

THE LIFE AND WORK
OF
DINO CAMPANA (1885-1932)



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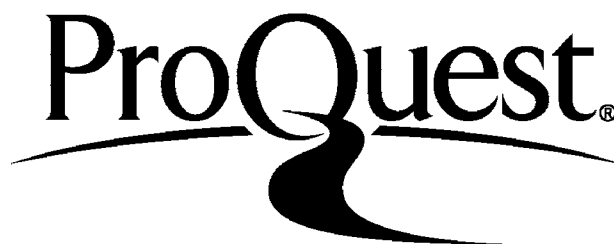
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ABSTRACT

Campana's Life and Work form the two main sections of my thesis.

In the first part, I reconstruct the chronology of Campana's life against the background of his times. There were, hitherto, considerable periods in the poet's life which were either unknown, or reconstructed through hearsay in the absence of original documentation. In the course of my research both in Italy (Marradi, Florence, Bologna, Rome), and Switzerland (Lugano), I was able to discover many unpublished documents, some of which fill in gaps, others which challenge the previously accepted chronology. Some of these documents I have published in two articles (The Modern Language Review, October 1983, and Italian Studies, 1985) which I am attaching to this thesis; others I have transcribed in an Appendix.

In the study of Campana's work, I examine successive publications of his poems and compare them with some original manuscripts, now in the hands of relatives or in archives and libraries in Italy. I discuss the phenomenon of Variants and other aspects of Campana's method of work which contributed to the many disparities found in successive publications. A comparative table of Il Più Lungo Giorno and the Canti Orfici is a major part of this thesis. Il Più Lungo Giorno, lost in 1913 and not found until 1971 has hitherto been surprisingly neglected, although it enables us to trace Campana's poetic development over a crucial phase of his career.

I have limited my study of the Canti Orfici to two poems which help to distinguish the various phases of Campana's development and show the emergence of ideas which appear characteristic of his mature art.

In conclusion I look at changing attitudes to Campana, from 1914 to the present day.

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I : LIFEA Revised Chronology of the Life of Dino Campana.(The changes made on the basis of new documents are underlined).

1885 20 August	Birth of Dino Campana, first-born child of Giovanni Campana and Francesca Luti.
1887 2 September	Birth of younger brother Manlio
1897	Istituto Salesiano, Faenza
1898/99	Fails to get into the Liceo Torricelli and returns to Marradi.
1900/01	Liceo Torricelli, Faenza
1901/02	Liceo Massimo d'Azeglio, Turin
1902 30 May	Death of Mario Campana, uncle of the poet, in mental hospital
1902/03	Collegio Civico Conte di Carmagnola, Turin. ¹
1903 15 July	Campana obtains his Maturità
1903 Summer	Campana is back in Marradi
1903 November	Campana enrolls at the University of Bologna
1904 November	Campana transfers to the University of Florence
<u>1905</u> <u>May</u>	<u>Campana is passed fit for military service</u>
1905 November	Campana returns to the University of Bologna
<u>1906</u> <u>March</u>	<u>Campana is in Genova. He is judged to be 'squilibrato di mente' and ordered to return to Marradi.</u>
1906 May	Visit to Professor Vitali in Bologna
<u>1906</u> <u>June</u>	<u>Campana travels to Switzerland</u>
<u>1906</u> <u>7 August</u>	<u>Campana is repatriated from France</u>

1906 5 September - 31 October	In-patient at the mental hospital of Imola. Diagnosis: 'Demenza precoce'.
<u>1907</u> <u>20 February</u>	<u>Campana is invalided out of the army</u>
<u>1907</u> <u>7 September</u>	<u>Campana is issued with a passport for Buenos Aires</u>
September 1907 - ? 1908	Campana spends some time in Argentina
<u>1909</u> <u>8 April</u>	<u>Campana is arrested in Marradi</u>
1909 9-26 April	In-patient at the mental hospital of San Salvi
<u>1909</u> <u>13-19</u> <u>September</u>	<u>In-patient in the general hospital of Livorno</u>
<u>1910</u> <u>February-June</u>	<u>Campana is in Belgium. Prison of St Gilles and the mental hospital of Tournai.</u>
<u>1910</u> <u>17 June</u>	<u>Repatriation to Italy</u>
<u>1911</u> <u>13 March</u>	<u>Campana applies for a passport to Germany</u>
<u>1911</u> <u>July</u>	<u>Campana is in Genova</u>
<u>1911</u> <u>November</u>	<u>Campana applies for the post of Segretario Comunale in Florence</u>
<u>1912</u> <u>16 February</u> <u>24 February</u>	<u>Campana is in Genova</u> <u>Campana is in Genova</u>
1912 November	Campana registers at the University of Bologna
1913 February	Campana transfers to the University of Genova
<u>1913</u> <u>March</u>	Campana is imprisoned in Genova
1913 April	Voyage to Sardinia
<u>1913</u> <u>10 September</u>	<u>Arrested at Bibbiena (Arezzo), probably at the time of his visit to La Verna.</u>

- 1913
November Campana hands over the manuscript of *Il Più Lungo Giorno* to Papini and Soffici.
- 1914
7 June Publication of the *Canti Orfici* (Ravagli)
- 1915
February Campana in Turin.
- 1915
March-May Campana is in Switzerland. Finds work as an agricultural labourer in Geneva.
- 1915
6 May Campana is dismissed from employment in Geneva.
- 1915
July Campana is declared unfit for army service.
- 1915
November/
December Briefly admitted to hospital in Marradi.
- 1916
May-June In Antignano (Livorno) falls in love with Bianca Lusena: correspondence with Ellen Key: threatened duel with Athos Gastone Banti.
- 1916
1 August First meeting with Sibilla Aleramo at *Il Barco*.
- 1917
January Campana is in Livorno.
- 1917
February Campana is in Turin.
- 1917
April-August Tuscany: Rubbiana, Marradi.
- 1917
September Campana is arrested in Novara.
Last meeting with Sibilla Aleramo.
- 1918
12 January Admission to the *Istituto per le malattie mentali* (San Salvi), Florence.
- 1918
28 January Transfer to the asylum of Castel Pulci.
- 8 November
1926 - 16
April 1930 Series of conversations with the psychiatrist Dr Pariani at Castel Pulci.
- 1932
1 March Death in Castel Pulci.

Background: Italy at the turn of the century.

The upheavals of the Risorgimento had brought about a questioning of the traditional values and of the socio-cultural pattern of Italian life. It had also raised expectations which were not, and perhaps could not be, fulfilled. The long supremacy of bourgeois rule was now challenged - formally at least - by the rise to power of De Pretis' centre-left government in 1876. The dissatisfaction with the way things were was further complicated by Italy's involvement in the European power struggle. The Treaty of the Triple Alliance, which was signed in 1882, helped to draw Italy out of its relative isolation and encouraged comparison with foreign cultures and political systems.¹ Germany, governed at this time by the iron rule of Bismarck, seemed to epitomize that strength and unity which Italy lacked. The idealism, bold heroism and individualism exuding from the writings of Frederick Nietzsche (1844-1900), appeared all the more attractive by contrast to the apathy and disillusionment which prevailed in post-Risorgimento Italy.

New cultural influences which had replaced Positivism and Realism elsewhere in Europe, were now making themselves felt in Italy, encouraging novel approaches. Artists sought retreat from the world. Some, like Pascoli, looked to the immediacy of everyday objects and experiences, others indulged in a purely aesthetic cult. It was not until well into the twentieth century that Italian poets would follow the example of French writers like Verlaine, Rimbaud and subsequently Mallarmé in undertaking a more universal - if idealistic - quest: the quest for truth.²

Three European novels of this period encapsulate the climate of the age in their chief protagonists. Their 'anti-heroes', epitomized in the character of des Esseintes of Huysmans (A Rebours, 1884), Andrea Sperelli of d'Annunzio (Il Piacere, 1889), and Dorian Gray of Oscar Wilde (The Portrait of Dorian Gray, 1890), are hedonistic and amoral, caught up in their ego-centred world.

This was a literature of evasion which would later come to be known as Decadence.

It is against this background that the anarchy and violence which were to break out in the early years of the twentieth century are to be seen. In art and literature it was to take the form of Futurism and Dadaism; in politics it would be seen in the rise of Fascism and National Socialism. It was in such a cultural climate that the poet Dino Campana was born.

Campana's Early Years - 1885-1897.

Dino Campana was born on 20 August 1885 in the village of Marradi, some 68 kms east of Florence.¹

At the time of Dino's birth, Marradi had been the Campana family home for many years. His paternal grandfather, Raffaello Campana, had moved there from his own birthplace, the nearby town of Faenza.² A school passlist for the year 1870-71 mentions him as one of the teachers of the Scuola Inferiore Maschile.³

Raffaello Campana, son of Giovanni Campana and Paola Savini, was 61 when Dino was born and died in 1913, just one year before the publication of the Canti Orfici. Little is known of his wife, Francesca Ceroni except that she was the daughter of Francesco Ceroni and Annunziata Catani. Neither of these grandparents figure in Campana's recollections of his youth, even though he shared a house with his grandfather for many years.⁴

Giovanni Campana, father of Dino, was the second of six children: Francesco, Riccarda, Annunziata, Torquato and the youngest brother Mario, of whose existence I learned only recently, during a visit to Marradi.⁵

Campana's maternal family background was relatively prosperous. Until now only the vaguest information has been available on his mother, Francesca Luti. Recently, however, I was shown her birth certificate by Antonio Sernesi, the parish priest of Comeana (parish of Carmignano), a small village some 22 kms from Florence where she was born.⁶ The certificate describes both branches of her family as 'possidente' and the Luti family is still recalled today as one of the wealthiest in the parish. They were a well-educated family, too; Francesca's grandfather, Raffaello Luti, had been a medical student in Pisa when, at the age of only 19, he was wounded in one of the famous battles of the Risorgimento: Curtatone in Montanara. He contracted gangrene and died shortly afterwards. Throughout her early life, Francesca had known financial security in the small enclosed community where her family played a prominent role. Religion had always been important in her life - one of her uncles was a

Canon - as indeed it was in that of the whole village.

Giuseppe Luti, father of Francesca and one of ten children, was killed during a hunting accident whilst she was still very young. Almost nothing is known of Francesca's mother, Giuseppa Chiarini, except that she came from nearby Lecore (Sant 'Arcangelo a Lecore). The impressive villa where Francesca grew up with her sister (Egle) and brother (Lorenzo), was bought by her uncle, Pasquale. This land-owning family also had some property outside Carmignano, which included a house for the Summer months up in the hills, in the village of Marradi. It was probably there that the parents of Dino met and subsequently married.⁷

What kind of people were Dino's parents and what sort of family background did they provide? We know that financially they were secure. As to their character, our knowledge is largely based on information from friends and on the rare pieces of correspondence that remain. Giovanni Campana emerges from such accounts as a conservative and rigid man, bringing up his children, Dino and Manlio, under a regime which would be regarded today as authoritarian, and exercising the discipline of a school teacher rather than of a father. A school inspector who arrived in Marradi shortly before Giovanni Campana's death, remembers him as '... un maestro, vecchio stampo, patriota della popolazione, un poco estroso, ma pieno di comprensione e di umanità ...' His younger brother, Torquato - also a teacher in Marradi - is also remembered: '... Anche Torquato fu un uomo dedito alla scuola con tutte le sue energie e con tutta la sua profonda cultura di umanità che si diletta di brevi lavori poetici'.⁸

Although strict and authoritarian - insisting for example that both children study chemistry against their will - Giovanni Campana was genuinely caring towards his eldest son and showed considerable understanding of his deteriorating mental state.

Francesca Luti seems to have been less well disposed towards her eldest son. Critics have portrayed her as a somewhat strange person, ill-suited to domestic life. Friends and relatives recall her periodic wanderings away from home when she would disappear, for no apparent reason, for days on end. She is remembered as meticulous, houseproud, obsessively caught up with religion and

rarely to be seen without a rosary in her hand, reciting prayers.⁹ The unpublished diary writings of Campana's aunt substantiate rumours of animosity between mother and eldest son. She did little, it seems, to hide her preference for her younger child Manlio, thus emphasizing the differences already apparent between the two brothers. Dino's neglect of his own appearance and disordered life-style evidently upset her and she focussed attention on her younger son, leaving Dino to dress in 'gli scarti del babbo'.¹⁰

... Le liti colla mamma erano assai frequenti [writes Dino's aunt], forse era incomprendione dall'una parte e dall'altra. Dino era geloso e questo è indubbio, certo è ch'egli cercava invano nella mamma l'affetto del nome di mamma! Intelligente com'era, ben si avvedeva delle differenze che la mamma faceva fra lui e il fratello. Le moine tributate a quest'altro e gli impropri a lui diretti ...¹¹

During the frequent absences of Dino's mother from home, it was two elderly spinsters, Mariannina and Barberina, who took care of the boys and gave them - Dino in particular - the affection which their mother was unable, or unwilling, to provide. Dino remained attached to them until the end of their lives.¹²

Francesca Campana was guilty of more than neglect towards her son. Dino's aunt describes incidents which show a marked lack of warmth and understanding, even cruelty. As a young wife, for example, she '... usava ... ed era una barbaria, fasciare i piccini, da sotto le braccia fino ai piedini'. She also recalls a specific occasion which shows the excessively harsh discipline Dino endured from both his parents. The following incident arose from the visit of a couple - 'pezzi grossi' - to the Campana family home. Dino reacted with impetuous enthusiasm: '... corse ad abbracciar l'ammirata signora. Succese un putiferio, stette in prigione diversi giorni, fu liberato da Cecchino, allora Procuratore del Re'.¹⁴ The intolerance of his mother and the rigidity of his father were reinforced by the expectations of the small community where they lived, where such oddities as Dino was to manifest from an early age would be acutely felt and pressure to conform was great.

