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FOSCOLO, DANTE AND THE PAPACY*

PETER IVER KAUFMAN*

Of the many interpretations of cantos and characters in Dante's *Divine Comedy*, few rival the wordplay in Gabriele Rossetti's commentary (1826-27). None that I know rivals its imaginative recreation of fourteenth-century literary and political history. According to Rossetti, Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio and a nest of Cathari were members of an underground network. Dissident poets, politicians, and church reformers therein camouflaged their attacks against the papacy to prevent detection and reprisal. Distressed by clerical corruption in Rome and political confusion in Italy, occasionally they appealed directly, that is, without dissimulating and mystifying, for some influential leader to take up their causes. Rossetti maintained that when conspirators wrote to one another, they conveyed the cabal's anger and ambitions covertly, *in modo si misterioso*. Ostensibly inoffensive lines of poetry were actually fragments of antipapal acrostics, acronyms, or allegories. Dante baked sedition into every canto of the *Comedy*; Rossetti was convinced that once perceptive readers in his day understood how the *Comedy* fit into the antipapal conspiracy, they would see how the conspiracy fit into the *Comedy* and made sense of the poem's most abstruse images and obscure scenes.¹

Rossetti believed by exposing the antipapal conspiracy, a great league of the learned against the Roman hierarchy (*un gran congiura di dotto contro la romana gerarchia*), he made a lasting contribution to literary criticism and medieval history.² Had he not inspired a more profound appreciation of the *Comedy*'s deceptively simple and straightforward stories, explained its most puzzling passages, and suggested resemblances between Dante's century and his own? Years before he discovered the great Dante conspiracy, Rossetti was caught up in political controversy. Having fled Italy soon after the suppression of the Neapolitan republic in 1821, he found an émigré community in London packed with 'patriots' chased from the Piedmont and peninsula by Austrian armies. Rossetti and other refugees were resentful of the papacy's part in their misfortune, for it was generally known Pope Pius VII and his Secretary of State, Cardinal Consalvi, had discreetly courted Austrian intervention. Neither the pope nor his Austrian allies countenanced agitators who dreamed of a unified Italy. Stubborn dreamers elected exile and suspected that they were Dante's true heirs. They left Italy as he had left Florence. They were victims of papal diplomacy as he was. They circulated complaints in pamphlets and poetry as he did. Rossetti revealed to these latter-day Dantes a fourteenth-century conspiracy, shards of which were scattered in their own café conversation. And there was also comfort in Rossetti's Dante commentary for some English readers. In fact, his critics on the continent charged that Rossetti tilted his Dante

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against the papacy deliberately to please his Anglican patrons and friends. For all this, however, Rossetti's remorseless transformation of poetry into politics troubled one fellow fugitive, Antonio Panizzi, who publicly proclaimed the conspiracy theory nonsense. Panizzi much preferred the Dante commentary published a year before Rossetti's by another patriot in exile, a renegade poet and novelist named Foscolo.³

In 1804, Ugo Foscolo nearly came to England as a conqueror. He had been posted at the time in northern France with the Italian division preparing for Napoleon's invasion. When plans for the crossing were abandoned, Foscolo drew desk duties in Milan until summoned to teach at the university in Pavia in 1808. A popular episotlary novel had already earned him a formidable reputation, but Foscolo continued to distinguish himself as poet, lecturer, and translator in Pavia, Florence and Milan. The parlors of Italian intellectuals were increasingly heated by talk of liberty and unity after Napoleon's defeat in 1814. The emperor's administrators in Italy were not likely to survive his humiliation. But Foscolo and his friends in northern Italy were soon faced with the prospect of Austrian rule. Foscolo fled, first to Zurich, then England. He was a greater celebrity than most other itinerant Italian scholars and soldiers, so he should have been able to profit prodigiously from early nineteenth-century English fascination with the Risorgimento. But Foscolo managed his affairs poorly. Often insolvent and petulant, he wrote on Italian literature and history until his death in 1827.⁴

