

## ***A NEW SPANISH TRANSLATION OF THE ‘COMMEDIA’ AND DANTE’S RENAISSANCE READERS (1491–1550 CA)***

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This essay focuses on two early copies of Dante’s vernacular poetry with idiosyncratic interventions by Renaissance readers: a 1491 Venetian incunable of the *Commedia* with an extensive translation of the poem into Spanish and copious annotations in Spanish and Latin (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. 2Q inf. 1.43); and an early Venetian printed edition of Dante’s lyric poetry (1518) with notes, substantial marks, and underlinings, bound together *ab antiquo* with a copy of Fernando de Rojas’s *Celestina* and a vernacularization of Petrarch’s *Secretum* (London, British Library, C.20.a.13). These books show Dante’s success among Spanish (or hispanophile) readers both as a moral and didactic poet, and as a linguistic and stylistic model. Through an analysis of these two early copies of Dante’s vernacular poetry, this essay looks at readers of Dante’s works in order to reveal the transnational quality of their publics and, in so doing, invite us to reorient our view of Dante’s role as a function of discourse.

Keywords: Dante, *Commedia*, Spain, Lyric Poetry, Translation, Marks, Annotations

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Before the Romantic age, a book with clean margins was not necessarily considered more valuable than a heavily annotated one, and books functioned as repositories of memories and diverse kinds of knowledge to be added to the original text. ‘Writing on books’ entailed adding, correcting, erasing, leaving traces of assent or dissent, drawing, translating. Analyzing such penned materializations demonstrates the appropriation of the book by the reader and, vice versa, the ‘appropriation of the reader’ by the book, that is, the ways in which readers engaged with the text (and its paratexts) and the function they assigned to it. Readers’ marks and annotations not only rematerialize the book object, they also bring it into new contexts and provide it with new meanings.<sup>1</sup> Through an analysis

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<sup>1</sup> Many studies have explored readers’ marks in early modern books. Recent contributions with relevant methodological insights include Katherine O. Acheson, ed., *Early Modern English Marginalia. Material Readings in Early Modern Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2018); Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern*

of two early copies of Dante's vernacular poetry printed in 1491 and 1518 and today found in English libraries, both enriched with unique annotations and marks, this essay will look at readers of Dante's works in order to reveal the transnational quality of their publics and, in so doing, invite us to reorient our view of Dante's role as a function of discourse. Our perception of Dante has been strongly mediated by nineteenth-century medievalism, national philology, and Fascist appropriation, when Dante came to be considered the ethical father of Italian language and culture. However, in reality, Dante's works were conceived in a world of notable porosity and cultural exchange, and their early modern circulation, in manuscript and in print, maintained a marked transnational quality, both of readers and of places of publication: Dante's works were printed abroad (France, Spain, Switzerland), consumed by foreign publics, and by readers of diverse social classes, backgrounds, and religions.<sup>2</sup>

This essay will focus on two early copies of Dante's vernacular poetry with idiosyncratic interventions by Renaissance readers: a 1491 Venetian incunable of the *Commedia* with an extensive translation of the poem into Spanish and copious annotations in Spanish and Latin (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. 2Q inf. 1.43); and an early Venetian printed edition of Dante's lyric poetry (1518) with notes, substantial marks, and underlinings, bound together *ab antiquo* with a copy of Fernando de Rojas's *Celestina* and a vernacularization of Petrarch's *Secretum* (London, British Library, C.20.a.13). These books show Dante's success among Spanish (or hispanophile) readers both as a moral and didactic poet, and as a

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*England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Robin Myers, Michael Harris, and Giles Mandelbrote, eds., *Owners, Annotators and the Signs of Reading* (New Castle, DE-London: Oak Knoll-British Library, 2005); Stephen Orgel, *The Reader in the Book: A Study of Spaces and Traces* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009); Patrick Spedding, and Paul Tankard, eds., *Marginal Notes: Social Reading and the Literal Margins* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021); Alison Wiggins, "What Did Renaissance Readers Write in their Printed Copies of Chaucer?" *The Library* 9, no. 1 (2008): 3-36.

<sup>2</sup> On Great Britain, see Nick Havely, *Dante's British Public. Readers & Texts, from the Fourteenth Century to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); on French reception, where mediation of Petrarchism was crucial, see Dario Cecchetti, "Dante e il Rinascimento francese," *Lecture Classensi* 19 (1990): 35-63; Jean Balsamo, "Dante, l'«Aviso piacevole» et Henri de Navarre," *Italique* 1 (1998): 79-94; Richard Cooper, "Praise and (More) Blame of Dante in Late Renaissance France," *Yale French Studies* 134 (2018): 67-81; Helen Swift, "Dante and Death in Late Medieval France," in Nick Havely and Jonathan Katz, with Richard Cooper, eds., *Dante Beyond Borders: Contexts and Reception* (Cambridge: Legenda, 2021), 180-92. For Spanish reception, see below.

linguistic and stylistic model, while also suggesting new, fruitful ways in which Dante and his works may be approached to better understand their fortunes.<sup>3</sup> Through the analysis of their readers' interventions and of the mechanisms of reappropriation of Dante's works that they display, these two case studies will show the ways in which Dante's oeuvre can and should be understood as a transnational function of discourse as early as the late medieval and the early modern period. What is more, the study of these readers' marks and interventions will further our understanding of early modern books as intellectual tools, of the Renaissance book as an active object as opposed to an artistic, decorative object.

Although not the most published Italian author, Dante was not eclipsed during the Renaissance.<sup>4</sup> All of Dante's works were printed several times, most of them circulated throughout Europe (and beyond), and his *Monarchia*, especially, became relevant among the supporters of Reform of the Roman Catholic Church and in Protestant nations. While Dante's reception has been studied from several perspectives, annotations and marks in printed books have been conspicuously neglected.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, collections of early Italian books now held in libraries outside Italy have generally been ignored in material studies. Most surveys on Italian works have focused on Italian libraries, whereas the material turn in literary studies has mostly involved English books.<sup>6</sup> In the field of Dante

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<sup>3</sup> Two further *incunabula* of the *Commedia* were annotated in the Iberian peninsula in the Renaissance: Baltimore, Walters Museum, D.27 (Venice, 1477); Ravenna, Centro Dantesco, Inc. 6 (Venice, Benali-Codecà, 1491); for an appraisal of these sources, see Natale Vacalebri, "A Book for All Seasons: Reading Habits and Material Reception of Dante's *Divina Commedia* in Early Modern Italy" (PhD Diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2022). I warmly thank Natale for sharing his research with me.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Simon Gilson, *Reading Dante in Renaissance Italy. Florence, Venice and the 'Divine Poet'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

<sup>5</sup> There is only one, incomplete census of Florentine libraries: Natascia Bianchi, *Le stampe dantesche postillate delle biblioteche fiorentine. Commedia e Convivio (1472-1596). I* (Rome: Salerno, 2004). To this census, we can add only Luca Marcozzi, *'Comedia di Dante con figure dipinte. L'incunabolo veneziano del 1491 della casa di Dante in Roma con postille manoscritte e figure dipinte'* (Rome: Salerno, 2015); Giulia Grata, "Sopra Dante: postille di Sperone Speroni trascritte da Alessandro Tassoni," *Rivista di Studi Danteschi* 16.1 (2016): 61-104; and Natale Vacalebri's extensive work on the *Commedia* incunables (see above and below).

<sup>6</sup> For instance, John Milton's 1544 copy of Boccaccio's *Life of Dante* was only identified in 2014 at the Bodleian: William Poole, "John Milton and Giovanni Boccaccio's *Vita di Dante*," *Milton Quarterly* 48, no. 3 (2014): 139-70; while there is only one article on annotated copies of Dante's works in the UK: Martin McLaughlin, "Un petrarchista legge la *Commedia*: il Dante postillato da Giovanni Brevio," in Carlo Caruso, Emilio Russo, eds., *La filologia in Italia nel Rinascimento*, (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2018), 101-16. Furthermore, a number of British Library editions with significant readers' marks are not included in Roger Alston's

studies, only recently has attention been refocused towards printed books. By exploring early Dantean editions in American libraries, Natale Vacalebri was able to retrace an annotated copy of Dante's *Convivio* by Torquato Tasso in Philadelphia, and to find Guglielmo Maramauro's lost commentary to *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso* in the margins of an incunable held today at Cornell University Library.<sup>7</sup> However, a wide range of editions, with a variety of readers' approaches (e.g., annotations and translations by early modern readers; restoration of the support creating a radically customized copy; notes by modern authors) are to be found and therefore wait to be explored.

The present essay comprises three main sections. The first section will briefly retrace the history of Dante in Spanish in the late medieval and early modern period. The second will focus on the translation found in the Bodleian *Commedia*, first presenting the edition, then analyzing in detail the translation work and, thirdly, comparing it with contemporary translations of Dante into Spanish. The third section will focus on the Sammelband encompassing the annotated edition of Dante's lyric poetry. Although, given the quality of the annotations, this third section has been given relative weight, this case study is nevertheless vital in order to give more breadth to our investigation of Spanish/hispanophile readers of Dante.

### 1. *Dante in Spain*

Before moving to a detailed exploration of the two annotated copies of Dante's works which serve as the focus of this article, it will be useful to outline the context in which these interventions were produced. Indeed, the anonymous interlinear and marginal translation of the *Commedia* in the Bodleian copy, and the marks in the British Library copy of Dante's lyric poetry can be connected with a widespread interest for Dante in the Iberian peninsula. This interest was especially marked for the *Commedia*, and coincided and

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otherwise excellent *Books with Manuscript: A Short Title Catalogue of Books with Manuscript Notes in the British Library* (London: The British Library, 1994).

<sup>7</sup> Natale Vacalebri, "Il ritrovato esemplare del *Convivio* (Venezia, Melchiorre Sessa, 1531) postillato da Torquato Tasso," *La Bibliofilia* 120, no. 3 (2018): 455-57; "Il poeta e il filosofo. Le postille di Torquato Tasso al *Convivio* dantesco nel ritrovato esemplare Sessa," *StEFI* 8 (2019): 113-94; "Paradiso (e Purgatorio) riconquistati. Un incunabolo dantesco in America e il riscoperto autore delle sue chiose," *Lettere italiane* 72 (2020): 232-54.

overlapped with a strong cultivation of Petrarchan and Petrarchist poetry.<sup>8</sup>

Dante is already a known presence in early fifteenth-century Spanish culture. In fact, the earliest extant translations of Dante's *Commedia* were into Castilian and Catalan, compiled just over a century after the author's death in 1321: Enrique de Villena's Castilian prose version of 1428 and Andreu Febrer's Catalan *terza rima* version of 1429.

