tesis de *Elena Quiroga*, que describe la presión de la naturaleza sobre la vida de una familia. (*La sangre*)

La novela feminista. — La novela feminista o la tragedia de la pareja tienen analistas ilustres como Carmen Laforet en *La Isla y sus demonios* y en *La mujer nueva*; como la conmovedora e intelectual *Elena Soriano* en su famosa trilogía *Mujer y hombre*.

Pero muy pronto aparece la cepa de mayor relieve de toda la generación del medio siglo: la novela social.

La novela social. — Como ya lo hemos indicado, su iniciador fué Cela. Pero inmediatamente distinguimos rumbos distintos, vocaciones divergentes.

Miguel Delibes con *La sombra del cirrés es alargada*, (1947) y *El camino* (1950) defiende el determinismo realista. José-Luis Castillo Puche aparece como un abogado humanitario en el *Vengador* (1956), *Sin camino* (1957), *Con la muerte al hombro* (1954).

La pintura seca, fotográfica de la mediocridad estalla en una novela famosa de Sánchez Ferlosio: *El Jarama* (1952). La publicación de las obras de Luis Romero — *La noria* (1952) y *Los otros* (1956) — coincide con la aparición de una novela de reforma social.

La novela de reforma social. — Castillo-Navarro, uno de los escritores más jóvenes de la generación (nació en 1931), y de los más apasionados, se ha revelado en 1957 con libros asombrosos sobre la miseria de las tierras de Levante. Sus títulos hablan por sí mismos: *Con la lengua fuera* — *La sal viste luto* — *Las unas del miedo*.

López-Salinas, más tajante todavía, denuncia las injusticias sociales en *La Mina* (1959) y sobre todo en *Año tras año* (1964).

Pero dos escritores que se afirman cada día más han superado ya la época de su mensaje social para pasar a la pura trascendencia literaria: son Ana-María Matute y Juan Goytisolo. Goytisolo prácticamente vive en París, en donde se alimenta de todas las influencias literarias de este gran crisol cosmopolita. La Matute empieza a viajar sólo ahora. Considero que estos contactos con la cultura extranjera, con el mundo exterior, son determinantes para la orientación de las obras.

Claro que el talento de Matute se había afinado ya a partir de *Fiesta al Noroeste* (1953). *Los Abel* (1948) y *Los hijos muertos* (1958) constituyen novelas cuyos defectos de construcción son compensados por la originalidad del estilo y un talento creador.

Pero será a partir de 1959 con *Primera memoria* y en 1963 con la continuación de ésta, *Los soldados lloran de noche*, que Matute alcanza un poder transcendental. Su mensaje social y literario se afirma así con extraordinario relieve poético.

Matute fué el primer autor en ver en las guerras el origen de la descomposición moral del hombre occidental. En los dos primeros

volúmenes de su excelente trilogía, *Los mercaderes*, nos demuestra que no existen buenos o malos sino una realidad turbia. En España, el hombre occidental luchó hasta el máximo de sus fuerzas. En ella empezó a descomponerse, a disolverse. La novela de Matute, al adoptar la demostración de esta prueba, será española por su marco y por sus personajes pero también universal por sus fundamentos. La complicación de los numerosos hilos de la intriga, la dificultad de reconstruir la evolución de los hechos y de distinguir, de conocer a todos los personajes, todo está realizado con el deseo de asemejar la novela a lo complicado de la vida real donde los actores aparecen también como máscaras, como fantasmas semi-aparentes, disimulando la realidad de su carácter y de su existencia.

Esta perspectiva artística, esa proyección de la guerra sobre la conducta psicológica de sus personajes, dan más relieve y un mayor valor espiritual a su mensaje novelístico. Su obra aparece como una de las más grandes creaciones literarias de la literatura española actual.

Juan Goytisolo, más joven todavía que la anterior, con una pluma ardiente, nos ha dado varios libros que reflejan realidades sociales locales. Así, *Campos de Nijar* (1960), *La Chanca* (1962) y *Pueblo en marcha* (1963) aparecen como documentos y no como relatos.

La primera parte de su mensaje literario es más conmovedora. Se trata de *Juegos de manos* (1954) y *Duelo en el Paraíso* (1955). *Juegos de manos* nos da una imagen pesimista de un grupo de estudiantes españoles fuera del tiempo. El relato evita todo color local pero nos apercibimos que se trata de la España actual.

A pesar de ofrecer un documento histórico, la novela, desarrollándose con creciente interés, contiene páginas extraordinarias hasta el asesinato de David.

La descripción de ese mundillo de estudiantes «snobs» revela hasta qué punto ignoran los problemas sociales y políticos de su tiempo y se concentran en el deseo del acto gratuito.

Duelo en el Paraíso, novela más dolorosa y humana, nos cuenta como un grupo de niños abandonados en un pueblo, durante la retirada de las tropas republicanas, en los últimos meses de la guerra civil, quieren imitar a sus mayores llegando hasta a matar a uno de sus compañeros. El relato mezcla sucesivamente el pasado, el presente y el futuro para permitirnos comprender los motivos de un

drama inexplicable en su principio. Aparece aquí la pintura de toda una juventud desamparada, desorientada, cuyas ilusiones desaparecieron frente a la trágica y ridícula criminalidad de los adultos.

Las obras posteriores a 1956, *El circo* (1957), *Fiestas* (1958), *La resaca* (1958), *Para vivir aquí* (1960), *Campos de Nijar* (1960), *La chanca* (1962), y *Fin de fiesta* (1962), nos muestran una visión cruel de la España actual, una imagen trágica de las miserias sociales que piden arreglo y justicia.

Además, poco a poco, la mirada del autor se extiende hasta los extranjeros que llegan a España menos para admirarla, visitarla o eventualmente ayudarla que para destruirla y corromperla. En *La Isla* (1961) está centrada sobre una de esas playas de lujo en donde la corrupción llega a su paroxismo (*La Isla* - 1961).

