

DANTE AND *THE OLD MAN AND THE SEA*

Belma Baskett

要約

ダンテと『老人と海』

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ヘミングウェイは、彼が最も学ぶところの多かった文学上の先達を挙げるよう頼まれた時、ダンテをその一人に入れていた。キーン・ウェストや後にキューバで作製された蔵書リストにも明らかなように、彼はダンテの作品の種々の翻訳を所有していた。また、パトリック・ヘミングウェイは、「ロングフェロー訳のダンテの『神曲』に対する彼の父親の愛情」について注釈を加えている。

ウォーレス・スティーヴンスは、ヘミングウェイを「並はずれたアクチュアリティを与えることのできる現代最高の詩人」と呼んでいる。『饗宴』の中でダンテは、詩が、字義通りに、寓意的に、道徳的に、そして神学的にと、四つのレベルで解釈しうることを主張している。ドス・パスosに宛てた手紙でヘミングウェイは、次のように書いている。「イタリアに旅して以来、ダンテの生涯を研究しているが、どうも彼は、人類最低の馬鹿者の一人に思える。しかし、書くことはどれほど上手く書くか。これは我々皆にとつての訓戒となろう。」ヘミングウェイが、そのダンテ研究から何を、どれほど吸収したか、はっきりと決定するのは難しいことはもちろんである。しかし、幾多の宗教的アリュージョンを含む、彼の最も神秘的な小説を執筆しているその時に、彼が、再度湧き起こった一人の偉大な宗教詩人への興味を言明していることは、やはり意味深長である。おそらく『河を越えて木立の中へ』の中の直接的な言及や、相似場面によって示唆される以上にヘミングウェイはダンテから学び取っていたといえるだろう。2年後に上梓された『老人と海』を綿密に分析すれば、ヘミングウェイがこの時すでにダンテを十分に自家薬籠中のものとしていること、その結果、この作品には、ダンテの四層の意味構造がその隠れた枠組として取られていることがわかる。これにより、漁師としてのサンティアゴの職業ばかりでなく、彼を際立たせるその“strangeness”の意味も明らかになる。

"He always thought of the sea as la mar, ... something that gave or withheld great favors"

Wallace Stevens called Hemingway "our best poet of extraordinary actuality." In the *Convivio*, Dante* affirms that poetry may be understood on four levels, literal, allegoric, moral and anagogic. As the title underscores, the sea is of great significance in Ernest Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea*, his most poetic work; that significance is specially remarkable when the favors that Santiago receives from the sea are examined in these Dantesque terms.

It has been generally agreed that however one may evaluate its achievement, *The Old Man and the Sea* is Hemingway's most ambitious fiction. The explicit and extensive use of religious symbolism is one such indication of the dimension of the author's effort. Moreover Hemingway himself made numerous statements concerning the seriousness of his intentions. In a letter to Malcolm Cowley, he wrote, "This new book that I have is a concentration of everything I have learned and focused on all my life, but I hope none of that shows."¹ And in another letter, he wrote, "This story ... is what I knew and had figured out in those early days of [*In Our Time*] with what I have learned since. ... I tried to write those chapters to get down the inner true thing."² Some of the things he had been learning may have come from Dante**—or so Hemingway seems to suggest. In a letter to Dos Passos from La Finca Vigia dated 17 September, 1949, he wrote: "Since trip to Italy have been studying the life of Dante. Seems to be one of the worst jerks that ever lived, but how well he could write. This may be a lesson to us all."³ That he actually had "studied" Dante and learned from him became apparent the following year with the publication of *Across the River and into the Trees*. There are explicit references to Dante in that novel in addition to an unmistakable Dantesque flavor in some parts, as Phillip Young has remarked: "... the opening paragraph ... seemed to presage the ending with suggestions of Dante's *Inferno* and a mood of Stygian strangeness, as a man makes a difficult crossing of a canal in Italy with the help of a surly and Charon-like poler."⁴ The suspicion that this overtone was quite intentional is reinforced when later in the novel Renata says to the Colonel, "You sound like Dante" and he replies, "I am Mister Dante ... for the moment."⁵ Just what and how much Hemingway had absorbed from his study of Dante is hard to determine, of course, but it is significant that he should make explicit his newly awakened interest in a great religious poet at a time that he was writing his most mystical novel with many religious allusions. But Hemingway may have learned more from Dante*** than is indicated by direct reference and parallel scenes in *Across the River and into the Trees*. I would like to suggest that by the time *The Old Man and the Sea* was published two years later, Hemingway had absorbed Dante sufficiently so that Dante's four level schema can be taken as the subterranean framework for the novel. The great favors of la mar function on each of these levels, defining not only Santiago's vocation as fisherman, but also his "strangeness" which sets him apart.