Childhood and Early Schooling, 1897-1903

In Castel Pulci, Campana recalled his childhood as a happy one.¹ In the light of reports from family and friends, however, this is hard to believe.² Dino was certainly not insensitive to the favours shown to his brother, nor to the lack of maternal affection.³ His father, although not ill-disposed towards him, was not much warmer in his treatment of the child and relations with his brother Manlio were little better.⁴

One of the earliest documents relating to Dino's schooling is a photograph, taken at the local primary school in Marradi where his uncle, Torquato, was his teacher.⁵ It is one of the rare records we have from this period of his life. At the age of 12, in 1897, Dino was sent away to a private school, the Istituto Salesiano in Faenza, some 20 miles from Marradi.⁶ His first year there, away from home, seems to have passed uneventfully. However, the difference between himself and the other boys was soon apparent. As one of his class mates, Michele Campana, recalls:

... Nel collegio, dopo le ore di studio, si usava scendere nel vasto cortile per la ricreazione; e si giocava a salti, corse, palla al tamburello, palla avvelenata. Il gioco del calcio ... non era ancora in voga. Ma Dino, insofferente dei giochi che dilettevano tutti gli altri, un giorno mi disse: 'Non mi piacciono questi giochi troppo comuni. Inventiamone un altro più difficile ed anche più nobile ...'⁷

Campana's view of originality and, above all, 'nobility', is also reflected in his literary tastes. Under his encouragement, the other boys in his class learned by rote passages from classical authors: Ariosto, Tasso and later Dante. It was the most romantic aspects of these authors which captured Campana's imagination. From Dante - his favourite author - he knew by heart and could recite episodes concerning Paolo and Francesca, Farinata degli Uberti, and Count Ugolino. He was also captivated by the rhythm and structure of the poetry and liked to compare their relative merits:

... Si studiarono e si mandarono a memoria i canti più facili: la introduzione nella selva oscura, Caron demonio con gli occhi di bragia, la Francesca da Rimini, Farinata degli Uberti e il conte Ugolino. Dino aveva sempre in mano il libro e lo leggeva e lo studiava ...⁸

Academically, Campana showed early promise. He was considered to be 'di grande ingegno' by his teachers at the Istituto Salesiano and his behaviour gave no cause for concern.⁹ Visiting him shortly after her marriage to his uncle Torquato, Giovanna Diletti recalls her first sight of him in the 'parlatorio' - 'tutto sudato con in mano il frustino e la trottola'.¹⁰ Despite a good school performance, however, it seems that Campana was unsuccessful in the entrance examination he took at the end of that year to the local state school, the Liceo Torricelli. His name does not appear in the school register for the following year; nor does he return to the Istituto Salesiano since there is no record of his attendance there over the academic year 1898/9 and it seems likely that he spent the year at home, tutored by his father.¹¹ In the Autumn of 1899, he is back at the Salesian school and it is from there that he attempts, once more, the entrance examination to the nearby grammar school, the Liceo Torricelli. Although his marks do not appear to be appreciably better than those obtained two years earlier, he is successful this time.¹²

It is whilst at the Liceo Torricelli, over the academic year 1900/01, that the first real signs of mental unrest become apparent.¹³ Looking back on this period of his life, Campana recalls: '... Dall'età di quindici anni, mi prese una forte nevristenia, non potevo vivere in nessun posto ...'¹⁴ Campana's father also confirms that his son changed around this time. Signs of restlessness, aggression and violence now become manifest and are reflected in his deteriorating relationship with his mother.¹⁵ At school, the onset of his mental instability is reflected in the rapid deterioration of his academic performance. His marks, at the mid-year assessment, are not only poor but wildly fluctuating, particularly in those subjects he most enjoyed, Italian and the Classics.¹⁶ The restlessness which manifested itself in discontent at home and in a decline in academic attainment at school, may, however, have had some positive results. Whilst others were attending classes, Dino wandered off to explore local places of interest. One of his favourite haunts was the museum, situated

in the same building as his school; some of the works of art he saw would leave their mark on his future poetry.¹⁷ As Campana's name cannot be found in the Visitors' Book of the Museum which I obtained from the Director on a recent visit there, he certainly did not pay the official entrance fee of a $\frac{1}{2}$ Lira.¹⁸ Perhaps he came as part of a school group or on his own, perhaps allowed in by some benevolent official. There were, however, other illegal means of entering public places, with which the poet would become increasingly familiar in later years.

It was not only the Museum of Faenza but the town itself, with its impressively classical architecture, which would leave a lasting impression on the poet and would be reflected in his writings of later years. It was probably through conversations with local people that his interest in the painter Baccarini was first aroused, an artist with whom he was to feel more than a purely artistic affinity.¹⁹

Whatever later benefits Campana would draw from his varied experiences during this period, the immediate effects were negative. With a consistently bad academic record at the Liceo Torricelli, Campana was removed from the school at the end of the year. After consultation with friends, it was decided to send him to Turin in the hope that he would find stimulus in a new environment.²⁰ In the academic year 1901/02, Campana was registered there in a private school, the Liceo Massimo d'Azeglio. Once in his new school, Campana's performance started to improve. His marks at the end of the year show a consistent and steady, if unspectacular, progress and he was subsequently moved from this fee-paying school to another school in the area, the Collegio Civico, Conte di Carmagnola.

In this final year of his schooling, there were again wide fluctuations in his performance. Overall, however, his marks were satisfactory and on 15 July 1903 he obtained his Maturità, the qualification which would enable him to enter university.²¹

Formative Years: Summer 1903-1913

Campana left Turin to return to Marradi in the Summer of 1903, having completed his secondary education and ready to begin his university studies. It has been suggested that his first arrest and imprisonment took place at this time, but we have no evidence other than the poet's own rather vague recollections, to substantiate this.¹

Having obtained his Maturità, there does not seem to have been much doubt that he would continue his studies at University. His choice, however, to study Chemistry appears surprising, even though, on the basis of his school records, his abilities in the Arts were not appreciably stronger than in the Sciences. There was certainly family pressure on Dino - as, indeed, on his brother, Manlio - to study Chemistry, but it seems unlikely that he put up much resistance.² Dino was ill-suited to study any formal discipline and, in years to come, his poetic gifts would take him away from any imposed routine. As yet, however, he was only 18; he was no 'enfant prodige' and his talents had yet to develop.

In November 1903 Campana registered at Bologna University in the Faculty of Pure Chemistry.³ The following year, however, he left Bologna and transferred to the Faculty of Pharmaceutic Chemistry in Florence where, in May 1905, the first Army Conscription Levy took place. Campana was given a clear bill of health, declared 'abile' and placed in Category 1 amongst those thought fit for army service. There was, apparently, no sign yet of mental disorder.⁴

It was during the third year of his studies, having transferred to the Faculty of Pharmaceutic Chemistry in Bologna, that the first serious signs of mental instability occurred. No documentation concerning this period has hitherto come to light. On a recent visit to Marradi, however, I was able to find evidence which shows that his periods of wandering away from home began at this time.

Campana's earliest destination, having abandoned his studies, was Genova, the city which, more perhaps than any other, would provide an inspiration for his poetry. A document I recently found is a letter from the Florentine Police to the Mayor of Marradi dated 10 March 1906 which reports the enforced return of the poet from Genova and describes him as 'squilibrato di mente'.⁵ His behaviour evidently caused concern since the Chief of Police urges the Mayor to supervise Campana's return to his family and warns them 'di aver cura e vigilare attentamente il Campana Dino'.⁶ It is probably the first, but by no means the last of such episodes which would punctuate his life over the years to come. With his expulsion from Genova, we have the first real indication that Campana's behaviour is not simply 'eccentric'. Nor does he show much sign of improvement later that Spring when his father took him to a psychiatrist, Professor Vitali, in Bologna. Vitali expressed considerable reservations when writing to his friend, Professor Brugia, the Director of Imola Mental Hospital, in May 1906:

... Il signor Campana mi ha accompagnato il suo figliuolo. Si tratta di una forma psichica a base di esaltazione, per cui si rende necessario il riposo intellettuale, l'isolamento affettivo e morale, e l'uso di preparati bromici. Con tali mezzi si otterranno vantaggi; ma quali? e fino a qual punto?⁷

Subsequent events, seen from further documents I recently found, show these reservations to be well founded. The restlessness, which signalled the onset of the mental illness and led the poet to abandon his studies, persisted. Within weeks of his visit to the psychiatrist, Campana again set off on his travels, this time abroad.

Two letters which I found, dated 28 June 1906 and 30 June 1906, establish that Campana went to Switzerland at this time. The first is from the Mayor of Marradi to the Mayor of Bignasco (Ticino), trying to trace the poet's whereabouts on behalf of his family who are evidently anxious.⁸ It is interesting because it reminds us that whatever attitude the family may subsequently adopt, initially at least, they were certainly not uncaring towards him. The reply from the Mayor of Bignasco suggests they try to contact the Mayor of Locarno.⁹ Another document which I found shows that Campana was in France in July;¹⁰ biographers have previously believed this journey took place one year later.¹¹

This is a letter dated 7 August 1906 and sent by the Chief of Police in Florence to the Mayor of Marradi. It states that Campana had been travelling penniless in France; he was arrested at Bardonecchia and has now arrived back to Florence under escort.

Campana recalls this period of his life, his flight from university and his travels across the Alps in the Canti Orfici:

... Poi fuggii. Mi persi per il tumulto delle città
colossali, vidi le bianche cattedrali levarsi congerie
enorme di fede e di sogno colle mille punte nel cielo,
vidi le Alpi levarsi ancora come più grandi cattedrali ...
salivo alle Alpi, sullo sfondo bianco delicato mistero. ¹²

His friend and fellow-university student, Mario Beyor, gives the following account of their talks together over the period 1911/1912:

... Nelle lunghe passeggiate giornaliere raccontava
di sua vita; così, a tratti: e a me sembrava di vivere
là a Montmartre ... Studente di chimica all'università
sei anni prima, trovandosi un giorno per svago alla
stazione ferroviaria, vide in partenza il treno per
Milano: 'Sentii che in quello fuggiva la mia vita. Mi
balzai su e non avendo che 2 soldi in tasca, mi nascosi
nel gabinetto e mi vi chiusi fino a Milano. Passai poi
in Svizzera a piedi, e di là a Parigi ... ¹³

These new documents not only clarify the chronology of these years but suggest that Campana's poetry, as well as his verbal recollections, may have a more factual basis than previously believed. ¹⁴

Campana's penniless wanderings that Summer, through Switzerland and France, almost certainly included a visit to Paris where the visual arts were flourishing. Paintings like those of the Fauves, with their bold, striking colours and seemingly distorted images were on exhibit at the Salon d'Automne at this time and appeared as a reaction to the pursuit of naturalism in art, a reaction which the tide of Futurism would soon make widespread in Italy. With the great Memorial Exhibition held in honour of Paul Cézanne the following year and then Picasso's landmark painting, Les Femmes d'Alger, a new discipline would begin in art: one which would become known as Cubism.

Following Campana's return to Italy at the end of that Summer (1906), signs of mental instability continued, and, on 5 September he was detained under a compulsory order in the mental hospital of Imola, just outside Bologna.¹⁵ The Medical Admissions Certificate which I was recently able to examine, gives a brief history of Campana's illness: 'Cominciata circa ai quindici anni alternata da periodi di eccitabilità e misantropia quasi continua ed in forma non grave tanto da permettergli il proseguimento degli studi', and of its symptoms: 'Esaltazione psichica - Impulsività e vita errabonda'.¹⁶ It also mentions that an uncle of Campana died in a mental hospital. This uncle, as I recently discovered, was Mario Campana, youngest brother of Giovanni, who had died in Imola hospital some four years earlier. The existence of this brother was kept a secret by his family and his name was never mentioned.¹⁷ Perhaps it was this painful memory, coupled with his own experience of a breakdown some years before, which made Giovanni Campana write to Professor Brugia, in charge of his son's treatment at Imola, in the following terms:

..Anni sono, una domenica mattina, si presentò a Lei un uomo vicino alla cinquantina, panciuto, non molto alto, accusando disturbi nevrastenici. Ella subito non potè visitarlo perché doveva partire col treno ... la sera Ella tornò, lo visitò e gli fece due ricette una della quali unisco alla presente per riconoscimento. Ebbene quell'uomo è il sottoscritto è il babbo di quel povero giovane di Marradi, ricoverato testè in manicomio. Guardi di guarire mio figlio com'Ella guarì me ricorrendo magari alla suggestione, se non gioverà la scienza ...¹⁸

The changes he describes in his son's behaviour and which he recalls to have begun around 1900, are born out by the Medical Report from Imola. He associates Dino's animosity towards his mother with the onset of his mental unrest and describes other symptoms of abnormal behaviour as follows: '... Egli ha la psiche esaltata, avvelenata, pervertita, non sente affetti e prende presto a noia luoghi e persone ...' which manifests itself in violent fluctuations of mood. The diagnosis made at the hospital is Demenza Precoce (Schizophrenia), and is followed by the note: 'nessuna cura praticata'. Writing to Giovanni Campana following several weeks observation of his son, Professor Brugia writes:

... Dopo due mesi di assidua osservazione sul suo figliolo, debbo confermarle ch'egli è un psicopatico grave, e riservatissima è la prognosi della malattia che lo afflige. Ei non sarebbe in istato tale da poter essere dimesso dal Manicomio, perché lontano ancora dall'essere guarito; ma tenuto calcolo della insistenza colla quale ella lo richiede a casa, delle condizioni speciali di vita isolata che ella gli prepara in campagna, e anche del desiderio vivissimo e quasi eccessivo del malato di uscire di qui, io non mi opporrò a che ella lo ritiri dal Manicomio, in via di prova. Ma per ciò è necessario ch'ella venga qui in persona e qui rilasci sottoscritto un atto della più grave responsabilità per ogni possibile evenienza derivante dal ritorno del suo figliuolo alla libertà ...²⁰

It was against the advice of the medical staff that, on 31 October 1906, after almost two months in hospital, Giovanni signed the Atto di Responsabilità, accepting responsibility for the care of his son. They returned together to Marradi where, despite the doctors' pessimistic prognosis, Dino's condition seemed to improve and, at the start of the academic year 1906/07, he registered in the Faculty of Pure Chemistry at the University of Bologna. Although in February 1907, just four months later, he was again considered unfit for army service,²¹ by May he was given a clear Bill of Health by the Medical Authorities.²²

Much has been written and said on the subject of Campana's voyage to South America. Until now, however, there have been no documents to prove the authenticity of this trip. According to Campana's recollections, he spent some five years away from Europe; this, however, we now know to be inaccurate.²³ He says elsewhere - and Enrico Falqui accepts his word - that on his return journey from South America he stopped off in Odessa.²⁴ This also seems unlikely. He may have travelled to Odessa on a separate occasion but it is difficult to imagine that this was part of the South American journey. In his

later years, Campana frequently displayed a tendency to merge events and to recall a period of extensive travels as a single experience. The confusion in Campana's recollection and the fact that this period of his life has not been documented has contributed significantly to the legends which have grown up around him. Newly found documents help us to clarify the circumstances of his life during these years.