En *Pueblo en marcha* (1963) el autor estudia la experiencia del pueblo cubano que quiere llegar a una mejor situación social a través de reformas que están experimentándose con dificultades enormes. Todo esto nos revela a Goytisolo como un autor preocupado por un ideal elevado, sin que su talento literario esté siempre al nivel de sus anhelos. Le falta todavía la madurez, el deseo de terminar sus obras, la perfección de un talento literario ya notable. Quizá, dentro de unos años nos ofrezca novelas parecidas o superiores a sus dos primeras.

A Angel-María de Lera le tocó estudiar los problemas planteados a los emigrados españoles en el extranjero (*Hemos perdido el sol* — 1963 — *Con la maleta al hombro* — 1965 —) y a la tierra abandonada por sus hijos (*Tierra para morir* — 1964).

Contenido de la novela actual. — Pasemos a algunas conclusiones.

1) La tendencia más amplia, y adoptada con más frecuencia por los novelistas contemporáneos, es la de la literatura testimonial o documental.

Goytisolo, López Salinas, Castillo-Navarro y Gironella centran sus temas en:

- a) la guerra civil,
- b) las costumbres o problemas regionales
- c) la sociedad contemporánea y particularmente la juventud obrera o burguesa.

- 2) Un argumento mucho menos tratado es el de la literatura sentimental. Laforet, Quiroga y Soriano, aparecen como autores de segundo plano, no por la inferioridad de sus calidades intelectuales sino por el poco éxito que obtienen.

En España una novela no se publica a más de 2-3.000 ejemplares. Solo obras como las de Gironella o Matute provocan un éxito de curiosidad justificando tiradas de hasta 50.000 ejemplares. En unos años, *Los cipreses crecen en Dios* llegó hasta la cifra extraordinaria de 650.000 volúmenes vendidos. Todo se concentra en el deseo de establecer una literatura «constructiva» para:

- 1) ofrecer — sin esquemas previos — una explicación de «cómo es la España actual»;
- 2) facilitar una toma de conciencia, anticipando la idea de reformas necesarias para cambiar la situación actual.

Consecuencias intrínsecas. — 1) Esta literatura pretende evocar la realidad española, teniendo en cuenta las condiciones reservadas al escritor en su país. Por ello se limita a presentar los hechos, sin comentarios ni opiniones que puedan interpretarse como formas críticas o ofensivas.

2) Esta literatura, con un deseo de realismo y originalidad, frena la posibilidad de sublimación, de transposición alegórica o semillamente artística. Pretende sacudir al lector más bien que conmoverlo estéticamente. Como tiene la suerte de interesar a un público cada vez más amplio, sus autores lo aprovechan al máximo.

3) Esta literatura obedece a veces a necesidades comerciales o políticas. Docenas de autores escriben por contrato con los editores. Suavizan su estilo y excluyen las originalidades o audacias en la lengua o en la pintura. De esta manera suprimen toda alusión erótica o pornográfica, tan frecuentes en otras literaturas.

4) Esta literatura no puede evitar, al fin y al cabo, cierta impresión de monotonía, de hastio, pero centra también su interés en la vida y en los problemas nacionales. Es española: triste y trágica. Le falta, a veces, una profunda cultura clásica o una sólida técnica literaria. Pero, al atraer el pensamiento del lector hacia España, desarrolla o despierta una forma activa de patriotismo.

Varios novelistas esperan tener influencia sobre todo el pueblo español. Eso se pone en evidencia en las obras de Angel-María de Lera, de López-Salinas, de Goytisolo y de Castillo-Navarro.

Porvenir de la literatura actual. — La evolución de la situación económico-social española, paralela a esta toma de conciencia de los límites de su inspiración y de sus posibilidades, debía orientar a los escritores españoles hacia una renovación parcial de su temática. Y se puede suponer que provocará también una sublimación efectiva, estética, que divisamos ya entre los mejores escritores actuales. En los últimos libros que nos llegan de España — como ese *Grito de Oriente* de L. M. Ansón galardonado con el Premio Nacional del Ensayo en 1965 — vemos ya una diversificación más amplia de los temas tratados. Gironella se orienta hacia el Japón y la China. Goytisolo se interesa por Cuba.

Los escritores de la nueva generación — los que empezaron a escribir en 1965 — abordan nuevos argumentos, tratan de la vida universitaria, de los problemas estudiantiles y del desarrollo intelectual de la nación. Estos no conocieron la guerra, nacieron dentro del nuevo régimen y tienen ahora entre 20 y 25 años.

A ellos se les ofrece la gran oportunidad de escribir una nueva página generacional en la historia de la literatura española contemporánea. El tiempo dirá si consiguen suscitar entre el público culto un interés igual al de sus predecesores que escogieron, para dar un título conocido, «España como preocupación».

ANDRE JANSEN

LE VOYAGE D'HORACE
BENEDICT DE SAUSSURE EN ITALIE

Au XVIII^e siècle, tout voyageur cultivé se doit d'inclure l'Italie dans son Grand Tour. Ce long voyage n'est pas seulement effectué par les jeunes gens sortis de l'université — principalement des Anglais — qui veulent achever leur éducation artistique et politique avant d'aborder la vie adulte. Le tour de l'Italie est le voyage idéal qu'effectue un homme cultivé, qui veut s'instruire ou se reposer. C'est pourquoi Horace-Bénédict de Saussure en 1772-73 ira jusqu'en Sicile et rédigera son journal de voyage.

C'est un petit carnet in-16, en grande partie inédit, conservé à la Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Genève (No 19 du fonds des papiers Saussure, au département des Manuscrits). Il est rédigé au crayon sur quelques pages, puis à l'encre, d'une écriture très lisible, à peu près constamment en style télégraphique, mais un style qui n'est pas dépourvu de charme.

On connaît surtout Saussure pour son ascension du Mont Blanc en 1787, la troisième, et pour son monumental ouvrage, les *Voyages dans les Alpes*¹, en 4 volumes, mine de documents pour l'histoire de la découverte des montagnes. Mais la personnalité de Saussure ne peut se limiter à ce domaine, même très vaste. Avec une conscience scientifique supérieure à celle de bien des érudits de son temps, il dépasse ce domaine et laisse dans l'histoire des idées une personnalité multiple et attrayante.

