



DE MONARCHIA

DANTE ALIGHIERI

ENGLISH EDITION

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PREFACE

The *De Monarchia* is easily accessible in Latin editions, but an English version is practically unobtainable, at least by the American student of Dante. To be sure, it has twice been done into English, once by Mr. F. J. Church (Macmillan, 1878), and again by Mr. P. H. Wicksteed (Hull, 1896). If the former translation had not been long out of print, and the latter had not been published for private circulation only, the present volume would have less excuse for being. But with the growing interest in Dante, and the increasing number of Dante students in this country, the demand for ready access to all the poet's work becomes imperative. It is in response to this demand of the American student of Dante in and out of college that this translation has been undertaken.

In the notes which accompany the text the translator has had in mind chiefly the needs and interests of the literary student. Although the purpose of the annotation is to make the treatise clear in whole and in part by explanation and citation, it includes the effort to indicate at every possible point the relation existing between the *De Monarchia* and the *Divine Comedy*, the *Convito*, and the *Letters*. Many of the notes may be of little use to the student of civil government or to the general reader, but it is believed their value to the literary student will prove sufficient reason for their presence. The source of Dante's theories is noted wherever practicable, his debt to Aristotle, to the Hebrew Scriptures, and to Thomas Aquinas needing most frequent mention. In the cross-references to Dante's other works the translator has endeavored to point out as exhaustively as possible the recurrence of favorite ideas, and even of

favorite figures of speech, as in the case of the metaphor of the seal and the wax.^{Ref 002}

The references to Aristotle, and quotations from him, are almost without exception based on the Bohn translations of Aristotle. Biblical references are to the Authorized Version, except where indication is made to the contrary. In citations from the *Summa Theologiae*, the Latin text (Bloud and Barral, Paris, 1880) has been used, save in the few cases where the translation of the *Ethics* by Joseph Rickaby (New York, 1896) is indicated. In the quotations from the *Divine Comedy*, the edition and translation of A. J. Butler (Macmillan, 1891-92) has invariably been made use of; in quotations from the *Convito*, the translation of Miss Katharine Hillard (Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1889), and in those from the *Letters*, that of C. L. Latham (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1891).

The principal Latin texts of the *De Monarchia* are those edited by Fraticelli, Florence, 1860; Witte, Vienna, 1874; Giuliani, Florence, 1878; and Moore, Oxford, 1894. The Oxford text has been followed without exception, though in a few cases variant readings have been given in the notes. The earliest edition of the *De Monarchia* was printed at Basle in 1559. It had been translated into Italian in the fifteenth century by Marsilio Ficino. There are two German versions, that of Kannegiesser, Leipzig, 1845, and that of Hubatsch, Berlin, 1872. The two English translations have already been mentioned. Of them it only remains to add that a part of Church's translation is reprinted in *Old South Leaflets*, No. 123.

The Bibliography includes books likely to be helpful to the reader of the *De Monarchia* or the more general Dante student.

In the notes I am indebted to many commentaries and reference books. Moore's *Studies in Dante*, First Series, was indispensable for classical sources, Witte's Latin

edition of 1874 for mediaeval sources, and Toynbee's *Dante Dictionary* for general reference.

I wish to express my gratitude to Mr. Charles Allen Dinsmore of Boston for his kindly interest and assistance in this translation, and to Dr. Albert S. Cook of Yale University, from whom came the first suggestion of the undertaking, and a continued encouragement and aid without which its completion would not have been possible.

A. H.

Yale University,
August, 1903

INTRODUCTION

He who was "the spokesman of the Middle Ages," who saw and told of his fellow-men and their destiny, uttered a message not for one century of time only, nor of one significance. In each of Dante's larger works, the *Vita Nuova*, the *Convito*, the *De Monarchia*, and the *Divine Comedy*, this message is pronounced in one or all of its three phases, the religious, the philosophical, and the political. Because no author ever wrote with such singleness of purpose, nor through such diverse mediums carried to completion a solemn intent, the series of his productions are bound together as inevitably as the links of a chain, lending to one another meaning and value. And because these productions are so similar in purpose, if various in manner of expression, we may call them a unified message, and may apply to them all the words of explanation the poet sent to Can Grande when he presented to him "the sublime Cantic of the Comedy which is graced with the title of Paradiso." "The aim of the whole and the part," he wrote, "is to remove those living in this life from a state of misery, and to guide them to a state of happiness."