Foscolo knew the Roman church encouraged Austrian intervention. His displeasure with the papacy is reflected in one of the first essays he prepared for the *Edinburgh Review*. Information relayed by a friend enabled him to give English readers a glimpse of papal politics, to detail the backroom negotiations that led to the election of Pope Pius VI. He told those willing to believe the worst how the successful candidacy was advanced by partisans well versed in 'those refinements of duplicity which have so long distinguished the policy of Italian intriguers'. The *Discorso* he later composed to introduce his Dante commentary reiterated and extended his criticism of papal politics. Popes, he said, had been Italy's enemies since the eighth century, when the church's scurrilous and self-serving politicians imported Franks to intimidate the Lombards. Foscolo alleged that the Lombards, if left to their devices, would have united the cities and duchies of Italy under one government. At the request of several popes, Carolingian chieftains thwarted those plans and restored political confusion, from which only the Roman church and its retainers benefited. Foscolo proposed that recent papal cooperation with Austria was simply the latest chapter in the long and tragic tale of papal treachery.⁵

The tale Foscolo presented was directly related to the history of Dante's troubled times and to the composition of the *Divine Comedy*. Pope Boniface VIII summoned French troops to Tuscany to silence the church's enemies and protect its bankers. Later, from Avignon, Pope Clement V engineered Italian opposition to Emperor Henry VII who, according to Dante, sought to save Lombardy and Tuscany from the jolting consequences of political rivalries that plagued Italy since the death of Emperor Frederick II in 1250. Dante denounced Boniface and Clement for perpetuating rivalries, feuds, and open conflict. Foscolo maintained that the antipapal invective in the *Comedy* was comprehensive, that Dante

condemned the papacy as well as the popes he named. Like Rossetti, Foscolo found Dante's contempt for the church's highest office in many of the poem's cantos. He believed that Dante made his pilgrim (and himself) a second St. Paul, sent to prophesy against prevailing priestcraft. He reprimanded Cardinal Bellarmine for arguing Dante had been a loyal son of the church (*figlio somnesso*). Foscolo read the same *Comedy* as apologists for Dante's orthodoxy, yet he came to a radically different conclusion: had Dante lived in a more liberal age, he would have established a new and popeless Christianity.⁶

The consensus is that Foscolo was wrong. René Wellek, for example, congratulates him for his attention to the *Comedy's* historical and intellectual contexts, yet Wellek dismisses Foscolo's suggestions about Dante's 'heresy' as untenable and misleading. Others charge Foscolo and Rossetti projected on Dante their resentment of the papacy, that Foscolo's bitterness about the papacy's part in Austrian adventures prohibited him from appreciating the *Comedy's* restraint and reverence. But I think it is also possible that Foscolo's resentment and exile afforded him remarkable insight into Dante's sentiments and sense of mission.⁷

This second possibility opens up a challenging run. All we can do here, however, is make a start by proposing that at least one ambiguity in the *Comedy* can be resolved in Foscolo's favor and that the strategic examination cantos in *Paradiso* substantiate Foscolo's statements about the poem's antipapal slant.

No one disputes that the *Comedy* expresses Dante's disenchantment with papal leadership. But did the poet object more to particular popes than to the papacy? Remarks scripted for Bonaventure in *Paradiso* 12 (lines 88–90) make it seem so. Foscolo admitted that Dante sometimes seemed forgiving, most dramatically perhaps in *Purgatorio* 20, which acknowledges Pope Boniface VIII as vicar of Christ and unequivocally condemns Boniface's persecutors (lines 86–94). Foscolo allowed that Dante may have been moved to sympathise with the pontifical victim of French aggression, *per senso di religione*. Yet he thought it more likely the pope was on a pedestal in purgatory only to illustrate the enormity of French impiety. Boniface, after all, was elsewhere and often maligned in the *Comedy*; Dante reserved a special place and punishment for him in *Inferno* 19.⁸

Inferno 19 contains the first of Dante's two most extensive assaults on the papacy. But one phrase appears to break the cadence of the antipapal campaign. Pilgrim Dante interrupted his scalding criticism of clerical conduct and told Pope Nicholas III, whom he found stuck head-down in one of hell's crevices, that were it not for his 'reverence for the great keys you held in the glad life,' he would find 'harder words' to convey his contempt (lines 100–105). The interruption, however, seems freighted with irony. Joan Ferrante, for one, understands Dante's contempt in the canto could hardly have been put in 'harder words'.⁹ What is of far greater significance is that those keys, promised by scripture as protection against the very gates of hell (Matthew 16:18), kept neither Nicholas nor his pontifical colleagues from their shaft in the *Inferno*. The last to have arrived, Nicholas expected Boniface would soon be lowered into place, driving him and those who preceded him deeper. Could *irriverenza* have invented a more infernal parody of apostolic succession than Dante's crater plugged with popes?