Enrique de Villena's translation was compiled in the margins of a 1354 Italian manuscript (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España = BNE, MS 10186) which was owned (and subsequently annotated) by Íñigo López de Mendoza, Marquis of Santillana, for whom the translation was prepared.<sup>9</sup> Between 1427 and 1428 Enrique de Villena was translating Virgil's *Aeneid*, and in this work he described the translation of Dante for the Marquis as a diversion, a *solaz* compared to the hard work needed for the Latin poem. His

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<sup>8</sup> On translations of Italian literature in Spain, see at least: Carlos Alvar, "Notas para el estudio de las traducciones italianas en Castilla durante el siglo XV," *Anuario Medieval* 2 (1990): 23–41; Carlos Alvar, José Manuel Lucía Megías, eds., *Repertorio de traductores del siglo XV* (Madrid: Ollero y Ramos, 2009); Peter Russell, *Traducciones y traductores en la península ibérica (1400–1550)* (Bellaterra: Escuela Universitaria de Traductores e Intérpretes – Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, 1985); María de las Nieves Muñiz Muñiz, Ursula Bedogni, Laura Calvo Valdivielso, eds., *La traduzione della letteratura italiana in Spagna (1300–1939): traduzione e tradizione del testo. Dalla filologia all'informatica. Atti del primo convegno internazionale (13–16 aprile 2005)* (Florence: Cesati, 2007); Paul Carranza, "Dante in Spain: Translations, Literary Theory and Canonizations," in Havely, Katz, Cooper, *Dante Beyond Borders*, 169–79. For an overview on Dante, see Werner P. Friederich, *Dante's Fame Abroad 1350–1850. The Influence of Dante Alighieri on the Poets and Scholars of Spain, France, England, Germany, Switzerland and the United States* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1950). Information on the tradition is collected in Ch. B. Faulhaber, Á. Gómez Moreno, A. Cortijo Ocaña, A. Moll Dexeus, eds., *PhiloBiblon. Bibliografía Española de Textos Antiguos (BETA)*: [https://bancroft.berkeley.edu/philobiblon/beta\\_en.html](https://bancroft.berkeley.edu/philobiblon/beta_en.html) (= *PhiloBiblon*). A significant number of MSS of Petrarch's works today in Spanish libraries were produced or arrived in the Iberian peninsula during the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, see Milagros Villar, *Códices petrarquescos en España* (Padua: Antenore, 1995).

<sup>9</sup> See at least Mario Penna, "Traducciones castellanas antiguas de la *Divina Comedia*," *Revista de la Universidad de Madrid* 14 (1965): 81–127; José Antonio Pascual, *La traducción de la Divina Comedia atribuida a D. Enrique de Aragón. Estudio y edición del Infierno* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1974); Enrique de Villena, *Obras completas*, ed. Pedro Cátedra (Madrid: Turner, 1994); Mario Schiff, "La première traduction espagnole de la *Divine Comédie*," in *Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo. Estudios de erudición española con un prólogo de Juan Valera* (Madrid: Librería general de Victoriano Suarez, 1899), 2 vols., 1.269–307; Paola Calef, *Il primo Dante in castigliano. Il codice madrileno della 'Commedia' con la traduzione attribuita a Enrique de Villena* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2013); Alvar-Lucía Megías, *Repertorio de traductores*, 228–33, with complete bibliographic note. On the Marquis's library, see the fundamental Mario Schiff, *La bibliothèque du Marquis de Santillane* (Paris: Bouillon, 1905).

patron and friend, the Marquis of Santillana, had a deep interest in Italian: he owned several copies of Dante's and Petrarch's works, and his own literary works were significantly influenced by Dante's poem. He had at least two commentaries on Dante's *Commedia* translated into Spanish: the complete Benvenuto da Imola, translated by Martín de Lucena (BNE, MS 10196, mid-fifteenth century)<sup>10</sup> and a fragment from this same commentary (BNE, MS 10208, from *Inf.* 1 to the introduction to *Inf.* 8); and Pietro Alighieri's commentary, extant in an anonymous translation (BNE, MS 10207).<sup>11</sup> A further, anonymous translation of the *Commedia* into Spanish, with a commentary but limited to the first canto of the *Inferno* and unrelated to the Marquis's intellectual circle, dates to the second half of the fifteenth century (San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, S.II.13).<sup>12</sup> These fifteenth-century translations did not enjoy wide circulation (the two translations of the *Commedia* exist only in one single manuscript), and thus are unlikely to have influenced our Bodleian translator, who instead had to produce a new reading tool to access Dante's text.

Interest in Dante did not slacken in the following decades, and Pedro Fernández de Villegas's Castilian translation of the *Commedia* into *coplas de arte mayor*, printed in Burgos in 1515,<sup>13</sup> is notoriously the first printed translation of the poem. Limited to the *Inferno* and endowed with an extensive commentary, Villegas's translation expands Dante's text and puts it into a direct dialogue

<sup>10</sup> Alvar-Lucía Megías, *Repertorio de traductores*, 154-55.

<sup>11</sup> Other MSS of Italian vernacular works in the Marquis's library are: BNE, MS Vitrina 23-2: Dante, *Commedia*. Austin, University of Texas - The Miriam Lucher Stark Library, MS Parsons 5: Petrarch, *Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta* (= *Rvf*) and *Triumphs*; Dante?, sonnet 'Molti volendo dir che fosse amore'. BNE, MS 10258: Dante, *Convivio*. And perhaps BNE, MS 10227: G. Boccaccio, *Trattatello in laude di Dante*; Dante, 15 *canzoni*; four orations by Stefano Porcari; a vernacularization of *De Senectute* (it certainly arrived in Spain during the fifteenth-century, as is demonstrated by several annotations in Castilian and a coat of arms; cf. Paolo Divizia, "Il Marchese di Santillana e i volgarizzamenti italiani di Cicerone," *Revista de poética medieval* 32 (2018): 91-106); and BNE, MS 10145: Petrarch, *Rvf*, which was copied by a Spanish scribe. Cf. Daniel Hartnett, "The Marques de Santillana's Library and Literary Reputation," in Laura Delbrugge, ed., *Self-Fashioning and Assumptions of Identity in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 116-43.

<sup>12</sup> Published in Penna, "Traducciones castellanas", 111-27; and more recently in Juan Miguel Valero Moreno, "Benvenuto da Imola en Castilla: una adaptación cuatrocen-tista anónima del *Comentum* al canto I del *Inferno*," *Letteratura italiana antica* 21 (2020): 303-37. Fragments from Dante are translated into Spanish in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS McClean 180, fol. 66rb. Cf. *PhiloBiblon* and the Museum's catalogue (<https://data.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/id/object/93606>).

<sup>13</sup> Pedro Fernández de Villegas, *La traducion del Dante de lengua toscana en verso castellano* (Burgos: Fadrique de Basilea, 1515). USTC 334204.

with contemporary Spanish literature, emphasizing Dante's moral and didactic goals while displaying the translator's own political agenda by endorsing monarchic propaganda. Villegas rewrote and amplified Dante's poem: he based his translation not only on Dante's words, but also on various commentaries on the *Commedia*, while also drawing words and expressions from the Castilian lyrical tradition. By following the metrical and stylistic norms of his own literature, Villegas produced an elegant work in the target language which is enjoyable but tends to rewrite and amplify the original, according to the interests of the translator. Villegas did not complete his translation, but he left a further, slightly different version of his translation of the *Inferno*, along with a translation of *Purgatorio* 2 and *Paradiso* 1 (New York, Hispanic Society of America, MS B2183).<sup>14</sup>

Contemporary to Villegas and in contact with him was Hernando Díaz, who published a translation into *coplas de arte mayor* of the first twelve lines of each first canto of *Inferno*, *Purgatorio*, and *Paradiso* as an appendix to his *Vida y excelentes dichos de los más sabios filósofos* (Sevilla: Jacobo Cromberger, 1516), along with a translation of a sonnet by Petrarch, “S’amor non è, che dunque è” (*RVF* 132). Díaz purported to have translated the whole *Commedia* into Castilian but did not publish it, and the manuscript has never been found.<sup>15</sup> Another translation was prepared in those same years and in connection with Villegas's. As stated in its prologue, this anonymous translator continued Villegas's work but chose to use *quintillas*, a meter which allowed the translation to be more faithful to the original text. This manuscript, then in a private collection, was consulted in the first half of the twentieth century and partially published, but is now untraceable.<sup>16</sup>

While during the fifteenth century and the early sixteenth century Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and many other Italian authors were widely read, both in translation and in the original Tuscan, it is worth noting that there were no Italian-Spanish dictionaries or grammars. Compiled later than French and English equivalents, the

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<sup>14</sup> The most recent, complete, and reliable studies on Villegas's translation are those by Cinthia M. Hamlin, collected in *Traducción, humanismo y propaganda monárquica. La versión glosada del Infierno de Pedro Fernández de Villegas (1515)* (València: PUV - Universitat de València, 2019). See also Marta Marfany, “La traducción del *Inferno* de Pedro Fernández de Villegas: la huella de la tradición poética castellana y de los comentarios a la *Commedia* de Dante,” *Anuario de estudios medievales* 45, no. 1 (2015): 449–71.

<sup>15</sup> Karl Ludwig Selig, “The Dante and Petrarch Translations of Hernando Díaz,” *Italica* 37, no. 3 (1960): 185–87.

<sup>16</sup> Francisco R. De Uhagón, “Una traducción castellana desconocida de la *Divina Comedia*,” *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos* 5 (1901): 525–59.

first such tool was published in 1560 as the *Paragone della lingua toscana e castigliana* by G. M. Alessandri d'Urbino, followed in 1566 by *Osservazioni della lingua castigliana* by Juan de Miranda. The first Italian grammar for Spanish speakers was published in 1596: *Arte muy curiosa por la cual se enseña muy de rayz el entender, y hablar la Lengua Italiana*, by Francisco Trenado de Ayllón.<sup>17</sup>

The series of Dantean translations into Spanish between the fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries demonstrates a persistent interest in Dante. The eagerness to read Dante's works in their original language shown in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. 2Q inf. 1.43 and London, British Library, C.20.a.13 therefore dovetails with a wider curiosity for his oeuvre. This preoccupation in turn can be connected to the porous relationship between Italian and Spanish culture, favoured by the fact that several Italian states were ruled directly by the Spanish crown, while others were Spanish dependents, from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century.

## 2. *An Interlinear Translation of the 'Commedia'*

The incunable under consideration here is one of two copies held at the Bodleian Library of a 1491 edition of Dante's *Commedia* printed in Venice and accompanied by Cristoforo Landino's commentary: Dante Alighieri, *La Commedia*. Comm: Christophorus Landinus. *Canzoni*. Marsilius Ficinius: *Ad Dantem gratulatio*. Ed: Piero da Figino (Venice: Petrus de Plasiis Cremonensis, 1491).<sup>18</sup> This unique volume (shelfmark: Auct. 2Q inf. 1.43) has copious handwritten marginal and interlinear annotations. Most of these annotations are linguistic glosses: literal translations, from single words to entire lines, from Tuscan to Spanish (and sometimes to Latin). They concentrate on Dante's text, covering its whole one hundred *canti*, and thus, when considered in their entirety, they form an almost complete translation of the entire *Commedia* into Spanish. Other annotations along with non-verbal signs such as *maniculae* by this same hand emphasize or translate sections of interest of the commentary. None of these interventions pertains to Dante's lyric poetry, which follows the *Commedia* in this edition. A page from the *Paradiso* (32.28-69, fig. 1) clearly shows the relationship between text, commentary, and the reader's translation in this volume, and the ways in which they all contribute to 'decoding' the

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<sup>17</sup> Benedict Buono, "Le *Regole grammaticali* di Giovan Francesco Fortunio e le grammatiche bilingui italiano-spagnolo nel Cinquecento," *Cuadernos de Filología Italiana* 24 (2017): 59-73.

<sup>18</sup> ISTC id00033000; GW07970; USTC 995470. On the Bodleian copies, see Bod-Inc Online: <http://incunables.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/record/D-016>.



foreign text. Dante’s text is in the centre, and Landino’s commentary is printed on the right side, in smaller size. The annotator has not compiled a complete translation of Dante’s verses, but has written partial Spanish translations in the blank column on the left.

