

AN ITALIAN HISTORIAN.¹

THE death on the 7th of last December of Pasquale Villari, the historian of Savonarola and Machiavelli, in his ninety-first year, was probably regretted nowhere outside Italy more widely than in England. For over sixty years he had been in touch with our life and thought and an appreciative student of our political and social history. In 1855 John Stuart Mill, during the same Italian tour in which, while mounting the steps of the Capitol, he conceived the plan of a volume *On Liberty*, also visited Florence and spent an evening with Villari, thus originating a correspondence which ended only with Mill's death.² Seven years later Villari represented Italy in the Education Section of our International Exhibition and observed with courteous surprise "a world completely new," where, as he wrote fifty-two years later,³ without a system, without a Minister, schools arose by a sort of "spontaneous generation," from private funds and initiative; where, visiting a "ragged school, a kind of school completely new to me," he found a girl (the sister of a peer), seated alone in an upper room in the middle of a class of youths from eighteen to twenty years of age, all of them thieves or pickpockets and "with countenances far from prepossessing," who were quietly listening to a lesson on the Bible. This to Villari was indeed a new world: "How possibly could this young lady trust herself here?" "Our plan," was the answer, "is to trust and to show that we trust." "I still remember," continues Villari, "how profoundly this visit impressed me. I felt that I was now

¹ Baldasseroni, *Pasquale Villari* (1907), with elaborate bibliography; Pistelli's essay, prefixed to *L'Italia e la civiltà* (1916; 1918, 2nd and largely augmented edition), a catena of extracts from Villari's writings woven so as to form a history of Italian civilisation; *Pasquale Villari*, by Gaetano Salvemini in *Nuova Rivista Storica*, March—April, 1918; *Pasquale Villari*, by E. Armstrong, in *The English Historical Review*, April, 1918; *Pasquale Villari*, by C. Rinaudo, in *Rivista Storica Italiana*, January—March, 1918; *Pasquale Villari*, the memorial number of *Il Marzocco*, December 16th, 1917; G. P. Gooch, *History and Historians* (1913), pp. 440–1; V.'s own reminiscences, especially in *Lettere meridionali* (1885), *Scritti Vari* (1894), *Discussioni* (1905). For V. and the organisation of research, A. Panella, *Gli studi storici in Toscana* (1916); for V. in the Ministry of Education, C. Fiorilli in *Nuova Antologia*, October 16th, 1907, pp. 583–603. For estimates of V.'s separate works, see the bibliographical list *infra*.

² Mill's Letters (1910), i., pp. 194–6 *seq.*, where fourteen letters from Mill to V. are printed.

³ *Nuova Antologia*, June 1st, 1914, pp. 385–94.

on the track of the secret of England's greatness." Villari's report was the first of many writings in which he described his educational tours in various countries from Sweden to Italy.⁴

In October, 1875, he was again in England on another and still more characteristic errand. In the spring of that year he had in *L'Opinione* described and denounced the slums of Naples: which some of his critics declared to be a figment of his own imagination, while others told him that, if he were not blinded by anglomania, he would know that the London slums were infinitely worse. He therefore set off for London, and, presenting himself and his credentials, was allotted the assistance of three detectives in a nocturnal visit to the East End. "Show me everything that is most squalid and repulsive in London"; so he was escorted to lodging-houses, opium dens, and pot-houses. "Worse than this you cannot find," said the detective, before a group of hovels; but even here Villari found something to admire in the independence of the Briton, and the "incredible considerateness" of the official, when the door was shut in their faces and the detective quietly remarked: "We must try another, we must not intrude on the home." Returning to Italy he was able to assure his countrymen that "the man who says that the London poor are in worse plight than those of Naples knows nothing of the one or nothing of the other."⁵ Three months later he married the daughter of an English M.P., the Linda Villari well known to English readers as his accurate and idiomatic translator and to the Florentines as Donna Linda; while their son, Cavaliere Luigi Villari, has written several books in excellent English and, like his father, has contributed amply to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

In the spring of 1884 Villari was one of the delegates at the tercentenary of the University of Edinburgh, where, along with Freeman, Seeley and Bryce, he received the LL.D.; and also succeeded in doing a good stroke of business for the Italian Treasury by securing the Italian MSS. of the Ashburnham collection at, as he was afterwards able to remind the Chamber of Deputies, a price twenty per cent. under that estimated by French and English experts—which the Italian Government was quite ready to pay. Evidently there was something persuasive in the Southern gestures and Neapolitan consonants of this courteous little gentleman; and perhaps in Italy there was no more con-

⁴ *E.g.*, *Nuovi scritti pedagogici* (1891), containing, *inter alia*, his inquiries into manual instruction in elementary schools, and into German secondary education.