Perhaps the pilgrim's professed reverence for the popes' keys reflects his conviction that pontiffs, though they could not save themselves, possessed powers to save others, to bind and loose other Christians, that is to consign them to hell or, absolving sins, to assure them places in paradise. In 1300, Boniface VIII distributed indulgences to pilgrims arriving in Rome. According to the *Comedy's* conceit, pilgrim Dante joins the Souls recently deceased in 1300 and finds the passage into purgatory made easier (*Purgatorio* 2, 98–99). The coincidence has been construed as proof of the poet's 'reverence for the great keys'. Note, however, Dante's report of the ordeal of Guido da Montefeltro (*Inferno* 27, 100–127). Although pardoned by Boniface, Guido was nonetheless carried off to hell on a technicality. He had been pardoned without contrition for a sin he had not yet committed. His misfortune may only show that, according to Dante, popes could not abrogate procedures. Even then, however, Guido's reversal indicates Dante's doubts about the keys' authority. More to the point, Dante introduced Manfred and other excommunicates immediately after he observed souls' speedier passage to purgatory in 1300. *Purgatorio* 3 suggests that Manfred and the others had already been received and thus retained their hopes for salvation despite papal censures. Accounting for their fate, Dante announced that the most solemn judgments *ex cathedra* do not oblige God (lines 133–35). In Carl Stange's view, the *Divine Comedy* was an answer or alternative to Boniface's jubilee indulgences.¹⁰ The poet staged the pilgrimages in 1300, in a sense, to compete with the pope who summoned Christians to Rome to earn absolutions and amnesty. While Boniface attended to his visitors, Dante directed his pilgrim through purgatory to paradise, absolving and correcting the pilgrim's misapprehensions without benefit of clergy. Stange's conjecture seems reasonable. The poem's plot as well as the placements of Guido and Manfred intimate that the papacy's keys and powers were, as Foscolo alleged, *nullità*, of no account.¹¹

Sometimes Dante's silence was as critical—in both senses of the term—as his accusations and complaints. Others in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries objected to curial politics, yet they frequently stipulated that a respiritualised papacy would play an influential role in the church's recovery. They prophesied that a *pastor angelicus*, an angelic pope, would ultimately overwhelm the opposition of propertied interests. The pope-savior, they said, would repauperise and thus respiritualise the church. The angelic pope prophecy was prominently featured in the tradition of dissent from which Dante borrowed antipapal and apocalyptic imagery. Yet Dante had no use for that particular prediction. He insinuated that the church could be purged without its popes, conceivably implying it might best be purged of its papacy. The papacy apparently was too much the problem to be part of the Solution.¹² For Dante, the church's problems could be traced at least to the fourth century, when Constantine, moving his capital to Constantinople, purportedly gave the bishop of Rome political jurisdiction over the empire's western territories. In his *De monarchia*, Dante argued the emperor had no right to make the donation and the church no authority to accept it. The *Comedy* never completely exonerates Constantine, but most blame falls on the papacy which exploited imperial generosity and turned Rome, the wolverine that succoured Romulus, into a clawing monster.¹³

Pope Boniface VIII commissioned a fresco cycle to commemorate Constantine's gift.¹⁴ Dante saluted it differently. In *Purgatorio* 32, an imperial eagle descends on the chariot of the church and leaves it feathered (lines 124–26). Instead of dignifying the chariot-church, however, the eagle's feathers diminish its powers to resist wickedness. Indeed, several lines later, the chariot is transformed into a hideous beast (lines 142–47). Dante placed Constantine in paradise, but the *Comedy* simply cannot forget the emperor's error. In *Paradiso* 20, according to Dante's script, the emperor expresses remorse; in *Paradiso* 27, the canto containing the most sustained antipapal polemic, rancor replaces remorse, for St Peter himself takes the offensive against his church. Mario Sansone calls the apostle's invective the poem's 'highest and most solemn point'. Foscolo maintained that the art and intensity of St Peter's speech would reveal the *Comedy's* grace and nobility, even if the rest of Dante's poem disappeared.¹⁵