The annotations were made by a primary hand, whose work can be divided into two main phases: the first identifiable through the use of darker ink, smaller script, and the prevalent use of the long *s*, a phase which encompasses the whole interlinear and marginal translation and most of the other marginal notes; and a second phase, in which this person made only marginal annotations, characterized by a lighter ink and a generally larger script size, as well as the use of the round *s*. This same hand probably drew most of the *maniculae* and the reading marks, which are consistent with the ink used for the annotations. There are other minor annotations which do not belong to the main project, made by later hands. At the beginning of the edition (f. Ai v) there is a semi-erased ownership note, “D. Gio. Ban[... ] M[...],” which does not provide enough information to identify this individual, who in any case would not be the annotator but rather a subsequent owner of the book.

The principal hand wrote in a cursive humanistic minuscule and therefore these annotations must have been made not long after the printing of the book in 1491, most probably within the first quarter of the sixteenth century.<sup>19</sup> It would be tempting to maintain that this interlinear translation of the *Commedia* was made before Villegas’s translation was printed in 1515, because one would be unlikely to translate a text if it were already available in one’s own language. However, even if the fifty-five extant copies of Villegas’s

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<sup>19</sup> Emily Di Dodo (University of Oxford) analyzed these annotations from a linguistic point of view, confirming this dating: “These annotations likely date to the early-to-mid sixteenth century, evidenced by the graphical and linguistic tendencies of the writer. There are many examples of *ç* to represent the voiceless prepalatal affricate, alongside the simple *c* (only preceding front vowels); however, we also find ‘dezir’ and ‘esparzidas’, showing a remnant of the voiced sibilant series. There are some examples of *betacismo* (merger of phonemes /b/ and /β/, represented graphically by *b* and *v*, respectively, in Old Spanish), like ‘renueba’ for *renueva*, ‘abentura’ for *aventura*, ‘lebanto’ for *levantó*, ‘marabilla’ for *maravilla*, ‘lieba’ for *lleva*. On some occasions there is variation in spelling of the same word, further attesting to the merger of these phonemes: we find Modern Spanish *deber* spelled ‘devemos’ alongside ‘debes’, *haber* spelled ‘aber’ alongside ‘avre’, and the imperfect ending in *-aba* ‘mudaba’ competes with *-ava* ‘fregavan’. The voiceless prepalatal fricative is still represented by *x*, thus, ‘enpuxata’, ‘debaxo’, ‘dexanos’ rather than *j*. The clear preference for initial *h-* in words deriving from Latin *h-* (‘hynque’, ‘hasta’, ‘hendio’, ‘hazia’), attests to the phonologisation of /f/, which occurred over the course of the fifteenth century, and with graphical consequences (like in the examples given above) becoming apparent in the sixteenth century.”

translation testify to its success and availability,<sup>20</sup> our reader might not have had access to it or even known it existed. Moreover, Villegas's translation only covers *Infèrno* and is not literal, so would not have completely satisfied a reader who wanted to understand the letter of the text, as was the case with the annotator of the Bodleian *Commedia*.

When our Bodleian translator read the *Commedia*, Dante was an established author in the Spanish literary canon, along with the more widely read Petrarch and Boccaccio. It might be possible therefore that this reader wanted to improve their knowledge of fourteenth-century Tuscan through an accurate reading of Dante. To some extent similar phenomena apply in Italy as well, with annotations or lectures on Dante, such as those by Trifone Gabriele.<sup>21</sup> However, given the moral and didactic charge of the commented edition of the *Commedia* in which they were penned, and the role Dante was playing in Spanish culture, the main goal of this anonymous reader must have been to gain knowledge of Dante's universe with a direct, unmediated reading of the text. It is also possible that, as had been the case with Villena's translation compiled for the Marquis of Santillana, this translation could have been commissioned by someone who wanted to read Dante in Tuscan but needed some linguistic support. Before analyzing the annotations left on the Bodleian *Commedia* in more depth, it is worth first examining the relevant qualities of the edition of Dante's poem in which this translation was carried out.

### 2.1 *The Edition: Dante's 'Commedia' with Cristoforo Landino's 'Comento'*

The annotated Bodleian volume is a copy of one of several editions of Cristoforo Landino's vernacular commentary on Dante's poem, the *Comento*. It was printed in Venice on 18 November 1491 by Pietro Cremonese (Pietro Piasi) and was edited by Pietro da Figino, a Franciscan friar, who – unconventionally – signed his edition in

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<sup>20</sup> Cinthia M. Hamlin, "La traducción del Dante (1515) de Fernández de Villegas: comentarios sobre su recepción y relevancia," *Insula* 895–896 (2021): 18–21, at p. 18.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Lino Pertile, "Trifone Gabriele's commentary on Dante and Bembo's *Prose della volgar lingua*," *Italian Studies* 40 (1985): 17–30. For the use of Landino for linguistic purposes and in an anti-Bembian key, see Simon Gilson, "La fortuna del *Comento* landiniano: lettori e commentatori cinquecenteschi," in Paolo Procaccioli, and Lorenz Boninger, eds., *Per Cristoforo Landino lettore di Dante. Contesto umanistico, storia tipografica e fortuna del 'Comento sopra la Comedia'* (Florence: Società Dantesca Italiana, 2016), 173–92.

the colophon.<sup>22</sup> It is a large folio (295x195mm), decorated by 97 small woodcuts, plus three in full-page scale, one for each *cantica*. This edition is the *editio princeps* of one part of Dante's lyric poetry, since after the text of the *Commedia* and Landino's commentary, it includes also his *canzoni*.

Landino's commentary on the *Commedia* was highly successful at the end of the fifteenth century, and this is one of the seven *incunabula* that were produced after its initial publication in Florence in 1481. In the sixteenth century, it was printed a further seven times, becoming the most common commentary on Dante until at least the eighteenth century. Simon Gilson has counted that, between 1484 and 1596, approximately ten thousand copies of the *Comento* were printed.<sup>23</sup> As Paolo Procaccioli has pointed out, when Venetian publishers printed Landino's *Comento*, they were aware that their readers did not want a *Dante*, but a *Landino*, that is to say, they did not just want to read the poem but wanted to acquire knowledge on the poem both as a literary artifact and as a key for wider erudition. Landino's commentary, as is well-known, is a fundamental step in the re-acquisition of Dante by Florentine culture promoted by Lorenzo de' Medici, the Magnificent. Landino's *Comento* is the first *Dante* published in Florence and is the most impressive fifteenth-century edition of the poem. A long preface presents Dante and his poem as the pinnacle of Tuscan cultural and literary achievement, and the line-by-line commentary or *chiosa* provides a key to the classical, philosophical, theological, and scientific knowledge that sustains the *Commedia*'s narrative. By transforming Dante into a symbol of the city, the preface specifically celebrated Florence, its culture, and civilization

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<sup>22</sup> The colophon at the end of the *Comento* reads: "Et Fine del Comento di Christoforo Landino Fiorentino sopra la comedia di Danthe poeta excelle(n)tissimo. E impresso in Vinegia per Petro Cremonese dito Veronese: A di .xviii. di noue(m)brio M.cccc.Lxxxix. emendato per me maestro pietro da fighino dellordine de frati minori." Parker emphasizes the novelty of Pietro's explicit signature (Deborah Parker, *Commentary and Ideology: Dante in the Renaissance* [Durham-London: Duke University Press, 1993], 137). On Pietro, see also Paolo Trovato, *Con ogni diligenza corretto. La stampa e le revisioni editoriali dei testi letterari italiani (1470-1570)* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1991), 131–33.

<sup>23</sup> On Landino, see Carlo Dionisotti, "Dante nel Quattrocento," in *Scritti di storia della letteratura italiana 1963-1971*, eds. T. Basile, V. Fera, S. Villari (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2008), 173–212, on pp. 196–212 (originally published in 1965); Roberto Cardini, *La critica del Landino* (Florence: Sansoni, 1973); Parker, *Commentary and Ideology*, 89–108; Simon Gilson, *Dante and Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 161–238. For an overview on Landino's commentary and its tradition, see Paolo Procaccioli, "Introduzione," in Cristoforo Landino, *Comento sopra la Comedia*, ed. Paolo Procaccioli (Rome: Salerno, 2001), 9–105. On the fortunes of the *Comento*, see Procaccioli, "Introduzione," 92–104; and Gilson, "La fortuna del *Comento* landiniano" (quoted data on p. 173).

up to the present time. Landino's *Comento* was not primarily intended as an instrument for understanding the letter of the text. Instead, through the commentary, Dante becomes a moral and didactic poet, whose reading serves the broader education of the citizen.

In Spain in the sixteenth century, as in Italy, many copies of different editions of Landino's commentary circulated. It is therefore not surprising that Pedro Fernández de Villegas decided to provide his translation of the poem with a commentary which was mostly based on Landino's glosses. Villegas's translation, known for its moralistic expansions and its overt political purpose, as Cinthia Hamlin has demonstrated, reappropriated Dante to Spanish culture and, although presenting the poem in a different philosophical and ideological perspective than Landino, provided it with an analogous political function, strongly connected with its patron.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, Villegas used the same format and layout as Landino, with extensive glosses surrounding the verses, thus emphasizing the role of the *Commedia* as a moral and didactic text.

In 1481 the first edition of Landino's commentary inaugurated a series of printed editions in folio format, which resumed the manuscript tradition of Dante's poem with its commentaries, where the *Commedia* was enclosed by (or even smothered in) the commentary, and where illustrations played a major role. Landino planned to have 100 images probably fashioned after designs by Botticelli, but in the end only nineteen were inserted in the 1481 print, and not in all copies. Aldo Manuzio's 1502 edition of the *Commedia* would subvert what had become a typographic standard comprising text-commentary-image by presenting the bare text, and in a octavo book, while folios or quartos were favored before.

The 1491 edition by Piasi complies with the standard before Aldo, while also standing out due to the insertion of the series of Dante's lyric poems. More generally, the material features of this edition comply with the trend of the last decades of the fifteenth century concerning both Dante and Petrarch: their vernacular works were printed in large books, in roman types, with extensive commentary and images. These editions of Dante's *Commedia*, to which Villegas's Spanish translation of the poem must be assimilated, intended to present it as a moral and scholastic text, thus representing Dante chiefly as a cultural authority and the *Commedia* as a work worthy of study. Since their intended public was not composed only of scholars, this interpretation of Dante's poem had to be shared by the general literate public of the last quarter of the

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<sup>24</sup> Hamlin, *Traducción, humanismo y propaganda*, 127-142, 195-224.

fifteenth century, probably a well-educated and upper-class one, who eagerly bought the many editions of Landino's *Comento*.<sup>25</sup> Given this context, it is not surprising that someone who was so eager to understand Dante's precise words, to grasp the true meaning of his work, as was the anonymous translator in the Bodleian copy, would have looked for the most recent and complete commentary, which was indeed *the Landino*.

## 2.2 *A Translation in Pieces*

The Bodleian 1491 *Commedia* has three main types of annotations: 1) interlinear and marginal translation of the text of the *Commedia*; 2) marginal translation of single words of Landino's *Commentary* (both Introduction and *chiosa*); 3) notes emphasizing information provided in the commentary, e.g., characters, general concepts, sources. We shall explore each category by analyzing some *specimina* in detail. In addition to these major annotations, there are other minor interventions: this anonymous reader corrects typographical errors, especially in the commentary, where they also add punctuation; and, as mentioned above, they penned *maniculae* and other *marginalia* that help to emphasize interesting parts of the commentary.