The recognition by the student of this desire to know and to help his brother man, which gives to Dante's writings a loftiness of tone and elevation of character that six centuries have failed to obscure, is the preventer of much misunderstanding, and the first essential to appreciative interpretation. The keynote of philanthropic endeavor Dante strikes early in the *Convito*, where he says, "I, knowing the miserable life of those whom I have left behind me, and moved to mercy by the sweetness of that which I

have gained little by little, while not forgetting myself, have reserved for those wretched ones something which I have already for some time held before their eyes." And again in the *De Monarchia* the author determines to concern himself "in laboring for posterity, in order that future generations may be enriched" by his efforts. The message that Dante felt called upon to deliver to the world is, then, virtually the same in the four works we have mentioned, but in the *Vita Nuova* the religious aspect is paramount, in the *Convito* the philosophical, in the *De Monarchia* the political, while the *Divine Comedy* concerns itself with the message as a whole. We might say that each of the first three writings has its own melody, a simple *motif*; in the *Comedy* the three themes combining swell into a movement of wondrous and complex harmony. And we might sum up the thought of the entire message in the words of Matthew: "Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you."

Lowell, recognizing the ministering spirit of Dante, has said: "There is proof upon proof that he believed himself invested with a divine mission. Like the Hebrew prophets, with whose writings his whole soul was imbued, it was back to the old worship and the God of the fathers that he called his people; and not Isaiah himself was more destitute of that humor, that sense of ludicrous contrast, which is an essential in the composition of a sceptic."

Or, to put the matter more concretely, Dante had looked abroad on mediæval society, had engaged in the practical affairs of Italy, had grown to feel that he understood conditions better than other men, and so believed that he was called of God to point out to men the right road. He beheld the two institutions that had for centuries striven to unite all Europe in a common interest—the Empire that had been revived under Charles the Great, and the Church that had attained to supremacy under Gregory VII—and he

realized how sadly each had failed of its ambition. He saw, further, that despite these efforts there had come about in Europe the formation of nationalities, each differing in language and character, each having its own peculiar government, each torn by internecine strife, and each at times warring with the others. And he, together with other thinkers of that period, longed for unity among men, for unity that seemed never to be made a reality. Yet Dante believed and proclaimed that such a unity could come about, but in one way only, through a regeneration of society and a uniting of political interests under one head independent of the Church. This is the political aspect of Dante's message.

But the *De Monarchia*, though it embodies Dante's political ideals, can be read understandingly and sympathetically only when these political ideals are related to those of his religion as set forth in his other works. These in turn depend upon his theory of the universe and of moral order. To make this matter clear, we will state briefly the fundamental principles upon which Dante constructed his theory. For him the universe begins and ends with God: it begins with God the First Cause, the Primal Motor, the Maker, the Alpha of all things; it terminates in God the Ultimate End, the Great Arbiter, the Chief Good, the Omega of all things. The earth, on which dwells man, is at the centre of the created universe. About it are the nine moving heavens, according to the Ptolemaic astronomy, comprehended in the tenth, the Empyrean, the heaven which is at perfect rest because therein dwells God and Divine Love, and nothing is left for this heaven to desire. The Empyrean "is the sovereign edifice of the universe, in which all the world is included, and beyond which is nothing; and it is not in space, but was formed solely in the Primal Mind."^{Ref 003} Not less fundamental than the unitary concept of the universe is that of the duality of man's

nature. This duality is not only in man's nature, but in all things pertaining to him, his mode of existence, his mode of acquiring knowledge. That is, man is endowed with a twofold nature, a perishable and an imperishable, a soul and a body. He therefore lives for two ends, happiness on earth and happiness to be attained in heaven. Earthly beatitude is reached by the right ordering of temporal affairs; heavenly beatitude is made possible by Papal guidance in matters of the spiritual realm. Moreover, his life is active or contemplative, governed by reason or faith, enlightened by philosophy or revelation. Armed with these two ideas, we can approach the work under consideration.

Starting from man's dual nature, the *De Monarchia* sets forth the manner in which the earthly happiness of the human race may be acquired by the right ordering of temporal affairs, the overlordship of a sole Monarch, the presence in the world of a Universal Empire. The body of the work is divided into three books, in each of which is expounded one side of the question at issue: first, the necessity of Universal Empire is proved; second, the right of the Romans to imperial authority; third, the direct bequeathing by God of this authority to the Romans without the mediation of the Church. In the first chapter the author says, "The knowledge of temporal Monarchy, one of the most important and most obscure of subjects, is brought forth from its hiding-place and explained for the good of the world."