Il a joué un rôle tout à fait exceptionnel parmi ses contemporains. Il est l'un des trois ou quatre savants genevois dont la lettre d'introduction vaut un passeport, l'un de ceux que les visiteurs

¹ 4 vol. in 4°, Neuchâtel 1780-1796.

étrangers se faisaient un devoir d'aller saluer à l'étape de Genève. Et ceci longtemps avant qu'il ne soit le vainqueur du Mont Blanc. Il est né en 1740, et, des deux côtés, ses parents appartiennent au patriciat genevois; ils sont d'origine française et lorraine. Il fait d'excellentes études et, à vingt-deux ans, est nommé professeur de philosophie naturelle à l'Académie de Genève. Le Professeur de Saussure sera l'une des lumières de l'Académie fondée par Calvin. Du fait de son milieu, de sa famille, de ses relations, il est lié avec tout de qui compte en Suisse et, bientôt, il a un cercle de relations internationales. En 1765, il épouse Albertine-Amélie Boissier, du même milieu que lui, d'une famille également cultivée: son grand père est le pasteur Ami Lullin, bibliophile et savant. Ils auront trois enfants, une fille et deux fils. Plusieurs fois par an, Saussure part en voyage, à pied ou à cheval, pour explorer les Alpes qui, depuis plusieurs années, le passionnent. Mais il tient à élargir ses connaissances et il entreprend de plus longs voyages, accompagné cette fois par sa femme. En 1768-69, ils sont allés en France puis en Angleterre et ce jeune homme de 28 ans a fait un voyage réellement triomphal.

En 1772, il tombe gravement malade et, souffrant de la gorge, essaie diverses cures thermales qui ne lui font aucun bien. Le Dr. Théodore Tronchin, qui le soigne, lui ordonne formellement d'aller passer l'hiver dans un climat plus doux que celui de Genève. Saussure écrit alors à Albert de Haller: « Comme le froid ne me convient pas, je suis décidé à passer l'hiver prochain à Naples ». Et il prépare son départ. Sa femme l'accompagne et aussi leur fille, Albertine, qui a 6 ans. On la verra jouer un rôle important au cours du voyage. La fillette, grandie et mariée deviendra Mme Necker - de Saussure, cousine par alliance de Mme de Stael et son amie intime. Saussure se procure un véritable volume de lettres d'introduction et la caravane se met en route le 1er octobre 1772.

Les premières pages des notes de Saussure sont rédigées au crayon, peut-être parce qu'il est parti encore assez faible, et aussi parce qu'il suit un itinéraire déjà parcouru: Aix, Montmélian, Modane, le Mont Cenis et Turin. Au cours des quelques jours passés à Turin, il note ses visites, et surtout celles aux propriétaires de machines électriques. Saussure s'intéresse à ce phénomène tout nouvellement abordé par les savants et il va voir les machines de

M. de St. Giles. D'une manière générale, Saussure aura l'optique de son siècle. Il est attiré par les ruines et les souvenirs de l'Antiquité; les cités médiévales ou baroques ne l'intéressent pas. Mais, au contraire de plusieurs de ses contemporains, il observe les habitants du pays qu'il visite et sait les décrire. Encore cet intérêt se limite-t-il aux personnages illustres pour qui il a des introductions. Mais il parvient à se sentir chez lui dans les villes étrangères, et il en saisit certains aspects. Le 13 octobre, à Turin, il se rend à la Superga et, bien entendu il note: « Vue magnifique sur les Alpes, flanquées sur la gauche par la haute pointe du Mont Viso et sur la droite par le massif élancé du Mont Rose; je ne puis pas reconnaître avec certitude le Mont Blanc »: il n'oublie jamais sa passion. Il visite la bibliothèque, piloté par « l'excellent » M. de Brézé et remarque une table isiaque très curieuse.

A Milan (20 octobre), il est abasourdi par la « cathédrale immense » et son fourmillement de statuettes. Il part vers Plaisance et note: « Depuis Plaisance, on commence à découvrir à droite de la route les collines de l'Apennin ». Il est à Bologne du 30 octobre au 14 novembre, remarque quelques tableaux du Guide et de Raphaël, dont la vogue est alors immense, et se lie avec Leonora Bassi. Elle est charmante, mais Saussure n'est pas particulièrement frappé par son érudition. « Sa machine (électrique) est si faible et en si mauvais ordre qu'à peine pouvait-on obtenir des étincelles de 2 ou 3 lignes. Content de sa modestie. Elle faisait plus de questions et cherchait plus à apprendre ce que les autres savent qu'à faire parade de la sienne ». Les jours passent, en visites aux Bassi, réceptions, et soirées à l'Opéra.

Le 15 novembre, les Saussure sont à Florence. Une fois de plus, on remarque l'étroitesse du goût du XVIII^e siècle. Florence, pour Saussure est un épisode mondain et surtout britannique: il rencontre le ministre Sir Thomas Mann, Lady Orford et Lord Harvey, son fils. Lady Orford est la veuve de Robert Walpole, ambassadeur et fils aîné du ministre. Il rencontre également Lady Pitt, femme de Sir Thomas Pitt. Mais les monuments et les musées de Florence n'ont pas dû l'intéresser. Pour changer de terrain, il se rend à l'île d'Elbe en s'embarquant à Livourne, remarquant au passage Mont Cristo, et s'intéressant aux minerais de Porto-Ferrajo. Sa femme ne l'a pas accompagné et il la retrouve à Livourne, le jour de Noël. Le 1^{er} janvier 1773, il est à Pise: « Beau marbre de