At the literal level the story is the experience of an old but courageous fisherman, the story Hemingway began with, in a 185-word piece for *Esquire* in 1936. Taken literally, the story is typical Hemingway, made up of direct detail of the ritual of deep-sea fishing. The sea is described to give all the varied shades of blue and the various moods with references to "small sea," "flat sea" and "the strange undulation of the calm," etc. with other possibilities during the hurricane season. The sea is where Santiago has passed most of his life and received his livelihood. Living in such close proximity to the sea has affected him and changed him perceptibly as well as imperceptibly. All through the story Hemingway has given minimal physical description of Santiago and all of it is in relation to the sea.

"The old man was thin and gaunt with deep wrinkles in the back of his neck. The brown blotches of the benevolent skin cancer the sun brings from its reflection on the tropic sea were on his cheeks. The blotches ran well down the sides of his face and his hands had the deep-creased scars from handling heavy fish on the cords."⁶ Through the years the sea has put its stamp on him, and the hard life on the sea has aged his body.

After eighty-four days without luck, Santiago hooks a marlin that is very big and very beautiful. It is eighteen feet from nose to tail. Santiago first saw him coming out of the water "unendingly." And "He was bright in the sun and his head and back were dark purple and in the sun the stripes on his sides showed wide and a light lavender. His sword was as long as a baseball bat . . ." (p. 69). In Santiago's estimation he was a fish to keep a man all winter. Santiago is delighted, he is proud to have hooked such a big, beautiful fish. Santiago has caught big fish before, but never alone. Manolin whom he has taken fishing with him since the boy was five is not with him anymore. Santiago has been a surrogate father to the boy teaching him how to fish. But on the fortieth day of Santiago's unlucky spell, the boy's father has transferred him to a "lucky" boat.

Thus, *The Old Man and the Sea* is typical Hemingway when taken literally. It is with the allegoric, moral and anagogic levels that the novel becomes Dantesque. At the allegoric level the story expands to encompass the behaviour of all men through life, and the sea gives meaning to his existence. Carlos Baker sees no allegory in the story. It is true that there is no consistent one-to-one allegory in the traditional sense, such as one finds in *Pilgrim's Progress* or even in another famous sea novel, *Moby Dick*. There is, however, a complex and shifting allegory. Santiago is at once Christ, a disciple of Christ and God. His suffering, the carrying of the mast (cross) up the hill to his hut, his mutilated hands, the noise he makes as someone whose hands are pierced by the nail, and the position he sleeps in, face down with his arms out straight and the palms of his hands up, as well as other references all point to Santiago as a Christ figure. As Santiago undergoes his agony to bring the fish home, the counting of the hours such as "He had sailed for two hours," "must have been around ten o'clock" and "by midnight" (pp. 118, 129, 130) parallels the hours of Christ's agony recounted in the 39th chapter of Mark.

The discussion above is intended to show that Santiago is an unmistakable Christ figure. But because of his name (Saint James) he is equally unmistakably a disciple of

Christ, now symbolized by the marlin, through his suffering and his death with a spear in his side and also from the first moment of his appearance as he rises out of the sea "In all his greatness and his glory" (p. 73) and again in "all his power and his beauty" (p. 104) reminiscent of the ending of the Lord's Prayer.

Santiago as the surrogate father is a God-figure for Manolin who also will become a Christ-figure learning from Santiago about fishing, literally, and about suffering when considered allegorically ; he is the one who will perpetuate Christ's Passion. His name, Manolin is a derivative of *Immanuel* which is the prophetic name by which the humanity of the Messiah was revealed to Isaiah (7 : 14). At the end of the story Manolin identifies with Santiago's suffering. "He saw the old man's hands and he started to cry" (p. 138). Growing up in a Catholic country, he must have seen many pictures of Christ's hands and may sense a similarity. Manolin vows that they will fish together because he still has much to learn. And it becomes apparent from his speech that for him learning to fish and learning to suffer are closely related :

"You must get well fast for there is much that I can learn and you can teach me everything. How much did you suffer?"

"Plenty," the old man said.

"I'll bring the food and the papers," the boy said. "Rest well, old man. I will bring stuff from the drugstore for your hands." . . .