1) The interlinear and marginal translations do not differ in quality: they work together to represent an extensive translation of the poem. The choice of position on the page, interlinear or marginal, is not significant per se and is mostly determined by how many words are translated for each line. The translation is not continuous and becomes increasingly sporadic as we move from *Inferno* to *Purgatorio* to *Paradiso*. The fact that some of the glosses are in Latin is quite normal for the time, since Latin was the true global language of communication, and someone who showed such a deep interest in Dante would probably be a well-educated individual, who would know Latin. Moreover, to translate from fourteenth-century Italian to Spanish it is probable that this annotator helped themselves with a Latin-Italian glossary.<sup>26</sup> In the Appendix is the transcription of the translation into Spanish and Latin of a passage

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<sup>25</sup> Parker, *Commentary and Ideology*, 124–58, on Piasi pp. 136–37; Nadia Cannata, *Il Canzoniere a Stampa (1470–1530). Tradizione e fortuna di un genere fra storia del libro e letteratura* (Rome: Bagatto Libri, 2000), 54–55; Brian Richardson, *Print Culture in Renaissance Italy: The Editor and the Vernacular Text, 1470–1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 28–47.

<sup>26</sup> The first Latin-Italian vernacular glossary dates to the mid-fourteenth century, with many following thereafter; see Marcello Aprile. 'Glossari', in *Enciclopedia dell'Italiano* (Rome: Treccani, 2010), *sub vocem*.

of *Inferno* 25 (Appendix A1) and the whole of *Paradiso* 1 (Appendix A2, fig. 2), *canti* which have been chosen for their complexity as regards both language and content.

In *Inferno* 25 we see how some lines are translated in the margins in their entirety (e.g., l. 106 “Le gambe co’ le coscie seco stesse”: *Las piernas con los muslos consigo mismas*), or almost completely, with the translation arranged in part in the margin, in part between the lines (e.g., l. 120 “per l’una parte & da l’altra el dipela”: *por la una parte* is written in the margin, *de la otra lo pela* is instead penned between the lines). A few words are translated into Latin, in a seamless oscillation between Latin and Spanish that continues until the end of *Paradiso*. In *Paradiso* 1, for instance, we find: l. 16 *giogho*: *iugum*; l. 37 *foci*: *faucibus*; l. 51 *pur*: *omnino*; l. 55 *lecito*: *licet* (but *licito* in the margin); l. 70 *Trashumar [sic]*: *transcendere umanitates*; l. 87 *pria che*: *priusquam*; l. 119 *saecta*: *sagittat*; l. 140 *privo*: *privatus*. There does not seem to be any particular reason for choosing Latin for translating any of these words. However, in this selection the translation into Latin of Dante’s coinage *trasumanar*, i.e., transhumanizing, stands out. While it is expected that a translation would be needed for this verb, it is telling that the translator reconstructed its precise meaning passing through Latin. In fact, in order to express the concept of ‘transcending humanity’, the use of Latin expresses a closer connection to the coinage’s theological root, to Dante’s being able to reach a state closer to God’s power as beyond the material universe.

Sometimes the interlinear or marginal translation does not seem to be necessary for the reader to understand the text, as it elucidates extremely plain words. Instead, the reader seems to have had difficulties with the *scriptio continua* of this edition: for instance, in *Par.* 1.91 the translation *estas* (i.e., *estás*) for *sei* (you are) becomes necessary to disentangle the four words crammed together in “non senterra,” i.e., “non sé ’n terra” (you are not on earth); or in *Par.* 1.137 the translation *si no* becomes necessary because the Italian “se no” (if not) is written as one word and apparently it needs to be distinguished from *seno*, i.e., breast or bosom.

On the other hand, not all of the translations are literal, but some are explanatory. For instance, in *Inferno* 25, in translating the difficult lines describing the thieves’ monstrous metamorphoses, we find several instances of *s.*, i.e., *scilicet*. In recounting the double metamorphosis of the thieves who simultaneously exchange shape and substance, changing from serpent to man and from man to serpent, Dante makes extensive use of pronouns. As we can see in Appendix A1, our anonymous translator rendered these explicit in

order to further clarify the literal meaning of the text. The same happens at *Par.* 1.38, where the translation *el sol* for “la lucerna del mondo” clarifies the periphrasis. In the translation of *Paradiso* 1, it is interesting to pinpoint the addition of *o* (ll. 28 and 74) respectively related to the words *padre* and *amore*: they serve to signal that these two words are vocatives, thus clarifying that these passages are invocations.

In *Paradiso* 1 there is an example of explicatory glosses that seem to have been needed more to understand a deeper meaning of Dante’s text than to grasp its literal sense. At l. 41 the translation of *cera* into *materia* does not just translate the word, it also makes its meaning in the context of the *canto* clearer, since here (and in several other passages in the *Commedia*, e.g., *Par.* 2.130-132) wax stands for matter to be moulded by the creator, as is in the metaphor of the stamping of the seal which Dante uses several times in the *Paradiso* to represent the divine imprint in a Platonic key.

2) The anonymous annotator lists in the margins the words that they evidently had difficulty understanding while reading the commentary. Since some of these headwords in Italian are copied in the margins without being followed by their translation into Spanish or Latin (as mentioned above), the reader must first have annotated in the margins those words that were not clear to them, and then added their translation, without completing this work in some instances. These marginal lists of words constitute an Italian-Spanish/Latin lexicon. Below I give the list that can be found in the first three pages of Landino’s proem to the *Comento* (square brackets indicate interventions that were added in a second phase).

fols. Ai v–Aii<sup>27</sup> (fig. 3)  
Accioche – es. para que  
Arrechar – es. traer  
Nientedimeno – es. *nihilominus tamen*  
Ho – es. *habeo*  
Insino – es. hasta  
Sia – es. sea  
Concio sia che – es. como asy sea que  
Haro – es. avre  
possino – es. puedan  
Habbino – es. ayan  
Sanza – es. Sin  
paruto – es. parecido

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<sup>27</sup> Transcriptions follow the spelling of the annotations; words have been divided and united according to current Spanish spelling, u/v have been distinguished, and abbreviations have been resolved.

Pure - es. todavva  
Scondescese - es. [enriscadas]

[Sia - idest. sea]  
[Qualunque - es *quicunque*]  
[Tra - es. entre]

[Loro - es *illos*]  
Ilche - es. lo que  
Anzi - es. antes [*ymo*]  
Adunque - es. pues [*ergo*]  
Non he huopo - es. no es menester  
Cercar - es. buscar  
Adivenyre - es. acaecer  
[Sarebbe - es.]  
[Giglio - es. lirio]  
[Aritroso - es. tornando atras]  
[Trare - es. quitar]  
[Anche - es. *etiam*]  
[Dobbiamo - es. devemos]  
[Si pare che. es]<sup>28</sup>  
[Si che anchora. es.]  
Arrogere - es. *addatur. Accedat*  
Imperhoche - es. porque

Cha e - es que los  
Rozo - es. Rudo  
Apparischino - es. pareçan

3) There are several kinds of information that the annotator emphasizes in the margins.<sup>29</sup> As a *specimen* we can analyse notes pertaining to the very beginning of the *Commedia*, from Landino's proem to the *Comento* and from the commentary to *Inferno* 1.

When Landino lists previous commentators of Dante's *Commedia*, the annotator makes a list in the internal margin, reproducing the names Landino provides without adding any information or further detail.

Comentorono el nostro poeta due suoi figliuoli, Francesco et Piero. Comentollo Benvenuto imolese, et questi in latino. Comentollo Iacopo bolognese nella sua patria lingua. Comentollo Riccardo theologo frate carmelitano [i.e., Guido da Pisa]. Comentollo Andrea credo napolitano, et Guiniforte [Barzizza] iuriconsulto bergamasco. Principiò di

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<sup>28</sup> This headword and the following one have been deleted.

<sup>29</sup> For a detailed analysis of readers' annotations related to the commentaries to the *Commedia*, I refer the reader to Vacalebre, "A Book for All Seasons," ch. 5.



comentarlo Ioanni nostro Boccaccio . . . . Comentollo finalmente Francesco da Buti in lingua pisana. (Landino, *Comento*, I.220)

f. A1v

Francesco & Piero di d.

Benvenuto

Iacopo

Ricardo

Andrea

Guiniforte

I. boccacio

Fran. dabuti

In commenting on the third line of the *Infèrno*, Landino established a difference between *smarrita*, the word chosen by Dante, and *perduta*: since Dante is able to go back to the virtuous path through his journey, he used *smarrire*, that is to say, to lose something that is later found, while *perdere* would have implied a permanent loss. Our reader takes an interest in this hermeneutic and linguistic distinction, and duly translated this definition in the margin.

SMARRITA: et non perduta, perché chi già trascorso ne' vitiù quando che sia torna alla virtù, non havea perduta, ma smarrita la via. (Landino, *Comento*, I.287).

Birr

Smarrita. se llama en toscano aquella cosa que puesto que al presente no se halle: se ha de hallar algun tiempo.

In *Infèrno* 1 Dante the pilgrim tries to escape the *selva oscura*, the dark wood, but three beasts block his way: a leopard (*lonza*), a lion (*leone*), and a she-wolf (*lupa*). Traditionally the three beasts have been identified with lust (*lonza*), pride (*leone*), and avarice or more generally negative and excessive desire (*lupa*). Here, the annotator first translated the names of the beasts into Spanish and then briefly stated their symbolic meaning by translating word-by-word Landino's interpretation.

Questo . . . significa al presente Danthe per tre fiere: lonza [*leonza* in the 1491 ed.] è el piacere, lupa è l'utile, leone è l'honore (Landino, *Comento*, I.297).

Bivr

Leonça. por el deleyte. | Loba. por la utilitat. | Leon. por la honrra.

Other than this note, in this page we have only two minor translations between the lines, *ecce* (Latin) for *ecco* (here is), and *de lo engrido* for “dell’erta” (of the steep slope). It seems that the meaning of this part of the text was quite clear to the reader, and so they only annotated in their own language the symbolic meaning of the three beasts.

These marginal annotations have the same function that printed *marginalia* have in some editions of Dante’s *Commedia* with Landino’s commentary dating from the first half of the sixteenth century: in particular, the 1529 Giunta edition<sup>30</sup> and the 1536 Giolito edition,<sup>31</sup> both of which have the same set of printed *marginalia*. The marginal notes of our annotator that are related to the commentary are scarce: on average a couple for each *canto*, with some *canti* not having any note of this kind. On the other hand, the above-mentioned Landino editions have sets of printed *marginalia* that are continuous, providing each page with one or more marginal notes. For instance, in the first section of Landino’s proem, preceding the life of Dante, we find fifty-two printed *marginalia*. In this same section, our annotator only penned six.