Some biographers of the poet cast doubt as to whether his voyage to South America really took place. Speaking recently at an International Conference, R. Jacobbi suggested that even if Campana did board a ship in Genova - and there is some evidence for this²⁵ - it is doubtful whether he ever disembarked in South America.²⁶ All he recalls of his life there, in poetry and prose alike, could have been gathered second-hand from other people on board ship. This hypothesis naturally affects Jacobbi's interpretation of Campana's poetry, re-awakening a lively debate on the question of a 'visual' or a 'visionary' poet.²⁷ Jacobbi states his opinion categorically: '*... Personalmente, io sono tratto ad interpretare spesso quelle pagine come il riflesso di qualcosa più d'immaginato che di vissuto*'²⁸ (my italics). He goes further and challenges his audience to search for traces of Campana's name amongst lists of immigrants, legal or otherwise, to South America. This was a challenge to which at least one member of the audience would respond. G.C. Millet, one of the most scrupulous of the poet's researchers and an Argentinian by birth, travelled to South America himself to carry out extensive investigations and published his findings in an article four years later.²⁹ He followed up every possible clue in his search for some trace of the poet's whereabouts during the years in question. He disembarked, as had Campana himself, in Buenos Aires, and checked all relevant passenger lists. He then turned his investigations elsewhere. Campana had said: '*... Facevo il suonatore di triangolo nella Marina Argentina ... Dei musicisti ammiravo molto Beethoven, Mozart, Schumann, Verdi anche mi piace; Spontini, Rossini. Eh! questi li so tutti, suonavo sempre la musica italiana in Argentina ...*'³⁰ Following this lead, Millet visited the Argentinian Marina Mercantile but could find no trace of the poet's name in their archives. However, this did not - as the local Prefect confirmed - exclude the possibility that Campana had played in their band: '*... gli immigranti lì si contrattava solo per suonare uno strumento, e poi s'allontanavano dalla banda col semplice sistema di non ripresentarsi più ...*'³¹ Millet then followed up a suggestion

by the poet's brother, Manlio, and tried to trace a family with whom Campana may have stayed.³² These enquiries, too, proved unsuccessful.

Despite the negative results of these investigations, the belief persisted that Campana did disembark in South America. Undoubtedly, he had a lively imagination, but it would be surely too much to suggest that the journey which appears so vividly imprinted on the poet's writings and verbal recall was a mere fantasy or - as Jacobbi suggests - an experience confined to a glimpse from aboard a ship, or gleaned from conversations with other people. To accept this hypothesis is to cast a new, and in my opinion unacceptable, light on some of Campana's greatest poems: poems like 'Dualismo', 'Pampa' and 'Viaggio a Montevideo'. On the basis of the poems, Millet was certainly convinced that the South American voyage did take place. He believed that only someone who had really lived in the Argentinian pampas and experienced the life of a poor immigrant labourer working in the fields and building railways would have been able to evoke it the way Campana did: '... Facevo qualche mestiere. Per esempio: temprare i ferri; tempravo una falce, una accetta. Si faceva per vivere. Facevo il suonatore di triangolo nella Marina argentina. Sono stato ad ammucchiare i terrapieni delle ferrovie in Argentina. Si dorme fuori nelle tende. E un lavoro leggero ma monotono'.³³ The memories Campana would record from his stay, the effects of the infusion mate, for example: '... Gettato sull'erba vergine, in faccia alle strane costellazioni io mi andavo abbandonando tutto ai misteriosi giuochi dei loro arabeschi',³⁴ the experience of being at one with the outside world, which will be fundamental to his poetry of later years, begins here.

Three documents I have recently discovered, two letters and a register of passports, provide the first real evidence that, whether or not Campana's voyage did take place, the resolve to depart was there. The first of these documents is a letter sent by the Prefect of Florence to the Mayor of Marradi and concerns a recent application by the poet for a passport, destination not specified. Campana's request, writes the Prefect, cannot be granted: '... Risultando che il controscritto ha parecchie volte dato segni di alienazione mentale ...', without confirmation that Campana was cured: '... per poter ottenere il chiesto documento occorrerà che produca un regolare certificato medico, col quale si

attesta che egli è perfettamente guarito dall'accennata malattia, e nē v'è possibilità che possa ricadere'.³⁵ Despite the recent pessimistic prognosis concerning Campana's health, this reassurance is given. With what seems to be exaggerated haste, the Mayor's reply comes just two days later, together with the requested certificate - signed by Dr Pellegrini³⁶ - and, two days after this, Campana's name figures on the third of these newly found documents: a page from a register of passports listing him and describing his profession as a 'scrivano'.³⁷ This document is dated 7 September 1907, the destination indicated is Buenos Aires and the person to whom it is entrusted is his father. If Campana did sail for South America - and evidence points strongly in this direction - we can now establish the place and date of his departure. It has hitherto been suggested that Campana's family - or his father at least - were reluctant to let him leave. These documents, and indeed the account of the poet's aunt, suggest otherwise.³⁸ Since Campana's release from Imola hospital one year earlier, Giovanni Campana's hopes for his son's future had diminished. Even if Campana was not clinically sick - as suggested by his clear bill of health and more recently by the certificate signed by Dr Pellegrini - his everyday behaviour had become unacceptable. The idea of going to South America may have come from him but his father was probably not unwilling to let him leave.

Having finished with little profit his university studies, what were his prospects?³⁹ At home, Campana would inevitably have become a drain on his father's financial resources and a disruptive influence on family life. Giovanni Campana therefore needed little persuasion to give in to his son's wishes and provide him with the fare - outward at least - to South America. The hasty correspondence (above), the reports of his aunt: '... suo padre non si fidò di dargli i denari del viaggio e pregò lo zio Torquato di andare con Dino ed accompagnarlo fino a Genova', and the description of the 'ansia e pena' of his uncle Torquato when, awaiting the ship's departure, he suddenly lost sight of his nephew, all support this interpretation.⁴⁰

Such then were the circumstances of Campana's departure for South America. It was to mark a turning point in the poet's life and the beginning of an experience which would leave its mark on his poetry.

Campana's visit to Russia is more difficult to substantiate. The poem entitled 'Il Russo' seems, stylistically, to be one of his later works. Campana himself says: '... là dentro [prison of Saint Gilles] incontrai quel russo che non volle mai dirmi il suo nome. Era uno dei tanti russi che girano il mondo, che non sanno che fare'⁴¹ and it is possible that it was this Russian, encountered in Tournai following his return from Argentina - and perhaps also earlier associates in the quarters of Montmartre⁴² - whose stories provided him with such a vivid account of life there: '... Sono stato ad Odessa. Mi imbarcai come fuochista, poi mi fermai a Odessa. Vendevo le stelle filanti nelle fiere. I Bossiaki sono come zingari. Nei dintorni vendevamo calendari, stelle filanti, sono compagnie vagabonde di cinque sei persone ...'⁴³ Although the possibility of a voyage to Russia cannot be entirely dismissed, I consider it to be unlikely. In the light of Campana's facility for and interest in languages (he boasts frequently of this fact and, indeed, on one occasion, even gives his profession as an interpreter),⁴⁴ it is strange that there is no word of Russian in any of his writings whilst Spanish, German and French are freely - if not always correctly - used. Had Campana been to Russia, one would expect a Russian phrase or at least a word to pass into his poetry. Writing in later years to a friend Campana declared: '... Conosco le lingue meno il russo'.⁴⁵ It is unlikely that with even a modest knowledge of Russian (his knowledge of Spanish was probably no better), he would have described himself in this way.

Whatever the exact date of the poet's return to Europe, verbal reports suggest that his absence lasted around eight months and we now know Campana was back in Marradi on 8 April 1909. This is the date on another document which I recently found, a police report which describes the poet's abusive and threatening behaviour, resulting in his arrest in Marradi on that day '... Io [Campana] conducemmo, con buoni modi in caserma; egli non oppose resistenza, ma appena entrato cominciò a tirare pugni e calci e gridare vigliacchi spie sputando nel viso all'indirizzo di noi tutti ... A viva forza lo rinchiudemmo in caserma di sicurezza ...'⁴⁶ We see here a pattern of behaviour which would occur with increasing frequency: a period of frenzied wandering and restlessness followed

by aggression and violence; these were symptoms of a mental illness which would remain with him for the rest of his life. On 9 April, the day following his arrest, he would enter a mental hospital for the second time. This time, it would be in Florence, the mental hospital of San Salvi.⁴⁷

As seen from documents relating to the poet's previous internment in Imola, it was no easy matter to have an individual locked up in this way.⁴⁸ Signed statements show the urgent need for Campana's internment: '... non trovasi nella pienezza delle proprie facoltà mentali e ... a cagione di ciò rendesi assai pericoloso inquantochè ha minacciato anche con armi e nelle ore notturne pacifici cittadini'. It is Dr Pellegrini, the same who had provided Campana with a clean bill of health at the time of his South American trip, who certifies the need for this admission and signs the certificate '... con cui si dichiara ... il Sig. Dino Campana affetto da alienazione mentale'.⁴⁹

Three years earlier it had been suggested that Campana's addiction to coffee was a likely irritant to his already excitable mental state; now, however, this is replaced by a more plausible contributory factor: alcohol.⁵⁰ The length of Campana's stay in San Salvi is recorded in a letter dated 6 October 1910. This is sent by the administration of the hospital to the Mayor of Marradi and requests the payment of hospital fees now more than 12 months overdue.⁵¹

However justified Campana's second admission may have been, the authorities of San Salvi can find no reason to detain him after seventeen days and he is released on 26 April. The threat Campana had earlier presented has, apparently, subsided. As a letter from the Mayor describes: '... i medici di quel Manicomio dopo 15 giorni disponevano per il rilascio del giovane stesso non avendo in lui riscontrato sintomi di alienazione mentale ...'.⁵² It is possible that the discipline and order of hospital life calmed Campana's agitation which was largely due, on this occasion at least, to alcohol abuse. Whatever the precise cause of his improvement, he returned to Marradi on 26 April 1909.

We have had, hitherto, only sketchy information concerning the four years which follow his release. Recently, however, I was able to discover some documents which contain new information on this period. The earliest of these, dated 15 September 1909 - just five months after the poet's release from San Salvi - shows that Campana has been admitted to another hospital in Livorno.⁵³ The

reason for his admission is given as injury to his right foot: 'Accesso piede destro - Febbre'. There are, however, features in this report which suggest that Campana was unbalanced at the time of his admission. He gives his profession as a painter, the first of many strange twists he will give to his identity in later years and which appear related to his mental disorder.⁵⁴ This report is also interesting because it shows that Campana is off once more on his wanderings; previously it had been believed that he remained in Marradi. It also illustrates his continuing attraction to ports. Earlier it had been Genova; now he wished to explore another port, nearer to Florence. Livorno was a place to which Campana would subsequently return, the scene of many important and dramatic events.

Whatever strange behaviour Campana may have displayed during his third term in hospital, the cause of his admission seems to have been a genuinely physical one. He remained there for six days and was discharged on the 19 September. Within months he was travelling again, this time to Belgium. A letter from the Mayor of Marradi gives a brief account of subsequent events.⁵⁵ Following his discharge from San Salvi, Campana again requested a passport to travel abroad. This, wrote the Mayor, could not be refused, 'tanto più che ero persuaso sussistere sempre i motivi di S.V. che mi avevano indotto a far ricoverare il Campana a San Salvi, e giovava al Comune l'allontanamento del giovane ...'⁵⁶ Once again it seems that Campana's family had put pressure on the authorities to enable him to travel abroad. Both at home and in the community, Campana was proving a disruptive influence. It seems likely that the Mayor issued Campana with the necessary documents against his better judgement.

We have many conflicting reports of the following three months. Some of the confusion has arisen from remarks made later by the poet himself in Castel Pulci: '... Nel viaggio di ritorno in Italia, passando nel Belgio, mi arrestarono e mi tennero nella cella, per due mesi, di una prigione: Saint Gilles ... Poi fui rinchiuso a Tournai in una specie di casa di salute, perché non avevo posto fisso, avevo quella smania di instabilità ...'⁵⁷ In the absence of any documentation concerning his stay in either of these institutions, it has been assumed that these episodes followed his return to Europe from South America. Newly found evidence shows otherwise.