As the boy went out the door and down the worn coral rock road he was crying again (pp. 138-139).

The Holy Spirit may be said to reside over the whole experience enabling the old man to endure the normally unendurable. Thus the allegory in the novel involves the Trinity, God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit and can even be carried further to include Pedrigo, a fisherman (Saint Peter⁷ also a fisherman on the sea of Galilee) to whom Santiago sends the head of the marlin to use as bait and who will fish and suffer, continuing the cycle of the Passion of Christ. The Caribbean sea as the literal setting of the extraordinary fishing experience of a fisherman has been transformed allegorically to the sea of Galilee, thus involving other fishermen, indeed all fishermen. There are yet other allegoric reverberations. In a sense the old man stands for all humanity and his craft of fishing for all human effort.

One can also find in Santiago, Hemingway, the fisherman, and beneath that Hemingway, the writer. Surely he was portraying himself as artist in presenting Santiago. At this point in his life Hemingway, like Santiago, is growing old ; a champion once now with his reputation imperiled, but who still knows many tricks and who will prove himself once again through his determination and effort. Taken as a personal allegory one sees how Hemingway put everything into *The Old Man and the Sea*, and how glad he was at the success of the novel after the luke-warm reception of *Across the River and into the Trees*. Phillip Young has an interesting comment on this : "It is not so much that Santiago was a fisherman in whom the writer saw himself ; rather that Hemingway was a writer who thought he could disguise himself as Santiago . . ." ⁸ Evidence that Hemingway saw his craft of fiction the way Santiago saw his fishing craft is found in a letter

he wrote to Wallace Meyer of Scribner's dated 4 and 7 March, 1952: "Tactically publishing *The Old Man and the Sea* now will get rid of the school of criticism that I am through as a writer."⁹

Hemingway wrote: Santiago promised "to make a pilgrimage to the Virgen de Cobre" (p. 71) if he caught the marlin, but as the novel ends, it seems unlikely since "in the night he spat something strange and felt something in his chest was broken" (p. 138). It is Hemingway himself who keeps Santiago's promise in a way by donating his Nobel Medal to the Shrine of our Lady of Charity of Cobre, Patron Saint of Cuba.¹⁰ This is very significant considering that Hemingway received the Nobel Prize soon after the publication of *The Old Man and the Sea* and it came as the crown to his achievement at a time many critics had given up on Hemingway as ever writing another major work.

The allegory in the novel extends beyond the characteristics of Santiago; the marlin may be said to stand for love and light and beauty, the sharks for gratuitous death. The sea with the marlin, and the sharks and all the other creatures encompasses the whole universe.

Coming to the moral level in the story, it is possible to see a concern with personal weaknesses and strengths, with such time-honored virtues as pride and courage that Hemingway required in his heroes. Santiago's trials represent the moral burden each man has to bear. Many critics have called the story a moral parable and tied the moral to the Hemingway "code." However the moral level is quite complicated and involves moral allegory. The sea tests and teaches Santiago and shows him the limits of his endurance, making him realize his potential. In describing Santiago Hemingway compares him to the sea, "Everything about him was old except his eyes and they were the same color as the sea and were cheerful and undefeated" (p. 10). Thus Hemingway portrays him full of potential power, ageless, eternal, beyond defeat.

Santiago starts the fishing expedition as an old but very proud fisherman out to prove himself once again. His pride goads him to go farther out than anybody else and to catch the biggest and the most beautiful marlin anybody has ever caught. As the proprietor of the cafe, Martin (Saint Martin?) comments, "What a fish it was . . . There has never been such a fish" (pp. 135-136). But at the end of his ordeal Santiago comes back with just the skeleton of the marlin, having learned a lesson in humility. He loses the trophy but retains the lesson. Thus he may be said to have won by the manner of his losing. In his struggle with the fish what is at stake is his obligation to fulfill the demands of his calling as a fisherman. And it is this struggle unto death that brings him moral insight. As a fisherman he feels morally right killing the marlin. He gets satisfaction from doing it well and cleanly. According to Hemingway's oft-stated precepts, moral is what one feels good afterward. Santiago comes back hungry, tired, hurt; his suffering has made him worthy of his name as Saint Iago. Santiago is a better person for his ordeal with the marlin because he has learned humility, a greater virtue than pride and a virtue of the Son of God. Cleansed of the sin of pride, the humility fills him with awe and admiration for the marlin and prepares him for a mystical experience.