⁵ *Lettere meridionali* (1885), pp. viii., 80-3.

tented man than Professor, now Senator, Villari, when on the morning of the 3rd of December he delivered to the Laurentian Library 1,903 manuscripts, including several early codices of Dante and the earliest known MS. of Dino Compagni.⁶ In the last year of the century Lecky, paying his last visit to Florence, saw a great deal of Villari and was much impressed with his ability.⁷ On June 22nd, 1904, we see him in the Commemoration procession at Oxford, stepping briskly (he is only seventy-six) and trailing his too ample gown behind the waving plumes of General French and the chivalrous figure of George Wyndham.⁸ With what apt Latinism Dr. Goudy presented the new D.C.L. I do not know; but probably Villari would have been content with *Homo est; humani nihil a se alienum putat*.

Not that he was a cosmopolitan sentimentalist; his centre was in Italy, but his heart was too large and his appreciation of the interdependence of peoples too keen to make the Alps his periphery—"the civilisation of one is the essential complement of the others; the dangers with which modern society is menaced are such that to avert them the combined forces of all nations are none too great."⁹ Not long before his death the words "our war" elicited a flash of the eyes and a gesture of dissent: "This is not, not, our war, it is the war of all; the war of the Entente, the whole Entente; it is a war for the world's salvation. What do you mean? People who talk of our war know nothing about it."¹⁰ But of all nations it was to England, with her traditions of liberty and justice, her tentative and measured progress, her contempt for nostrums and "patent syrups," the public spirit of her nobles, the self-reliance of her people that he looked, though, perhaps, before the war with some doubt and apprehension, as an example for his own people. Of individual Germans he speaks in terms of warm attachment: of "the immortal edifice of German science," of the work of Ranke almost in reverence; but when he deals with social questions it is from England that he usually borrows his examples, even when he addresses Germans in German and in a German review.¹¹ Fifty-three years ago, after his first visit to Germany, he analysed what he called "the logic of Germanism":

⁶ *The Times*, May 22nd and 23rd, November 29th, December 4th, 1884; *Nuova Antologia*, October 16th, 1907; *Il Marzocco*, December 16th, 1917; Del Lungo, *Dino Compagni*, vol. ii., pp. xix-xxii.

⁷ Memoir of Lecky by his wife, p. 335.

⁸ *The Times*, June 23rd, 1904. Photograph in Baldasseroni, p. 36.

⁹ *Nuova Antologia*, June 1st, 1914.

¹⁰ *Il Marzocco*, December 16th, 1917.

¹¹ See the article reprinted (in Italian) in *Lettere meridionali* (1885), pp. 228, 231, 245, 249.

" With their patriotism has grown up a strange notion that all the modern world must be Germanised. Humanity has run its long course through India, Greece, Rome, to become at last Teutonic. . . . In short, the modern man must Germanise himself. *Ecco tutto*. . . . The more civilised absorb the less civilised nations; and nothing can be better for a nation than to be Germanised, and the sooner the better. In this crude form, Germans may disclaim any such tenet; but very often this is the undisclosed postulate, without which you cannot follow their reasoning. 'You must go and hear the trial of the Poles,' said to me a cultivated, gentlemanly doctor in Berlin, 'over a hundred gentlemen in dress clothes and white gloves.' 'What will they get?' 'The prosecution asks death.' 'What! over a hundred for a political offence?' 'Perhaps only twenty of them.' 'And that's nothing?' 'Oh! but remember, *they are not Germans*.'" ¹²

"Let Germany not delude herself," he wrote in 1870, when France was prostrate, "or delude us too far with her spirit of peace, justice, freedom, when the demon of war is abroad, and the history of her past is full of long wars and ruthless conquests. Let her not say, "God, I thank Thee that I am not as other men are." The curse of war falls alike on victor and vanquished, and perhaps Germany will one day feel the heavy hand of those aristocrats who now are fighting her battles so bravely.'" ¹³