Despite correspondence with prisons in and around Brussels, I was unable to obtain documentation about the poet's imprisonment, even though Campana said that he spent two months in prison there before being transferred to the mental hospital in Tournai. My research concerning this second episode, however, has been more fruitful. Amongst old papers in the Town Hall of Marradi I found some documents which include two letters dated 25 March 1910 and 22 April 1910 and show that Campana was already interned in Tournai - and probably had been for some time - in early February 1910.⁵⁸ This episode, therefore, did follow his return from South America around the end of 1908, but not directly; in the intervening period, his hospitalisation in Livorno had taken place.

Campana says that he was in prison for a period of approximately two months before being admitted to a hospital in Tournai.⁵⁹ If this is true, he probably left Italy shortly after being discharged from the hospital in Livorno in the Autumn of 1909. The precise itinerary of his travels can only be surmised. It is unlikely that Campana made plans for his voyage to Belgium; as usual, he would have travelled there on impulse and without financial means. He probably visited, or returned to Antwerp where, in the Musée des Beaux Arts, he saw a painting which would inspire one of his poems.⁶⁰ Possibly within only weeks of his arrival there he was arrested and imprisoned in St Gilles, an experience also recalled in one of his poems.⁶¹

Campana's behaviour in prison, rendered perhaps more strange by language difficulties, caused concern to the authorities. From recently found documents concerning his imprisonment and from Campana's own recollections, his serious mental disturbance is obvious.

One of the people he met in prison was a Russian emigré whom Campana describes in the following terms: '... Era uno dei tanti russi che girano il mondo, che non sanno che fare. Sono un po' intellettuali, scrivono, fanno una cosa o l'altra, muoiono di fame per lo più. Trovano il cambiamento all'estero di idee, complottano per rimodernare la Russia, e poi li mandavano in Siberia'.⁶²

Campana's reaction to the Russian is indicative of a morbid imagination: '... Il pulviscolo d'oro che avvolgeva la città parve ad un tratto sublimarsi in un sacrificio sanguigno. Quando? I riflessi sanguigni del tramonto credei mi portassero il suo saluto ... Una dolcezza acuta, una dolcezza di martirio, del

suo martirio mi si torceva pei nervi'.⁶³

Campana's third internment in a mental hospital probably began in early 1910; it is the longest and the most serious so far. The earliest record of his hospitalisation is given in a psychiatrist's report dated 10 February 1910, which I recently found in Marradi.⁶⁴ It diagnoses the poet's illness as follows: 'Dégénérescence mentale, caractère déséquilibré', and concludes with the following recommendation: '... Il est ... indispensable tout dans l'intérêt de sa santé que de la sécurité publique de le colloquer dans un établissement special pour y être soumis au traitement que réclame son état'.⁶⁵ Campana's case history ('bulletin confidentiel'), was probably sent to the Ufficio Provinciale di Pubblica Sicurezza in Florence, together with a brief letter enquiring whether Campana's parents were in a position to care for him.⁶⁶ The Mayor of Marradi's negative reply comes quickly; Campana's family do not need much time to make up their minds.⁶⁷

The Mayor's letter, dated 31 March 1910, gives a brief summary of Campana's past medical history. It emerges that he had only reluctantly agreed to issue the poet with a passport a year earlier on his release from San Salvi. He requests that, if the Belgian authorities wish to send Campana home, he should not be sent back to his family - 'che d'altronde à appena mezzi sufficienti per il proprio mantenimento e solo con grandi sacrifici potè provvedere alle spese che le furono addossate quando si tratta di ricoverare il giovane in Manicomio' - who are now refusing the responsibility of keeping Campana - 'il demente' - at home.⁶⁸

The Florentine Prefect's reply to the Mayor comes just one week later. It states that the Campana family has legal responsibilities towards their son and invokes the Penal Code.⁶⁹ Another letter from the Florentine Police to the Mayor of Marradi follows two months later and confirms that Campana's family cannot legally evade their responsibilities and that Campana is to be sent home.⁷⁰

On 17 June, just one week later, and after more than four months in the hospital of Tournai, Campana arrives under escort to Marradi. His arrival is documented in two letters which both bear this date.⁷¹ The first, written by the Florentine Police, confirms Campana's arrival in Florence and his subsequent departure for Marradi. Campana is clearly not well and the Florentine authorities do not

consider him able to travel on his own despite the fact that the Florentine doctor - Barzellotti - could find no trace of 'alienazione mentale' in the patient.⁷² An escort is organised to accompany him to Marradi where he arrives on 17 June 1910 after three years of almost uninterrupted travels, and three known internments in mental hospitals and clashes with the law.⁷³ He was not quite 25 years old and his career as a poet had not yet begun.

After such a long absence it was no easy task either for Campana or his family to resume life together. Campana would not enrol at the university that Autumn, nor would he look for a job. His future appeared bleak. The poetry Campana wrote brought neither social success nor, perhaps even more important for his family, was it a source of income. The financial burden weighed heavily on the family and it figures prominently in letters I recently found which concern the payment of Campana's hospital fees. Letters on this subject are numerous and refer to the poet's hospital treatment in San Salvi and Livorno over the preceding years. One letter, dated 6 October 1910 from the administration of the mental hospital in Florence to the Mayor of Marradi, tells of a decision reached by the hospital's Governing Body at a recent meeting: '... Avendo l'On. Deputazione Provinciale con deliberazione del dì 12 maggio 1909 rifiutato di assumere la spedità del demente a margine indicato (DC) non appartenendo il medesimo alla Classe dei poveri, prego la S.V. Illma a volere invitare la famiglia del detto demente a porsi in regola col pagamento di detta spedità che importa Lire 2.20 al giorno ...'⁷⁴ Further correspondence reveals the continuing negotiations over payment which Campana's father was evidently reluctant to accept. Finally, on 22 December, the Mayor of Marradi informs the family that the authorities have refused to pay Campana's hospital fees and that, unless payment is promptly made, legal action may be taken. Such arguments would have done little to ease the strains of family life and to reconcile Giovanni Campana and his family to Dino's return home.

Contrary to expectations, the early months of Campana's stay in Marradi passed without further trouble. Indeed, by the late Summer or early Autumn, he seems

to have settled into family and community life.

We have no definite indication about the start of Campana's writing career. It is unlikely, however, that he had written anything of significance at this stage except some of the earliest Quaderno compositions. In these, the influence of contemporary currents - of d'Annunzio and the decadent school in general - can be felt. It has hitherto been assumed that Campana wrote nothing whilst travelling abroad as none of his manuscripts and notebooks contain any material relating to his travels. Furthermore, his writings reflect 'emotion recollected in tranquillity' rather than the immediacy of actual events. The lucid and rigid discipline in his writings is striking in someone who was prone to such violently fluctuating and uncontrollable swings of mood as Campana. Impulsive departures from home, arrests and imprisonments do not appear compatible with the discipline of his mature literary work. The turbulence of his life and his creative powers are complementary facets of his personality; they manifest themselves in alternation. A probable exception to this is the writing of 'La Verna'; its exalted tone suggests a closer link between the experience and its poetic transposition.

The titles of some of the earlier Quaderno compositions suggest that they were inspired by recent experiences: poems like 'Buenos Aires', 'Une femme qui passe' and 'Marradi' are inspired by people or places and show Campana's increasing awareness of his environment. Although his appreciation of his surroundings is evident, there is also a need - in these poems as in later writings - to transcend the immediate experience. It is at this stage of his life, in the Autumn of 1910, in the relative tranquility of Marradi, that Campana probably began to compose some of those poems from which the Canti Orfici would develop. Literary trends represented by the French Symbolists become discernible in poems like 'La creazione' or 'Ermafrodito'.

During the Summer of 1910, Campana took part in the community life of Marradi and in August he participated in local dramatics and was a member of the chorus in a local theatrical production.⁷⁵ This is the first indication we have of Campana's interest in drama, an interest which Campana would explain later to a friend as '... il bisogno di sfuggire a dei fastidiosissimi ... titillamenti'.⁷⁶ A fellow actor recalls Campana's tendency to adapt his lines, rebelling against

conformity: 'Noi siamo i giovani festevoli ... Chi se ne cura - dei dormiglion/
Sepolti vivi-sotto i coltron/Se la notte c'invita/A godere la vita/**Che**
importa a noi - se i carabinieri / Di tratto in tratto - ci fan tacer /Noi giochiam -
noi beviam - noi cantiam!'; he replaced the refrain 'Che importa a noi!' with a
more direct expression of distaste: 'Che se ne frega'.⁷⁷

It was during this prolonged stay at home that Campana re-established contact with the cultural happenings in Florence. The literary review, Il Leonardo, which at the time of Campana's departure to Buenos Aires had just ceased production, had been replaced by other, equally lively reviews. One of the most influential of these was La Voce, which had come into production on 20 December 1908 under the direction of G. Prezzolini.⁷⁸ It was inspired, like other magazines of this time, by a state of intellectual and moral unrest. Whilst other contemporary reviews were ready to tackle many issues, they had shown little inclination to offer solutions. La Voce was different. It sought, as Prezzolini explained in an early issue, to face and resolve problems through careful analysis and in the context of contemporary culture. He expressed its aims as follows:

Trattare tutte le questioni che hanno riflessi nel mondo intellettuale e religioso ed artistico; reagire alla retorica degli Italiani obbligandoli a veder da vicino la loro realtà sociale, educarci a risolvere le piccole questioni e i piccoli problemi per trovarci più preparati a quelli grandi; migliorare il terreno dove deve vivere e fiorire la vita dello spirito ...⁷⁹

The articles which appeared in La Voce prompted Campana for the first time to express his own attitudes to the contemporary scene in a letter he addressed to the periodical, La Difesa d'Arte. Although this letter is undated, it was almost certainly written between November 1909 and December 1910 when this weekly review, directed by Virgilio Scattolini, was in circulation. G.C. Millet recently suggested 1909 as the most likely date of this letter.⁸⁰ Recently found documents (above) suggest that by the end of 1909 Campana was about to leave - if he had not already left - for Belgium; it therefore seems most likely to have been written in the Autumn of 1910. The letter reflects a growth of artistic awareness which also characterizes his other writings of this period and appears to be the work of someone who was trying to establish himself on the

cultural scene of his own country, not about to embark on further travels afield. Campana describes himself as follows: '... Io sono un uomo ancora inedito e non valgo in materia probabilmente per altra cosa che per l'amore vivace e costante che sento per tutte le manifestazioni dell'arte ...' and goes on to express his wish to unmask incompetence in various spheres of art, criticizing the approach of Florentine reviews and, in particular, the distortions made to works of art by publishers. Although Campana has still a long way to go in defining an original aesthetic approach, his criticisms reflect views which would be manifest in his mature work. He closes his letter by offering his services to the review, emphasizing his ability to instill new blood into the veins of 'questa vecchia Italia'. Campana's request for work will be the first of many. Again he boasts of his knowledge of several languages and tells of the opportunities he has had to study '... le diverse manifestazioni del genio umano ... nelle diverse letterature moderne' whilst travelling abroad. He signs himself 'ex-studente ... diplomando in lingue straniere';⁸¹ this is one of the many fanciful self-descriptions he will use over the years to come.

Enrico Falqui, like previous biographers of Campana, suggests that the poet's pilgrimage to La Verna took place around this time.⁸² In my view, there is considerable evidence, both internal and external, that the poem was not written until the Autumn of 1913. This will be discussed later in this thesis in relation to the events of 1913.

It was in the Autumn of 1910 that Futurism was beginning to make its impact on the cultural scene of Italy. With the publication of its manifesto just one year earlier, it had established violence and aggression as its guiding principles.⁸³ These would be re-affirmed in a succession of further manifestos applied to the visual arts, to music and to sculpture, in the two or three years to follow:

'... La letteratura esaltò fino ad oggi l'immobilità pensosa, l'estasi e il sonno. Noi vogliamo esaltare il movimento aggressivo, l'insonnia febbrile, il passo di corsa, il salto mortale, lo schiaffo e il pugno ...'⁸⁴

Futurism was taking shape at the time Campana, having returned from his wanderings, was beginning to settle down and develop his own aesthetic ideas. There was little in the movement with which he would have felt anything in common; there was, however, a great deal in their outward display of 'heroism' - the generation of excitement and the incitement to adventure that would have appealed to the young Campana just as, earlier - and indeed still - there was an aspect of d'Annunzio which would continue to attract him.