By comparing the annotations of our Bodleian *Commedia* related to Landino’s contents with these printed *marginalia*, it emerges that, in some cases, they refer to the same passages, but there is no precise correspondence in words or a consistent overlapping of the information being emphasized. In this same opening section of Landino’s proem, the six handwritten annotations only loosely correspond to the fifty-two printed ones: the first is the list of previous commentators transcribed above, which in the 1529 and 1536 editions is a general “Varii comentatori della Comedia di Danthe;” while the following notes on Pippo Spano, “philippo scholari Spano” (Fol. Aiii<sup>r</sup>) and “Magna laus philippi spani” (fol. Aiii<sup>v</sup>), correspond in print to “Philippo Spano riporto vintitre vittorie contra a turchi.” In the subsequent three notes, our annotator emphasizes precise information which is instead overlooked by the printed *marginalia*: while in the editions we read “Monasterii della città di Fiorenza,” “Pecunie infinite spesono e Fiorentini in cinque guerre che loro hebbeno,” and “Varie famiglie nobili fiorentine

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<sup>30</sup> *Comedia di Danthe Alighieri poeta diuino: con l'espositione di Christophoro Landino: nuouamente impressa: e con somma diligentia reuista et emendata: et di nuouisime postille adornata* (Venice: Lucantonio Giunta il vecchio, 1529). Edit16 1159; USTC 808784.

<sup>31</sup> Dante Alighieri, *Comedia con la dotta & leggiadra spositione di Christophoro Landino: con somma diligentia & accuratissimo studio nuouamente corretta, & emendata: da infiniti errori purgata, ac etiandio di utilissime postille ornata* (Venice: Giovanni I Giolito De Ferrari, 1536). Edit16 1162; USTC 808785.

sono sparse in molte città d'Italia,” our annotator pinpoints the number of monasteries and churches (“Lxxiiij monesterios en florençia de frayles y monjas | yglesias parrochiales Liii,” fol. Aiv $r$ ), the precise expenses sustained by Florence (“Dos cuentos y medio de ducados. Cinco cuentos de ducados. Dos cuentos y medio de ducados,” fol. Av $r$ ), and that there is a Martelli family in Sevilla (“Los marteles de sevilla,” fol. Av $v$ ). In the commentary to the *canti* the relationship remains the same.

Another 1491 *Commedia* with Landino’s commentary printed in Venice has similar printed *marginalia*.<sup>32</sup> This Benali-Codecà edition has extensive marginal notes which constitute a continuous topical index for the poem and its commentary. However, in this edition there is no note for the Proem of Landino’s commentary, and therefore, even if our annotator used an edition with printed *marginalia*, this cannot be the sole or principal point of reference. In the *canti*, the relationship between our annotator’s work and this set of *marginalia* mirrors what we have seen for the other *Commedia* editions with these kinds of notes. For instance, in *Purgatorio* 1 in our Bodleian *Commedia* we find only two notes related to the content of Landino’s commentary: one extensive, detailing the virtues and their subdivision according to Plato, in Latin (“Virtutes morales iuxta platonis. Sententiam in quattuor species divide scilicet. Civilis purgatoria virtus animi purgati. Exemplaris” and, separated by an horizontal line, “officium temperantie. officium fortitudinis,” fol. Ti $v$ ); and a second, very short one (“A N platonis dictum,” fol. Ti $ir$ ). The first note corresponds to the content of one of the many printed *marginalia* related to *Purgatorio* 1 in the Codecà-Benali edition: “Spirito purgabile. Anima sensitiva more col corpo. Vitio macula l’anima. Virtu leva l’anima in dio. Quattro spetie di virtu secondo platone. Virtu civili. Virtu purgatorie. Virtu dell’animo purgative. Prudentia & virtu exeplari” (fol. Fiii $v$ ). The second one instead finds no parallel there.

These partial and loose correspondences suggest therefore that it cannot be proved that a copy of an edition with printed *marginalia* was being used by our Bodleian annotator, instead of directly deriving the information for their *marginalia* from the commentary. However, it might be possible that they drew some inspiration from one or more sets of printed *marginalia* for selecting the information.

The analysis of the different kinds of annotations and marks that this anonymous reader penned in the Bodleian copy of Piasì’s

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<sup>32</sup> Dante Alighieri, *La Commedia. Il Credo* (Venice: Bernardinus Benalius, Matteo Capcasa, 1491). ISTC id00032000; GW07969; USTC 995471.

1491 edition of the *Commedia* provides us with the image of a keen reader of Dante, who wanted to understand the poem in its literal sense, while also reading Landino's rich commentary. As is demonstrated by the *specimina* from Landino's proem and *Inferno* 1, our Bodleian annotator focussed on information that was neither particularly arcane nor complex, thus showing that they were most probably just beginning their study of Dante through reading this copy. While undertaking the task of 'appropriating' Dante's verses, this reader shows an interest in Tuscan language, whose precise knowledge would have been a necessary skill for reading both Dante's and Landino's words. It is noteworthy that the final *canti* of the *Paradiso*, while still being annotated with literal translations, show a lesser density of translations. This can already be appreciated by comparing the number of lines and words translated in the section of *Inferno* 25 transcribed in the Appendix, where only two lines out of these thirty-two are not translated at all, with respect to the whole first canto of the *Paradiso*, where several lines are skipped entirely. Since this cannot be a question of linguistic ease in *Paradiso*, it shows that our translator (and/or their potential readers) improved their knowledge of the Italian vernacular: by the end of the *Commedia* they needed less help, being able to read the poem without compiling a literal translation.

### 2.3 *A Source for a Complete Translation?*

A painstaking work like the one carried out in this copy of the *Commedia* leads on to suspect that it may be a preparatory work for a proper, self-standing translation. By analysing the work itself, it is not possible to decide whether a full translation was intended or if this reader merely wanted to understand the *Commedia* in detail. By comparing this translator's work with extant contemporary translations – those by Villegas, Díaz, and the anonymous of *Purgatorio* in *quintillas* –, nothing emerges suggesting a direct relationship with our annotator's work. The Bodleian translation is extremely literal, while the complete, self-standing translations are less literal, making it difficult to propose any direct connection between the two, thus implying that it was their source. By comparing some sections from *Inferno* 25 and *Purgatorio* 1 (in Appendix), it is evident that, while some words and syntagmas are the same, there is no expression or locution proving that the Bodleian *Commedia* was the first step of any of these three early-sixteenth-century translations. If in Díaz and the anonymous *quintillas* (Appendix B) some words recur and some syntagmas provide equivalent translations, they remain too generic to offer any clear demonstration of

filiation. Villegas's translation (Appendix C), with its amplifications and rewritings, is the furthest from the literal notes of our anonymous Bodleian annotator, thus showing no contact.

### 3. *Scribbling on Dante's 'Rime'*

Dante's lyric poetry was first printed independently from his other works in Venice in 1518: *Canzoni di Dante. Madrigali del detto. Madrigali di m. Cino, & di m. Girardo Novello*. Venice: Guglielmo da Fontaneto, 1518 (USTC 808770; Edit16 1154). This edition is principally made of poems attributed to Dante, with a few taken from his contemporary fellow poets (many are spurious), thus constituting an anthology of early Italian poetry, the first of its kind to have appeared in print in Italy. The copy of this edition held by the British Library (shelfmark: C.20.a.13(2)) is an interesting case of non-verbal marks,<sup>33</sup> which nonetheless give us precious information on readers' habits and interests. This copy does not have annotations in Spanish, but the context suggests that it most probably belonged to someone who had an interest in Spanish literature and could at least read Spanish. Here Dante's lyric poetry is bound together with a copy of a Tuscan translation of Petrarch's *Secretum* printed in Venice in 1520 (*Secreto de Francesco Petrarca in dialogi di latino in vulgar & in lingua toscha tradocto novamente ... correcto* [by F. Orlandini]. Venice: per Niccolò Zoppino & Vincenzo di Paolo, 1520; shelfmark: C.20.a.13(1); USTC 847801; Edit16 47366) and a copy of the Spanish *tragicomedia Celestina* by Fernando de Rojas, an edition with the *imprimatur* Sevilla, but printed in Venice in 1523 (*Tragicomedia de Calisto y melibea*. Sevilla [=Venice: Juan Batista Pedrezano, 1523]; shelfmark: C.20.a.13(3); USTC 343242). It is probable that all three editions were bound together *ab antiquo*. The first two editions – Dante's lyric poetry and the *Secretum* – were annotated by the same hand, while Fernando de Rojas's *Celestina* has no annotations. However, it was printed in Venice just a few years later, which might suggest that someone bought and bound the three volumes together. Moreover, while the volume currently has a modern binding by the British Museum, a cutting from a previous binding has been pasted in the modern front endpaper: it is written in a Renaissance script and lists all three works, thus suggesting that these three editions have not been only recently bound together.

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<sup>33</sup> On non-verbal marks, see Jason Scott-Warren, "Reading Graffiti in the Early Modern Book," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 73, no. 3 (2010): 363–81.

In this copy Dante's lyric poetry has been thoroughly annotated: this anonymous reader underlined relevant passages, drew *maniculae*, or copied in the margins significant words and syntagmas. Their interest seems essentially linguistic: by underlining and rewriting, this reader emphasized single words, syntactic constructs, syntagmas, verbal forms, and even whole stanzas. Only a handful of pages have been left untouched.

For instance, here is the transcription of the annotations to Dante's *canzoni* "Così nel mio parlar" (ll. 30-58, fol. Aii v) and "Amor che movi" (ll. 1-19, fol. Aviii v). On the right in italics are the annotations. Here and below the underlined text reproduces the underlining of this annotator. Unmarked lines are omitted in the transcription.

- ...
- 30   Lo mio pensier di fuor, si che si scopra  
 Ch'io non fo della morte, ch'ogni senso  
 Con li denti d'amor già mi manduca                         *manduca*  
 Ond'ogni nel penser bruca                                       *bruca*
- ...
- 39   Et quei d'ogni pieta par messo al niego.                         *al niego*  
 Alza la mano adhor adhor, & sfida  
 La debole mia vita esto perverso                                 *esto perverso*  
 Che disteso, & riverso  
 Mi tien in terra d'ogni guiccio stanco                                 *guiccio*
- ...
- 49   Si forte: che 'l dolor nel cor rimbalza                                 *rimbalza il dolor*
- ...
- 54   Lo cor di quella, che lo mio squatra                                 *squatra*
- ...
- 57   Ma tanto da nel sol quanto nel rezzo                                 *rezzo*  
Questa scherana micidiaia, & latra                                 *scherana*
- 1    Amor, che movi tua vertu dal cielo,  
Come 'l sol lo splendore
- ...
- 6    Così alto signore  
 Tu cacci la viltate altrui del core:  
 Ne ira contra te fa longa prova:  
Da te convien che ciascun ben si mova                                 *(manicula)*  
 Per lo qual si travaglia il mondo tutto.  
Senza te è distrutto.  
 Quanto havemo in potentia di ben fare:  
 Come piatura in tenebrosa parte,                                 *piatura*
- ...
- 17   Com'è raggio in la stella  
 Poi che l'anima mia fu fatta ancella

Della tua podesta primeramente

*podestà*

...

This annotator seems to have been particularly interested in rhyme words, especially uncommon ones (e.g., *manduca : bruca*) and in unconventional words. An interesting case is the word “piatura” (“Amor che movi,” l. 13), which caught the annotator’s attention for its uniqueness. Indeed, it is just a typographical error for *pintura*, painting. In some cases (e.g., “Così nel mio parlar,” l. 49) they annotate the verb that is used with a certain word, thus emphasizing a particular way to express an action. This individual particularly focused on metrical issues. This preoccupation is explicit in several notes concerned with the scansion of *fiata/e* (fols. Bvr, Cvii v, Diir) and *niente* (fols. Eviii r, Fvii v), words with diphthongs that can be divided in either two or three syllables, a difference that our annotator duly notes in the margin. In addition to a possible interest in their content, this metrical interest might be one of the reasons why they underlined entire verses.