The first book of the *De Monarchia* pronounces that that which is the purpose or end of the human race is "to actualize continually the entire capacity of the possible intellect, primarily in speculation, . . . secondarily in action;" that "in the calm and tranquillity of peace the human race fulfills most freely and easily its given work;" that "universal peace is the best of those things ordained for our beatitude;" that "to the shepherds sounded from on high the message, not of riches, nor pleasures, nor honors,

nor length of life, nor health, nor beauty, but peace.”^{Ref 004} Peace can come, Dante insists, only when there is one Monarch to own all, to rule all, to embrace in his dominion all kingdoms and states, to harmonize opposing princes and factions, and to judge with justice all temporal questions. And let us not forget that Dante’s passionate plea for peace arises amid the uninterrupted turbulence and strife of the never-to-be-pacified Italy of his day.

In taking up in the second book the question of Rome’s foreordination for supremacy, Dante makes use of what was in his day a startling premise—that, in the same manner in which the Jews were the chosen race for receiving and dispensing the religion of God to the peoples of the earth, so the Romans were the race chosen to receive and dispense the knowledge of law and justice. And in the proof at various points evidence is adduced as indisputably correct from Roman as well as Jew, from Virgil and Ovid, Lucan and Livy, Matthew, Mark, and Luke. History and poetic fiction have equal consideration and equal weight. To question his authorities never occurs to Dante. Especially from Virgil, “our divine poet,” he takes his idea of the Roman Empire—from Virgil, who in his *Aeneid* and *Georgics* sang of Rome, the conqueror and civilizer of the world; Rome, of origin divine, of antiquity great, of duration eternal, of jurisdiction universal. That Dante’s reasoning throughout this second division of the treatise is often based on unauthentic statements, that therefore some of his proofs are of no lasting value, it is unnecessary to emphasize. Nor less strange than those that precede it is the final statement, the climax of the argument of the second book, that Christ by His birth under the edict of the Emperor Augustus, and by His death under the vicar of the Emperor Tiberius, confirmed the universal jurisdiction of the Roman Empire.

It is easy to object to the conclusions of the *De Monarchia* thus far, and to say that the end of man's being and God's foreordination of the Roman supremacy were fine subjects for theorizing, but that they could not carry any remedy for the evils in mediaeval Italy. It is easy to answer to them that peace was practically impossible when the Roman and Teutonic elements of society were not yet fused in the peoples of Europe; that the Roman Empire in its ancient sense had died when Romulus Augustulus laid down the sceptre in 476; that Dante entirely misapprehended the spirit of the ancient Roman supremacy; that, except under emperors of extraordinary talents, the Holy Roman Empire ever since its revival had been "a tradition, a fancied revival of departed glories;" and that, despite the endeavors of Imperialists and Papists, practically all power was in the hands of the nations as such, so that during Dante's life the Empire was growing more German, and the Papacy more French. As Mr. Bryce says, "In the days of Charles and Otto, the Empire, in so far as it was anything more than a tradition from times gone by, rested solely upon the belief that with the visible Church there must be coextensive a single Christian state under one head and governor." Yet in the first two books, whatever quaint absurdities be present, Dante promulgates the doctrine of international peace, a doctrine that even the twentieth century does not despise.

But the invaluable part of Dante's political message, and the pith of the *De Monarchia*, lies in the third division, where are discussed the relations of the Empire and Papacy, and where Dante publishes his belief in the separate existence of the Church and State. Having recognized the presence of two chief governmental elements in Europe, having accounted for their presence by the design of God to meet the requirements of man's dual nature, and having acknowledged that these two elements are wrongfully at constant war the one with the other,

Dante proceeds to show that they are both from God for the good of man, but with functions distinct and different. Especially does he prove that the one in no way depends for its right to exist upon the other. The Papacy, he maintains, is a spiritual power, sovereign over the souls and the spiritual welfare of men, and the Empire is a temporal power, sovereign over the lives and bodily welfare of men. If Empire and Papacy exercised their authority in their own realms, the world would have no more war, than which there is nothing more to be desired in this world.