Although the Futurists appeared more modern than either d'Annunzio or the Crepuscolari, there was a fundamental quality which they shared and which, paradoxically, made them passive participants in their age. Their acceptance of the direction in which society was moving was wholly uncritical; they did not seek either to distance themselves from it or to judge it. Reason was excluded from their art. Although it is difficult to determine precisely when this movement began, its origins may be traced to the review Il Leonardo in such attitudes as those expressed by one of its chief promoters, Giovanni Papini: 'Osate essere pazzi'.⁸⁵ At this stage and increasingly as the movement would reach its height (1912/13), its volatile leaders identified their 'cause' with the causes of the movement: with industrialisation, with nationalism and with war. It offered no firm principles. The Futurists sought to apply to art those values they admired in life. In literature they proposed a total break with the past, the destruction of institutions (libraries, museums, etc.) and a breakdown of language: the use of analogy and a minimum of punctuation in order to capture and communicate with the greatest possible immediacy the speed of the modern age.⁸⁶ In the sphere of the visual arts, these principles found expression in other ways. The artist's endeavour to capture the 'dinamismo universale' of life would be reflected in the use of light and movement which would become a predominant feature of their art.⁸⁷

Futurism was largely, if not exclusively, an Italian phenomenon. Although its first manifesto was published in France, it never flourished there. As Guillaume Apollinaire, himself an advocate of 'l'esprit nouveau', wrote in later years:

'... Généralement, vous ne trouverez pas en France de ces "paroles en liberté" jusqu'où ont été poussées les surenchères futuristes italiennes et russes, filles excessives de l'esprit nouveau car la France répugne au désordre. On y revient volontiers aux principes mais on a horreur du chaos' (my italics).⁸⁸

Echoes of the Futurist ideology are found in a group of Quaderno poems, following a group of poems which relate to the poet's recent travels and experiences: from the rather exotic 'Buenos Aires' to the more everyday 'Une femme qui passe' and 'Marradi'. These poems, like 'La creazione' and 'La forza', seek to convey - as their titles suggest - the dynamism of life itself. Parallels between these and the Futurist ethos are strong but 'La forza' also reflects the basic similarities between their values and those of d'Annunzio. Campana would eventually reject them both. The first part of 'La forza' celebrates an impersonal force: the aeroplane. The second, in a d'Annunzian vein, celebrates man - the individual - for his strength and his capacity to dominate women:

L'energia doma bramisce immane nel motore
Tremano sulle scranne barocche i monarchi belluini
Si sfiancano troni ed altari cementati di sperma
Purifichiamo le donne sotto il peso dei mari.⁸⁹

It is not difficult to understand that the spirit of adventure and enterprise attracted Campana at an early stage of his development, nor is it difficult to detect those features which would make his opposition to it so virulent later on. Both by poetic inclination and by temperament, Campana was deeply attached to his Italian literary heritage and to his home in Marradi. The Futurists' urge for renewal, the rejection of all that was represented by tradition, may be considered to be the antithesis of Campana's own art. The spirit of adventure, of 'audacia' which Futurism advocated, would become associated in his mind with his own mental instability. Campana had no respect for the values of the Futurist movement; it was, however, with the leaders of this movement, the prominent Florentine 'letterati', that he would have to make his mark and work out a satisfactory relationship over the years to come.

Campana would spend about six months back in Marradi in the Autumn of 1910. With no real occupation, he had time, as his letter to La Difesa dell'Arte suggests, to elaborate his ideas and broaden his reading. Gradually, his

thoughts turned once more to travel. This time Germany was his desired destination. A letter which I have recently found, dated 13 March 1911 from the Ufficio di Polizia Comunale in Florence, concerns Campana's request for a passport to travel to Germany, 'a scopo di lavoro'.⁹⁰ In this application, Campana gives his profession as an interpreter. The letter is addressed to the Mayor of Marradi, enquiring whether Campana's request can be granted. This is the first documentary evidence of Campana's desire to travel to Germany, a country which symbolised to him values he esteemed highly. Although we have no record of the outcome of this request, I would suggest it is unlikely to have been granted in view of his history of mental illness which had almost prevented him from obtaining such a document some four years earlier.⁹¹

Campana's wish to visit Germany may be linked to his fascination for the German philosopher Frederick Nietzsche. In the three years preceding the publication of the Canti Orfici, Nietzsche was to exert a powerful influence on the poet. In an age which was dominated by technological advances and a positivist philosophy, Nietzsche advocated the liberation of the spirit and of instinctive forces.

Those who knew Campana at this time recall his literary interests as follows:

... Si perdeva volentieri e a lungo ad illustrare le teorie estetiche di quel filosofo, che leggeva volentieri nella lingua originale. L'apollineo e il dionisiaco sembravano i due momenti stessi del suo pendolare vivere poetico: in quello fisso, creava martellando al ritmo: dionisiaca la materia, apollinea la forma, serena l'opera compiuta. I due che egli riconosceva senza dichiararlo ma da come si esprimeva, maestri, erano Nietzsche per la filosofia, Verlaine per la poesia: a dall'uno prendeva la dedizione, talvolta malata per eccesso; e dall'altro il superamento violento, egoistico, esplodenti a tratti in furori di distruzione ...⁹²

It is the poetic quality of Nietzsche's vision, one of synthesis and harmony, a fusion between extremes, which seemed to capture Campana's imagination at this stage. Nietzsche sought to express his vision of mankind; what he proposed in philosophical terms was a greater commitment to the present and the creation of a better future. Campana's discovery of the German philosopher coincided with the beginning of his mature poetic period and the growth of a personal and

original aesthetic. Gradually he was drawn closer on one hand to the philosophy of Nietzsche, on the other to Symbolist poetry and was distancing himself from the aspirations of the Futurist movement.

In the Spring of 1911 a new phase of Campana's creativity seems to begin. The Quaderno compositions developed from early fantasies of 'decadent' inspiration to evocations of places and people, drawn from his travels abroad; later we find echoes of the Futurist climate he encountered on his return to Italy. Following these poems are a series of compositions in which traces of Futurism are still discernible but which look forward to the elaboration of a more personal aesthetic. In this group of poems we find a clear line of development; Campana moves away from the celebratory tones of 'La forza' to compositions like 'Nella pampa giallastra il treno ardente' which can be described as Symbolist in inspiration but which in fact are difficult to ascribe to any one school. This is a group of poems in which Campana may be seen to work out his personal philosophy. He examines the nature of poetry: its role in the world and the origins of inspiration. We find clear echoes of contemporary movements (the 'cubi', for example, of 'O poesia tu più non tornerai'),⁹³ and references to real places (Genova, Faenza, Florence) and real people (e.g. Marinetti in 'I miei versi sono meravigliosi'), which underline the extent to which Campana's poetic inspiration is drawn from life. These poems, which echo strongly the ethos of Futurism, also contain the seeds of Campana's subsequent rejection of it. Images such as 'Venere sulla conchiglia', 'Vergine natura'⁹⁴ and 'mondo fenomenale'⁹⁵ indicate that Campana is looking beyond the speed and technology of his own age.

As we have seen, Campana certainly intended to travel to Germany in the Spring of 1911 but probably never went. A document which I have recently found provides evidence that he did travel later that year. This is a

Foglio di via dated 24 July 1911, ordering Campana to return to Marradi from Genova where he had been in trouble with the law.⁹⁶ This is the second document we now have which shows that Campana's acquaintance with that port dates from a far earlier time than hitherto believed. Until now, we have had no reason to suppose that Campana had ever been there except for glimpsing it briefly at the time of his supposed departure from Buenos Aires.⁹⁷ This seemed strange as Genova figures prominently in Campana's poetry. We now know that he actually travelled there as early as 1906 and was in trouble there in the Summer of 1911. From further documents which I found in Marradi, it can be seen that each subsequent visit to Genova also ended in clashes with the law.⁹⁸ The restlessness which prompted Campana to leave Marradi resulted in unruly behaviour on arrival to his destination. Genova was a city which - as Nietzsche perceived - seemed to awaken the natural egoism inherent in man:

... I always see the builder [wrote the German philosopher], how he casts his eye on all that is built around him far and near, and likewise on the city, the sea, the chain of mountains; how he expresses power and conquest in his gaze: all this he wishes to fit into his plan and in the end make it his property, by its becoming a portion of the same. The whole district is overcome with this superb, insatiable egoism of the desire to possess and exploit ...⁹⁹

The very stimulus of the town increased Campana's restlessness. As the composition of his greatest work, the Canti Orfici, got under way, the influence of Nietzsche on his thinking was also gathering pace and Campana's travels to and from Genova were recurring with increasing frequency.

Back in Marradi by the end of July 1911, Campana seemed - temporarily at least - to settle down once again in the community. In August he took part in a play staged in the local theatre, this time performing as one of the leading figures. The play, entitled Il Pedagogo, was apparently modelled on Campana's father, Giovanni, who proved to be an enthusiastic spectator, watching his son parading with 'un cuscino per pancia' and 'una giacca alla ebrea'; '... si divertì un mondo', as another actor recalls, 'con la satira rappresentata dal figlio'.¹⁰⁰

Newly found documents show that, in November of that year, Campana applied for a job in Florence and showed signs, for the first time, that he was thinking in practical terms of his future. Probably encouraged by his father, he applied for the unlikely position of Segretario Comunale in Florence. Application for this job was by open competition and entrants had to submit various documents within a prescribed time. By 8 November, Campana had failed to meet the deadline and a letter written on that day by the Prefect of Florence informs the Mayor of Marradi that a formal letter of application and the entrance fee are still needed.¹⁰¹ Further correspondence shows that Campana failed to fulfill the requirements and was therefore not eligible to participate in the Concorso per la carriera di alunno delegato di P.S.¹⁰² Once again, Campana's interests were short-lived. In the course of one year, he had expressed his intention of finding work, first in Germany, then at home; he had travelled to Genova, had been arrested there and been sent home. About eighteen months after he returned from his travels he started to frequent those university circles he had left some four years earlier and his career as a poet - the poet of the Canti Orfici - was beginning.

Our most reliable sources of information on Campana at this time are two of his contemporaries, Federico Ravagli and Mario Beyor, students at the University of Bologna during this period of 1911-16. Both of them confirm that Campana was a familiar figure in student circles even before his formal registration at the university in November 1912.¹⁰³ Ravagli recalls Campana's appearance at the Bar Nazionale, a favourite student haunt in Bologna, as follows:

... In questo ambiente romantico e tumultuoso,
scapigliato e beffardo, capitò un giorno un
individuo strano, accigliato, male in arnese
... Aveva nome Campana, era studente di
chimica, poeta e giramondo.¹⁰⁴

No longer under pressure to attend chemistry classes, Campana begun, instead, to frequent lectures on literature, mainly those given by Professor Galletti.¹⁰⁵ In this environment, modern and contemporary French poetry formed a lively focus of interest. Arthur Rimbaud, who symbolised not only this new poetic vision but also the spirit of daring and adventure proclaimed by the Futurists, was at the time the most talked about figure in this group. Ardengo Soffici, himself to be

one of the leading Futurists and an important influence on Campana's life, published a small book on him in 1911 and this was followed, early in 1912, by a series of four articles on the poet by E. Delahaye.¹⁰⁶

Campana was not just a passive spectator of the changing contemporary scene; he was eager to apply new ideas to his developing art and was open in his enthusiasm for Nietzsche and the French poets of the preceding decades. Mario Beyor recalls that at this time Campana translated a difficult passage from Nietzsche for the sum of 50 Lire and also some poetry by Verlaine, a poet whom Campana greatly admired and with whom he probably felt a close bond.¹⁰⁷

This period of Campana's life, spent largely in student haunts, participating in lively discussions, was to mark a turning point between the poet of early enthusiasms, receptive to influences of the moment, and the more mature poet. This change is seen in the compositions of Quaderno where we find echoes of a 'decadent' mood in the early poems giving way to Futurism and then, in later poems, to something more profound and original. Towards the end of this work we find a series of compositions in which Campana's ideas on poetry are consistently developed; they are associated with order and harmony in contrast with the ugly chaos of everyday life in 'Poesia, poesia, poesia' and 'O poesia tu più non tornerai'. Other poems advocate the idea of poetry as guide and inspiration (e.g. 'O l'anima vivente delle cose') whilst others develop more forcefully the Symbolists' notion of art with its connotations of purity ('Venere sulla conchiglia', 'divino fanciullo dell'India', 'Vergine natura')¹⁰⁸ or the more Rimbaldian concept of the 'mondo fenomenale' of 'Uomo, sin dai primeva torbidi'.

There can be little doubt that it was the discovery of Nietzsche which would provide the firmest foundation for the development of Campana's aesthetics. Beyor and Ravagli both recall his fascination with the German philosopher's theories of Eternal Return, a notion which would figure prominently in the Canti Orfici. Beyor recalls a passage in Die Fröhliche Wissenschaft which so impressed Campana that he transcribed it and gave it to his friends:

... A Nietzsche s'appoggiava anche per dar autorità alla sua irriducibile antipatia e al suo disprezzo per le donne; e m'esortava a meditare su un pensiero tratto dalla Gaia Scienza - "Le donne e la loro influenza sulla lontananza" - che mi copiò in sala di lettura e mi diede. A rendere più eloquente lo scritto, le parole più efficaci sono vergate in grossi e grandi caratteri. ¹⁰⁹

The passage referred to - 'Women and their effect in the distance' - is more than simply an anti-feminist polemic. It contains an allegory which puts forward opposite tendencies: the tumultuous emotions of life and the contemplative spirit. One critic interprets it as a parable on the artist's need to remain detached from his work and this is certainly one aspect of it. On a philosophical level, however, one wonders whether Campana would have singled out this passage had it not been specifically linked to the subject of women who, according to Nietzsche, should not be approached but contemplated from afar. Campana's association with women at this time suggests that he was not attracted by the 'donne di tutti i giorni' and by all accounts his relationship with girls, earlier in Marradi, had not been happy. ¹¹⁰

Another newly found document shows that, in February 1912, Campana again visited Genova and was sent back to Marradi. ¹¹¹ This document, apart from showing the continuing attraction of Genova for the poet, also helps us to resolve a previous ambiguity; two of Campana's compositions, published by Enrico Falqui, bear a Genovese address and are dated February 1912. Yet Falqui states Campana's first stay in Genova to have taken place in 1913, without making any attempt to explain this discrepancy. ¹¹²

When Campana officially enrolled, once again, at Bologna University in November 1912, he was ready to begin publication of his poems. The allegory of Nietzsche which Campana had transcribed so carefully for his friends, suggests a fundamental need for balance, for the finding of an ideal relationship, both in human and aesthetic terms. According to the recollections of Federico Ravagli, Campana displayed 'un'ammirazione quasi mistica pei lavori della pittura del Rinascimento, che conosceva per visione diretta'. ¹¹³ The ideal of aesthetic perfection, inspired by the contemplation of the figures of Leonardo da Vinci, expresses that aspiration for serenity and detachment which Campana captured in his first-published and probably best-known poem: 'La Chimera'.

It was on 8 December 1912, within a month of his official enrolment at Bologna, that some of his poems first appeared in print. In a single number of the student newspaper Il Papiro, three poems - two of which would be incorporated into the Canti Orfici - were published under three different pseudonyms: 'Montagna - La Chimera', signed Campanone, 'Le cafard (nostalgia di viaggio)', signed Campanula, and 'Dualismo - Ricordi di un vagabondo', signed Din-Don.