In the last article which Villari wrote for the *Nuova Antologia* (June 1st, 1914, p. 387), while dealing with the alleged decadence of England, and presciently warning his readers that the growth of armaments and the clash of interests were sweeping Germany and England to war, he recalled the reply which he had received in Sicily, when he asked why the people there preferred the English: "The English prosper and help their servants to do the same; the Germans prosper, but do not trouble themselves about others." "And this," Villari adds, "if you think of it, is not only one of the finest traits of the English people, but is also one of the reasons why they have prospered." Even when, as President of the Dante Alighieri Society, which aims at keeping alive the Italian language among the children of Italy beyond her borders, he had to discuss the action of Joseph Chamberlain with regard to the Italian language in Malta, he closed on a note of lofty trust: "After all that has been said, we must still hope that, by the aid of English public opinion, those old and glorious traditions of liberty and justice will once more triumph, as in the past they

¹² *L'istruzione secondaria in Germania* (1865), reprinted in *Nuovi scritti pedagogici* (1891), pp. 63-71.

¹³ Quoted by Salvemini, *ut supra*, p. 138.

have been the source of her strength and can alone in time to come preserve and replenish it.¹⁴

Villari was born in Naples on the 3rd of October, 1827, the son of an able lawyer, who died of cholera before the child was ten years old, leaving him to the care of his mother, a woman of noble character and keen intelligence, as we may judge from her portrait and from her son's almost lyrical tribute to "the heroic self-effacement of Neapolitan mothers." He did not enter the university, which was almost empty at this period of the Bourbon *régime*, but after some sound training in mathematics and physics, and a grinding in Italian literature and composition from pedantic "purists," he passed to the Studio (a name then given to private schools of university standard) of Francesco de Sanctis, the famous literary critic. To his influence we can probably in part trace Villari's dislike for aimless antiquarianism in history and literature; while to the influence of Domenico Morelli, the artist, his close friend and future brother-in-law, we may partly trace his interest in art and his taste for a picturesque and illustrative anecdote.¹⁵ The sincerity of his defence of the classics, in or out of the Italian Parliament, is attested by his own exertions to repair the omissions of his school-days.

Then came the barricades of May 15th, 1848; Luigi La Vista, Villari's very dear friend, was, as he cried surrender, shot down by the Swiss of the Bourbon and his corpse pierced with bayonets; one wretch had his eyes gouged out and was forced to trample them, and Villari himself saw a soldier drinking the blood of a wounded prisoner; Morelli received a bayonet-cut on the eye, Villari and De Sanctis were arrested.¹⁶

On his release he determined to seek the freer air of Florence, where he arrived about Christmas, and where he supported himself, while working at *Savonarola*, by giving Italian lessons to the "forestieri." Having in 1856 contributed his valuable review of Perrens' and Madden's *Lives of Savonarola* to the *Archivio Storico Italiano*, he was appointed extraordinary professor, and, after the publication of the first volume of his *Life of Savonarola*, ordinary professor at the University of Pisa. In 1862 came his visit to England, his direction for a time of the Normal School in Pisa, and his appointment as professor of history at the university, or, as it is called, Institute of Higher Studies, at Florence,

¹⁴ *Discussioni critiche e discorsi* (1905), pp. 442-3.

¹⁵ See Villari's essays on Morelli, De Sanctis, La Vista, etc., *passim*.

¹⁶ *Discussioni*, p. 200; *Scritti Vari* (1894), pp. 429-30. Salvemini, p. 124, describes Villari's imprisonment as quite unknown till after his death; but, apart from Villari's own allusion, it is mentioned in both Brockhaus' *Lexicon* and in *Wer ist's?*

which by reason of its autonomy and non-professional ideals fulfils more closely than others our conception of a university.¹⁷ This position he held till, or almost till, his death;¹⁸ while from 1898 to 1911 he acted also as professor of social science in the Istituto di Scienze Sociali. In the summer of 1869 he was appointed secretary to the Ministry of Education and carried out many reforms, granting aid towards improved elementary school buildings and stiffening the standard of examinations in secondary schools; but on the fall of the Ministry, finding his views ignored by their successors, he resigned on some proposals as to the professoriate.¹⁹ In 1873, after being twice disqualified on technical grounds, he took his seat in the Chamber of Deputies; re-elected the following year and in 1880, he ceased to be a member in December of the latter year. Raised to the Senate in 1884, of which he became a vice-president in 1897, he was Minister of Education in the Di Rudini Ministry from February, 1891, till May, 1892—an office which in higher education and such matters as the fine arts, as well as in initiation and administration of details, far outruns its English analogue. Villari, although he worked with feverish energy, did not achieve a memorable success. This caused much surprise in Italy; in England, if a professor with “a cross-bench mind,” a sworn foe of both “lobbying” and red-tape, entered Ministerial life at sixty-three under a wobbling Premier, with a shaky Cabinet, pledged to economise “to the bone,” which collapsed after fifteen months’ office, our surprise would be that the Minister had actually effected some improvements and had by his speeches and otherwise sown the seeds of many others.