In Petrarch’s *Secretum* the annotations by this same hand seem to be more directed towards the content, as one would expect in a vernacularization of a moral Latin prose work. Yet some annotations show a linguistic and rhetorical interest also for this Tuscan version of Petrarch’s work (e.g., fol. Ciir: “che prospicere significa di lontano risguardare,” note in the margin: *que prospicere*; fol. Civr: “\*onde come che suole advenire a quelli che seminano molto seme in piccolo spatio ..., così adviene ad te che nel tuo animo ...,” note in the margin: “\**Comparatio*”). Compiled by the Siense Francesco Orlandini, first published in 1517 and dedicated to the Passerini family from Cortona (a small town in Tuscany), this vernacular version was indeed an example of contemporary Tuscan prose, which could certainly have been of interest to a foreigner.

By analyzing this volume in its entirety, we can therefore infer that this reader had a keen interest for both Dante as a lyric poet and Petrarch as a moral writer. Their marks and notes show interest in the content of their works, as well as their formal and linguistic peculiarities, especially as regards Dante. Such an interest in Dante’s lyric poetry is particularly relevant at this point in time, given that Renaissance vernacular classicism heralded Petrarch as the chief poetic model. Leaving aside this issue, which deserves to be considered in its own right, the coexistence in this Sammelband of two annotated examples of Tuscan verse and prose, and of a work in Spanish, provides us with the image of a keen reader of

Italian literature who could also read Spanish, a profile which is close to the anonymous translator of the Bodleian *Commedia*, making this annotator less isolated and revealing to us how Dante might act as a transnational author for both his poem and potentially his other works as well.

#### 4. *Conclusion*

The two case studies presented in this article have demonstrated the ways in which the analysis of marks and annotations in early modern editions of Dante's works has the potential to reorient our ideas regarding their reception and circulation during the Renaissance. On the one hand, the anonymous translator of the Bodleian *Commedia* demonstrates an interest in understanding the poem in its literal sense, a deep reading which could hardly have been provided by any translation at the time (and especially not by Villegas's translation). On the other, the British Library Sammelband, encompassing Dante's lyric poetry, shows a possible bilingual reader who had a strong linguistic interest in Dante as a lyric poet. This is in itself notable given the extent to which Petrarch's vernacular lyric production had overshadowed Dante's own lyric output, as well as the growing tendency of contemporary Petrarchist writers to dominate the literary scene at a European level.<sup>34</sup> As these two case studies have shown, the analysis of reader responses and interventions across linguistic territories and communities, literary genres, and types of knowledge allows us to adopt a transnational decentred approach, crucial for problematizing critical tenets and, thus, for better understanding the vital cultural discourse that has surrounded Dante's oeuvre throughout the centuries.

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<sup>34</sup> On Dante's lyric poetry in the Renaissance, with further bibliography, see Laura Banella, Franco Tomasi, eds., *Oltre la 'Commedia'. 'L'altro Dante' e il canone antico della lirica (1450-1600)* (Rome: Carocci, 2020).



APPENDIX

A1) *Infèrno* 25.103-135 (fols. Pivv-Pvr)<sup>1</sup>

<i>Translation in the margin</i>	<i>Interlinear translation</i>	<i>Italian Text</i>
juntamente se pusieron	<i>se reduxerunt</i> tales	Insieme si riposono ad tai norme
	hendio	che 'l serpente la coda in forca fesse
	normas	el ferito ristringse insieme l'orme
Las piernas con los muslos consigo mismas		Le gambe co' le coscie seco stesse
se apegaron asi que en poco		s'appiccar si che mpuoco la iuntura

<sup>1</sup> Transcriptions follow the spelling of the annotations and the printed text; words have been divided and united according to current Spanish spelling, u/v have been distinguished, and abbreviations have been resolved. In the margins of these same pages we find three headwords which have not been translated: 'Sportanti es.'; 'Abandolo es.'; 'Acconciare es.' (fol. Bvr).

		non faceva segno alcuno che si paresse.
quitaba la cola hendida		Toglea la coda fessa la figura
que se perdia de ella y el	su pellejo	che si perdea di lei & la sua pelle
se hazia muelle / y aquella de aculla dura s. se hazia		si faceva molle & quella di la dura.
	los sobacos	Io vidi entrar le braccia per l'ascelle
	que eran torcidos	& due pie' de la bestia ch'eron torti
tanto alongar se quanto se acortaban aquellas		tanto allunghar quanto acorciavon quelle
despues los pies detras	<i>simul</i>	Poscia li pie' di drieto insiema torti
tornaronse	encubre	diventoron le membra che l'huom cela
el misero del su mjembro tenia dos s. pies <i>porrecti</i>		el misero del suo n'havea due porti.

mjentra que el humo al uno y al otro cubre		Mentre che 'l fumo l'uno & l'altro vela
de color nueva engendra el pelo ençima s. del mjembro		di color nuovo genera el pel suso
por la una parte	de la otra lo pela	per l'una parte & da l'altra el dipela.
el uno se lebanto		L'un si levo & l'alrro [ <i>sic</i> ] cadde giuso
	ojos impios	non torcendo perho le lucerne empie
debaxo delos quales cada uno mudaba el hoçico		sotto le qual ciascun cambiava muso.
aquel que era derecho retraxo hazia las sienes		Quel ch'era dritto transe 'nver le tempie
y de la demasiada materia que alla vyno		& di troppa materia che la venne
salieron las orejas de las qujxadas symples		uscir gl'orecchi de le gote sempie

lo que no corrio atras y se detuvo		Cio che non corse indrieto & si ritenne
	sobra hizo	di quel soverchio fe' naso la faccia
	engrosso se conviene	& le labra ingrosso quanto sconvenne
aquel que yazia	hoçico echa	Quel che iaccea el muso innanzi caccia
	retrae	& gl'orecchi rittira per la testa
	los el caracol	come facce le corna la limaccia
		Et la lengua chavea [i]<u>nita & presta
	bifurca	prima al parlar si fende & la forchuta
	<i>recluditur</i>	ne l'altro si richiude el fumo resta

A2) *Paradiso* 1 (fols. Giir-Gvr)

	pude	11-12 nella mia mente potei far thesoro fara hor<ma>teria del mio canto
	<i>iugum</i>	16 Infino aqui l'un giogho di parnaso
me es menester	iugo tu	18-19 m'è huopo entrare nell'aringo romaso Entra nel pecto mio & spira tue
	sy te me das	22 O divina vertu se mi ti presti
	o dende	28 Si rade volte padre se ne cogle
culpa y vergueñas es.		30 colpa & vergogna de l'humane vogle.
	asedienta sigue	33-34 penea quando alcun di se asseta Poca favilla gran fuecho seconda

lebantase alos	se rogara para que <i>faucibus</i> i. el sol	36-38 si pregherra perche cyrrha risponda. Surge a mortali da diversi foci la lucerna del mondo ma da quella
	materia	41 esce congiunta & la mondana cera
	asy se los hynco un tantito el segundo suele	48-49 aquila si non si gl'affixe unquancho. Et come secondo raggio sole
	<i>omnino</i>	51 pur come peregrin che tornar vole
Mucho es liçito alla	<i>licet</i> por merced del lugar	55-56 Molt'è lecito la che qui non lece alle nostre virtu merce del locho
	ny asy	58 Io no 'l sofferse molto ne si pocho
	sale	60 come ferro bollente escie del focho

	añadido como sy a quel que puede adornado	62-63 esser aggiunto come que che puote  havesse 'l ciel d'un altro sole adorno
	hynque	66 le luce fixe di lassu remote
	<i>transcendere umanitates</i>	70 Trashumar significar per verba
	sy yo o	73-74 S'io era sol di me quel che creasti novellamente amorchel ciel governi
	temperas distingues cielo encendido	78-79 coll'harmonia che temperi & discerni. Parvemi tanto alhor del celo acceso
	encendieron	82 di lor cagion m'acessono un disio
<i>priusquam</i>	antesque a pregun- tarme abryo	87 pria ch'addomandar la boccha aprio

lo que verias	sacudido estas	90-91 cio che ved<r>esti se l'havessi scosso. Tu non se 'n terra si come tu credi
por las sonreyentes palabras		95 per le sorrise parolette brevi
los ojos endereço	despues	100-101 Ond'ella appresso d'un pio sospiro gl'occhi drizon ver me con quel semblante
	entre sy	104 hanno ordine e fra lor & questo e forma
	aqui veen	106 Qui veggion l'altre creature lorma
	dicha inclinadas	108-109 alquale e facta la toccata norma. Nell'ordine ch'io dicho sono incline
	Ny solo <i>sagittat</i>	118-119 Ne pur le creature che son fuore d'intelligentia questo archo saecta
	compone	121 La providentia che cotanto affetta



<p>nos lieba</p>	<p>priesa ally commo a sytio</p> <p>lo que despara verdat es</p>	<p>123-128 nel qual sivolge quel ch'a magior fretta. Et hora li com'a sito decreto ce n' porta la virtu di quella corda che cio che scoccha driza in segno lieto. Vere che come forma non s'accorda molte fiate all'antention de&lt;l&gt;l'arte</p>
	<p>que tiene poder enpuxata</p>	<p>131-132 talhor la creatura ch'a potere di piegar cosi pinta in altra parte</p>
	<p>sy</p>	<p>134 foco di nube se l'impeto primo</p>
	<p>debes syno</p>	<p>136-137 Non de piu ammirare se bene stimo per tuo salire se no come d'un rivo</p>
	<p>sy <i>privatus</i> asydo</p>	<p>139-140 Maravigla sarebbe in the se privo d'impedimento giu ti fussi assiso</p>

B)

Bodleian <i>Commedia</i>	Anonymous <i>quintillas</i> (from De Uhagón, 'Una traducción', 533)	Díaz, <i>Vidas</i> (cf. Selig, 'The Dante', 186)
<p>por correr mejor agua alça las velas de oy mas la navezita del my ingenio que dexa atras de sy mar tan cruel (ll. 1-3)</p> <p><i>efficitur</i> (l. 6)</p> <p>el golpe tal que desesperaron perdon .i. de aber perdon (l. 12)</p>	<p>Por mejor agua correr alca las velas nauio de mi ingenio y mi saber, que dexa retroceder mar de tan cruel natío. Cantaré 'I Reyno segundo donde '1 espíritu humano purga las culpas del mundo y queda digno y jocundo de sobir al cielo vfano. Mas la muerta poesía resucite 'n este instante: santas musas, sed mí guía, y de vuestra compañía Caliopé se leuante. Este mi canto prosiga con el tono verdadero de que huvieron tal fatiga las picabas y enemiga cuyo esperar desespero.</p>	<p>De oy mas navezilla do pobre saber que atras de ti dexas el mar truculento levanta las velas cobrando tal viento que puedas por agua mejor ya correr por donde sin otra tardança poner yo cantelos cantos del reyno segundo a donde se purga el espíritu immundo y digno se buelve del cielo tener.</p> <p>La muerta poesia aquí resucite o musas muy sanctas o coro radiante pues todo soy vuestro muy bien se permíte que un poco se alce caliopé adelante siguiendo mi canto melifluo sonante formando aquel son del qual ya sintieron tal golpe las tristes picaças que fueron que nunca esperaron la venia bastante.</p>

C) *Inf.* 25.103-135 from Villegas, *La traducion del Dante*, 1515, ff. Biii<sup>v</sup>-Biv<sup>v</sup> (text to be compared with the notes to *Inf.* 25 transcribed above).<sup>2</sup>

Aquel con la sierpe en tal modo junto  
que ella la cola que de ante hera entera  
en forca la fiende y de estraña manera  
el otro sus plantas atras las alço  
las ganbas y muslos en uno llego  
y asy se apegaron que no ovo juntura  
tan poco a la cola quedo su figura  
lo uno se encoje y lo otro estendio.

