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978-0-521-03927-7 - Dante and the Medieval Other World

Alison Morgan

Excerpt

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Introduction

The notion that man in some way survives death is found in all societies and civilisations from the earliest times up to the present day.¹ Although some of the beliefs of these societies are relevant to an understanding of Dante's *Comedy*, his poem is founded upon specifically Christian tenets regarding life after death, and it is therefore with these that we are primarily concerned. More particularly, this book explores the relationship between the poem and previous 'popular' Christian belief concerning the afterlife, as manifested in both written and visual representations of the other world between the third century and the year 1321, the date of Dante's death.² This 'popular' Christian tradition is defined in such a way as to exclude non-Christian, highly literary and learned works such as Virgil's *Aeneid*, Alan of Lille's *Anticlaudianus*, or the *Summa Theologiae* of Thomas Aquinas, although these may be discussed as background material.

The book is therefore based on the study of the hundred or so surviving non-learned texts purporting to describe the other world, and on significant works from the visual arts. For the reader's convenience these are set out in chronological order in Appendix I and alphabetically in Appendix II. Each entry in Appendix II gives a summary of the text together with information on its length and distribution and a short bibliography. The appendix is divided into two sections, the first of which deals with classical, apocryphal and early Christian representations of the other world, and the second of which is devoted to the medieval accounts. It is assumed that the reader will refer to these entries where necessary, and the information contained within them is therefore not repeated in the discussion itself. Unless otherwise stated, the short references given in the text and notes refer to the first edition cited in the appropriate entry of Appendix II (or, in the case of translations, to the first English edition). Full publication details for other works referred to in the notes are given in the main bibliography.

Written representations of the other world

The Christian accounts and visions of the other world with which this study is concerned fall within a period which stretches from the third century, when the *Apocalypse of Paul* is believed to have been written, to the fourteenth, when the *Comedy* was completed. They have their roots in both the classical and the biblical traditions, and ultimately therefore in the Eastern beliefs which influenced the formation of these.

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The classical tradition offers two very different models for the representation of the afterlife: the older consists of a shadowy underworld, first depicted by Homer and taken over by Virgil, Ovid and Statius; the other offers a description of the heavenly spheres, and forms the context for Plato's four myths of the other world and for two visions related by Plutarch.³

The biblical tradition spans over a thousand years, and shows a gradual evolution in belief. The Old Testament picture is of an underworld, Sheol, similar to that described by Homer: a land of darkness, gloom and oblivion, in which there is neither hope nor torment.⁴ Later in the Old Testament the concept of resurrection is found,⁵ and this is succeeded by the idea of a judgment following immediately on death; Sheol becomes an intermediate waiting place in which the good are separated from the bad. This concept is illustrated most fully in the intertestamental literature of the Hellenistic Age of Judaism,⁶ and notably in the apocryphal *Book of Enoch*. In later works, such as *II Enoch*, the *Apocalypse of Baruch* and *IV Esdras*, Sheol becomes a place for the damned alone, while the good are admitted upon death to the heavens, thus foreshadowing the Christian distinction between heaven and hell.

The emphasis placed by the New Testament on the individual, rather than on the nation as in the Old Testament, leads to a greater preoccupation with his eternal destiny. It offers no systematic discussion of the nature of salvation or damnation, but the concept of judgment, whether on death or on an appointed day at the end of time, is firmly established.⁷

The apocrypha of the New Testament seek to supply the details lacking in the biblical texts.⁸ In so doing they draw particularly on classical Greek works. The earliest of these books to survive is the *Apocalypse of Peter*; the most influential was the *Apocalypse of Paul*. They form the basis of the medieval representations of heaven and hell.

The early Christian literature concerning the other world is varied in nature but predominantly optimistic. Martyrs such as Perpetua and Saturus gave accounts of the visions they received before they died; other texts such as the visions of Carpus and Pachomius and the *Shepherd of Hermas* urge repentance of sin as the necessary precondition for salvation.