Meanwhile, the second volume of *Savonarola* (1861) had been followed by *Niccolò Machiavelli e i suoi tempi* (1877–81–82); *I primi due Secoli della Storia di Firenze* (1893–4); *Le invasioni barbariche* (1901); *L'Italia da Carlo Magno alla morte di Arrigo VII.* (1910)—the two latter being volumes in the *Collezione storica Villari*, a series which he enthusiastically promoted for the study of not merely Italian but not less of foreign history among readers who hitherto in Italy had little choice between antiquarian treatises and school manuals.²⁰ Villari must have raised the hair on the

¹⁷ *Storia, politica e istruzione* (914), pp. 417–26; Panella, *Gli studi storici*, pp. 337–8.

¹⁸ A letter in my possession asks me to excuse him for writing in haste, “being very busy with examinations”—in his eighty-third year! It is in excellent English, and dated July—July in Florence! For vivid pictures of Villari’s lectures, see Pistelli and also the article by Lazzerini in *Nuova Antologia*, January 1st, 1917, p. 68.

¹⁹ *Nuova Antologia*, October 16th, 1907, pp. 583–5.

²⁰ Preface to *The Barbarian Invasions of Italy* (1902).

heads of some eminent scholars when he wrote that "undeniably the true object of ransacking the national archives is to assist the production of narratives suited for the general mass of readers"; but, at least in this country, many will heartily support his claim that history should be "not only a means of instruction, but likewise of national education, by serving as a real factor in the formation of the moral and political character of our country," as many have re-echoed G. M. Trevelyan's eloquent plea in *Clio, a Muse*: "In short, the value of history is not scientific. Its true value is educational. It can educate the minds of men by causing them to reflect on the past." Besides these, Villari had for years been producing articles, letters to journals, reprints of speeches, which if of permanent value were collected into volumes, dealing with historical, artistic, literary and, above all, social and educational subjects. The bibliography of his writings large and small amounted in 1907 to over four hundred items.

This account of Villari's activities suggests two observations. He was not merely a scholar but a man of affairs: as an Italian phrased it, "not so much a man of the chair as a man of life." Not that he was a good "parliamentary hand," a party man. As another Italian puts it: "An idea which is embodied in a party cry at once becomes to him suspect." He almost seems, like the great Florentine poet of six hundred years before, to have deemed it "*bello Averti fatta parte per te stesso*"—a goodly thing to make a party for yourself. His interests lay in the social welfare and still more in the moral ideals of Italy. Wherever he found a social evil, he attacked it with courage—the sweating of boys in the Sicilian sulphur mines, the *pellagra* of Northern Italy, the slums of Naples, the Camorra, the Mafia, the condition of the Simplon navvies, emigration, bureaucracy, and, perhaps above all, abuses in education. When, in 1866, the reverses of Custoza and Lissa unchained a storm of recrimination, he published his famous pamphlet *Di chi è la colpa?* ("Who is to blame?") to show that it was neither North nor South, Right nor Left, that it was Italy who had forgotten herself and her social duties. This was indeed to dig down to bedrock, and Villari could only end with an appeal for "sanity, self-reliance, work." But when he found a definite abuse, much as he believed in the slow growth of national character and institutions, he pressed for a definite remedy. He would not hear of *laissez-faire*, "give plenty of time to time" (*Date tempo al tempo*).²¹

²¹ *Lettere meridionali* (1885), pp. 304, 246—where *Di chi è la colpa?* is reprinted.

Here we may seem to be far from the historian of Machiavelli and the Renaissance. Yet not so far. Villari was spurred to research by the hope not merely of unveiling a brilliant chapter of Italian history but also of finding "an explanation of the vices against which we contend to-day and of the virtues which aided our regeneration."²² No two historians could be in most respects more unlike than Villari and Carlyle; yet the words in Professor Firth's introduction to *The Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* are *mutatis mutandis* equally apt for the Italian: "The condition of England weighed upon him. The misery of the poor; the apathy of the rich; the indifference of the rulers were always before his eyes. . . . 'Eleven thousand souls in Paisley alone living on three half-pence a day.'"