At the anagogic level, the novel explores mystical depths and heights and the

possibility of salvation. At this level the sea gives Santiago faith and mystical insights into the nature of the universe and his relation to it. Out of the multi-layered allegory in the novel comes the deeper mystical feeling of life as a perpetual enactment of Christ's passion that other fishermen, especially Manolin will follow.

Although Santiago says he is not religious, out alone he contemplates God through his Traces insofar as He is in them by essence, potency and presence. At a time when Santiago might have fallen into despair, he catches the marlin. This is a moment of mystical illumination that awakens him from his spiritual disorientation. He is endowed with supernatural strength and endurance and can delight in the beauty of creation. Santiago's experience is a mystical experience that changes his consciousness. Having preserved the memory of primal innocence, Santiago receives its reward in being allowed this illumination. His longing as fisherman to fish is granted literally. By going out farther than any other fisherman, he goes beyond the literal to exhibit moral strength and at the same time he has yet risked more, he has acquired superhuman qualities. Accordingly the fish he catches is no ordinary fish (he talks to the fish, calls him his brother, asks forgiveness); and his experience is no ordinary experience. His longing for successful fishing has been transformed into a mystical longing of the soul for its origins in the creator. His has been a prophetic mission signaled by an unheard of spell of bad luck. Another signal to alert the reader is hidden in the repetitive use of the word *strange*. Santiago is "a strange old man" and the reader is never allowed to forget that. Everything about him is strange, he even has "strange shoulders," etc.

Santiago fishes "beyond all people in the world" and in describing his situation as a fisherman and "a strange old man" and in trying to be "more than" he is, he reminds us that "San Pedro was a fisherman," too (p. 116). There are other unusual things about him: his scars are "as old as erosions in a fishless desert" (p. 10). Who can tell how old that is in natural terms and "The fishless desert" makes it doubly unnatural. Hemingway is never far from the mystical in other comparisons as well. When he writes, "the fish's eye looked as detached as the mirrors in a periscope or as a saint in procession" (p. 107), the periscope refers to the World War II world Hemingway knew well, but the saint is not part of any ordinary experience.

Santiago's experience is no experience of ordinary life. Twice he has to assure himself that "he is not dead" (pp. 128, 129). The same sort of blurring between life and death is emphasized when the fish comes "alive, with his death in him" (p. 104). The fish also appears suspended in time and space. "He seemed to hang in the air above the old man in the skiff" (p. 104). All these adding to "some great strangeness." He has difficulty believing what has happened. "He could see the fish and he had only to look at his hands and feel his back against the stern to know that this had truly happened and was not a dream" (pp. 108-9).

The many references to Christ that have been called "the non-Christian use of Christian symbolism"¹¹ as striking as they are both in number and implication have to be given their mystical dimension beyond the limitations of any one sect or religion. One can imagine Hemingway not coming out with more precise Christianity, given his

well-established knowledge of the Bible,¹² specifically with the intention of creating a more universal context of mystical dimensions. (His precise knowledge is not made explicit but forms the seven-eighths of the iceberg, in typical Hemingway fashion). Nathan Scott finds Hemingway "at bottom, a 'spiritual writer', for the drama being enacted just beneath the clenched surfaces of his fiction is that of the soul's journey in search of God."¹³

What Michael Friedberg said of the earlier novels applies better to *The Old Man and the Sea* which can be said to have "a new reality, a reality of Transcendence. In this mode of experience, the cosmic, infinite, and spiritual merge with the objective, finite, and material. The material-objective world may be seen as prefiguring a spiritual-subjective world. With his new language, his new perception ... Hemingway attempted to comprehend the inchoate metaphysical experience of modern man."¹⁴ Of the extraordinary moments in Hemingway's aesthetic Earl Rovit has written: "Revelation or illumination can be understood as an experience of *Gestalt* perception in which all disconnected fragments of experience (conscious and subliminal) cohere with a suddenness and completeness that is involuntary, compelling, and frequently termed 'ecstatic'. The experience has often been described in terms of mystical transport and transcendental elevation ... and has traditionally been associated with the intense emotion that aesthetic contemplation is able to offer under unique and rare circumstances."¹⁵

The most extraordinary moment in the novel is when the fish "fell into the water with a crash that sent spray over the old man and over all of the skiff" (p. 104). This has been likened to a baptism. Then "The old man felt faint and sick and he could not see well" (p. 104) in the ordinary way, but he "looked carefully in the glimpse of vision that he had" (p. 104). At the moment of the fish's death, Santiago is awed, it is as if he is dying, too. The wonder comes through when he says, "I think I felt his heart" (p. 105).