La su piel humana ya se endurescia  
y entraban los braços por sus dos assillas  
los pies dela fiera y sus cortas cañillas  
aquello alongaron que el otro encogia  
los sus pies traseros la sierpe torcia  
y dellos se fazen los miembros viriles  
a ella los pies de lo suyo sotiles  
por permutacion que se entrellos fazia.

De mientras que el fumo les faze çelada  
de nuevo color es el pelo engendrado  
por una su parte: por la otra pelado

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<sup>2</sup> Text transcribed from BNE, R. 2519.

y el uno se alço con su forma ynovada  
cayo el otro ayuso ya sierpe formada  
mas no se torciendo sus fieras lucernas  
debaxo las quales por vezes alternas  
cambiaban los muros y fuente mudada.

Lo que hera de tras se traspasa adelante  
de mucha materia que dello venia  
humanas orejas y rostros fazia  
narizes y labros lo sobre pujante  
y aquello engroso para humano semblante  
saco su hocico la sierpe y retira  
las orejas dentro: segundo que se mira  
los cuernos la coclea fazer semejante.

La lengua que es presta primero y juntada  
dispuesta a fâblar: se partio en fendidura  
la otra se suelda mudando figura  
segundo que la otra hera ya permutada  
el fumo ceso con la obra acabada  
y el alma tornada serpiente tan fiera  
soflando fuyo por el valle ligera  
y el otro tras ella en su forma trocada.

FIGURES

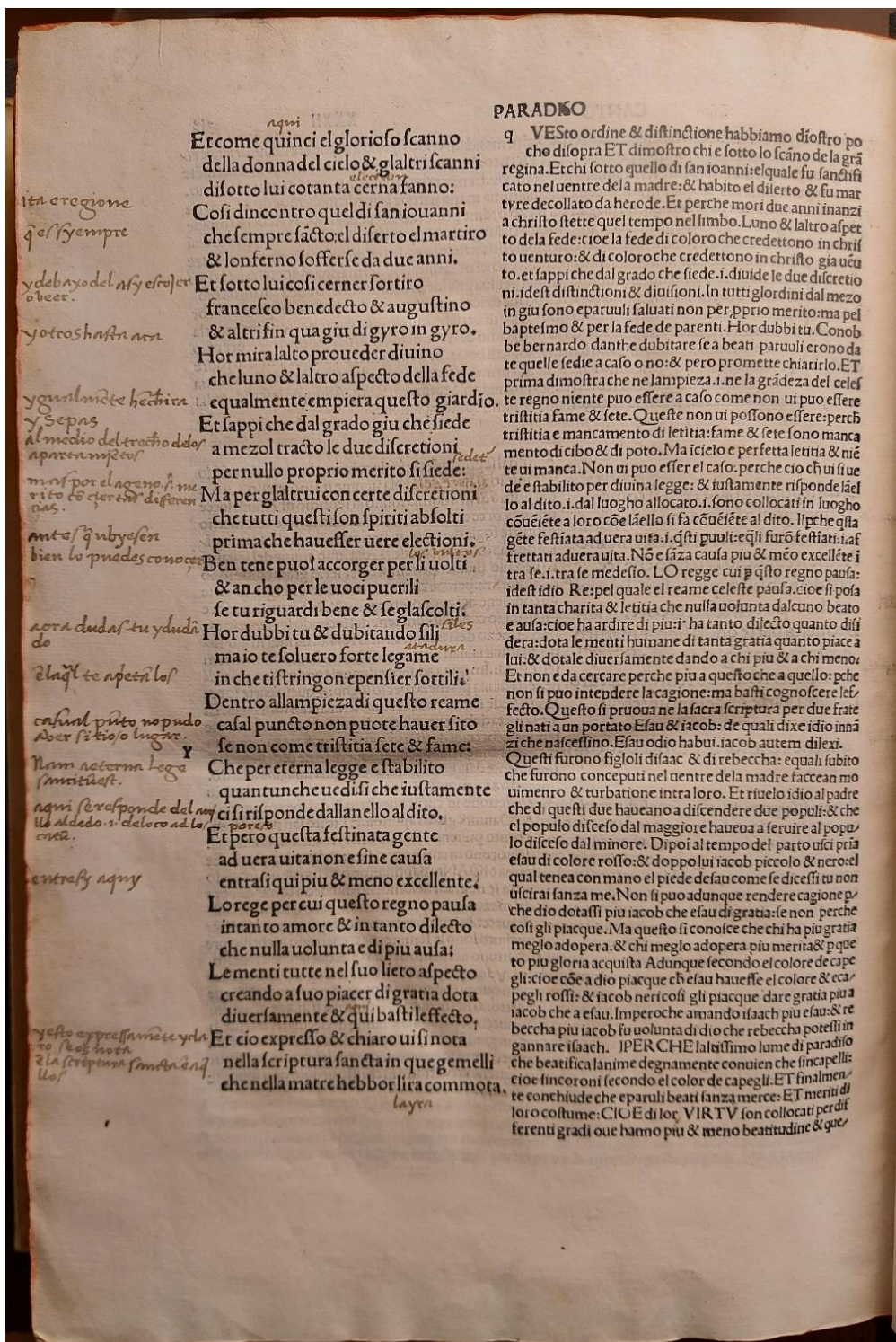


Fig. 1. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. 2Q inf. 1.43, fol. Qviv

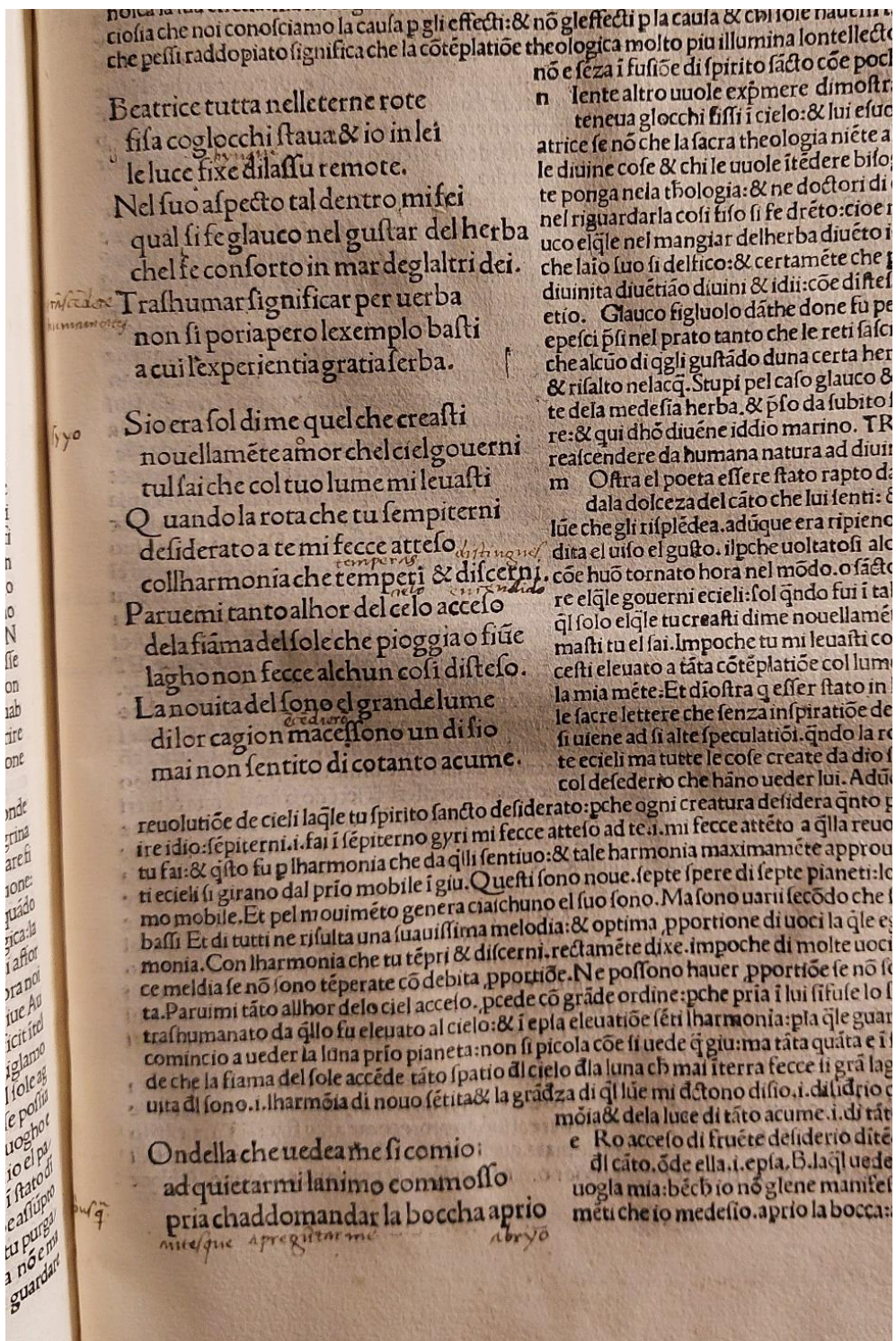


Fig. 2. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. 2Q inf. 1.43, fol. Giir