The first signs of literary recognition did not bring stability into Campana's life; only weeks after the publication of these poems, he again clashed with the police and was arrested. This incident is described in the local newspaper of Bologna, Il Giornale del Mattino, on 27 December 1912:

... Nel pomeriggio di ieri verso le ore 16, il comandante delle guardie municipali Dalmonte-Casoni, transitava per via Zamboni insieme con alcune persone della sua famiglia, quando giunto nei pressi della casa segnata con n. 52, fu attratto dal rumore prodotto da una vetrata sbattuta e vide un giovanotto senza cappello, il quale, liberatosi dalle strette di alcune persone che si trovavano sulla soglia del caffè, situata in detta casa, si dava a fuggire verso il teatro comunale. Immaginando trattarsi di un qualche ladro, il Dalmonte-Casoni si diede a rincorrerlo a riuscì a raggiungerlo, nei pressi di via del Guasto, mentre egli, raccattato un ciottolo dalla via, minacciava con questo chiunque si avvicinasse. Riuscito, dopo non pochi stenti a disarmare l'energumeno, il Casoni si accingeva a condurlo in ufficio, quando egli estratta di tasca una chiave riprese a minacciare le persone che nel frattempo erano sopraggiunte dicendo che voleva compiere una strage. Fortunatamente di lì a pochi minuti arrivarono le guardie municipali ... le quali aiutarono il loro comandante a ridurre a l'impotenza il giovane che pareva invasato da una vera frenesia ed a condurlo con vettura alla caserma di palazzo. Quivi il dottor Gregorini che lo visitò, gli riscontrò un principio di squilibrio mentale onde lo fece trasportare all'Ospedale Maggiore. Egli è lo studente Campana Dino di Giovanni d'anni 23 da Marradi alunno presso la nostra università ... 114

Mario Beyor's slightly different account of this episode shows Campana's feelings of animosity to be directed specifically against women. He describes how Campana arrived out-of-breath to his rooms one day and recounted: '... Per via Cavaliere camminava, ondeggiando, una puttana con un odioso cagnolino. Ho preso quello per la coda a mo' di fionda e l'ho lanciato lontano ... Tre

"souteneurs" mi sono lanciati addosso. Io a calci e a pugni mi sono difeso; ed eccomi qui ...' ¹¹⁵ If, as seems likely, this is the same incident as that described above, Campana is displaying his usual tendency to distort reality in times of stress. These reports confirm that Campana's view of women was not a straightforward one. He oscillated between an ideal of feminine perfection, represented in his recently published poem 'Montagna - La Chimera' and the day-to-day reality of the city's prostitutes to whom he refers here. The endeavour to reconcile these extremes and the ensuing disillusionment will recur in his future writings. Women are - and will remain - a reality from which he cannot escape. The greater his momentary admiration, the greater will be his subsequent disappointment. This will be equally true of his attitude to his contemporaries like d'Annunzio and the Futurists, who would exercise an important influence on his formative years.

The Literary Scene

The year 1913 marked a new phase in the development of Italian Futurism. With the conquest of Libya, celebrated in d'Annunzio's Canzoni d'Oltremare, the tide of nationalism was rising.¹ The struggle for ideological supremacy and the search for new solutions was taking place, largely in newly-founded, sometimes ephemeral, periodicals.

It was in Florence, the centre of Italy's cultural life, that most of these periodicals were published. Giovanni Papini, together with his friend Giuseppe Prezzolini, had founded the first of these, Il Leonardo, in January 1903. Apart from a six-month interval when disagreement amongst the chief collaborators stopped its publication, it was to remain in existence until 1907.² Its aims and ideals were set out in the first issue: Leonardo da Vinci was their patron and Gabriele d'Annunzio their acknowledged leader. They proclaimed the role of art as 'la trasfigurazione ideale della vita'; a 'suggestiva figurazione di una vita profonda e serena' epitomized their conception of beauty.³ This cult of beauty, allied to a strongly anti-rationalist approach to art, represented the rejection of the previously dominant positivist philosophy. Instead, they put increasing - almost exclusive - emphasis on subjectivity. It was a tendency which had been discernible much earlier in France, notably in the poetry of Rimbaud.

The closer links between Italy and France were also instrumental in shaping contemporary ideology. Prezzolini, co-founder of Il Leonardo, returned to Italy in 1902 from a visit to France. In Paris, he came under the influence of Henri Bergson, in particular his theories of intuition (Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience), and his belief in the importance of the 'inner world' (Matière et Mémoire).⁴ Prezzolini - even more than Papini - was attracted to mysticism; he translated the works of Novalis into Italian and serialised them in Il Leonardo.⁵ The works of Hegel and Kierkegaard would be among the discoveries which Il Leonardo now brought before the Italian public.⁶

It was not only in the literary sphere that such changes were taking place. Painters collaborated with Il Leonardo; the front page of the 1903 November issue had a drawing by G. Costetti: five horses galloping through the sky. Their search for something beyond reality - 'al di là della vita' - was shared by artists

working in different fields.⁷ For the Florentine painters G. Costetti and A. de Karolis, art was revelation. G. Vannicola, another member of the Leonardo circle, believed that art - in particular music - was a means to truth. His book, De Profundis Clamavi ad te, presented in its opening pages, a portrait by G. Costetti of Vannicola's wife, 'donna Olga', to whom the book was dedicated. This was followed by the epigraph 'Through death and birth to a diviner day' and then an indication of the artist's perception of the close links between music and his quest for truth: 'La musica è un grido che sorge dal profondo'.⁸ Il Leonardo came to be associated with aesthetic views of a kind to which d'Annunzio's Anniversario orfico, published in the second issue of Il Leonardo, gave a more definite form.⁹

Less vociferous, but of a more lasting influence (four decades), was the periodical La Critica, founded by Benedetto Croce in 1903.¹⁰ Unlike Il Leonardo and other of the numerous 'little magazines' which were to follow in quick succession, La Critica, published without interruption from 1903-44, was never to become identified with any single idea or movement. Croce found abhorrent the stridently individualistic and nationalistic attitudes of Papini and Prezzolini; for him, art had to be divorced from utilitarian ends. It was to be the result of reflective creativity, independent of the social and political pressures of the day.

The review Lacerba, founded in 1913, epitomized in many ways the atmosphere of these years; it represented, as one critic remarked: 'una soluzione estremistica della interna crisi della cultura vociana'.¹¹ Throughout its short existence (1 January 1913 - 22 March 1915), it was to identify itself with 'causes': with Futurism, with nationalism and with war. It was to be the centre of lively polemics and would witness the splintering of Futurists into various factions, pro-Marinetians and pro-Lacerbians, for example. Giovanni Papini, always ready to declare allegiance to a new movement, published his famous 'Discorso di Roma' in this review in March 1913.¹² Despite the extreme nature of his views, he refused, at this stage, to commit himself. By the end of that year, however, he was 'converted' and, in a whole-hearted identification of the aims of Futurism with the imminent war, he declared himself a Futurist: '... Perché Futurismo significa Italia - un'Italia più grande dell'Italia passata, più degna del suo avvenire e del suo futuro posto nel mondo, più moderna, più avanzata delle altre nazioni ...'¹³

It was also in Lacerba that a polemic broke out between Italian and French artists. Umberto Boccioni, no doubt angered by the unfavourable reception given to the Italian Futurists in Paris, wrote a fiery article on 1 April 1913.¹⁴ Apollinaire took issue with Boccioni's accusations and, in a private correspondence with Soffici beginning on the 23 July 1913, pointed out that despite his gradual estrangement from the movement, he still recognized its merits: 'Non seulement j'ai compris le mouvement futuriste, mais je prétends être un des premiers pionniers de l'art vrai, le nom même du futurisme ne fait rien à l'affaire. Mais je sais que des morceaux comme l'onirocritique Phalange ont eu une importance quant à la voie qu'a pris le mouvement moderne et particulièrement le futurisme. Marinetti le sait et c'est pour cela que je tente cette synthèse de tous les efforts artistiques nouveaux'.¹⁵ In the Autumn of 1913, Apollinaire published in Lacerba his provocative anti-Futurist manifesto.¹⁶ His fundamental love of experimentation, 'L'Aventure', could not exist without the other quality which the Futurists had wilfully destroyed: 'l'Ordre'.¹⁷ In the Alcools at least, which Apollinaire published at this time, he retained the necessary tension which the Futurists, like the Surrealists, had abandoned.¹⁸

The growth of Futurism in Italy had been accompanied by significant changes in literary circles. The founding of the first literary magazines in 1903 had been accompanied by a new social mobility and the emergence of a new 'literary elite'. Those who, by their force of personality, enjoyed and provoked an exchange of ideas in these reviews, were those who would emerge as leading literary figures in Florence. Two of the most prominent were Giovanni Papini and Ardengo Soffici.

In the first two decades of this century, Soffici was to play an important role in bringing French cultural influences into Italy. He, like his friends and collaborators, G. Prezzolini and G. Papini, was in direct and almost constant contact with the French capital. It was in Paris, in the milieux frequented by Picasso, Gide, and Apollinaire, that he had the chance to examine closely works currently in vogue, like those of the 'naïf' painters to whom, in 1910, he would dedicate two articles in La Voce.¹⁹ In 1911, Soffici returned to Paris where Paul Claudel was drawing on the visionary aspect of Rimbaud to illustrate his own conversion to a 'solar' vision;²⁰ on his return to Italy, he published the first

monograph on Rimbaud²¹ and a year later attended the first Exhibition of the Italian Futurists in Paris.²² Apollinaire, Max Jacob, and Rémi de Gourmont - whom he met at this time - would all influence, to some extent, Soffici's later writings.

In France, Paul Claudel was rapidly losing popularity. Soffici's own anti-Claudellian polemic began with an article he published in La Voce at the end of 1912: 'Il Claudellismo'.²³ Eighteen months later, and in characteristically florid terms, Papini would develop this polemic and dismiss Claudel as a '... Rimbaud annacquato e che ha perso l'aceto'.²⁴

The year 1912 marked the high points of Futurism in Italy and of Cubism in France. Apollinaire was involved in both these movements and in 1913 he published a highly influential essay, Les Peintres Cubistes, setting out the aims of Cubism and dividing them into four main groups: 'cubisme scientifique', 'cubisme physique' (ce n'est pas de l'art pur. On y fond le sujet avec les images)', 'cubisme instinctif' and 'cubisme orphique'. Of this last, whose chief exponent he recognized in Robert Delaunay, he wrote:

C'est l'art de peindre des ensembles nouveaux avec des éléments empruntés non à la réalité visuelle mais entièrement créés par l'artiste et doués par lui d'une puissante réalité. Les oeuvres des artistes orphiques doivent présenter simultanément un agrément esthétique pur, une construction qui tombe sous les sens et une signification sublime, c'est-à-dire le sujet. C'est de l'art pur.²⁵

Art aims at synthesis; it seeks unity where there appears to be none; it will find - or extract - order and harmony from the chaos of the contemporary world.

Although the search for synthesis was one of the dominant ideas of contemporary French artists, this was not always apparent in their work. It is not difficult to recognize the relationship between the shapes of Cubist paintings and the order they seek. A similar desire for unity might not be so obvious in the technique called 'collage' (from the French 'coller': to stick), a term coined around 1912. This technique sought to detach objects from their habitual associations and to place them in a new, often surprising, relationship to one another. It tried to

present, through diversity - such works were frequently formed from an amalgamation of newspaper cuttings - a 'pure', simultaneous view.²⁶ In the field of poetry, Apollinaire, with the publication of 'Zone' in 1912, was a key exponent of the technique of discontinuity; he sought to replace successive moments by a 'simultaneous' view with no progression in any conventional sense.²⁷ Unity was provided by a common theme, a theme which it would be the readers' - or spectators' - task to uncover. It was in the arrangement of these apparently diverse ideas that some abstract concept called 'truth' was to be perceived. It was a technique which Campana approved, not only in the practice of his mature art, but also in his rare moments of theorizing. He wrote, for example: 'Il valore dell'arte non sta nel motivo ma nel collegamento e quindi nel punto di fusione si ha la grande arte'.²⁸ The extreme, often incongruous juxtapositions presented by the paintings of Giorgio de Chirico would be prompted by a similar belief: that underneath the seemingly senseless reality another lies concealed: it is the artist's task to reveal it.