In this novel Hemingway eloquently describes the ongoing relationship between man and nature: the sea as the source of both life and death, as alive and vital as well as malignant and violent. The secrets and power of the sea are the secrets and power of creation; it gives and it takes away without logic or reason in human terms. The sea gave the marlin but also gave the sharks to take it away. The mystery of the grand cycle of life and death is in the sea. As Santiago says, "Everything kills everything else in some way. Fishing kills me exactly as it keeps me alive" (p. 117). Santiago refuses to give up even when he is defeated; he triumphs in spirit. As Richard Lehan says: "This is the primal triumph, and behind it is the urge which sent Santiago deep into the sea It is the urge to stay in touch with first things and to test one's very being against its limits."¹⁶ Santiago senses the mystery of life and death, receiving an illumination which is a redeeming vision.

Hemingway has dealt with the sea in many of his works basically as the setting, but it has never played a more important role than in *The Old Man and the Sea*. Of Hemingway heroes Santiago suffers the greatest defeat, but it is also he who comes very close to being an epic hero of the sea. With the sea reflected in his eyes, Santiago is meant for communion with the sea. Hemingway writes, "You violated your luck when

you went far out" (p. 128). It has been claimed that "going too far out" signifies union with the eternal and the transcendental. When the sea takes on mystical meaning for Santiago, his "literal" everyday relationship with the sea is impaired. When he desires mystic union with the sea, the sea refuses to treat him as a fisherman and deprives him of his fish.

Hemingway was very knowledgeable about the sea and fishing but by putting everything he knew including Dante into this book of his mature years, I think he did not intend the story to be read only on the literal level. He said critics could find whatever they liked in his story and he was pleased when Malcolm Cowley talked of a mythical dimension. Faulkner's comment on *The Old Man and the Sea* was that Hemingway had found God and perhaps it is through Dante that he found the way to give his work a multi-level dimension.

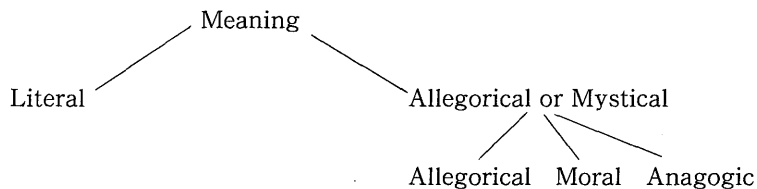
* APPENDIX I

William Anderson¹⁷ discusses how Dante takes the four-fold method of the theologians and applies them to poetry. Dante explains his method in *Convivio*, and in *Commedia* he uses the method for execution. To Dante and his contemporaries 4 is the number of wholeness, the wholeness of meaning (wholeness of man's experience, the 4 ages of life, the 4 seasons in the cycle of time, the year, the 4 ages of history, the four elements). In *Convivio* the four-fold method applied to description of man works as follows:

- literal – man's physical form
- allegorical – his place in Christian history
- moral – the state of his soul
- anagogic – the union of his soul with God

Man is treated as a microcosm of the macrocosm. Dante's word for multiple meaning was 'polysemous' and he uses this adjective in introducing his explanation of the four levels of meaning in the letter to Can Grande.

The following chart may make it clearer:



Dante uses the opening of the Exodus Psalm to illustrate what he means by the interpretation. Charles S. Singleton¹⁸ has said that, between the writing of the *Convivio* and the writing of the *Commedia*, Dante changed from the two-fold allegory of the poets to the four-fold allegory of the theologians, and from passive means of interpretation to active means of execution.

** APPENDIX II

When George Plimpton asked Hemingway to list his literary forebears—those he had

learned most from, he included Dante :

"Mark Twain, Flaubert, Stendhal, Bach, Turgeniev, Tolstoi, Dostoevski, Chekov, Andrew Marvell, John Donne, Maupassant, The Good Kipling, Thoreau, Captain Marryat, Shakespeare, Mozart, Quevedo, Dante, Virgil, Tintoretto, Hieronymus Bosch, Brughel, Patinier, Goya, Giotto, Cezanne, Van Gogh, Gauguin, San Juan de la Cruz, Gongora—it would take a day to remember everyone."¹⁹

Hemingway owned various translations of Dante's works ; they appear on the book lists made in Key West before the house was rented in 1955. The books on one list (those from the Pool House and the garage apartment) remained in storage while the books on another list were shipped to Finca Vigia, Cuba. These lists are in J. F. Kennedy Library now. When Finca Vigia became a museum, the Cuban Government had a list made of the books in the library. James D. Brasch and Joseph Sigman²⁰ have published a record of Hemingway's library which includes the following works of Dante, Alighieri. *The Divine Comedy*. 3 vols. Translated by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Boston : Houghton Mifflin, 1895. (Three copies)

The Inferno. Translated by John Ciardi. New Brunswick, N. J. : Rutgers, 1954.