Although there are many earlier descriptions of the other world in literary, philosophical and religious works, it is not until the late sixth century that the vision of the other world becomes established as a genre. This is in large measure due to Gregory the Great, who includes several accounts of the afterlife in his *Dialogues*, and to his contemporary Gregory of Tours, who relates four visions in his *History of the Franks*. The *Dialogues* in particular served to confer the stamp of papal authority on visions of the other world, and are frequently cited by later visionaries.⁹ Other visions of the period are recounted in the works of authoritative Churchmen, most important among these being Bede, whose *Ecclesiastical History* contains the visions of Furseus and Drythelm. These three writers gave a great impetus to the vision genre, at once giving respectability to the recording of visions of the other world and causing a number of visions to become widely known and eventually to serve as models for others. Their primary purpose

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seems to have been to use such accounts as a means of instructing the faithful and encouraging them to choose the way of salvation.

In the Carolingian era the character of the visions undergoes an abrupt change, becoming political and satirical in nature rather than didactic. The visionaries of this period are almost always monks, and the redactors usually bishops or archbishops – this contrasts with the preceding period, in which the visionaries include a soldier, a householder and a layman whose status is not specified.¹⁰ The vision of the other world, in short, becomes a political weapon in the hands of the Church. The clearest example of this is the vision of Wetti, longer than any of its predecessors; the vision of Charles the Fat, of unknown authorship, is also political in its aims. Other texts aim to strengthen the power of the Church in other ways, notably by insisting on the necessity for prayers and masses to be purchased on behalf of the dead.

The tenth and eleventh centuries form an intermediate period in which there is no clearly discernible trend in the otherworld literature. This is not to say that the works produced are without importance. Two Irish texts were to become widely known on the Continent, the *Vision of Adamnan*, based on the apocrypha, and the *Voyage of Brendan*, based on Celtic legend and aptly described as ‘a sort of monkish Odyssey’.¹¹ And at Ratisbon the first collection of visions of the other world was compiled by the monk Othlo.

The climax of the vision tradition, in terms both of the number of visions produced and of their amplitude, occurs in the twelfth century. The vision becomes not primarily didactic or political but literary in character. There is a complete change in the source of the visions: although they are still written by ecclesiastical figures, the majority of the visionaries are no longer clerics. Of the eight major visions of the twelfth century, only two are experienced by monks; of the others, two are related by peasants, two by children and two by knights. The redactors themselves are no longer powerful figures but humble monks or, occasionally, abbots.

The earliest of the major visions is that of Alberic, and the latest that of Thurkill, dated 1206 but belonging in its character to the twelfth-century visions. The most widely known was the *Vision of Tundale*, of which there are over 200 extant manuscripts. This period also saw the composition and diffusion of the many redactions and translations of the *Vision of Paul*, the fourth- or fifth-century Latin version of the original Greek apocalypse.

The twelfth-century texts are much longer and more complex than any of their predecessors, and begin to reflect the social and intellectual changes with which they are contemporary. But at the same time the vision of the other world began to die as a genre. This may have been due to the changing structure of society, in particular the shift from the monasteries as the primary centres of learning to the cathedral schools and subsequently to the universities; or to the increasing complexity of the subject matter in the light of the many new ideas which gained ground during the century. No new visions are recorded after that of Thurkill in 1206, although old ones continue to be copied and included in histories and encyclopaedias with a wide circulation throughout Christian Europe, indicating

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that the tradition itself remained alive. The next complete representation of the other world after the *Vision of Thurkill* is the *Comedy*.

The visions of previous centuries are included in five major works of the thirteenth century, in which they would have been readily accessible to the educated reader. Earliest among these is the *Flowers of History* of Roger of Wendover, which gives an account of the visions of Drythelm, the Monk of Eynsham, and Thurkill, as well as the story of St Patrick's Purgatory; the latter three are repeated by Matthew Paris, whose *Great Chronicle* completes the *Flowers of History*. The chronicle of Helinand of Froidmont relates the visions of Charles the Fat, Gunthelm, Drythelm and Tundale; the *Golden Legend* includes *St Patrick's Purgatory* and the visions of Furseus, Josaphat and Perpetua. Finally, the historical section of Vincent of Beauvais's encyclopaedia gives an account of thirteen visions, together with those found in Gregory's *Dialogues*.¹² Additionally, brief and partial accounts of the other world are included in thirteenth-century collections of *exempla*, notably those of Caesarius of Heisterbach and Etienne of Bourbon.