la cathédrale ... Campanile tortu, gradins à sa base enterrés du côté penchant». A Sienne, il ne parle que d'une collection de fossiles et il arrive à Rome le 11 janvier. Il loge à la Place d'Espagne. avec les siens. Rome est sans doute la ville qui a le plus frappé Saussure depuis son arrivée en Italie. Esprit nettement classique, il se complaît dans ce cadre où l'Antiquité se révèle à chaque pas. Et il note: « Nous courons à St Pierre, dont la place nous frappe plus que l'intérieur ... Nous sommes enthousiasmés de Rome ». Les grands Raphaël du Vatican: « grandes beautés et idées extravagantes ». On le sent un peu écrasé par tant de monuments, de souvenirs, de traditions, et ses notes sont un catalogue. Ni le *Jugement dernier*, ni Ste Praxède ne lui suggèrent de commentaires. C'est à la *Transfiguration* de Raphaël, à St Victor in Montorio, qu'il consacre la plus longue étude: « Beau en tout et en détails; mais qui ne frappe pas les ignorants comme les chefs d'oeuvres du Corrège. La situation du Christ élevé et suspendu est superbe, mais les deux apôtres de derrière de gauche qui s'élancent vers lui font un effet ridicule qui donne à ces trois figures l'air d'un ballet. Le groupe d'en bas est superbe, bien lié à celui d'en haut. Le Démoniaque a l'air terrifié; toutes les physionomies sont belles, nobles, bien caractérisées et diversifiées ».

Les Saussure fréquents les théâtre, l'opéra, les réceptions. L'une de leur première visite a été pour le cardinal de Bernis, pour qui ils avaient une introduction de Voltaire, du 26 septembre 1772. Voltaire avait écrit: « Je prends la liberté Monseigneur, de vous présenter un voyageur genevois, digne de toutes les bontés de V. E., tout huguenot qu'il est. Sa famille est une des plus anciennes de ce pays et sa personne une des plus aimables. Il s'appelle M. de Saussures. C'est un des meilleurs physiciens de l'Europe. Sa modestie est égale à son savoir¹. « Babet la Bouquetière » avait immédiatement envoyé une invitation à dîner. Puis Saussure s'était mis en rapports avec l'abbé Grant, qui était le protecteur des Anglais et des protestants à Rome. D'excellente famille, riche, gai, infatigable, reçu partout, il connaissait tout le monde, le clergé, les peintres, les salons de la noblesse romaine. Il avait emmené les Saus-

¹ Voltaire, *Correspondance*, 26 septembre 1772.

sure à une audience privée du pape Clement XIV le 19 janvier. Saussure décrit minutieusement le cérémonial, le costume du pape, les genuflexions de rigueur. L'entrevue avait été des plus cordiales. Et les Saussure avaient eu une autre audience encore plus pittoresque quelques jours plus tard. L'abbé Grant les emmène avec leur fille visiter une villa du pape. « Albertine est allée à lui d'un air et d'un maintien assuré; il s'est détourné pour venir au-devant d'elle. Elle s'est avancée un moment, a mis un genou en terre et s'est mise en devoir de lui baiser la pantoufle, mais il l'a prise par la tête l'a embrassée et baisée en lui disant: « Besta così, besta così! » et puis il lui a dit deux fois « Deo ti benedica! » après quoi il a continué son chemin et en passant devant nous, il nous a salués d'un air très gracieux ». L'épisode est charmant, et Saussure s'empresse de l'écrire à ses amis de Genève. Le conseiller Dupan raconte l'histoire à son ami Freudenreich (14 février 1772): « (Saussure) est recommandé au cardinal de Bernis et présenté au pape. Sa femme et sa fille ayant grande envie de voir S. S., un abbé les mena dans un jardin où le pape se promène souvent ... L'abbé dit à la petite: « Si vous voulez le voir de plus près, allez lui demander sa bénédiction. La petite sans hésiter s'avance modestement, se met à genoux et comme elle s'inclinait pour baiser les pieds du pape, il la releva en lui disant: « Besta così! » et la voyant si jolie, il la caresse, l'embrasse et la baise, puis il donna sa bénédiction à la mère et à la fille. Le soir il dit au cardinal de Bernis:

— J'ai vait aujourd'hui une grande sottise.

— Quoi donc?

— J'ai baisé une fille en public.

— Etait-elle jolie?

— Très jolie, mais bien petite¹ ».

Ce fut l'un des succès du voyage. Saussure est présentée au cardinal delle Somaglia, au prince Pignatelli, au cardinal Orsini. Puis, le 5 février, il se met en route pour Naples. Ils couchent à Castelgandolfo et Saussure a une note presque romantique sur le lac d'Albano, « noir, profond, au milieu de bois remplis de neige. Il semble voir des gouffres de l'Enfer ». Et, quelques jours plus

¹ *Correspondance*, T. 11. Mss. Supp. 1545, Bibliothèque en Genevre.

tard, ils entrent dans l'été à Piperno: « Forêt superbe de lièges ou chênes verts, ceux-là aussi grands que les plus grands chênes, superbes, pittoresques. La broussaille même toute verte; un beau soleil; rien au monde qui rappelle l'hiver; un temps doux et frais, toutes les glaces (du carrosse) ouvertes ». Le 8 mars, ils arrivent à Naples et, la nuit, ils sont « incommodés du bruit que fait la mer! ».

A Naples comme à Rome, Saussure distribue des liasses de lettres d'introduction, et il retrouve deux amis genevois, partis avant lui de Rome, Turretini et Plantamour. Son protecteur est Mr. Hamilton (plus tard Sir William) un ancien ami, ministre d'Angleterre à Naples. De très ancienne famille, cousin des ducs de Hamilton, diplomate de valeur, c'est un brillant amateur comme tant d'hommes de son temps. Il est archéologue, numismate, physicien. Il étudie — un peu superficiellement — les Campi Phlegraei et leur consacre un ouvrage. Il est le spécialiste de l'Etna, et l'on connaît la passion du XVIII^e siècle pour les volcans. Il a voyagé dans la Campanie, la Sicile, Malte où il va en 1769. C'est aussi un excellent musicien, qui donne des soirées dans son palais, et qui peut aussi bien tenir la partie de violon d'un trio, qu'accompagner une cantatrice au clavecin. Il reçoit tous les voyageurs de marque qui passent par Naples, le peintre John Robert Cozens comme le naturaliste Dolomieu. A cette date, la maîtresse de maison est sa première femme, née Jane Barlow, « Mylady un peu froide », note Saussure. On connaît surtout sa seconde, Emma Hart, qui sera la fameuse maîtresse de Nelson. Pendant tout son séjour, Saussure sera un hôte assidu du palais de l'ambassadeur à Naples et de sa villa du Pausilippe. Hamilton lui fait visiter tous les environs de Naples, Caserte, le Pausilippe, Torre del Greco, Pouzzoles, le temple de Serapis. C'est tout un pays imprévu que découvre Saussure. Il se plonge avec extase dans les souvenirs antiques, les peintures de Pompei, les volumes d'Herculanum, le tombeau de Virgile, l'Arverne, Portici ...