The other point to be noted is that Villari, a Neapolitan, wrote about Florence: a sufficiently exceptional circumstance in Italy, where history, owing mainly to partitions in the past, runs to antiquarian detail and is inspired by parochialism (*spirito di campanile*). The Tuscan spirit, keen, positive, analytical, is more attracted by facts than by their correlations, and in Mamiani's blunt phrase, "abhors purely speculative ideas"; while Naples, from the days of Giordano Bruno and Campanella to those of Vico, and in our own day of Benedetto Croce, has been the breeding-ground of speculation. Here we have the conflict between what the Italians call the "*analitico*" and the "*sintetico*" methods of historiography: and it is noteworthy that Villari rarely contributed to the great Florentine historical journal, the *Archivio Storico Italiano*, the organ of facts and documents rather than of problems, although he was a "vital element" of the Committee (*Deputazione*) which controlled its publications, and in 1898 became its president.²³ Not, indeed, that he was what we should call a synthetically speculative thinker. His lengthy essay on the question: "Is History a science?" is disappointingly discursive, as is natural enough since he concludes by admitting with characteristic candour that the purport of his essay is merely to call attention to the social question.²⁴ To show his strength he must come to closer quarters with fact, as in his lecture on "The teaching of History,"²⁵ and in various parts of his *History of Florence*. What constitutes him a *sintetico* historian is his sym-

²² Niccolò Machiavelli (1895), i, pp. xxiii-iv. I quote from the second Italian edition, the English translation having been made, with a few additions, from the unrevised first edition.

²³ Panella, *Gli studi storici in Toscana* (1916), pp. 319, 332.

²⁴ *Studies*, p. 114.

²⁵ *Arte, storia e filosofia* (1884), pp. 191-219.

pathy, wide interests, concretely generalising power and his power of psychological analysis and reconstruction.

On the other hand, though a professor of history and scientific in his methods, he can hardly be called a professional historian in the strict sense. For the future biographer of Savonarola or Machiavelli he has indeed probably left little of importance to glean—even Tommasini in his truly monumental *Life of Machiavelli* has added little of consequence—and Villari's accuracy has not been impugned. But to him the document was a means, not an end. So far as details are concerned, Villari's researches into the two first centuries of the history of Florence have probably produced less than the microscope of the German Davidsohn, but he claims that he has accomplished the task which he set himself—"to find a clue through the mazes of a history which had hitherto seemed so intricate and obscure"—and that his conclusions have been generally confirmed by subsequent discoveries.²⁶ This attitude towards history is familiar enough to us; hard as Grote and Macaulay worked at history, they were rather "historians by accident," they rather belonged to the class of what Mr. Gooch calls "brilliant amateurs." It is to Prescott that these words are applied, and perhaps in style Villari recalls Prescott more than any other. The death of Montezuma is a companion picture to the death of Savonarola. On the whole, however, the nearest analogue in English is Lecky, who was not by predilection an archivist, and was more attracted to the evolution of intellectual and social progress than to detailed research. Lecky's style and thought flowed, it is true, over a wider field and with a more periodic and at times platitudinous sweep; but both were interested in the evolution of religion as a moral force, both acknowledged their debt to Vico, and both, it may be added, were accorded a lonely eminence of respect rather than influence in political life. If with Benedetto Croce we classify the histories of the mid-nineteenth century into diplomatic, philological, and positive, we must place Villari in the last compartment. He was a positivist in a sense and a sociologist, but also a ruthless anti-materialist—"in life there is nothing more real than the ideal," he said in his first Dante Alighieri address—and above all a moralist. He has been charged by a German critic with employing English standards in morals and religion, just as he has been applauded by another German for applying German standards to Machiavelli, "not, indeed, because they are German

²⁶ *Storia di Firenze* (1905), pp. xiii., xv.

but because they are the right ones."²⁷ Well, well, in Italy someone has called Villari "the conscience" of his country, so perhaps his English morals are not so far wrong, after all.