It is not known to what extent Dante was acquainted with any one of the visions discussed above; it is clear, however, that the tradition was widespread during his lifetime. In addition to the works mentioned here, there were many vernacular translations made, particularly of *St Patrick's Purgatory* and the visions of Tundale and Paul; the French *trouvères* composed a number of light-hearted poems on the subject of the afterlife; and in Italy Bonvesin da Riva and Giacomino da Verona wrote didactic poems describing the celestial Jerusalem and the infernal Babylon. It was also in this century that the legend of Mohammed's journey to the other world reached Christian Europe from Spain. The vision tradition was known to Albert the Great, whose discussion of the other world refers to Gregory the Great and *St Patrick's Purgatory*; to Bonaventure, who considers *St Patrick's Purgatory*; and to Aquinas, who mentions the tradition in general.¹³

Visual representations of the other world

In addition to these translations and collections, many visual representations of the afterlife testify to the continued presence of the popular otherworld tradition during the thirteenth century. The Last Judgment was commonly represented on the cathedral tympana of twelfth- and thirteenth-century France, and many mosaics and paintings of the other world survive in churches all over Europe. The purpose of those who commissioned such works was to keep the question of their eternal destiny at the forefront of the minds of the faithful.¹⁴ The words attributed by Villon to his mother are well known:

Femme je suis povrecte et ancienne,
 Qui riens ne sçay, onques lettres ne leuz.
 Au moustier voy, dont suis paroïssienne,
 Paradiz paint, ou sont harpes et leuz,
 Et ung enffer, ou dampnez sont bouluz;
 L'un me fait paour, l'autre joye et liesse.¹⁵

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[I am a poor and elderly woman, ignorant and unable to read. In my parish church I see paradise painted, with harps and lutes, and hell too, where the damned boil. The painting of hell frightens me, but that of paradise fills me with joy and happiness.]

Dante was familiar with such representations, and explains that his *Comedy* is written with the same purpose in mind:

Così parlar conviensi al vostro ingegno,
però che solo da sensato apprende
ciò che fa poscia d'intelletto degno.
Per questo la Scrittura condescende
a vostra facultate, e piedi e mano
attribuisce a Dio e altro intende;
e Santa Chiesa con aspetto umano
Gabriel e Michel vi rappresenta,
e l'altro che Tobia rifece sano.

(Par IV 40–8)

[It is necessary to speak in this way to your understanding, since only through the senses can it grasp that which it then makes fit for the intellect. For this reason Scripture condescends to your capacity and attributes hands and feet to God, but meaning something else, and the Holy Church represents in human form Gabriel and Michael and the other who made Tobit whole again.]

The Last Judgment is the form most commonly chosen for the illustration of the other world. Its iconography is Eastern in origin, and many of the Western frescoes show traces of Byzantine influence. It first appears in the West in the Carolingian era, in the schools of St Gall and Reichenau, but becomes widespread only in the twelfth century, particularly in England. The earliest representation in Italy is that painted in the late eleventh century at S. Angelo in Formis, a dependency of Montecassino; this was imitated throughout southern Italy and the Abruzzi. In the twelfth century the Last Judgment was represented in mosaic in the cathedral of Torcello, and by the thirteenth century the practice was firmly established; frescoes predating 1321 survive, in addition to the mosaic in the Florentine baptistry, in S. Cecilia in Trastevere, the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua, S. Maria Maggiore in Tuscania, S. Maria in Piano near Loreto Aputino, and the church of Donnaregina, Naples. Derivatives of these continued to be painted throughout the fourteenth century.¹⁶

Critical approaches

The earliest reference to the medieval visions of the other world in relation to the *Comedy* is made in the commentary by Jacopo di Dante, who interprets the line 'Andovvi poi lo Vas d'elezione' (Inf II 28) in the light of the *Vision of Paul*, 'il quale poi (. . .) pelinferno si misse'. Jacopo is followed by both the Anonimo fiorentino and Francesco da Buti.¹⁷ This is the only line in the poem which could be interpreted as a clear reference to the vision literature, and has been accepted as such by a number of modern critics.¹⁸