At the start of *Paradiso* 27, the heavens grow still and St Peter's aura turns red. The hush and color signal the gravity of the indictment: 'he who on earth usurps my place, my place, my place, which in the sight the Son of God is vacant, has made my burial ground a sewer of blood and of stench, so that the Perverse One who fell from here above takes comfort there below'.¹⁶ After this declaration, the heavens redden with anger, whereupon St Peter continues his description of Rome's debasement. Bishops of Rome extorted and hoarded gold. They waged wars against fellow Christians to improve the church's precarious position in Italian politics. And corruption in Rome spread through the whole of Christendom. 'Rapacious wolves, in shepherds' garb, are seen from here above in all the pastures'. St Peter concludes by enjoining the pilgrim (thus licensing the poet) to repeat his accusations when he returns to earth yet to assure Christians help would soon come (lines 62–66).

When St Peter leaves, Beatrice, Dante's companion-guide in paradise, assesses the grisly condition and corruption of the world below. Hence, *Paradiso* 27 ends as it began, with complaints about indiscipline and misgovernment. Beatrice, however, is slightly more specific than St Peter about the remedy. She predicts a total inversion of the current order: 'Providence . . . will turn the sterns to where the prows now are', *le poppe volgerà u' son le prore* (line 146). This picture of vessels turned prow to stern recalls *Paradiso* 11, where the bark of St Peter was kept on course by mendicants rather than popes (lines 118–20).

Beatrice's prediction and St Peter's indignation suggest the uncompromising character of the canto's protest. But *Paradiso* 27 has been interpreted differently. The most popular commentary in Foscolo's time insisted that 'he who on earth usurps my place' referred exclusively to Boniface VIII, and Dantists still hasten to defend that identification.¹⁷ Yet the restricted reference runs into trouble; before the canto concludes, Dante explicitly recalls the crimes of two other popes. Besides, *Purgatorio* 20 seems grudgingly to accept Boniface as Christ's vicar. And Herbert Grundmann introduces a third consideration, speculating that the poet would have mentioned Boniface's posthumous conviction for having usurped his office, had he meant to refer only to Boniface as the usurper. Grundmann guesses that 'he who usurps' denotes all popes disgraced as simonists.¹⁸

I believe that St Peter's passage condemns neither a single pontiff nor a troupe of wicked incumbents. Repetition in the indictment ('usurps my place, my place,

my place') underscores the proprietary dimension of the apostle's outrage, which, as long as 'my place' is taken to mean the see of Rome, pits the apostle against apostolic succession. Perhaps 'my place' refers to St Peter's position as sole heir to those precious keys in Matthew 16. After all, the repetition is immediately followed by criticisms of the popes' misuse of the keys; pardons were either sold or promised to retainers who consented to slaughter fellow Christians at the behest of the Roman church. Papal theorists, justifying all this, took liberties with the Petrine commission—that seems to be what Dante's St Peter would have readers believe. Inasmuch as no pope could be trusted to forfeit the immense powers theorists had attached to his office, the papacy was vacant 'in the sight of the Son of God'. Presumably that is why Beatrice prophesies a drastic change, from stem to stern.