Sometimes, indeed, as in the case of Lord Acton, his moral judgments have disturbed his historical impartiality. It was the moral attraction which drew him to Savonarola. Savonarola's words sound at times—"your reform must begin with spiritual things, for these are higher than material things, of which they are the rule and the life"²⁸—like an epitome of Villari's own teaching. The historian's scorn for those who would condone the misdeeds of Lorenzo de' Medici out of regard for his patronage of letters and art is no doubt justifiable; but to attribute to the efforts of a single man "the diabolical corruption" and "the religious indifference" of the whole city of Florence is to commit the same error, with which Villari more than once reproaches Machiavelli, of regarding the subjects of a ruler as clay in the hands of a sculptor, which can be moulded well or ill as he chooses.²⁹ When he comes to the much-discussed death-bed of Lorenzo and tells how, while "the dying prince lay cowering with fear in his bed, Savonarola seemed to soar above his real stature, as he said: 'Lastly, you must restore liberty to the people of Florence,'" he realises so vividly the duel between good and evil, as depicted in the traditions of the Savonarolan hagiographers, that he forgets to ask himself the simple question how Lorenzo on his death-bed could, in Mr. Armstrong's words, "give back a liberty which he had not stolen and which he was powerless to restore," and does not observe that he is stultifying his hero by placing in his mouth what Creighton bluntly calls "clap-trap."³⁰ The scene, if enacted as described by the authorities whom Villari follows, does no great credit, many will think, to either the head or the heart of the great friar. But Villari has

²⁷ *Athenæum*, January 19th, 1889; Hartwig in *Preussische Jahrbücher*, Vol. 40 (1877), pp. 619-24. As bearing on the important question of international ethics, it is noticeable that, while English writers have accepted Villari's morality as a matter of course, continentals have frequently commented on it: Hobohm (*Machiavelli's Renaissance der Kriegskunst*, i., p. 179), calls him the austere scholar—"der sittenstrenge Gelehrte"; Tommasini (*Machiavelli*, ii., p. 69 note 2), refers to "un giudizio morale alquanto artificioso"; Croce (*Filosofia della pratica*, p. 286), speaks of Villari as guided by "ragioni di carattere moralistico"; and no doubt the implication is the same when Passy (*Un ami de Machiavel, François Vettori*, i., p. 47), refers to "ces lettres de Vettori qui révoltent l'historien de Machiavel."

²⁸ *Savonarola* (English, 1888), i., p. 263.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, i., 39; ii., 86; *Niccolò Machiavelli* (1895), ii., p. 332, etc.

³⁰ *Savonarola*, i., p. 149; Reumont, *Lorenzo de' Medici* (1883), ii., p. 442; Armstrong, *Lorenzo de' Medici* (1896), p. 312; Creighton, *Papacy* (1897), iv., p. 342.

accomplished two feats of genius—he has explained in an intelligible way the fall of Savonarola in a few months from the spiritual dictatorship of Florence to be the butt of hooligans; and he has constructed a psychologically comprehensible fellow-man, so that a great pity is the feeling with which we close the book.

In the readers' book of the Laurentian Library in Florence can still be found, under the 14th of February, 1850, the entry: "*Pasquale Villari, venni a studiare sul Savonarola.*" He had begun with the friar's poems several years before in the exaltation of his Neapolitan boyhood; and impressions on his brain and heart were at all times singularly persistent. His article of 1856, in which he criticises Perrens for having made of Savonarola not one but two inconsistent human beings, differs little in style and cogency from his preface of 1913,³¹ in which he convicts Dubreton's Rabelaisian reconstruction of Machiavelli of precisely the same offence. He now in the more critical air of Florence began his researches on Machiavelli, who had stepped into the light of history two months after the death of Savonarola—not as a poor and unknown hero-worshipper, but as a mature and responsible professor. The antinomy lay now not between religion and politics but between politics and morality. The question has been raised which of these great works is Villari's masterpiece. Armstrong inclines towards *Machiavelli*, Salvemini apparently against; while educated opinion in Italy and England, if we take Pistelli and *The Times'* summary of the year as respective representatives, dubs him "the author of *Savonarola*." Pistelli also justly remarks that in *Machiavelli* the parts are better than the whole, which is hardly a fault in an historical work as such, but is fatal to a work of art. Whatever controversial books on Savonarola may continue to be produced, it is hardly likely that another work of art like Villari's from his standpoint will soon appear. But Machiavelli is "not a vanishing type but a constant and contemporary influence" (Acton), "the Florentine Secretary's orb never quite sets" (Morley)—even to-day, if Machiavelli's unity, nationality, objectivity of the State has set behind the Russian steppes, it flames in meridian splendour on the Spree—and Villari has a formidable rival in Tommasini's *Life and writings of Machiavelli, in their relation to Machiavellism*, a mine of fifty years' patient research and an encyclopædia of usually quite relevant quotations (though none, curiously enough, from Treitschke) on every phase of his subject. But in measure, proportion, vividness, clarity this book is certainly inferior to Villari's; and it is typical of the hotch-

³¹ *Machiavelli*, vol. iii. of third edition (1914).

potch (*colluvie*) style of history, of which Italians have complained, that Tommasini's longest chapter, of a hundred thousand words or over, is devoted to the evolution of religion from Roman times, in the first half of which Machiavelli is not even mentioned.