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Until the sixteenth century, the *Aeneid* was regarded as the only model for Dante's depiction of the afterlife. In 1587, attention was drawn to the popular tradition by Mazzoni; but it was not until the discovery of the *Vision of Alberic* that the vision literature began to receive serious critical attention. In 1752 Mazocchi became the first to suggest that *Alberic* was a direct source for the *Comedy*.¹⁹ The 'Alberic debate' began in earnest the following year, and continued until the beginning of the present century, effectively setting the pattern for all discussion of the role of the vision literature in the formation of the *Comedy*. The debate focussed round one question: to what extent does the recurrence of common motifs in particular visions and in the *Comedy* suggest that Dante was imitating particular texts?²⁰ Other visions were soon claimed as sources for the *Comedy*. The *Vision of Tundale* received considerable attention, but *Furseus* and *St Patrick's Purgatory* were also suggested as models. In this century, *Adamnan*, *Charles the Fat*, *Ansellus* and *Drythelm* have been put forward as visions known to Dante.²¹

As more and more manuscripts of particular visions were discovered during the nineteenth century, a second critical approach arose: the visions were seen as members of a continuous tradition. This tradition was first outlined in 1844 by Wright, who emphasised its importance for Dante studies:

The *Divina Commedia* (. . .) has transmitted to modern ages the popular belief and knowledge of a period which has hitherto been very little understood by modern readers; who have therefore set down to his inventive imagination pictures and notions which were familiar to his contemporaries. Commentators have laboured to discover hidden meanings and allegorical descriptions, where an acquaintance with the popular science of the age of Dante would have shown nothing but literal description.²²

Ozanam wrote along similar lines in 1839 and 1855, and Labitte in 1842. Ozanam regards the *Comedy* as the climax of a long, uninterrupted tradition and suggests that Dante's accomplishment is to have imposed order on a subject which had been developing over the previous six thousand years.²³ He sees the visions as the raw materials from which the poem is formed: 'either I am very much mistaken, or the framework of a great epic is forming, its outlines being drawn, its images taking on colour; but like the images of gothic stained glass windows, fire was needed to fuse them together'.²⁴

Between 1865 and 1915 in Italy there prevailed a school of criticism known as the 'scuola storica'; this provided the context for the first Italian research into early representations of the afterlife and their relation to the *Comedy*.²⁵ In 1865 Villari published a number of vernacular translations of the otherworld legends, prefaced by an essay which sought to define them as precursors to the *Comedy*.²⁶ The studies of D'Ancona and Rajna in 1874 and 1908 reveal their closeness to the position of Ozanam and Labitte in their titles, respectively *I precursori di Dante* and *La genesi della 'Divina Commedia'*. D'Ancona defines the tradition thus: 'all these visions are links in a long chain which goes back to the earliest times'.²⁷

The approach of these scholars has been followed by later critics. Dods in 1903 wrote on the *Forerunners of Dante*, remarking that 'the present research is not conducted from Dante backwards, but from the infancy of the idea forwards to the

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master interpreter as a convenient stopping place and climax'.²⁸ In 1922 Diels wrote an essay entitled 'Himmels- und Höllenfahrten von Homer bis Dante',²⁹ and Zabughin in his outline of the vision tradition remarked that 'Dante builds with a free and steady hand, but his materials are all taken from tradition'.³⁰ Zingarelli and Vossler include a discussion of the vision tradition in their examination of the sources of the *Comedy*.³¹

The excessive claims made for these early descriptions of the other world as sources for the *Comedy* led some critics to deny that there was any relation whatsoever between the visions and the poem,³² and by the 1930s the popular tradition had been virtually abandoned in favour of an analysis of Dante's learned sources. The vision literature thus ceased to form the subject of study, on the grounds that

the smallest contribution – if indeed there was any at all – came from the legendary otherworld – visions of popular religious stamp which circulated so widely in Latin and the vernaculars during the Middle Ages. Dante stands within the learned tradition of the Middle Ages.³³

It is clear from a reading of the previous accounts and visions of the other world that there *is* a relationship between these and the *Comedy* in a number of important respects. This relationship is, however, to be found in the study of broad aspects of the otherworld tradition and not in individual texts as the early critics claimed. In their search to establish links between the poem and this or that particular vision, lamenting Dante's silence with regard to these texts, and exaggerating the extent to which they can be seen as direct sources of the poem, they misunderstood the nature of the otherworld tradition. It is not primarily a textual tradition made up of a number of recognised works. The texts do not themselves constitute the tradition; they, along with the visual representations of the other world, reflect what Gurević describes as

a complex and contradictory confusion of popular beliefs and Christian doctrine, a peculiar product of the prolonged process of mutual activity and interaction between two forces, a product which can be designated as 'popular Christianity' or 'parish catholicism', professed by the great mass of the population of medieval Europe.³⁴