La vie n'est pas toujours aussi savante. Il y a des bals, des mascarades, où il rend avec sa femme. Une troupe française est venue jouer à Naples. Il voit le *Français à Londres*, de Boissy, *Cinna*. La troupe est bonne et change souvent l'affiche. Comme partout ailleurs, Saussure rencontre à Naples tout ce qui vaut la peine d'être rencontré. Des Napolitains d'abord, et en particulier l'abbé Galiani, le fidèle correspondant de Mme d'Épinay: il écrit

à celle-ci: « Vous saurez que nous avons ici M. et Mme de Saussure, dont je m'occupe ... parce qu'ils me parlent de vous¹ ». Galiani, spirituel, charmant, mondain, est enthousiasmé par ces nouveaux visiteurs. L'ambassadeur de France, le baron de Breteuil, qui arrive de Vienne et sera plus tard ministre, invite les Saussure à plusieurs réceptions. Il rencontre chez lui Mme de la Vaupalière, sa fille et son gendre, M. de Matignon. Il est présenté à la princesse Belmonte, dont la belle-mère était une fidèle amie de Metastasio, et aussi à la princesse Demidoff, grande dame russe dont la fortune est colossale. Il va à la cour et Albertine récite des fables à la reine Marie-Caroline.

La nature se met en frais pour Saussure. Il écrit un jour à sa tante, Mme Charles Bonnet pour lui décrire « un beau phénomène dont je fus témoin hier au soir (15 mars). Nous étions, ma femme et moi, chez Mylord Tilney, à 10h 1/2 dans une assemblée de 20 à 30 personnes ... la première noblesse de Naples. Tout à coup, on voit partir une flamme brillante et on entend un coup comme celui d'un pistolet ... Plusieurs personnes se trouvent couvertes d'une poussière brillante qu'on ne sait à quoi attribuer, mais l'on découvre bientôt que cette poussière est la dorure des appartements écaillée, enlevée, fondue par la foudre. Toutes les boiseries, les meubles les glaces noircis, brûlés, écaillés par la foudre. Le sofa le plus endommagé fut celui où une princesse napolitaine était assise entre deux de ses amants ... C'était un singulier spectacle que cette quantité de visages blêmes où l'on voyait peinte la crainte, la dévotion, la curiosité ... Nous sommes allés ce matin, M. Hamilton et moi, examiner la route de la foudre »². Des épisodes de ce genre ravissent Saussure et il sent très vite l'excellent effet du climat sur sa santé. Il écrit dans la même lettre à Mme Bonnet: « Ah, ma tante, ma bonne tante, c'est ce séjour, c'est ce climat qu'il faudrait pour vous remettre, l'air pur, vif et doux qu'on respire, le soleil et la chaleur est toujours tempérée par un vent frais, ces magnifiques points de vue, des bois d'orangers et de citronniers, clos par des haies de figures

¹ *Correspondance*, p. p. Parey et Maugras, 1881. — 23 mars 1773.

² Ch. Bonnet, *Lettres de divers Savants*, T. VIII, Mss 722, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Genève.

d'Inde ou d'aloès couronnés par quelque grand palmier ... Et quel séjour pour un naturaliste!»¹.

Après quelques mois délicieux passés à Naples, Saussure conçoit un grand projet: le tour de la Sicile, en explorant les diverses régions de l'île. Il étudie soigneusement la question et en met au point tous les détails. C'est délicat, car il n'y a aucun service régulier et il doit frêter son propre navire. Le départ a lieu le 20 avril sur un vaisseau anglais, *The Swan*, capitaine Lambert avec huit hommes d'équipage. Mme de Saussure est victime du mal de mer. On voit Ischia, Utica. Saussure note: «Je vais sur le tillac avant le lever du soleil; toujours petit vent favorable, silence majestueux, horizon circulaire». Le 23, on entre dans le golfe de Palerme. Ils se sont fait annoncer par Hamilton à la duchesse de Montalba: «Elle vient elle-même nous prendre dans son carrosse» et la tournée de visites commence: le prince Castelloreale, la duchesse della Verdura, le prince Castelnuovo; et une fois de plus les réceptions se suivent. Mais Saussure se met en devoir de visiter les environs de Palerme, et en particulier Monreale, où il remarque surtout toutes sortes de plantes inconnues. C'est un paradis pour les botanistes. L'architecture sicilo-normande le laisse totalement indifférent, mais la nature le frappe, elle est différente de tout ce qu'il a vu jusque là.

Le 9 mai, les Saussure reprennent le bateau et se rendent à Messine, avec des alternatives de calme et de houle. Il fait très chaud, mais une chaleur délicieuse. Messine, avant le tremblement de terre de 1784, est une belle ville sur une côte magnifique. Une superbe forteresse domine la ville. Au bout de quelques jours arrivent trois jeunes Français, le chevalier de Matignon, le marquis de Bombelles et le comte de Lameth: ils font connaissance chez le consul de France et ils se retrouveront à plusieurs reprises. Puis Saussure part pour Taormina, dont il admire le théâtre et la vue sur l'Etna. Tous les abords sont «un pays brûlé de soleil». Il rencontre le comte Gaetani, qui lui lit sa traduction de Théocrite en vers toscans: «Elle me paraît avoir toute la douceur et toute la grâce de l'original». Le comte est spécialiste de la traduction des classiques grecs. Sous sa conduite, Saussure visite la ville.