Had Dante wanted to deposit a *pastor angelicus* or papal redeemer in the *Comedy*, *Paradiso* 27 would have been the perfect place. Beatrice promised a total turnabout, and St Peter was at hand to consecrate a pontifical successor. But the apostle charges the pilgrim to speak for him, *apri la bocca*. 'Open your mouth and do not hide what I hide not' (lines 65–66). If St Peter has a successor, then he is not bishop of Rome, but, at least *pro tempore*, the pilgrim-poet-prophet in whom he confides. By the time readers reach *Paradiso* 27, it is impossible for the pilgrim and prophet-designate to play truant. Of course, like most prophets-to-be, pilgrim Dante had initially been reluctant to accept his destiny. Despite his confusion in the dark forest where Virgil found him, Dante allowed that things generally seemed as they should. St Peter's heirs presided in Rome, just as the *Aeneid* seemed to foretell (*Inferno* 2, 22–27). He nervously resisted Virgil's invitation to the underworld and beyond: 'I am no Aeneas; I am no Paul' (line 32). After acquiescing to the journey, however, pilgrim Dante discovers things on earth are not as they should be. The pope then presiding in Rome, he learns, is expected in hell where other purported heirs of St Peter uncomfortably reside. Later, in purgatory, he comes across Pope Adrian V among the hoarders and wasters, and the encounter prefigures the pilgrim's commission and announces the poet's anti-hierocratic polemic.

I had kneeled and wished to speak; but when I began, and he became aware, by the sound alone, of my reverence, "What cause," said he, "has thus bent you down?" And I to him, "Because of your dignity my conscience smote me for standing."
 "Straighten your legs, rise up brother," he replied, "do not err: I am fellow servant with you and with the others unto one Power."¹⁹

Perhaps Adrian was only signalling that death dissolved distinctions between church officials and pious laymen. If we could feel confident there were nothing more to the incident, we might more easily concur with apologists for Dante's orthodoxy who insist that he could stand up to disreputable popes and kneel before an incorruptible papacy without splitting the seams of his composition. Yet Adrian's orders imply empowerment, 'rise up' (*drizza le gambe, lèvati sù*); plus, in the next canto, Dante resumes his assault on avarice—again, 'the wolf' (*Purgatorio* 20, 10–15). Admittedly, the brief exchange between Adrian and the pilgrim is ambiguous. The subsequent discussion with Cacciaguida, Dante's great-great-grandfather, is a clearer preface to the Petrine commission.

Cacciaguida stresses the corruption in Rome (*Paradiso* 17, 50–51). He tells Dante his fate, as that of most prophets, is estrangement and exile. But Cacciaguida offers some consolation. Even before St Peter issues his instructions, Dante's ancestor assures the pilgrim-prophet he will eventually be honored and others sustained or 'nourished' because he will dare to lift his voice against earth's highest powers (lines 130–35).

Before receiving his Petrine commission, pilgrim Dante must complete a series of interviews, the first of which is conducted by St Peter himself. If Dante is to be sent from paradise to reinvigorate the Christian faith in the world, his own understanding of faith must be tested. Yet he passes so spectacularly with propositions derived from scripture and reason—the teaching authority of the church conspicuously absent—that the radiance representing St Peter circles him three times, serenading him with a rhapsody of benedictions (*Paradiso* 25, 151–54). For his part, the pilgrim then anticipates his enemies must ultimately discover he has been delegated to speak with celestial authority (*Paradiso* 25.7). But he must pass two more tests before St Peter confides in him. He first satisfies St James with answers to inquiries about Christian hope and promptly volunteers that he is ready to teach others all he has learned on his pilgrimage 'so that I am full and rain again you rain on other souls' (*si ch'io non pieno, e in altrui vostra pioggia repluo*, *Paradiso* 25, 77–78). From another dazzling light, the voice of St John then interrogates him about Christian love. The light blinds pilgrim Dante, yet his sincerity and erudition delight this last examiner. And when his sight is restored, the pilgrim sees better than ever before (*Paradiso* 26, 76–79).

The examinations, transformation, and apostolic benedictions leave Dante with a changed voice (*altra voce*) and keener vision, to which gifts Adam consequently adds greater understanding of humanity's primordial condition. Only after this elaborate investiture in the examination cantos, does St Peter reappear in *Paradiso* 27 with his grave charges against the papacy and with his special charge or commission for the pilgrim-poet-prophet, *apri la bocca*.