It is with the relationship between the *Comedy* and this product that this book is concerned, and not with the debt Dante may or may not have owed to particular visionaries. To this end the book is divided into six chapters, each of which takes as its subject a different aspect of the representation of the other world as manifested throughout the written and, where appropriate, the visual traditions.

If there is an argument beyond this, it is not that the *Comedy* is the last and best in an uninterrupted and continuous line of works purporting to describe the other world, but rather that the poem stands apart from the popular tradition in a particularly significant way. Firstly, it must be noted that the vision genre does not show a continuous but a discontinuous development: it consists of a number of different phases with different aims, influenced by different cultural conditions and using the description of the other world for different purposes.³⁵ And, significantly, it is interrupted at the beginning of the thirteenth century. After 1206 and

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the *Vision of Thurkill*, no new visions of the other world were recorded. The *Comedy* follows a century of silence.

Secondly, we must remember that this century of silence was preceded by a period of great intellectual and social change stimulated by renewed contact with the cultures of Byzantium and the Arab world. Between 1099 and 1221 there were five crusades to Jerusalem and Constantinople; at the same time, inroads were made into Arab Sicily and Spain, and Christian kingdoms established there. Trade routes with the East sprang up, and spices, cloth, and artefacts were imported into Europe.³⁶ These routes facilitated a new exchange in ideas. The Arabs had translated the scientific writings of the Greeks and composed their own commentaries on them, and during the late twelfth century much of this body of learning was translated into Latin and spread to all the intellectual centres of Europe. The result was a revolution in physics, astronomy, astrology, mathematics, medicine, alchemy and philosophy.³⁷

The twelfth century was an age not only of discovery but also of revival. The classical Latin authors were widely read and studied; commentaries were written, and a large body of Latin prose and verse composed. The full corpus of Roman law was recovered for the first time since the fall of the Empire; Bologna became established as the legal centre of Europe, and a new civil and canon law developed.³⁸

After all these changes, the thirteenth century was destined to be a century of assimilation. Encyclopaedias were written, and the first universities were established. Theological debate raged as the church sought to sort and absorb the new learning. In the space of two hundred years, the intellectual map of Europe was transformed. And these are the two hundred years which immediately preceded the writing of the *Comedy*.

It was perhaps the difficulty of assimilating these new ideas into the framework of the popular vision of the other world which caused its demise. It is certainly the case that in writing the *Comedy* Dante took full account of the intellectual developments of the preceding two centuries. He is the first Christian writer to combine the popular material with the theological and philosophical systems of his day, selecting, adapting, and reinterpreting the traditional images in a new way. The relationship between the *Comedy* and the previous medieval accounts of the other world is therefore one of both similarity and difference.

The only full study of the relationship between the popular tradition of the other world and the *Comedy* was written in 1945 by August Rüegg. It aimed to re-evaluate the relationship between the poem and particular texts. One of the two volumes is concerned with classical sources for figures such as Geryon, Minos, and Cato. The other gives a chronological outline of the major descriptions of the other world from Homer onwards. This approach limits the author to a series of summaries of the primary texts, together with a text-by-text discussion of those motifs which recur from one to the other and are found in Dante. Such an approach has been avoided in the present work in order to concentrate on those wider aspects of the representation of the other world which span the entire tradition, and which have never been examined in detail. The only significant study since Rüegg is an article published in 1984 by Cesare Segre,³⁹ which gives a brief survey

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of texts prior to Dante describing journeys into or visions of the other world, and offers a brief reconstruction of Dante's three realms using material from individual visions. He concludes that 'whether he wished it or not, Dante could not be unaware of all this visionary material'.⁴⁰

The aim of this book is to examine the *Comedy* and its relationship to the popular material in the light of all these factors. Much of it is based on the wealth of research done since the writing of Rüegg's study, both in the area of the vision literature in particular⁴¹ and in that of the many changes which occurred in the twelfth century in general. I have endeavoured to acknowledge the many debts I owe to the work of others in fields in which I am not a specialist both in the notes and in the general bibliography.