¹ Id., 16 mars.

Le 1^{er} juin, frétant une barque de pêcheurs, il remonte l'Alphée des Anciens: «Très hauts roseaux qui cachent la campagne; la source est très large; sorte de bassin où l'on pêche des muets. Papyrus des Anciens». On le sent en proie à une passion pour l'Antiquité, sur le terrain: il s'en grise. A son retour, il apprend l'arrivée des trois jeunes seigneurs français déjà rencontrés. Ils se rejoignent et décident une expédition à l'Etna. Saussure retrouve des montagnes: il est une fois de plus dans son élément.

Le 4 juin, Saussure part avec Lameth, Bombelles et Matignon et deux seigneurs siciliens. Lameth est en litière: il s'est abîmé une jambe, les autres à muets. Bien entendu, Saussure emporte son baromètre, cet objet redoutable qui va hanter l'esprit de tous les alpinistes pendant près d'un siècle, en donnant toujours des renseignements fantaisistes. La route serpente dans des champs de lave, entre des vignes et des figuiers. Puis on passe des landes incultes et une forêt de chênes verts où brille «une aubépine d'une beauté singulière». On atteint la grotte du campement, dans les coulées de lave de l'éruption de 1766; Saussure vérifie l'altitude et collationne sur place le récit de Linné, qui a gravi l'Etna plusieurs années auparavant. Des matelas ont été apportés, mais la nuit est froide: Saussure grelotte en dépit de son habit de drap et d'une couverture. Heureusement, la nuit est courte: il faut se mettre en route à 1h, à muet, dans une nuit opaque. On passe quelques flaques de neige et, après 3h de montée, on laisse les muets et on poursuit à pied, depuis la Tour du Philosophe. La fumée du cratère masque le lever de soleil, mais, malgré tout, la vue est superbe. Au bord du cratère, il faut avancer dans des tourbillons de fumée, et l'observation est très difficile, dans un vent de mer violent. La descente est aisée. Le groupe atteint la Tour du Philosophe à 11h 1/2 et Catane à 5h du soir.

Le lendemain, Saussure et ses amis français, nullement fatigués, se retrouvent à une réception chez le prince de Biscaris, dans un cadre ravissant et Saussure étudie avec extase la collection d'histoire naturelle de son hôte. Le 7 juin, avec le prince, il va voir le Chanoine Recupero, autorité sur les volcans, qui lui montre des échantillons de lave. Après la visite du théâtre antique, Saussure se rembarque pour regagner Messine.

Le 10 juin, jour de son arrivée à Messine, il assiste à la procession du Corpus Christi: «Tous avec des capuchons troués pour

les yeux, des tambours habillés d'une manière antique et grotesque. Cela a plus l'air d'une mascarade de gens du bas peuple que d'une cérémonie religieuse». Au cours d'une réception chez le consul d'Angleterre, il rencontre Lord Winchelsea, Mr Dashwood, Mr Drummond, qui va aller à Constantinople sur son yacht. On voit une fois de plus les silhouettes de cette société cosmopolite cultivée, éprise de voyages et de mondanités qui sillonne le Continent.

Le 12 juin, c'est la fin du voyage en Sicile: Saussure repart pour Naples sur un paquebot français, commandé par un capitaine Violet, Marseillais. Le consul et le vice-consul de France accueillent les Saussure à bord: preuve éclatante de l'importance diplomatique que prend un grand savant qui est en même temps un visiteur délicieux. La traversée est excellente. Saussure parle de navigation avec le Marseillais, et contemple le Stromboli, «les jolies îles de Capri et Ischia», le rocher de Scylla et, soudain, le vent tombe. Le bateau est en panne près de Capri; on voit Naples et on n'y peu arriver. Saussure essaie de pêcher à la ligne et ne prend rien. On arrive enfin à gagner le port à la fin de la journée. Mme de Saussure sort enfin de sa cabine. Elle n'a pas le pied marin, comme son mari! On leur impose 24h de quarantaine que Hamilton lui-même ne parvient pas à faire lever. Le ministre est arrivé dès qu'il a su leur arrivée et «me demande avec bien de l'empressement des nouvelles du Mont Etna». Et tout de suite le tourbillon mondain reprend.

Une mauvaise nouvelle: la mort du baron de Tuyll, «que les veilles ou le jeu ont tué». C'était le frère de Belle de Zuylen, Mme de Charrière. Diderick de Tuyll avait 29 ans: c'était un beau garçon intelligent et indolent, marin de valeur, qui avait été victime de la tuberculose. Et en arrivant l'hôtel, le naturaliste trouve une lettre lui annonçant le suicide de son beau frère Tronchin, mari d'une soeur de sa femme. Les deux jeunes femmes sont très liées, et c'est un immense chagrin. Il va falloir écourter le séjour en Italie, rentrer à Genève pour consoler la jeune veuve. Mais on ne peut partir immédiatement. Il faut prendre congé, organiser le long voyage de retour. Et Saussure se doit d'aller au Vésuve.

L'expédition a lieu le 18, en compagnie d'Hamilton, grand spécialiste du volcan, qu'il a vu sous tous ses aspects et par tous les temps, même pendant les éruptions. On part en calèche, puis on prend des chevaux, Saussure ayant un «cheval noir d'une vigueur

incroyable». Le sommet est voilé de vapeurs, mais on peut toujours observer le baromètre: «En descendant, passé par le pays qui produit le *Lachryma Christi*». Diner chez les Hamilton, diner chez le prince de Belmonte, visite à Portici, encore une soirée au théâtre et, le 21, c'est Pompéi. Les notes de Saussure sont plus télégraphiques que jamais. Il a tant vu, des spectacles si étranges, qu'il note juste un mot, pour ne rien oublier, se fiant à la mémoire pour évoquer la scène.