Villari himself has been reproached with a want of proportion; and, indeed, it is hard to regard as relevant the chapters devoted to the neo-Platonism of Marsilio Ficino, or to Italian art, with which admittedly Machiavelli had neither tie nor sympathy—two of the best works on the Italian Renaissance, those of Burckhardt and Philippe Monnier, exclude art from their purview. The *Machiavelli* is less consistent, complete, and convincing than the *Savonarola*, partly because the wit of man is helpless before the Machiavellian paradox, the appalling candour of "the least Machiavellian man that ever lived" (ii., 349); partly because Villari surveyed the entire field of Machiavelli's activity—as no one before Macaulay had attempted to do—as thinker and worker in politics and national defence, historian, dramatist, official, and patriot; and partly because Villari's gratitude to the father of Italian unity and liberation was in conflict with his allegiance to the moral law. There is some uncertainty in the touch, the distinctions at times seem wire-drawn; there are apparent inconsistencies. If "Aristotle's conception is theoretical and scientific, and Machiavelli's a practical treatment of political procedure" (ii., 406), how can *The Prince* have "a triple character, theoretical, practical, personal" (ii., 376)? If "man has one conscience and cannot have two" (ii., 267), what becomes of Villari's theory that there are two moralities, one of individuals, the other of States in war and diplomacy; which, though starting from the same principles to reach a common goal, are for us practically irreconcilable (ii., 346–8; ii., 403)?³² In reading Villari's book, one sometimes feels that a respectable case may be made for every view of Machiavelli. And yet this is one of its outstanding merits: such is Villari's candour and so closely does he identify himself with the conflicting solutions of the Machiavelli problem that we hardly know where the critic stops and the author resumes. In *Savonarola*, he is an advocate with a passionate trust in the soundness of his brief; but in *Machiavelli* he is "the magistrate of history," the Judge of Appeal on a plea of misdirection of the jury.

Villari's books have been more successful here probably than in any other country. *Savonarola* has had two distinct translations, and has been reprinted ten times; *Machiavelli*, thrice; the

³² There is a fuller statement of the theory in *Discussioni*, pp. 24–8, and in Lord Morley's *Recollections*, ii., pp. 59–60.

History of Florence twice. *The Barbarian Invasions* has also been reprinted; and these four, obtainable at half-a-crown each, must presumably have a "popular" sale. In fact, as Villari's pupil, Pistelli, remarks, his works have been read in England at least as much as in Italy: Germany coming second and France a poor third. Florence has always attracted us—there are in English more voluminous histories of Florence than of London; Savonarola has excited our sympathy—in the last three-quarters of a century there have been at least ten biographies in English and three dramas. Villari came at a fortunate period, when Ruskin, *Romola*, Garibaldi were firing our enthusiasm. The ease, vivacity, lucidity of his style were to our taste. But to Italy he has been much more than a literary influence, he has been the homely, fearless, earnest, candid mentor. A distinguished colleague wrote some years ago to Pistelli: "The old guard is thinning fast; Villari is one of the few veterans to whom we can offer a new medal. Let us then forget the light shadows which our critical inclinations make us see, in our own despite, on every luminous object, and let us recall the many virtues of this little man with the spacious brow, that makes his way to the front of the crowd like a small boy, scrambles on the first bench he finds and preaches like a hero!" More than that, he is a record of his period; Mr. Armstrong suggests that the next generation may regard him as the surest authority. His tomb on San Miniato may well be a symbol of the friendship which England and Italy are forging afresh in the fires of war. Florence has showered her lilies—*manibus date lilia plenis*; it is not unfitting that England should drop an English rose. Dante has said it: *Non gigli; Anzi di rose e d' altri fior vermigli*.

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The following is a bibliographical list of the English translations of Villari's works:—

- I. *La storia di Girolamo Savonarola e de' suoi tempi*, 2 vols., Florence, 1859-61.