Might not others have been chosen? The *Paradiso* is stocked with suggestions that mendicant poverty is preferable to papal affluence. As noted, Saints Dominic and Francis are at the helm of *la barca di Pietro* in *Paradiso* 11. St Peter is virtually made over as a mendicant.²⁰ But, as Aquinas complained (lines 124–32), most mendicants had strayed, forgotten their founders' ideals, and grown greedy. When the poem's antipapal polemic culminates with St Peter's accusations in *Paradiso* 27, therefore, only the uncowed pilgrim has the privilege of hearing them and the obligation or mission to repeat them.

From that privilege and obligation, we can draw two conclusions quite consonant with Foscolo's. (1) The *Comedy*'s repudiation of the papacy was sweeping; to recover its apostolic purity and dignity, the church would have to give up concepts of papal authority known, if not always defended, throughout Christendom for nearly a millennium. (2) The pilgrim, as prophet and poet, is the apostle's special legate.

Neither Foscolo nor I makes any pretense of identifying this legation with the messianic missions mentioned in the poem, with the *veltro* or greyhound in *Inferno* 1 or the *cinquecento diece e cinque* in *Purgatorio* 33. Scholars tirelessly try to personify the predicted redeemers, accumulating and sifting candidates.²¹ Nothing I have said here will spare them further effort. Nonetheless, it is

important to underscore the poet's apostolic authorisation and authority. The pilgrim's investiture was staged late in the poem, but Dante almost impudently claimed his superiority to ancient poets as early as *Inferno* 25 (lines 94–102). Guiseppa Mazzotta calls attention to those 'hubristic' remarks but also observes that Dante scolded Ulysses in the very next canto for insolence and overreaching. The juxtaposition, he says, demonstrates that Dante was 'caught between the elusive claim of speaking with prophetic assurance and the awareness that this can be a supreme transgression'. Yet notwithstanding traces of ambivalence, some of which blend well with the pilgrim's initial confusion and the prophet's requisite humility, Dante's prophetic assurance and poetic vision stand as excellent testaments to his Petrine commission.²²

It is likely that ambivalence accounts for the *Comedy's* kinder comments about papal government, to which we have alluded and which, in Foscolo's time, were amplified to exhibit the poet's 'veneration of the church of Rome [and] respect and deference towards its head.' What we know of Dante's assurance and ambivalence, however, does not warrant the amplification. Still, Foscolo's critics and many Dantists today agree that the *Comedy's* few compliments were sincere and its many complaints were temperate or, at least, narrowly focused. Hence, they agree that Foscolo's 'perverse ingenuity' made too much of the poem's censures.²³ Actually, the problem is quite the reverse. Foscolo's *Discorso* let the censures speak for themselves and resisted extending the antipapal theme as we have extended it here. To salvage Foscolo's ingenuity, it was first necessary to make a fundamental distinction between the *Discorso* and Rossetti's eccentric speculations. Rossetti himself anticipated us. In private correspondence, he endorsed Foscolo's position but regretted that his colleague had not turned up the conspiracy and *setta numerosissima* which purportedly shared Dante's opinions.²⁴ As it happened, Rossetti's arguments for the conspiracy and sect proved absolutely insupportable. The point of this paper is that the conspiracy's collapse need not discredit the image of a stridently antipapal Dante sketched by both Rossetti and Foscolo.

The study of Dante's reception in the early nineteenth century is a tricky business. It would be ludicrous to argue Foscolo's exile and resentment did not affect his commentary. Once we acknowledge such influence, however, we are confronted with a much more difficult decision. We may accept the consensus that 'the image . . . Foscolo inserted into the Romantic horizon of expectations had little to do with the medieval Florentine'.²⁵ Or we may submit that exile and resentment yielded a profound understanding of Dante's indignation and the *Comedy's* indictments. Pairing exile and perceptive exegesis in that way raises serious theoretical issues, as does any effort to generalise about a text's fate and interpreters' expectations. Rather than grapple with those issues, I want only to conclude that there are reasons to believe that one fugitive poet offered a plausible and persuasive, if not ultimately provable, reading of another. There are good reasons to think that the *Comedy's* antipapal orientation is more comprehensive and uncompromising than most contemporary critics presume.