Notes

- 1 Helpful outlines are given by L. Moraldi, *L'aldilà dell'uomo nelle civiltà babilonese, egiziana, greca, latina, ebraica, cristiana e musulmana*, 1985; and in *An Illustrated History of the World's Religions*, edited by G. Parrinder, 1983.
- 2 It is not my intention to enter into the debate concerning the precise relationship between 'popular' and 'learned' works. The medieval visions of the other world obviously cannot be said to stem entirely from the populace, as many of them were recorded by ecclesiastics, and as indeed the beliefs which they express stem in part from the teachings of the Church. But they are nonetheless quite distinct from the writing of contemporary theologians and poets in style, register, genesis, content and relationship to one another, and it is to these differences that I refer.
- 3 For details of these and subsequent works cited see entries in Appendices.
- 4 See e.g. Job 3.11–19; 10.20–2; Psalms 87.2–17.
- 5 E.g. Isaiah 26.19.
- 6 Discussed by N. De Lange, *Apocrypha: Jewish Literature of the Hellenistic Age*, 1978.
- 7 Biblical sources for the concept of judgment at death are Luke 16.9–31 (the story of Lazarus) and 23.42–3 (the Good Thief). The main source for the concept of judgment at the end of time is Matthew 25.31–46.
- 8 They are published in M.R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 1924, and in *Excluded Books of the New Testament*, edited by J. B. Lightfoot *et al.*, 1927.
- 9 Most strikingly by Wetti, who calls for a copy of the *Dialogues* as he lies on his sick bed, and later by Thurkill, the last visionary, who names Bede and the major visions of the twelfth century as his authorities and guarantors.
- 10 The vision of the soldier is found in Gregory's *Dialogues*, as is that of Stephen, the layman. Drythelm is described by Bede as a Northumbrian householder, 'paterfamilias'. For detailed references see the appropriate entries in Appendix II.
- 11 A. F. Ozanam, 'Du cycle poétique et légendaire auquel appartient la "Divine Comédie"', 1893, p. 334.
- 12 Vincent's visions are those of the Cistercian novice, Josaphat, Pachomius, *St Patrick's Purgatory*, the *Voyage of Brendan*, Mohammed, Furseus, Salvius, Charles the Fat, the Boy William, Tundale, Gunthelm and Ansellus.
- 13 Albert: *De Resurrectione*, edited by W. Kubel in *Alberti Magni Opera Omnia*, xxvi, 1958, q. 9 'De loci poenarum simul', pp. 320–1. Bonaventure: 'Commentary on the *Sententiae* of Peter Lombard', edited by Quaracchi, iv, p. 526. Aquinas: *Summa Theologiae* 1a q. lxxxix a. 8 and in the *Supplement* q. lxix a. 3. These passages are discussed by J. Le Goff, *La Naissance du Purgatoire*, 1981, pp. 271, 345, 361 and 371.
- 14 The major representations of the Last Judgment are listed in Appendix I. For the French cathedral sculpture see the studies by E. Mâle and W. Sauerländer listed in the bibliography. For the frescoes see R. Hughes, *Heaven and Hell in Western Art*, 1968, and R. Cavendish, *Visions of Heaven and Hell*, 1977.