The clash between Futurism and Cubism came to a head in 1912. On 5 February of that year, at the Bernheim-Jeune Gallery in Paris, the Futurists held their first exhibition in France. The two articles which Apollinaire wrote on this exhibition²⁹ would mark the beginning of a brief but lively involvement with that movement which may be traced through his ensuing friendship and correspondence with Ardengo Soffici.³⁰ Apollinaire, however, would be quick to differentiate between his own 'experimentalism' (*l'Esprit Nouveau*) and the destructive tendencies of the Futurists. He would distinguish between the ideological pursuits of the French Cubists, implicit in the geometry of their conceptions, and the apparent absence, in the Futurists, of an ultimate goal.³¹

Further echoes of this clash of ideologies are found in meetings between other leading Italian and French writers of this time. Giovanni Papini, who was introduced to André Gide by Ardengo Soffici at this time, underlines their incompatible outlooks: '... Gide, quand'era con noi, sembrava un cerebrale puro, che si curasse soltanto delle cose dello spirito ...'³² Gide's own reaction to Papini's flamboyance is also recorded in his diary:

... Visite de Giovanni Papini, directeur de la revue Leonardo. Plus jeune que je n'aurais cru, au visage expressif et presque beau. Un peu pétulant, mais pourtant moins que les autres Italiens que je connais. Trop complimenteur; mais semble tout de même penser une partie de ce qu'il dit. Comme tous les Italiens que je connais, croit trop à son importance; tout au moins le montre trop; ou autrement que ne le ferait un Français.³³

Papini's comments on Gide's remarks reflect his unwillingness to compromise:

'... Questo giudizio è, nell'insieme assai benevolo ma conferma purtroppo l'incommunicabilità degli spiriti'.³⁴ He also notes that he had read two of Gide's major novels as early as 1907 and that, although he had already acquired the reputation of 'stroncatore' (a slating critic), his admiration for these novels was sincere.³⁵ He underlines what he considers to be the chief differences in their personality: the apparent lack of warmth in Gide and his pre-occupation with 'le cose dello spirito' in contrast to his own ready enthusiasms.³⁶

Ardengo Soffici had assimilated many aspects of French culture even though, in many ways, they appeared diametrically opposed to his own. In his diary, under the date August 1913, he wrote:

... Passato qualche ora in compagnia dello scrittore francese A.G. Abbiamo parlato di molte cose assai importanti. Fra l'altro di come l'arte debba essere considerata ormai nella sua purezza, unicamente nella sua genuinità espressiva. Ciò che si dice di una grande opera d'arte si compone di più elementi - elementi temporali - logici, morali, civici, pratici, utilitari magari. Quello che importa però è la sua musicalità. E per musica non si deve intendere sonorità o melodia, ma quello stato in cui si trova a volte l'anima, stato elementare, armonico con tutte le cose, disinteressato, estraneo a ogni contingenza. Un flusso di simpatia col mondo, al disopra di qualunque ordine di valori morali - in contatto e fusione con l'eternità dei fenomeni sensibili. (my italics)³⁷

'Non so', comments Soffici, 'se il Gide, che pure ha scritto "essere un grande artista non significa nulla, essere un puro artista ecco ciò che importa", non so se il Gide mi abbia capito perfettamente, concretamente'.³⁸

Genova, February 1913 - June 1916

By the time of Campana's move to Genova University on 24 February 1913, two of the poems which would go into the Canti Orfici had already been published and part of a third had been submitted to a student newspaper in Bologna.¹ This last consisted of the first eight paragraphs of 'La notte', a poem which, perhaps more than any other, captures the essence of the work which is outlined in the title, Canti Orfici. The fact that only the first part of this poem was published may be attributed to a lack of editorial space. It is also possible, however, that Campana had not yet completed the composition and, in order to gain some recognition, submitted whatever was ready.

Until recently we had no record of Campana's activities during the few months following his arrival in Genova. A recently found document, however, dated 23 March 1913, shows that his disturbed behaviour continued. This is a telegram sent by the Mayor of Marradi to the Police in Genova, enquiring into the reason for Campana's imprisonment in Genova (prison of Marassi).² Another document I found recently is a letter from the Police in Florence to the Mayor of Marradi which states that, on 28 March 1913, Campana was issued with a Foglio di via and sent back home.³

A letter written to Papini - with whom Campana begins to correspond at this time - sheds further light on his activities during these months. Campana attacks the review Lacerba and a recent speech made by Papini on Futurism. The tone of the letters shows the same lack of control he had displayed in previous months, without rational or coherent argument. Even if Campana had been writing to an old acquaintance one might question the wisdom of being quite so outspoken in his criticism. Writing, however, to a person of some eminence, his outburst surely reflects not just imprudence but a degree of mental disturbance. Although the tone of the letter is unbalanced, Campana's antagonism to the Futurist movement was genuine. The characteristics he most strongly condemns are those which are alien to his own art. He contrasts the superficiality of the movement with the richness of Nietzsche's writings; he also discriminates between the shallow ideology of the movement and the literary qualities of its founder, Marinetti. The dependence of Futurist writers on the outside world - on the

'violento groviglio delle forze nelle città elettriche' - is also condemned and contrasted with the art Campana values. Although this letter is not dated, references to contemporary events, together with the postmark (Genova), enable us to date it with some certainty as May 1913.⁴

In the late Spring, Campana took a short boat trip from La Spezia to Sardinia. Impressions of this journey are recalled in later compositions: in 'Prosa in Poesia' and in 'Davanti alle cose'. In the second of these writings, Campana mentions a travelling companion, someone by the name of Garcia.⁵ Neither my talks with the poet's family and friends, nor my visits to archives, provided me with any further information about this individual, nor indeed about the voyage as a whole.⁶ Recollections Campana leaves behind in his poems, however, leave little doubt that the voyage did actually take place:

... Una volta in Sardegna entrai in una casa con fuori una vecchia lanterna di ferro che illuminava la parete di granito. Fuori la via metteva sulla costa pietrosa che scendeva dall'altipiano al mare ... La costa bianca di macigni aveva bevuto il tramonto cupo e rosso che chiudeva l'isola e ora colla lanterna rugginosa solo le stelle sull'altipiano brillavano a me e a Garcia. Io baciai la parete di granito senza pensare e non so perché. Ricordo che in quella casa stava la sarda moglie dell'alcoolizzato amico del nostro amico ... La mia padrona è dell'isola del Giglio dove io farei certamente bene ad abitare per un anno almeno ...⁷

It was in Genova, then, that Campana first established contact with Papini, one of the leading 'litterati' of the time, declaring his intention to oppose them: '... farò propagando contro [voi] che difendete i bastardi della poesia', and openly acknowledging Nietzsche as his mentor.⁸

We have no documentation concerning the date of Campana's return to Florence but it seems likely that he was back there before the completion of that academic year, probably in mid- or late-June 1913. Campana spent that Summer hard at work, writing and frequenting literary circles. Until recently it has been thought that he continued in this pattern until the end of 1913 when he completed and handed over the manuscript of Il Più Lungo Giorno to Papini and Soffici. In the

light of another recently found document, however, I would suggest that it was during this time, in the Autumn of 1913, that one of the strangest episodes in Campana's life took place. This was a pilgrimage, recorded in the Canti Orfici in the form of a 'diario', to the nearby sanctuary of La Verna.⁹

According to the dates in the Canti Orfici poem, this pilgrimage took place during the months of September and October; no year is given. Its largely mystic orientation places it outside the Canti Orfici as a whole; its mood invites a closer comparison with the early Florentine review Il Leonardo in which the anti-rationalist philosophy of Bergson had been gaining ground in the opening decade of this century. A closer examination, however, reveals echoes of a climate which was prevalent in Italy several years after Il Leonardo ceased publication in 1907. This mood, which pervades much of 'La Verna', may best be described as 'dream-like' or 'metaphysical'. It is an atmosphere or Stimmung which invites analogies with a style of painting chiefly associated with Giorgio de Chirico whose ideas and art stand in many ways outside the mainstream of his time.¹⁰ Between 1908 and 1911, this Greek-born artist lived in Florence, painting in a style which he would develop in Paris over the next few years. His art presents affinities with the ideas of Nietzsche, an influence de Chirico openly acknowledges: '... Il periodo boeckliano era passato (1910/11) ed avevo cominciato a dipingere dei soggetti ove cercavo di esprimere quel forte e misterioso sentimento che avevo scoperto nei libri di Nietzsche: la malinconia delle belle giornate d'autunno, di pomeriggio nelle città italiane ...'¹¹

Over the next few years, de Chirico would gain considerable renown, particularly after an exhibition held in Paris in 1913 to which he sent three of his paintings.¹² A striking quality of de Chirico's art was the sense of alienation and of timelessness which are also features of Campana's poem, 'La Verna'. De Chirico believed in isolated moments of hallucinatory intensity in which the ordinary world becomes strange and reveals its true nature. In his art, such moments are expressed through images of striking dislocation which disturb our habitual perceptions. This attempt to bring about a new awareness had been expressed through techniques such as collage in art and by other means in poetry.

Dislocation - or fragmentation - of our perceptions was for all these artists a means and not, as for the Futurists, an aim of their art. De Chirico, like others of his age but with very original methods, sought to arrive at an underlying truth,

to communicate an inner feeling which could not be otherwise expressed:

... Tale novità è una strana e profonda poesia che si basa sulla Stimmung (atmosfera) ... si basa, dico, sulla Stimmung del pomeriggio d'autunno, quando il tempo è chiaro e le ombre sono più lunghe che d'estate ... Questa sensazione straordinaria, si può provare, dico, nelle città italiane ed in qualche città mediterranea, come Nizza ...¹³

De Chirico's paintings of this period: Autumnal Meditation (1912), The Great Tower (1913), The Mystery and Melancholy of a Street (1914), present empty squares, peopled only by statues and bell towers and convey a feeling of great intensity. It is because of their common atmosphere rather than because of any specific details, that parallels between de Chirico and the author of 'La Verna' may be drawn.

Other internal evidence which suggests that 'La Verna' may have been composed some years later than hitherto believed¹⁴ is provided by the references to another art movement of this time: Cubism. At the time of Campana's only known visit to Paris in 1906, the first Cubist painting had yet to be displayed and Paul Cézanne, who marked the transition between Impressionism and this movement, was still alive.¹⁵ Cubism was to be shortlived, only really gaining wide acclaim around 1911 and it is most unlikely that Campana, who probably did not even visit Paris between 1907 and 1911 would have understood the spirit and used the terminology of this school in a poem composed as early as 1910: 'paesaggio cubistico', 'occhi interni tra i fini capelli vegetali il rettangolo della testa in linea occultamente fine ... Le case quadrangolari'.¹⁶ It was really only in 1913, with a series of articles published by Soffici over the early months of this year, together with Apollinaire's influential essay published in the same year, that the ideas of Cubists became widely disseminated in Italy.¹⁷

If internal evidence - the philosophical and stylistic maturity of the poem, as well as more specific references - suggest that 'La Verna' was composed later than 1910, the recent discovery of another document provides a more factual basis for such a view.¹⁸ This is a letter, sent by the Prefect of Arezzo to the Mayor of Marradi and describing the arrest of Campana - 'squilibrato di mente' - at Bibbiena, close to the sanctuary of La Verna. This letter is dated 10 September,

just five days before the episode documented in the 'diario' of the Canti Orfici text begins. This slight discrepancy may be attributed to the fact that the dates recorded here probably correspond to the writing of the experience rather than to the experience itself. Campana was not meticulous in such matters as other discrepancies of this nature show.¹⁹

I believe that it was only after Campana's return from Genova, and only months before handing over the completed manuscript to Papini, that this strange 'religious' experience took place. The poet's restlessness, disruptive behaviour and unpredictability were now dominant features of his personality. Campana had never given signs in his writings or elsewhere, according to the recollections of relatives, of religious leanings.²⁰ His departure for this well-known sanctuary thus appears out of character even though his actual account of the experience may be described as mystic or 'metaphysical' rather than religious. Many passages appear exalted; reality is transformed in a way which makes it difficult to differentiate between the actual and 'poetic' experience. In parts of the poem, the experience takes on an unreal dimension: '... Io vidi dalle solitudini mistiche staccarsi una tortora e volare distesa verso le valli immensamente aperte. Il paesaggio cristiano segnato di croci inclinate nel vento ne fu vivificato misteriosamente'.²¹ Such passages, which form a considerable part of the poem, suggest an abnormal, perhaps hallucinatory, state of mind, compatible with the mental 'squilibrio' on which the Prefect of Florence had remarked.²² 'La Verna', in many ways a central piece in Campana's published work, embodies aspects of his poetry not manifest before.

The pilgrimage to La Verna is likely, then, to have taken place in the early Autumn of 1913. If the chronology noted in Campana's 'diario' is accurate, he remained in the countryside of La Verna/Campigno until early October, spending some time amongst the peasants in the hills and lodging, for at least a part of this period, in a room above a 'trattoria' - La Buca - in the nearby village of Stia.²³ The familiar countryside of Marradi to which he returns presents a striking contrast to the spirituality of his recent experience. The diaristic presentation of this composition cannot be interpreted in a literal sense but it does give some insight into Campana's life at this time. Within weeks of this episode, the manuscript-draft of this poem would be complete and the other - 'orphic' - version would develop.²⁴

Apart from the pilgrimage to La Verna, Campana probably spent much of this period frequenting the literary circles in Florence and compiling a draft of his work to be submitted. There was considerable excitement in Florence as the first major Futurist Exhibition was due to open there at the end of November. Most of the chief exponents of this movement - Soffici, Carrà and Boccioni amongst others - would be displaying their work there. It was at this time that Campana's first meeting with Papini and Soffici took place and that he handed over the manuscript of Il Più Lungo Giorno.