Le 22 juin, c'est le départ, et les notes se font très brèves. Le 3 juillet, ils sont à Rome, le 6 à Lorette, où ils visitent la Santa Casa, le 12 à Venise. Saussure ne décrit rien de la ville et note seulement qu'il va voir le P. Boscovitch, Jésuite érudit, membre de nombreuses académies, dont l'Académie des Arcades de Rome et la Royal Society. Il a voyagé en Turquie et en Pologne, s'est fixé en Toscane et il connaît Saussure depuis longtemps, échangeant des notes et des specimens d'histoire naturelle.

Le voyage continue par Trente, Brixen, le Brenner. Ils rentrent à Genève le 22 août.

Le journal de voyage de Saussure, comme toutes ses notes, n'a jamais été destiné à la publication. Peut-être en aurait-il tiré un récit moins bref, mais ce n'est pas certain. Seules, ces notes alpines étaient soigneusement préparées, développées et rédigées à loisir pour son grand ouvrage. Mais il garde un souvenir enthousiaste de son voyage. Dans une lettre du 13 septembre à Freudenreich, Dupan écrit: «Le professeur de Saussure vint me voir hier. De tous les endroits qu'il a habités, Palerme est celui où il a vu la meilleure compagnie, noblesse, richesse, savoir, politesse, tout s'y trouve. Les étrangers surtout sont très bien accueillis parce qu'ils y sont rares. Le lendemain de son arrivée dans cette ville-là, M.le duc de à qui il était recommandé le conduisit chez la duchesse de pour laquelle il avait une lettre. Après quelques moments de conversation, Saussure demanda à cette dame depuis quel temps le tonnerre était tombé sur sa maison. A cette question, le duc jugea que Saussure était un peu fou; la dame en parut étonnée et répondit qu'il y avait 20 ans que le tonnerre était tombé. Le duc qui ne l'avait pas su, en fut bien surpris. Il ne crut pas que de Saussure fut fou, mais il soupçonna qu'il était sorcier. Or voici l'origine de la sorcellerie: pendant qu'il était à Naples, la foudre tomba sur un

palais où la noblesse était rassemblée et où les hommes et femmes en furent quittes pour la peur, quoique le feu parcourut toutes les salles, mais sans faire plus de bruit qu'un coup de fusil. De Saussure et le ministre anglais retournèrent le lendemain et virent que la foundre avait noir ci les moulures et corniches dorées des plafonds, et comme il apercevait la même chose chez la dame de Palerme, il en soupçonnait la même cause»¹.

Peu à peu, tout Genève est au courant des épisode du voyage des Saussure, et éprouve une sorte d'orgueil collectif en pensant que le savant a été si bien accueilli par une édite internationale. Saussure lui-même conserve une correspondance active avec des amis italiens. Toutefois il ne dépassera plus les limites de l'Italie du nord.

Son bref journal a une portée littéraire indiscutable. Sans travail de style, sans enjolivements, il donne très exactement la réaction d'un esprit d'une rigueur scientifique encore rare à cette époque. Saussure a des goûts très classiques, peu d'imagination, mais un sens poétique certain, qui dépasse de loin les normes du goût classique. Il n'y aucun sens de l'architecture gothique ou baroque. Son optique est sur ce point strictement classique. Il est plus attiré par la nature que par les constructions humaines. Ce n'est pas surprenant, et l'on comprend ainsi encore mieux pourquoi il sera toujours séduit par le décor suprahumain de la haute montagne, pourquoi il retrouve avec joie ses Alpes bien-aimées à l'horizon de Turin ou de Milan, pourquoi il a tant de plaisir à gravir l'Etna.

CLAIRE-ELIANE ENGEL.

Docteur es lettres

¹ Op. cit.

[A. GODOY], *Anthologie de l'œuvre poétique d'Armand Godoy, précédée d'une dédicace et d'un sonnet à Jean de La Varende*. Paris, Editions Bernard Grasset, 1960, pp. 360.

A. GODOY, *Milosz, le poète de l'amour*. Paris, Editions André Silvaire, 1960, pp. 285.

Originario dell'isola di Cuba come José-Maria de Heredia e, come lui e sul suo esempio, divenuto in età non più giovane poeta in una lingua che non era la sua, Armand Godoy ha portato una nota del tutto personale nella moderna poesia francese, e in essa la sua voce si fa sentire con accorati accenti densi di spiritualità e di misticismo. La pubblicazione di questa sua antologia, che fa seguito al ben documentato studio di Anne Fontaine (*Armand Godoy*, Paris, Editions Bernard Grasset, 1959), riveste perciò una particolare importanza, dato che ci permette di seguire ad una ad una le diverse fasi della nascita e della evoluzione della sua personalità poetica.

Abbracciando un periodo di tempo che si estende dal 1925 — anno in cui il poeta, già quarantenne, cominciò a scrivere in lingua francese — ad oggi, l'opera di Godoy ci appare segnata dalle successive tappe del suo personale viaggio alla ricerca di una verità assoluta, capace di appagare il suo spirito tormentato. Il suo cammino è una scia luminosa, punteggiato com'è dalle croci che l'hanno tracciato e dalle sofferenze che l'hanno accompagnato; ma benché motivata continuamente dal fervore religioso, la sua ispirazione non si limita esclusivamente a una particolare tematica e a una sola finalità. Il suo spirito si è adeguato alla vasta gamma dell'esperienza umana, rispecchiandone le diverse manifestazioni e riecheggiando con gioia la melodia della vita; e della vita egli ha celebrato la molteplicità e i misteri, con un eloquente ossequio alla divina onnipotenza e sempre con l'interiore attitudine di anima riverente. È costantemente presente nella sua poesia il sentimento della tragedia che incombe perenne sull'esistenza degli uomini, ma egli l'accetta e ne soffre con

un sentimento di santità. I versi del poeta esprimono il lamento del cuore umano avvilluppato nel tessuto delle cieche avversità e della morte crudele; egli volge però il suo dolore in rassegnazione, e ogni suo poema si trasforma come in una preghiera, sì che in lui il cuore e la fede cantano in armonia con la sua arte. In tutta la sua opera, dai primi componimenti (*Le Brasier mystique*, 1930 e *Les Litanies de la Vierge*, 1934) fino ai più recenti (*De Vêpres à Matines*, 1944), è quindi evidente questo suo rapimento nella contemplazione estatica della Divinità, e sotto questo aspetto Godoy è molto vicino ai più ardenti poeti mistici spagnoli, San Giovanni della Croce e Santa Teresa d'Avila.