In a telephone conversation with Brasch and Sigman on May 16, 1979, Patrick Hemingway commented on "his father's affection for Longfellow's translation of Dante's *Divine Comedy*."²¹

***APPENDIX III

The world Hemingway creates around Santiago is made up of many levels or circles reminiscent of Dante's cosmos of circles. Santiago is in a boat on the sea, the sea has many levels, the color changes at various levels ; his lines go to different levels, there are different fish at different levels. All the creatures of different levels seem to be circling. The marlin makes circles around the boat at various levels ; the sharks circle the marlin. Above Santiago various birds circle. At one point Santiago thinks of an airplane and how it must all seem from up there. When he comes back, he learns that the coast guard sent up an airplane to search for him. Long ago Santiago had been in the cross-trees of the mast of turtle boats and "had seen much even from that height." In the horizon are the mountains, above them the clouds and above those the stars. The word circle is used many times. Reading Dante, it is safe to say one cannot help thinking of circles. Even though Hemingway does not come outright to say so, there is evidence that he was influenced by Dante's description of the universe.

NOTES

1 Hemingway letter to Malcolm Cowley written in August, 1952, quoted in James Brasch, "Invention from Knowledge: The Hemingway-Cowley Correspondence" in James Nagel, ed., *Ernest Hemingway: The Writer in Context* (Madison : The University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), p. 225.

2 James Nagel, ed., p. 219.

3 Carlos Baker, ed., *Ernest Hemingway: Selected Letters 1917-1961* (New York : Charles

- Scribner's Sons, 1981), p. 667.
- 4 Phillip Young, *Ernest Hemingway, A Reconsideration* (University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1966), p. 115.
 - 5 Ernest Hemingway, *Across the River and into the Trees* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950), p. 246.
 - 6 Ernest Hemingway, *The Old Man and The Sea* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952), pp. 9–10. (Subsequent references will be given in the text.)
 - 7 Saint Peter, the first bishop of Rome, whom Christ designated to head his church. "... Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build my church" (Matt. 16:18)
 - 8 Phillip Young, p. 275.
 - 9 Carlos Baker, p. 758.
 - 10 L. Leo J. Hertzler, "Hemingway and the Problem of Belief," *The Catholic World*, 184 (October 1956), Editor's Note, 30.
 - 11 Arvin R. Wells, "A Ritual of Transfiguration: *The Old Man and the Sea*," *The University Review*, 30 (Winter 1963), p. 100.
 - 12 Marcelline Hemingway Sanford, *At the Hemingways* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1962), pp. 134–5. Hemingway's sister writes that during high school she and her brother entered a Bible contest. "We passed a detailed test on the Bible reading and we both learned a lot."
 - 13 Nathan Scott, *Ernest Hemingway* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1966), p. 40.
 - 14 Michael Friedberg, "Hemingway and the Modern Metaphysical Tradition" in *Hemingway In Our Time*, ed., by Richard Astro and Jackson J. Benson (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 1974), pp. 186–7.
 - 15 Earl Rovit, *Ernest Hemingway* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1963), p. 134.
 - 16 Richard Lehan, "Hemingway among the Moderns" in *Hemingway In Our Time*, p. 209.
 - 17 William Anderson, *Dante, The Maker* (London, Boston and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980), pp. 331–333.
 - 18 Charles S. Singleton, *Dante Studies I: Commedia, Elements of Structure* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: University of Harvard Press, 1954), pp. 90–94.
 - 19 George Plimpton, "The Art of Fiction XXI," *Paris Review*, 18 Spring, 1958. Also in L. Wagner, *Ernest Hemingway: Five Decades of Criticism* (East Lansing, Michigan: MSU Press, 1974), p. 30.
 - 20 James D. Brasch and Joseph Sigman, *Hemingway's Library: A Composite Record* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1981), p. 92.
 - 21 Brasch and Sigman, Intro., p. XV.

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