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- 15 *Le Testament Villon*, quoted in R. Manselli, *La Religion populaire au moyen âge*, 1975, p. 117.
- 16 Fourteenth-century frescoes survive at Viboldone, Pomposa, San Gimignano, and in S. Maria Novella, Florence, the only one directly modelled on the *Comedy*.
- 17 *Chiose alla Cantica dell'Inferno di Dante Allighieri attribuite a Jacopo suo figlio ora per la prima volta date in luce*, 1848, pp. 8–9. See also the *Commento alla Cantica dell'Inferno di Dante Allighieri di autore Anonimo ora per la prima volta dato in luce*, 1848, p. 29; and the *Commento di Francesco da Buti sopra la Divina Commedia di Dante Allighieri pubblicato per cura di Crescentino Giannini*, 1858, I, p. 63. All are quoted by G. Ricciotti, *L'Apocalisse di Paolo siriana*, 1932, I, pp. 28–29.
- 18 Zabughin (*Dante e l'iconografia dell'oltretomba*, 1921, p. 519), Ricciotti (*L'Apocalisse di Paolo siriana*, I, pp. 27–31), and Silverstein ('Dante and the "Visio Pauli"', 1932, p. 399) are all in favour of a direct knowledge on Dante's part of the *Vision of Paul*.
- 19 The early history of this criticism is outlined by U. Cosmo, 'Le prime ricerche intorno all'originalità dantesca e due letterati padovani del secolo passato', 1891, 33–43 and 65–74.
- 20 Critics claiming Alberic as a source for Dante were Bottari (1753), Di Costanzo (1800), Cancellieri (1814), De Romanis (1822), Vitti (1890) and De Vivo (1899). See main bibliography.
- 21 *Furseus*: see M. Mulhall, 'The Celtic Sources of the "Divina Commedia"', 1896. *Patrick*: see F. Vinton, 'St. Patrick's Purgatory, and the "Inferno" of Dante', 1873, pp. 275–86. *Adamnan*: see C. S. Boswell, *An Irish Precursor of Dante*, 1908. *Charles the Fat*: see T. Silverstein, "'Inferno'", XII, 100–26, and the "'Visio Karoli Crassi'", 1936, pp. 449–52. *Ansellus*: see F. Ermini, 'La "Visio Anselmi" e l'imitazione nella "Divina Commedia"', 1938, pp. 309–15. *Drythelm*: see G. Musca, 'Dante e Beda', 1972, pp. 497–524.
- 22 *St Patrick's Purgatory: An Essay on the Legends of Purgatory, Hell, and Paradise*, 1844, p. 117.
- 23 See A. F. Ozanam, 'Du cycle poétique', p. 341; 'Des sources poétiques de la "Divine Comédie"', 1855, p. 415; C. Labitte, 'La "Divine Comédie" avant Dante', 1842.
- 24 Ozanam, 'Des sources poétiques', p. 362.
- 25 For an outline of the school see C. Dionisotti, 'La scuola storica', pp. 339–55.
- 26 *Antiche leggende e tradizioni che illustrano la 'Divina Commedia', precedute da alcune osservazioni di P. Villari*, 1865.
- 27 *I precursori di Dante*, 1874, reprinted 1912–13, p. 65.
- 28 *Forerunners of Dante*, 1903, p. 3.
- 29 In *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und deutsche Literatur*, 49 (1922), pp. 239–53.
- 30 *L'oltretomba classico, medievale, dantesco nel Rinascimento*, 1922, p. 19.
- 31 N. Zingarelli, *Dante* [undated]; K. Vossler, *La fonte della 'Divina Commedia' studiata nella sua genesi e interpretata*, 1927.
- 32 Principally Torraca (1906), Guercio (1909) and Zanfrognini (1911).
- 33 E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, 1953, p. 362.
- 34 A. J. Gurevič, 'Popular and Scholarly Medieval Cultural Traditions: Notes in the Margin of Jacques Le Goff's Book', 1983, p. 80.
- 35 For an exploration of the different phases and purposes of the otherworld visions see C. Zaleski, *Otherworld Journeys*, 1987, chapter 2.
- 36 An account of the crusades and their effects is given by R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, 1967, pp. 49–62. For the courts of Sicily and Spain and trade routes see C. H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, 1927, ch. 1, 'Intellectual centres'.
- 37 The standard text for all these aspects is Haskins, *ibid.* Also important are Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, especially ch. 4; G. Leff, *Medieval Thought*, 1958, Part II; and R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries*, 1954, chs. 4 and 5.
- 38 See Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, ch. 7, 'The revival of jurisprudence'.
- 39 A. Rüeegg, *Die jenseitsvorstellungen vor Dante und die übrigen literarischen Voraussetzungen der 'Divina Commedia'*, 2 vols., 1945; C. Segre, 'L'*itinerarium animae* nel Duecento e Dante', 1984.
- 40 *Ibid.*, p. 25.
- 41 Particularly the work of A. Gurevič, P. Dinzelbacher, J. Le Goff and C. Carozzi.