So much for the argument of this treatise, which has been called "the creed of Dante's Ghibellinism." This designation is only true in part, for, as Cacciaguida prophesies in the seventeenth canto of the *Paradiso*, "To thee it shall be honorable to have made thee a party by thyself." And Dante, though a Ghibelline, was not so in all details of his political creed. Much that this party did was beyond the pale of his sympathy, and he rebukes them harshly more than once in the *Divine Comedy*. Seeing that they have used the Imperial ensign and influence in contests where there was no question of Empire, he writes, "Let the Ghibellines work, let them work under another ensign, for he ever follows that amiss, who separates Justice and it."^{Ref 005}

The names Guelf and Ghibelline stand for the two parties that in the name of Pope and Emperor fought so strenuously on the soil of Italy for political supremacy. On the one side, the highest power, the right of investiture, was claimed by the Emperor, who was the nominal leader of the Ghibellines; on the other, the Popes, since the eleventh century and the strengthening of Papal control under Gregory VII, had persistently claimed that right for the Church, and the Guelf party fought to establish this claim. But it must be borne in mind that in the Italy of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries these party names

were often used on occasions and in disturbances where the principles for which they stood had no place, and where the purpose and end of the strife were purely selfish and personal.

In general, however, the tendencies of the two parties were clear enough. The Imperial power, looking back toward its greater day, remembering that the Roman Emperor had once been Pontifex Maximus, and that authority must stay with the few, and those by precedent the nobles of ancient name, arrogated to itself all power, and maintained in all contests the cause of the nobles against the commons, the claims of antique titles against those of new-won wealth. The Church, moved by the true democracy of Christianity, as well as by the selfish wish to keep her hand on the pulse of the nations, and to prevent a centralizing influence in northern Italy, maintained the cause of the municipalities, fostered the independence of the cities, discouraged unity of action and aim among them, and at times sought to release whole nations from allegiance to their king.

The clearest statement of the claims of the Church in the fourteenth century is found in the *Unam Sanctam* of Boniface VIII, published in 1302. Boniface put his theory into practice more than once, and sometimes with amazing success. It is said that, seated upon the throne of Constantine and arrayed in crown, sceptre, and sword, he announced himself to the throngs of pilgrims that flocked to Rome at the jubilee in 1300, as "Caesar and Emperor." He arbitrated difficulties between Edward of England and Philip of France, and finally declared the latter excommunicate and offered his throne to Albert of Hapsburg, then Emperor.

The Imperial rights are best enunciated in the *De Monarchia*, which, as we shall try to show, was written in all probability to help establish over Italy, independently of the Church, a rightful ruler in the temporal affairs of men,

a ruler pictured as ideal in an ideal condition of society. The *Golden Bull* issued by Charles IV at Frankfort in 1356 takes up constitutional and legal points that our treatise never pauses to consider. We learn much, besides, of Imperial rights from the rulings of various Emperors. The career of such a man as Frederick II in the preceding century shows how much the Empire could demand and how much obtain under a powerful leader. That of Henry VII in the fourteenth shows that the time had gone by for Imperial dominion, and how much the Empire could ask and how little obtain even under the leadership of a great man.

So Dante's *De Monarchia* is Ghibelline, inasmuch as it denies to the Church supreme command in temporal things, and recognizes a universal Monarch in temporal affairs; but it is a purer Ghibellinism than that of the party at large, for he saw Church and State only as separate powers, viewed Pope and Emperor as equal in rank but as wielding authority in different realms; and under this twofold rule he prophesied, with enthusiasm his party could not share, that the human race would live in the calm and tranquillity of universal peace.

Turning from the treatise for a moment to a consideration of Dante himself, there is something of deep pathos in the thought that, from the solitude of an exile brought upon him by the warring of his countrymen, he should so continually and earnestly plead for peace—that its blessings, now denied to him and to all the human race, might come upon the world. How far he traveled in search of “the best of those things ordained for our beatitude,” we learn in another work. He declares to the spirits in Ante-Purgatory, “If aught that I can do pleases you, O spirits born to bliss, do ye say it, and I will do it for the sake of that peace which makes me, following the feet of a guide thus fashioned, seek it from world to world.”^{Ref 006} And

though he could not bring peace to self-willed Italy, he found it for himself in unquestioning obedience to the will of God, and sang forth his triumph and joy in the immortal line, "In His will is our peace." It is not strange that a sympathetic and imaginative mind should have drawn the famous picture of the seeker of peace among the mountains, at the Monastery of Santa Croce del Corvo. Though Fra Ilario's apocryphal letter is so well known, I quote the description given therein: "Hither he came, passing through the diocese of Luni, moved either by the religion of the place, or by some other feeling. And seeing him, as yet unknown to me and to all my brethren, I questioned him of his wishings and his seekings there. He moved not; but stood silently contemplating the columns and arches of the cloister. And again I asked him what he wished, and whom he sought. Then, slowly turning his head, and looking at the friars and at me, he answered 'Peace.' "