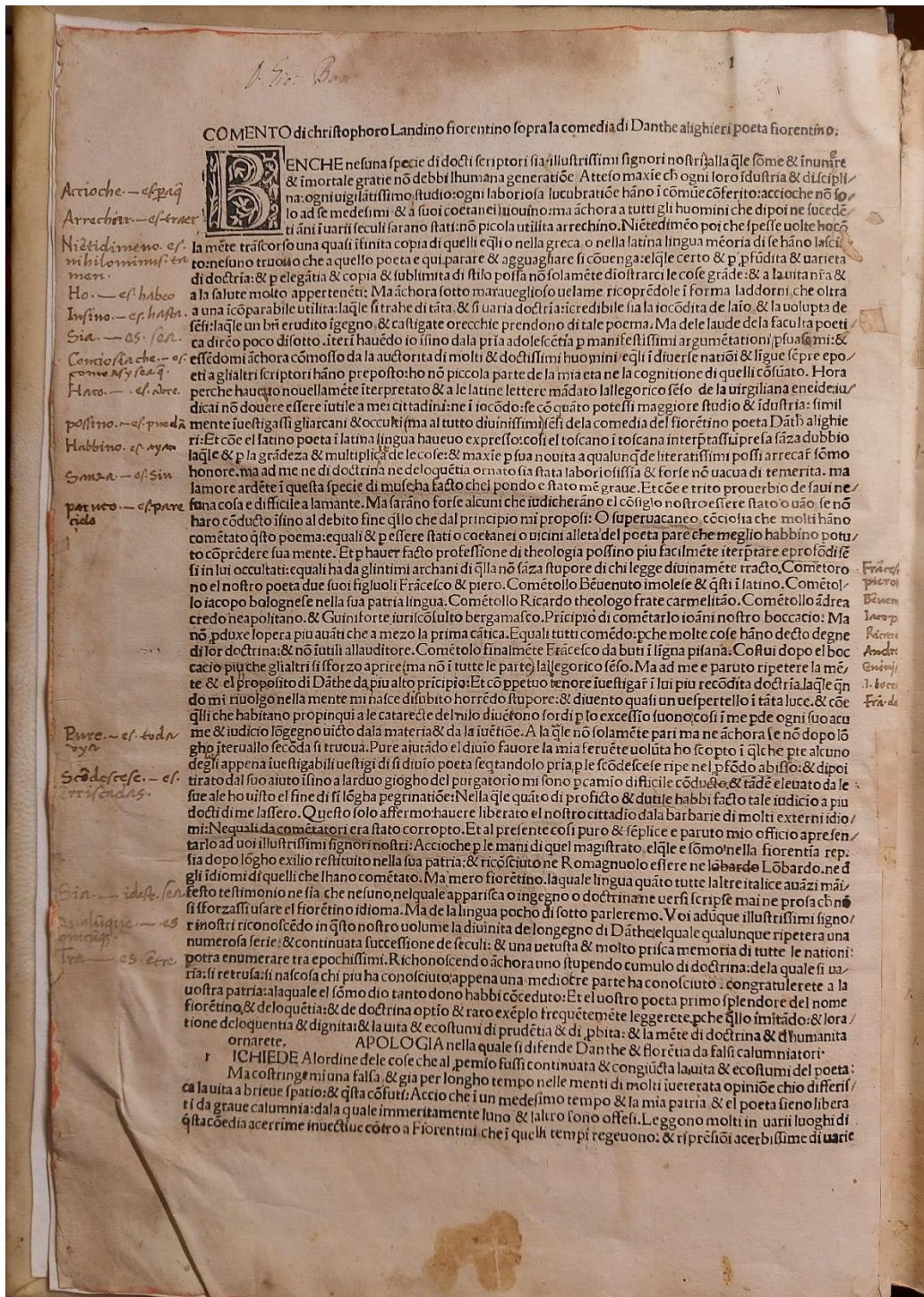


Fig. 3. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. 2Q inf. 1.43, fol. Aiv

COMENTO di christophoro Landino fiorentino sopra la comedia di Danthe alighieri poeta fiorentino.

**B**ENCHE nessuna specie di docti scriptori sia illustriſſimi signori nostri alla q̄le ſome & inum̄re & imortale gratie nō debbi humana generatiōe. Atteſo maxie ch' ogni loro idustria & diſciplina: ogni uigilatiſſimo ſtudio: ogni laborioſa lucubratiōe hāno i cōmūe cōferito: accioche nō lo ad ſe medeſimi & a ſuoi coetanei iuouino: ma āchora a tutti gli huomini che dipoi ne ſuccēdēti āni i uari ſeculi farano ſtati: nō picola utilita arrechino. Ni cēdīmēo poi che ſpeſſe uolte hōcō la mēte traſcorſo una quaſi ſiuita copia di quelli eſſi o nella greca o nella latina lingua mēoria di ſe hāno laſciato: nel ſuo trouo che a quello poeta e qui parare & agguagliare ſi cōuenga: el q̄le certo & p̄ p̄ ſūditā & uarieta di doctria: & p̄ elegātia & copia & ſublimitā di ſtilo poſſa nō ſolamēte diſtrarci le coſe grade: & a la uita nra & a la ſalute molto appartenētē. Ma āchora ſotto marauigioſo uelame ricoprēdole i forma laddornī che oltra a una icōparabile utilita: la q̄le ſi trahē di tāta. & ſi uaria doctria: icredibile ſia la iocōdita de laio. & la uolupta de ſeſi: la q̄le un bri erudito iegno. & caſtigate orecchie prendono di tale poema. Ma de laude de la ſacra poēti ca dirēo poco di ſotto. itē i hāuēdo io iſino dala pria adoleſcētā p̄ maniſeſtiſſimi argumētationi p̄ ſuaſiōni: & eſſēdōmi āchora cōmoſto da la auctorita di molti & doctiſſimi huomini: eſſi i diuerſe natiōi & ſigue ſēpre epōeti a gli altri ſcriptori hāno prepoſto: hō nō piccola parte de la mia eta ne la cognitione di quelli cōſūato. Hora perche hauēto nouellamēte iterpretato & a le latine lettere mādato lallegorico ſēſo de la uirgiliana enēidia: dicai nō douere eſſere iutile a mei citadini: ne i iocōdo: ſe cōquāto poteſſi maggiore ſtudio & iduſtria: ſimilmente iueſtigari gli arcani & occuſiſſima al tutto diuiniſſimi ſēſi de la comedia del ſiorētino poeta. Dātō alighieri: Et cōe el latino poeta i latina lingua hauēo expreſſo: cōſi el toſcano i toſcana interpretatiſſi p̄ la ſāza dubbio la q̄le & p̄ la grādeza & multiplicā de le coſe: & maxie p̄ ſua nouita a qualunq̄de literatiſſimi poſſi arrecar ſōmo honore. ma ad me ne di doctria ne de loquētia ornato ſia ſtata laborioſiſſia & forſe nō uoua di temerita. Ma lamore ardēte i queſta ſpecie di muſcha faſto chel pondo e ſtato mē graue. Et cōe e trito proverbio de ſauie nra ſua cola e difficile a lamante. Ma farāno forſe alcuni che iudicherāno el cōſiglio noſtro eſſere ſtato o uāto: ſe nō hāro cōducto iſino al debito fine q̄llo che dal principio mi propoſi: O ſuperuacaneo cōcilio che molti hāno comētato q̄to poema: equali & p̄ eſſere ſtati o coetanei o vicini alla eta del poeta pare che meglio habbino potuto cōp̄redere ſua mente. Et p̄ hauer faſto profeſſione di theologia poſſino piu facilmente iterpretare e proſodiſe ſi in lui occultati: equali ha da gli intimi arcani di q̄lla nō ſāza ſtupore di chi legge diuina mēte traſto. Comētōno el noſtro poeta due ſuoi figliuoli Frāceſco & piero. Comētolo Bēuenuto imoleſe & q̄ſti i latino. Comētolo iacopo bologneſe nella ſua patria lingua. Comētolo Ricardo theologo frate carmelitāno. Comētolo ādrea credo neapolitano. & Guini forte iuricoſulto bergamaſco. Principio di comētarlo io āni noſtro boccaccio: Ma nō p̄duxē ſopera piu auāti che a mezo la prima cātica. Equali tutti comēdo: p̄che molte coſe hāno deſto degne di lor doctria: & nō iutili al laudatore. Comētolo finalmente Frāceſco da buti i ligna piſana: Coſtui dopo el boccaccio piu che gli altri ſi ſforzo a prire ma nō i tutte le parte lallegorico ſēſo. Ma ad me e paruto ripetere la mēte & el propoſito di Dāthe da piu alto principio: Et cōppetuo tenore iueſtigar i lui piu recōdita doctria la q̄le q̄ndo mi riuolgo nella mente mi naſce di ſubito horrēdo ſtupore: & diuento quaſi un ueſpeltello i tāta luce. & cōe q̄llo che habbiano propinqui a le cātate de del mīlo diuētono for di p̄lo exceſſo ſuonocōſi i me p̄de ogni ſuo acume & iudicio ſogegno uicōto dala materia & da la iueſtiōe. A la q̄le nō ſolamēte pari ma ne āchora ſe nō dopo iōgho iteruallo ſecoda ſi troua. Pure aiutādo el diuino fauore la mia feruēte uolūta ho ſcōpto i q̄lche p̄te alcuno de gli appena iueſtigabili ueſti di ſi diuino poeta ſegatandolo pria p̄le ſcōdeſeſe ripe nel p̄fōdo abiſſo: & dipoi tirato dal ſuo aiuto iſino al arduo iogho del purgatorio mi ſono p̄camio difficile cōducto. & tadē eleuato da le ſue ale ho uiſto el fine di ſi lo gha pegrinatiōe: Nella q̄le quāto di proſiſto & dūte habbi faſto tale iudicio a piu docti di me laſſero. Queſto ſolo aſſeruo hauer liberato el noſtro cittadino dala barbarie di molti externi idiom: Ne quali da comētatori era ſtato corropo. Et al preſente coſi puro & ſēplice e paruto mio officio ap̄reſentario ad uoi iſtitiſſimi ſignori noſtri: Accioche p̄le mani di quel magiſtrato: el q̄le e ſōmo nella fiorentia rep. ſia dopo lo gho exilio reſtituito nella ſua patria: & ricōſciuto ne Romagnuolo eſſere ne labarde Lōbardone d gli idiomi di quelli che hāno comētato. Ma mero ſiorētino. la quale lingua quāto tutte laſtre italice auāzi māt: ſeſto teſtimonio ne ſia che nel ſuo nel quale apparica o ingegno o doctria ne uerſi ſcripte mai ne proſa ch' nō ſi ſforzaſſi uſare el ſiorētino idioma. Ma de la lingua pocho di ſotto parleremo. Voi adūque iſtitiſſimi ſignori noſtri riconoſcēdo in q̄ſto noſtro uolume la diuinitā de lo gegno di Dāthe: el quale qualunq̄de ripetera una numeroſa ſerie: & continuata ſucceſſione de ſeculi: & una uetuiſta & molto p̄rica memoria di tutte le natiōi: potra enumerare tra epochiſſimi. Richonolcēdo āchora uno ſtupendo cumulo di doctria: de la quale ſi uaria: ſi retruſa: ſi naſcola chi piu ha conoſciuto: appena una mediotre parte ha conoſciuto: congratulerete a la uoſtra patria: la quale el ſōmo dio tanto dono habbi cōceduto: Et el uoſtro poeta primo ſplendore del nome ſiorētino: & de loquētia: & de doctria optio & raro exēplo frequētemēte leggerete: p̄che q̄llo imitādo: el lora tione de loquētia & dignita: & la uita & ecoſtumi di prudētia & di p̄bita: & la mēte di doctria & d'humanita ornarete.

APOLOGIA nella quale ſi diſende Danthe & ſiorētina da falſi calunniatori: ICHIEDE Alordine de le coſe che al premio fuſſi continuata & congiūta la uita & ecoſtumi del poeta: Ma coſtingemmi una falſa & gia per longo tempo nelle menti di molti iueterata opinioe chio diſſerica la uita a brieue ſpatio: & q̄ſta cōſuſi. Accio che i un medeſimo tempo & la mia patria & el poeta ſieno liberati da graue calunnia: dala quale immeritamente luno & laltro ſono offeſi. Leggono molti in uarij luoghi di q̄ſta cōedia acerime inuictue cōtro a Fiorentini che i queſti tempi regeuono: & r̄preſiōi acerbiſſime di uarie

Accioche. — eſpaq  
Arrechiō. — eſtraer  
Niētidimēo. eſ.  
nihilominuſi. eſ.  
man.  
Ho. — eſ. habeo  
Inſino. — eſ. haſta  
Sia. — aſ. ſan.  
Comēdoſa che. — eſ.  
come Nyſea q.  
Hāno. — eſ. dicit.  
poſſino. — eſ. p̄moda  
Habbinō. eſ. nyan  
Sma. — eſ. Sin  
paruto. — eſ. pare  
rieda  
Pure. — eſ. todn  
ryn  
Scōdeſeſe. — eſ.  
reſtitiōis.  
Sin. — ideſ. ſen  
reſtitiōis. — eſ.  
p̄moda.  
tra. — aſ. eſe

Frāceſco  
piero  
Bēuen  
Iacop  
Ricard  
Andr  
Guini  
I. bocc  
Frāda