The history of Girolamo Savonarola and of his times, transd. by Leonard Horner, F.R.S.; 2 vols.; Longman, 1863.

"I have given a selection only of the numerous documents" (Translator's Preface).

- La storia di . . .* new edn., augmented and corrected; 2 vols.; Florence, 1887-8.

Life and times of Girolamo Savonarola, translated [from the new edition] by Linda Villari; 2 vols.; Fisher Unwin, 1888.

"The documents are purposely excluded" (Translator's Foreword).

[*English Historical Review*, July, 1889 (E. Armstrong); *Athenæum*, Jany. 19th, 1889; *Saturday Review*, Jany. 26th, 1889.]

Life and times of . . . 2nd edn. [containing, pp. xiii.-xxx., reply to *Athenæum* and *Sat. Review*]; 2 vols.; 1889.

II. *Niccolò Machiavelli e i suoi tempi*, 3 vols.; Florence, 1877-81-82.

Niccolò Machiavelli and his times, translated by Linda Villari; 4 vols.; Kegan Paul, 1878-83.

In vols. 3 and 4 "two entire chapters and every document suppressed" (Author's preface to 1892 translation, p. v.).

The life and times of Niccolò Machiavelli, transd. by Linda Villari; 2 vols.; Fisher Unwin, 1892.

"Revised by the translator"; "a few corrections in historical details" inserted by the author; "accompanied by all the more important documents" (Author's preface, p. vi.).

Niccolò Machiavelli e i suoi tempi, 2nd edition, 3 vols.; Milan, 1895-95-97.

Niccolò Machiavelli e i suoi tempi, 3rd edition, 3 vols.; Milan, 1912-18-14.

[The 2nd edn. is revised throughout; the 3rd edn. has some additions and re-arrangements, mainly in Vol. ii., as well as replies to Dubreton and Hobohm.]

[There are apparently few reviews, and no English, of the entire work; I have seen only that of Geffroy in *Séances et travaux de l'Académie des sciences morales*, vol. 119, 1883, pp. 729-37, and of Bertolini in *Nuova Antologia*, Nov. 1st, 1878; May 15th, 1881; Nov. 15th, 1882. Of Vols. i. and ii. (2nd edn.), by L. Arthur Burd in *English Historical Review*, April, 1896, pp. 366-90. Of Vol. i., *Athenæum*, July 28th, 1877 (A. de Gubernatis); *Preussische Jahrbücher*, Vol. xl., 1877, pp. 619-24. Also, on the biographers and critics of Machiavelli, R. Mariano, *Scritti Vari*, Vol. ix., pp. 77-165.]

III. *I primi due secoli della storia di Firenze*, 2 vols., Florence, 1893-4.

The two first centuries of Florentine history, transd. by Linda Villari; 2 vols.; Fisher Unwin, 1894-5. [Each volume contains a special preface, written for the English edn, that to Vol. ii. being a rejoinder to criticisms.]

[*English Historical Review* (Armstrong), Vol. ix. (April, 1894), pp. 352-8 and Vol. x. (April, 1895), pp. 355-9.]

I primi due secoli . . . new edn., completely revised; one vol.; Florence, 1905.

[*Eng. Hist. Review* (A. M. Allen) Vol. xxi. (April, 1906), pp. 360-2.]

IV. *Le invasioni barbariche in Italia*, Milan, 1901.

The barbarian invasions of Italy, transd. by Linda Villari; 2 vols.; Fisher Unwin, 1902.

[*Athenæum*, Aug. 23rd, 1902; pp. 241-2.]

V. *L'Italia da Carlo Magno alla morte di Arrigo VII.*, Milan, 1910.

Mediæval Italy from Charlemagne to Henry VII., translated by Costanza Hulton; Fisher Unwin, 1910.

[*Times Literary Supplement*, Oct. 27th, 1910, and Villari's reply, Nov. 24, 1910.]

VI. *Studies, historical and critical*, transd. by Linda Villari; Fisher Unwin, 1907.

(Is History a Science? Youth of Cavour, Settembrini, De Sanctis, D. Morelli, Donatello, Savonarola and the present day.)

[*Athenæum*, Nov. 2nd, 1907; pp. 544-5.]

[These seven papers do not reproduce any one Italian volume; they are collected from various volumes of miscellanies:—1, 2, 4 from *Scritti Vari* (1894); 3 from *Arte, Storia* (1884); 5, 7 from *Discussioni* (1905); 6 from *Saggi storici* (1890).]