The date of the *De Monarchia* is uncertain as far as historical evidence is concerned, and any attempt to establish unquestionably the time of its composition is met with insurmountable obstacles. To be sure, the earliest biographers of Dante mention the work, and Boccaccio gives some interesting notes of its history, but Boccaccio is also the only one of them who attempts to assign a period for its composition. He writes in his *Life of Dante*.^{Ref 007}—

"At the coming of Henry VII, this illustrious author wrote another book, in Latin prose, called the *De Monarchia*. This he divided into three books, in accordance with three questions which he settled therein. . . . This book, several years after the death of its author, was condemned by Cardinal Beltrando of Poggetto, papal legate in the parts of Lombardy, during the pontificate of John XXII. The reason of the condemnation was this. Louis, Duke of Bavaria, had been chosen King of the Romans by the electors of

Germany, and came to Rome for his coronation, against the pleasure of the aforementioned Pope John. And while there, against ecclesiastical ordinances he created pope a minor friar called Brother Piero della Corvara, besides many cardinals and bishops; and had himself crowned there by this new Pontiff.

“Now inasmuch as his authority was questioned in many cases, he and his followers, having found this book by Dante, began to make use of its arguments to defend themselves and their authority; whereby the book, which was scarcely known up to this time, became very famous. Afterwards, however, when Louis had returned to Germany, and his followers, especially the clergy, began to decline and disperse, the aforesaid Cardinal, since there was none to oppose him therein, seized the book and condemned it in public to the flames, charging that it contained heretical matters.

“In like manner he attempted to burn the bones of the author, and would have done so, to the eternal infamy and confusion of his own memory, had he not been opposed by a good and noble Florentine knight, by name Pino della Tosa. This man and Messer Ostagio da Polenta were great in the sight of the Cardinal, and happened to be in Bologna, where this matter was being mooted.”

But if Boccaccio unhesitatingly names the occasion and approximate date of the *De Monarchia*, Lionardo Bruni (1368-1444), who wrote a biography of Dante somewhat later, dismisses the treatise with brief but unfavorable comment. “He also wrote in Latin prose and verse: in prose, a book entitled *De Monarchia*, written in unadorned fashion, with no beauty of style.” We will not stop to contradict Bruni’s criticism, but merely note that his statement has no chronological value.

Giovanni Villani, the first historian of Florence, gives a most appreciative but far too brief account of the poet in

his *Cronica*.^{Ref 008}“He also wrote the *Monarchia*, where he treats of the offices of popes and emperors.” That is all the information Villani vouchsafes on our subject.

If we could believe Boccaccio implicitly, any further search for the date of the *De Monarchia* would be idle; but Boccaccio has proved himself untrustworthy in many instances, and in this case, whether his statement rests on his own assumption, whether he took it from current tradition, or whether he knew whereof he spoke, we shall never be able to prove absolutely. However, we can to some extent strengthen or weaken Boccaccio's claim to belief by internal evidence in the writing itself. Unfortunately, there is a singular absence of such evidence in the *De Monarchia*. This book stands unique among the works of Dante in its impersonal nature, whereas his writings generally are marked by their strongly autobiographic character. In it is no personal reference definite enough to indicate any certain time in the author's life; there is no unmistakable allusion to contemporary events; nor is there mention of any other of his own writings either finished or planned. Nevertheless, the fact that the book is in Latin and is of polemical nature, the parallelism of expression between this and other works, the confession of political experience in the first book, of changed political views in the second, and the indirect allusion to his own exile in the third, are clues which various scholars have followed up with zest, and from which they have arrived at three differing conclusions as to the time of its composition.

Some Dante students think the work was written previous to Dante's exile, January 27, 1302, most probably during his political life in Florence; others believe it to be a heralding or commemoration of the coming of Henry of Luxemburg to Italy, and would place it between 1308 and 1314; a third class consider it more probable that it is one

of the last labors of the author, and assign it to some period between 1318 and 1321.

Scartazzini has stated very clearly the points in favor of each of the three views, and commented on each in turn.^{Ref 009} But before we review his line of argument, let us notice some of the more general facts of this internal evidence.