Ma, come s'è già detto, la lira di Armand Godoy è uno strumento a parecchie corde. Fa sentire il suono e la voce della natura nel *Rosignol* (1949), nei melodiosi *Sonnets pour l'aube* (1944) e nei *Sept jours de la rose* (1951). Evoca con sentimento e sensitività il profumo della vita terrena, e allora la sua vena poetica si ispira alla liricità di Baudelaire, il suo antenato spirituale di cui invoca ripetutamente l'alto patronato (*Stèle pour Charles Baudelaire*, 1926). Si compiace di rendere omaggio alla parentela che lo lega ai due poeti che maggiormente ha amato e che tanto hanno influito sulla sua poesia, Francis Jammes e Oscar Milosz, e ai compositori la cui musica penetra profondamente nel suo cuore (*Consolation de Liszt, Larghetto de Bach, Berceuse de Chopin, Le Carnaval de Schumann, Sonate de Beethoven en Ut Mineur*, poesie tutte comprese nella raccolta *Hosanna sur le Sistre*, del 1927). Rivela la sua pura origine iberica in versi suggestivi per nostalgia e per ferezza (*A Marti*, 1929; *Sonnets pour Don Juan*, 1956; *Dulcinea*, 1956). E, pur volgendo il suo animo verso i luoghi sacri alla cristianità — Assisi, Roma, la Parigi di Notre-Dame e della Sainte Chapelle —, non dimentica la patria lontana, la sua indimenticabile Cuba, dedicandole dei versi affettuosi e pieni di sonorità musicale (*Chansons Créoles*, 1926; *Danses cubaines*, 1928).

Cavalleresco, cattolico, romantico, idealista, Armand Godoy si mantiene, nel moderno mondo poetico, in un aristocratico raffinato isolamento. Indenne da stravaganze prosodiche e da capricci di versificazione, egli rimane fedele alle virtù perenni dell'arte classica: forma e sostanza, verso e rima, ritmo e melodia trovano un'armonica espressione nella sua ispirazione. La chiarezza e purezza dei suoi versi, il suo ricco tono religioso e lirico, la preziosità del suo lessico

ricercato ed elegante trascendono il fascino e l'incanto del momento fuggente e giustificano il giudizio formulato su di lui da Romain Rolland: « Vrai musicien, tout ce qu'il écrit est *Liederkreis*. On pourrait dessiner sur le papier réglé la ligne de la mélodie et les nuances des harmonies. Ses livres ont leur place entre Schumann et Chopin — sans oublier Fauré. Il est de la famille ».

Contemporaneamente all'antologia della sua poesia, Armand Godoy ha voluto ripubblicare un'opera critica, che ci mostra un altro aspetto della sua personalità di artista. Si tratta della seconda edizione, corretta ed aumentata, della sua biografia di Milosz, che aveva già veduto la luce nel 1944.

È un omaggio riverente al poeta che con lui ha condiviso tante gioie e tante speranze, e che ha ispirato molta parte della sua opera. Lo studio di Godoy è il primo che sia stato consacrato al poeta lituano che aveva scelto anche lui la Francia come patria spirituale e che nella lingua francese ha cantato con ardore il suo amore verso Dio; e insieme ad un'analisi critica di tutta la sua produzione poetica è una rievocazione commovente dei fatti più salienti della sua vita. L'uomo e il poeta, l'artista e il mistico vi sono studiati minuziosamente, con un chiaroveggente fervore, e le abbondanti citazioni tratte dalle sue opere ne arricchiscono l'analisi. Godoy mette in risalto l'anima cristiana di Milosz e prova che l'intera sua produzione artistica merita di essere considerata un inno alla gloria di Dio. Lettere, fotografie e riproduzioni fuori-testo fanno di questa opera, che si apre con un delicato poema dedicato dall'autore all'amico scomparso, un prezioso reliquario che diverrà indispensabile a tutti gli apprezzatori del poeta e a tutti coloro che ne vorranno studiare l'opera.

G. C. MENICHELLI

VARIA

Dal 7 al 13 settembre 1966 si è tenuto negli Stati Uniti, a Cambridge e a New York, per iniziativa delle Università Harvard, Columbia e New York e della « Hispanic Society of America », il VI Colloquio Internazionale di Studi Luso-Brasiliani, al quale hanno partecipato alcune centinaia di studiosi di tutto il mondo. Da parte italiana sono state presentate due comunicazioni, *Portugal num Códice Vaticano*, di Giuseppe Carlo Rossi (presente al Colloquio), e *La Leggenda del « Preste João » in due manoscritti della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli*, di Eraldo Melillo Reali.

Dal 18 al 21 gennaio 1967 nell'Università di California, a Los Angeles, si terrà la prima riunione del XIII Congresso di Letteratura Iberoamericana. Segretario del convegno è il Sr. Carlos Navarro, Dept. of Romance Languages, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh 13, Pennsylvania 15213.

Dal 28 agosto al 2 settembre 1967 si terrà a Bucarest il X Congresso Internazionale dei Linguisti. Il Comitato Organizzativo comunica l'indirizzo per le modalità di eventuale partecipazione: Bucarest 22, 20, I. C. Frimu, Romania.

Dal 25 al 31 agosto 1968 la « Modern Humanities Research Association » terrà a Cambridge (Gran Bretagna) un congresso commemorativo del cinquantenario dell'Associazione. La segreteria è presso: Trinity Hall, Cambridge, Gran Bretagna.

Nell'ultima settimana di agosto del 1968 la « Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas » terrà il suo III Congresso a Città del Messico, nel « Colegio de México ». Si annuncia per l'inizio del 1967 la prima circolare di questo Congresso.