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NOTES

1. Gabriele Rossetti, *La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri con commento analitico*, 2 vols (London: John Murray, 1826–1827), 1: 402–403; 2: 390–93; and *Sullo spirito antipapale che produsse la riforma e sulla segreta influenza ch'esercito nella letteratura d'Europa, e specialmente d'Italia* (London: published by the author, 1832), 22–23 (Sotto la salvaguardia di questo gergo . . . Also see Paul Renucci, 'Dantismo esoterico nel secolo presente', in *Atti del congresso internazionale di studi Danteschi* (Florence: G.C. Sansoni, 1965) 307–308, 315–16; Pompeo Giannantonio, 'Introduzione', in Gabriele Rossetti, *Comento analitico al 'Purgatorio' di Dante Alighieri* (Florence: Olschki, 1967); and Jacques Goudet, 'L'Anticléricalisme chrétien de Dante et de Manzoni', *Revue des études italiennes*, new series 14 (1968), 117–47.
2. Rossetti, *Sullo spirito*, 341.
3. For Panizzi's reviews, see Enzo Esposito, 'Panizzi dantologo', in *Atti del convegno di studi su Antonio Panizzi* (Rome: Salentina, 1982), 70–72, 76–78, 83. For criticism on the continent, A. W. von Schlegel, 'Le Dante, Pétrarque et Boccace, justifiés de l'imputation d'hérésie et d'une conspiration tendant au renversement du saint-siège', reprinted in *A. W. von Schlegel: Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 14 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1972), particularly 327–30; and Antoine Frédéric Ozanam, *Dante e la philosophie catholique au treizième siècle*, 7th edn. (Paris: Lecoffre, 1895), 338–41.
4. For details, E. R. Vincent, *Ugo Foscolo: An Italian in Regency England* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1953); and Glauco Cambon, *Ugo Foscolo, Poet of Exile* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1980), 184–331. For Foscolo's dantism, consult Bruno Nardi, 'Dante letto da Foscolo', in *Dante nel secolo dell'unità d'Italia: Atti del i congresso nazionale di studi Danteschi* (Florence: Olschki, 1962) 56–74; and Aldo Vallone, *Storia della critica dantesca dal XIV al XX secolo*, vol. 2 (Padua: Vallardi, 1981), 739–56.
5. Foscolo's *Discorso sul testo della Commedia di Dante* has been reprinted in the *Edizione nazionale delle opere di Ugo Foscolo*, vol. 9, subtitled *Studi di Dante*, ed. Giovanni da Pozzo (Florence: Felice le Monnier, 1979). For foreign interventions, see 366–68. For 'refinements of duplicity', see Foscolo's 'Life of Pius VI', *Edinburgh Review* 62 (1819), 273–75; and Alan J. Reinerman, *Austria and the Papacy in the Age of Metternich*, vol. 1 (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1979).
6. Foscolo, *Discorso*, 243–44, 259–60, 323–24, 515. Also consult Foscolo's *Storia della letteratura per saggi*, ed. Mario Alighiero Manacorda (Turin: Einaudi, 1979), 98–99.
7. For the consensus, René Wellek, *A History of Modern Criticism, 1750–1950*, vol. 2 (New Haven: Yale UP, 1955), 269–70; André Pézard, 'Comment Dante conquiert la France aux beaux jours du romantisme, 1830–1855', in *Studi in onore di Carlo Pellegrini*, vol. 2 (Turin: Biblioteca di Studi Francesi, 1963), 691; and Thomas L. Cooksey, 'Dante's England: The Contribution of Cary, Coleridge, and Foscolo to the British Reception of Dante', *PLL* 20 (1984) 374, 380–81.
8. Foscolo, *Discorso*, 383.
9. Joan M. Ferrante, *The Political Vision of the Divine Comedy* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1984), 106. I use, for the text, *La Commedia secondo l'antica vulgata*, ed. G. Petrocchi, 4 vols (Milan: Mondadori, 1966–1967); for translations, Charles Singleton's edition, *The Divine Comedy*, 6 vols (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1970–1975).
10. Carl Stange, 'Der Jubelablass Bonifaz' VIII in Dantes *Commedia*', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, fourth series 63 (1950), 152–56, 164–65.
11. Foscolo, *Discorso*, 516.
12. Of the *Comedy's* prophecies, see particularly *Inferno* 1, 88–111; and *Purgatorio* 33, 36–54. Felice Tocco, I believe, was the last to insert the *pastor angelicus* in those cantos. See Tocco's *Quel che non c'è nella Divina Commedia, o Dante e l'eresia* (Bologna: Niccola Zanichelli, 1899), 23–30. Also, in this connection, see Raoul