That the language of the *De Monarchia* is Latin puts it at once into comparison with the uncompleted Latin writing *De Vulgari Eloquentia*. But as the date of this second treatise is as uncertain as the first, it can in no way help us. The second treatise must have been in process of writing as late as 1308, while Villani and others date it 1321. Next, is there any marked change in opinion or power between this and Dante's other works, any differences that would betray immaturity of judgment, growth of insight, or even retrogression? No; as might be drawn from our generalizations at the beginning of this introduction, the content agrees in all essentials with the author's other writings. In the maturity of its religious faith; in the knowledge of classic and Hebrew authors; in the ideal civil polity outlined; in the concept of the universe and moral order; in the theory which makes cupidity the basic sin of mankind, and free will his most divine gift, this political document agrees with the *Convito* and the *Divine Comedy*. So much alike are they that, especially in the case of the *Convito*, the order of ideas is at times the same. The phraseology is in some places identical with that of Dante's three letters written during Henry's sojourn in Italy, those written *To the Princes and Peoples of Italy*, *To the Florentines*, and *To Henry VII*.^{Ref 010}

Now for Scartazzini's opinion. He gives six reasons for the theory that the date was prior to the exile in 1302. (1) As in the *Vita Nuova*, some scholars see in the *De Monarchia* no allusion to Dante's banishment, in a failure to mention which it would differ from the *Convito*, the *De*

Vulgari Eloquentia, and the *Comedy*. (2) The opening paragraph is too modest for Dante, unless at the beginning of his literary career. (3) The reference made in the first canto of the *Inferno* to Dante's beautiful style must have been to the *De Monarchia*. (4) If written subsequent to 1302, the treatise would certainly contain an allusion to the *Unam Sanctam* of that year. (5) The discussion of nobility^{Ref 011} differs from that of the *Convito*,^{Ref 012} while the view in the *Convito* accords with that expressed in the *Paradiso*.^{Ref 013} (6) Were it not true that Dante's work was written before or very early in the fourteenth century, his assertion would be false that the subject of Monarchy had been treated by no one hitherto.

Scartazzini answers each of these objections:—

(1) In *De Monarchia* 3. 3. 12, Dante says of those who "boast themselves white sheep of the Master's flock," that "in order to carry out their crimes, these sons of iniquity defile their mother, banish their brethren, and scorn judgments brought against them." We can find no excuse for the bitterness of this statement unless the writing was after his exile, prompted by the sting of present pain.

(2) To boast of one's experience in public affairs, to undertake to enrich posterity from one's store of wisdom, as Dante does in the first paragraph to the *De Monarchia*, Scartazzini thinks can scarcely be called overwhelming modesty. Besides, the *Convito* and the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* were not brought to their present state of completion until the coming of Henry VII in 1311, and Dante's literary achievement would not be large until such time as these writings were known. This would allow the *De Monarchia* a date as late as this in which to have made its appearance, and yet precede them. But is it probable that both these works would fail to mention the *De Monarchia*, had it been completed prior to them? Besides, we must not forget that the author's change from

Guelfism to Ghibellinism took place before this writing, as is evident from the first chapter of the second book. And though it is impossible to assert at what time such a change took place, it could not have been in the author's early years.

(3) The allusion to Dante's beautiful style in the first canto of the *Inferno*, and to the fame it had brought him, is doubtless not to the *De Monarchia*, but to the early and beautiful lyrics.

(4) The whole argument of the third book is virtually a reply to the *Unam Sanctam*, though that bull is not and could not well have been mentioned by name.

(5) As for the alleged contradiction in the treatment of the nature of nobility, it is evident that the writer's purpose was not the same in both contexts. In the *De Monarchia* he is speaking of nobility that gives the possessor power, which is surely a hereditary nobility. In the *Convito* he speaks of nobility of soul, which cannot be hereditary.

(6) Dante's declaration that no one else had treated of the subject of temporal Monarchy simply means that no one whose work was worthy his consideration had done so.

Scartazzini treats, secondly, of the theory that the *De Monarchia* was written between 1318 and 1321, passing rapidly over the facts advanced in its support. Of first importance are the words found in so many of the manuscripts,^{Ref 014} in the discussion of free will, "Sicut in *Paradiso Comediae* iam dixi." Were these words genuine, and not spurious as the best students of the texts affirm, we could be certain that the fifth canto of the *Paradiso* was composed before this prose work. The interesting fact that Dante's theory of the markings on the moon agrees with that of the *Paradiso*,^{Ref 015} and not with that of the *Convito*,^{Ref 016} is no indication that the later opinion was arrived at in the very last years of the author's life, but merely that it was later than that of the *Convito*. The last