- Manselli, 'Dante e l'*Ecclesia Spiritualis*', in *Dante e Roma* (Florence: Felice le Monnier, 1965), 121–22, 126–27; Manselli's more recent paper, 'Dante e gli spirituali francescani', *Lecture classensi* 11 (1982), 47–61; Raffaello Morghen, *Dante profeta* (Milan: Jaca, 1983), 144–46, 154–55; and Guglielmo Gorni, 'Spirito profetico duecentesco e Dante', *Lecture classensi* 13 (1984), 53–56, 62–64.
13. Franco Lanza, 'Roma e l'emblema della lupa', in *Dante e Roma* (Florence: Felice le Monnier, 1965), 258–60.
14. Charles Mitchell, 'The Lateran Fresco of Boniface VIII,' *Journal of The Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 14 (1951), 1–6.
15. Foscolo, *Discorso* 523; and Mario Sansone, *Lecture e studi Danteschi* (Bari: De Donato, 1975), 243.
16. *Paradiso* 27, 22–27 (Petrocchi 4: 445):
 Quelli ch'usurpa in terra il luogo mio,
 il luogo mio, il luogo mio che vaca
 nel la presenza del Figliuol di Dio,
 fatt' ha del cimitero mio cloaca
 del sangue e de la puzza; onde 'l perverso
 che cadde di qua sù, là giù si placa.
17. Pompeo Venturi, *La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri*, vol. 3 (Florence: Ciardetti, 1821), 361; and Paolo Brezzi, 'Dante e la chiesa del suo tempo', in *Dante e Roma* (Florence: Felice le Monnier, 1965), 99–100.
18. Herbert Grundmann, 'Bonifaz VIII und Dante', in *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1977), 238–39; Maria Picchio Simonelli, 'L'Inquisizione e Dante: alcune osservazioni', *Dante Studies* 19 (1979), 141–42.
19. *Purgatorio* 19, 127–35 (Petrocchi 3: 327–29):
 Io m'era inginocchiato e volea dire;
 ma com' io cominciai ed el s'accorse,
 solo ascoltando, del mio reverire,
 "Qual cagion", disse, "in giù così ti torse?"
 E io a lui: "Per vostra dignitate
 mia conscienza dritto mi rimorse".
 "Drizza le gambe, lèvati sù, frate!",
 rispuose; "non errar: conservo sono
 teco e con li altri ad una podestate..."
20. See Silvio Pasquazi, 'San Francesco in Dante', in *Studi in onore di Alberto Chiari*, vol. 2 (Brescia: Paideia, 1973), 945–48, 958–59; and Charles T. Davis, 'Poverty and Eschatology in the *Commedia*', *Yearbook of Italian Studies* 4 (1980), 68–69.
21. See, for example, Richard Kay, 'Dante's Razor and Gratian's D.XV', *Dante Studies* 97 (1979), 65–95.
22. Giuseppe Mazzotta, *Dante, Poet of the Desert* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1979), 93–94.
23. Charles Lyell, *The Poems of the Vita Nuova and Convito of Dante Alighieri* (London: C. F. Molini, 1842), xlix, lxxiv, cxxxvii–cxxxviii. Also consult Kenelm Foster, *The Two Dantes and Other Studies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 88–89, 98–99; George Holmes, 'Dante and the Popes', in *The World of Dante*, ed. Cecil Grayson (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980), 38–41; Antoniette Bufano, 'La polemica religiosa di Dante', *Lecture classensi* 11 (1982), 32–39; and Gorni, 'Spirito profetico', 56–57.
24. See Rossetti's correspondence, preserved in the Taylor Institute, Oxford, ms. 8, It. 9, epistle 9 (October 29, 1831).
25. Cooksey, 'Dante's England', 381.