Soffici recalls this meeting with Campana to have taken place one Winter's morning, as he and Papini were entering the Printing Rooms of Lacerba in the Via Nazionale in Florence:

... Prima ancora che fossimo entrati nello sgabuzzino a vetri che faceva da sala di redazione per noi e insieme da ufficio direttoriale dell'amico editore, questi ci venne incontro sin sulla porta e c'indicò un individuo seduto sur un canapè nero di tela cerata nel corridoio, il quale ... era poc'anzi venuto e desiderava di parlarci. La persona in parola, che intanto s'era alzata in piedi e ci guardava, era un uomo giovane, di una venticinquina d'anni tarchiato, con capelli e barba di un biondo acceso, la faccia piena e di color roseo, illuminata da un paio d'occhi celesti, che esprimevano a un tempo sincerità e timidezza, come quelli di certi bambini o di gente campagnuola, cui quella di città mette in soggezione ...²⁵

When Soffici asked him the reason for his visit, Campana explained: '... per presentarci alcuni suoi scritti, averne il nostro parere e sapere se ci fosse piaciuto pubblicarli nella nostra rivista' and, following an affirmative reply, Campana produced 'un vecchio taccuino coperto di carta ruvida e sporca, di quelli dove i sensali e i fattori segnano i conti e gli appunti delle loro compre e vendite e lo consegnò a Papini'.²⁶

Papini's recollection of both time and place of the first meeting with Campana is slightly different; he recalls it to have taken place one Summer's morning, in the Caffè Chinese:

... Scrisse a Lacerba nel '13 ed io e Soffici ci accorgemmo subito che non era uno dei tanti sconosciuto burbanzosi vestito di falsa umiltà che mandano le loro ejaculazioni verbali alle riviste. Il primo incontro con lui avvenne una mattina d'estate nel piccolo Caffè Chinese ch'era presso alla vecchia stazione demolita. Ci trovammo dinanzi un uomo ancor giovane, dall'aspetto un po' goffo del tarpano inurbato, dagli sguardi sbalestrati, ora candidi come quelli di un fanciullo, ora sospettosi come quelli di un inseguito. Si parlò di poesia e ci dette alcuni suoi manoscritti. Si capì che aveva girato molto per il mondo, più per disperazione che per ricerca, e che conosceva abbastanza la moderna poesia francese ...²⁷

There is some uncertainty as to whether the 'alcuni manoscritti' referred to by Papini is the same as the 'vecchio taccuino' mentioned by Soffici. Certainly, the term 'some manuscripts' seems to suggest a number of disparate rather than one cohesive work and it also seems likely, from conflicting details in the two accounts, that two different occasions are recalled. Campana did in fact give to Papini three compositions quite separately from the manuscript of Il Più Lungo Giorno ('Il Russo', 'L'incontro di Regalo', 'Piazza Sarzano'), which were published three months after the Canti Orfici, in November 1914.²⁸

Until June 1914, then, Campana had published only isolated compositions; others he had handed to Papini, a man he did not know and whose literary tastes, until recently at least, he had despised.²⁹

The circumstances leading to the loss of Campana's manuscript are by now well known, told by biographers in colourful accounts.³⁰ At the Futurist Exhibition, inaugurated in Via Cavour on 30 November 1913, leading artists of the time - Carrà, Boccioni, Severini, Russolo, Soffici and others - were present and Campana, who had by this time delivered his manuscript for approval, also appeared, no doubt anticipating some recognition. His hopes were not to be realised; he was largely ignored. The circles in which Soffici and his Futurist friends moved were the social élite, far removed from the bohemian Campana. As Soffici's comments, reveal, Campana's literary sophistication - 'diceva ... cose stranamente acute e che rivelavano in lui tutt'altro che un'incompetente anche in quell'arte non sua'³¹ - could not compensate for his unkempt appearance which Soffici, even many years later, vividly recalls: '... Non mutato in nulla; con lo

stesso giubbone di mezzalana e i pantaloni eterei e fioriti, egli si aggirava disinvolto per il locale, tra la folla cittadina, sbalordita di tutto quello che vedeva, e di lui'.³² The condescension of Campana's patrons and, indeed, Campana's own ready assumption of subservience, defines the relationship which would continue over the coming year. It was not on his literary but on his social 'performance' that Campana would be judged. Until he succeeded - without their help - in having his work published, he would find no support amongst the Futurists.

If Campana did not get the encouragement he had expected when he attended the inauguration of the Futurist Exhibition, he did, at least, make the acquaintance of some of the more prominent artists and literary figures with whom he would subsequently correspond. To one of these - Giuseppe Prezzolini - he was introduced by Soffici as '... uno spostato, un tale che a tratti scrive delle cose buone ...' - another patronising remark.³³ At this exhibition, Campana also met Carlo Carrà, an artist with whom, as subsequent correspondence would suggest, he felt some affinity.³⁴

The mood of this exhibition is summed up in the introduction to their catalogue, written by Marinetti. The concepts of movement, dynamism and change are central to their art: '... rinnovare la pittura e la scultura del nostro grande paese ...'; antagonism to their French 'counterpart' - Cubism - continues to figure largely in the definition of their aims. They advocate a total liberation from reality: '... Ben lontani dall'appoggiarci sull'esempio dei Greci e degli Antichi, noi esaltiamo incessantemente l'intuizione individuale con lo scopo di fissare leggi completamente nuove, che possano liberare la pittura dall'ondeggiante incertezza nella quale si trascina ... Per far vivere lo spettatore al centro del quadro, secondo l'espressione del nostro manifesto, bisogna che il quadro sia la sintesi di quello che si ricorda e di quello che si vede'.³⁵ These were ideas which were discussed, and reflected in the titles and indeed the content of the works themselves: Dinamismo di un ciclista (Boccioni), Ritmi d'oggetti, Danza nuda, Forma in moto circolare di una ballerina (Carrà), Ritmo astratto di Mme MS (Severini). It was one of Soffici's paintings - probably Tarantella dei pederasti - which inspired the poem Campana wrote 'lì per lì',³⁶ the 'Fantasia su un quadro d'Ardengo Soffici'. Six months later the poem would be published in the Canti Orfici.

Campana's attempts to gain recognition amongst the Florentine 'letterati' did not succeed. Shortly after the Grande Serata Futurista on 12 December 1913 (its Manifesto was published in Lacerba three days later),³⁷ Campana returned to Marradi, disillusioned, no doubt, by the lack of recognition. He recalls this in a letter written some time later: '... Io partii non avendo più soldi (dormivo all'asilo notturno ed era il giorno che loro facevano le puttane sul palcoscenico alla serata futurista incassando cinque o seimila lire ...)'³⁸ In the light of the unsettled nature of his lifestyle and most particularly his recent disappointments concerning his literary ambitions, it is not surprising that Campana was in a state of gloom when he returned home. Nonetheless, he sent greetings to his 'friends', Papini and Soffici, for the New Year; he was still awaiting their judgement. After ten days or so, however, and two days before Christmas, he showed increasing signs of strain. Feeling as though he belonged to an alien race, he signed himself, as he had done before, by a pseudonym, 'uomo dei boschi' and adds 'De Profundis'.³⁹

With Christmas over and a new year beginning, Campana, set on the idea of literary success, decided to try his fortune elsewhere. In a letter to Giuseppe Prezzolini he expresses his literary ambitions. Campana's assessment of his artistic achievements and of the qualities he most values in art is one of his few attempts to formulate his aesthetic ideas. It was at this time, at the relatively mature age of 29, that Campana would realise his artistic potential. That Campana decided to turn for guidance to Prezzolini, editor of the influential La Voce, was not surprising. He recalls their first meeting⁴⁰ and describes himself as 'un povero diavolo che scrive come sente'. He appears determined and clear-sighted as regards his literary aims; he wants to see his work in print: '... nessuno mi vuole stampare e io ho bisogno di essere stampato: per provarmi che esisto, per scrivere ancora ho bisogno di essere stampato perché io sento che quel poco di poesia che so fare ha una purità di accento che è oggi poco comune da noi'.⁴¹ His exaggeration of personal hardship reflects an exalted mental state, expressed in an inflated sense of personal mission: '... dopo essere stato sbattuto per il mondo, dopo essermi fatto lacerare dalla vita, la mia parola che nonostante sale, ha il diritto di essere ascoltata'. He encloses with this letter a poem he describes as the 'più vecchia e la più ingenua' of his poems: 'La Chimera'.⁴²

Campana's newly found determination to see his work published is also expressed in a letter to the Publishing House Vallecchi:

Egregio signor Vallecchi, Mi rivolgo a lei colla speranza che vorrà interessarsi al mio caso. Ci ho tante novelle e poesie da farne un libro e se lei volesse incaricarsi della stampa oserei sperare in un discreto esito. Denari non ce n'ho ma le garantirei lo smercio immediato di una cinquantina di copie. Egregio signor Vallecchi, voglia aiutarmi. Con ossequio, a lei dev. mo Dino Campana.⁴³

Spurred on, rather than deterred by the silence of Papini and Soffici, Campana has strengthened his resolve.

The exact circumstances surrounding the loss of the poet's manuscript are difficult to establish from the contradictory accounts of this episode. The full awareness that his manuscript had been lost did not come to Campana until the New Year 1914, that is, after his resolve to see his work in print was expressed in letters to Prezzolini and to the Publishing House Vallecchi.

Three brief letters, all addressed to Papini, date from early 1914, just slightly later than those sent to Prezzolini and to the Publishing House Vallecchi. One of them was never sent since it was found amongst Campana's papers after his death at his home in Marradi. In it, he rejects an offer to have it published in Lacerba and asks for the return of his manuscript. He criticizes the non-literary character of Lacerba and comments '... è dunque un inutile disturbo che loro si prendono quello di restare in certo modo legati a un ignoto e compromettente poetucolo della mia specie'.⁴⁴ In another letter, which Campana actually did send and in which he addresses himself jointly to Papini and Soffici he simply asks - without any hint of rebuke - for the return of his poems.⁴⁵

It is difficult, if not impossible, to establish a precise moment in these early months of 1914 when Campana realised he was unlikely to have his manuscripts returned. It could not have been long, however, after the requests for the return of his work were ignored, that he set about rewriting the Canti Orfici as it was to be called in its published form. In spite of some dispute,⁴⁶ there can be little doubt that Campana had copies of the poems included in the manuscript entrusted

to Papini and Soffici. It was the cavalier disregard of him as a man and a poet, as much perhaps as the loss of the manuscript itself, that was the source of deepest outrage. Campana's correspondence at this time - notably his letter to Prezzolini - suggests he felt more anxious and humiliated than hostile and he attributed his rejection to social rather than literary causes.

It was only some years later, when his mental illness was distorting his judgement in this as in other matters, that the disappearance of his manuscript at the hands of Papini and Soffici acquired a sinister significance and became one of the main themes of his persecutory delusions. However, in the Spring of 1914, Campana did not seem preoccupied with morbid fantasies and the loss of the manuscript seems only to have instigated a spell of concentrated and disciplined activity, unusual for him. His correspondence virtually ceased as he set out to rewrite his work. These four months of single-minded activity were the most productive of his life.

This is the time when Campana appeared at the height of his powers. Faced with the loss of his original manuscript, he enlarged his work and undoubtedly improved it. He raised money in Marradi and managed to get it published in June 1914 under the title Canti Orfici. The subtitle of the work - 'Die Tragödie des letzten Germanen in Italien' - and its dedication to the German Emperor Wilhelm II is strange and ill-timed when Italy was preparing to enter into war against Germany. Indeed, it would not be long before Campana himself would try and erase both inscriptions from all copies of his work which he could retrieve.⁴⁷

Much has been written of Campana's frenzied activity over the four months preceding the publication of his masterpiece. Some of the poems which would be published in the Canti Orfici had not been included in the original draft; others, have only stylistic variations. These divergencies are part of a recurrent pattern which is manifest throughout Campana's writing career and reflects his constant dissatisfaction with the 'finished' product, his need for perfection and the susceptibility of the poems to his mood.

Despite Campana's later claims - '... riscrissi a memoria il manoscritto', the Canti Orfici was, for the most part at least, a reworking of former poems.⁴⁸

In style and structure the rewritten work is more coherent and superior to the

original. There is greater emphasis on a dimension which is now widely seen as the core of Campana's aesthetics and described, somewhat misleadingly, as 'orphism'. This term has contributed significantly to a romantic approach to Campana. Its associations with myth and the supernatural and with the incantations of music have led critics to focus on the irrational, magical aspects of Campana's art. In fact, the Canti Orfici has a greater philosophical import than the earlier manuscript and appears more clearly influenced by Nietzsche. Associations of the term 'orphyic' with the 'dionysiac' aesthetics of the German philosopher have been remarked upon by more than one of Campana's contemporaries; Federico Ravagli recalls the poet's reaction when asked to explain the term: '... Orfici? Perché? La parola non ci parve chiara. E Campana disse allora di Orfeo, di misteri orfici, di potenza dionisiaca, di miti cosmici. Non ricordo se fu lui a suggerirmi la lettura del capitolo su Orfeo nel volume di Schuré'.⁴⁹

A comparative study of the two texts will be found elsewhere in the present thesis.⁵⁰ I would like, however, to suggest here some possible reasons why the second work has greater cohesion and is stylistically superior. The manuscript of Il Più Lungo Giorno, written over a far longer period and conceived as individual compositions, cannot be expected to have the overall unity and maturity of the Canti Orfici. The intensity of Campana's activities over these months of 1914 provides a further clue to qualities which set the Canti Orfici apart from the poet's earlier writings. Perhaps for the only time in his short creative life, Campana worked in a structured way. His plan is clearly formulated; his poetic intentions and his determination to publish are firmly stated. The achievement of the Canti Orfici may thus derive something from the loss of the original manuscript, an event which was in itself a tragedy.

One of those who remembers Campana at this time was a Secretary at the Town Hall at Marradi where Campana arrived each morning to continue his work:

... arrivava la mattina nell'ufficio, entrava e, senza salutar nessuno, andava presso la dattilografa e le ingiungeva imperiosamente: "Scrivi". Tutti lasciavano fare. Egli dettava lentamente, con straordinaria concentrazione, correggendo e rifacendo continuamente. A volte, non riuscendogli come voleva, s'arrabbiava, strappava il foglio dalla macchina, ne faceva una pallina e lo buttava nel cestino.⁵¹

Another acquaintance of the poet was a clerk in the Town Hall who died only recently, Giovanni Bucivini-Capecchi. He gives a similar account of Campana's impatience:

... Accadeva spesso, che il dattilografo commettesse degli errori di scrittura e allora Campana, dopo un sacco di improperi, non esitava a strappargli il foglio e a fargli ripetere la battuta.⁵²

These are not the only manifestations of Campana's excitability. There are others, like his response to 'quegli discorsi da ignoranti e da scemi'⁵³ which show intolerance of views contrary to his own.

The resistance Campana encountered in trying to get his work into print is reflected in the terms of the contract which was finally drawn up with the local publisher, Bruno Ravagli. It sets out the following conditions:

Primo: il prezzo combinato è di Lire/quaranta al foglio di sedici pagine/ciascuna delle quali avrà un formato/di stampa di centimetri sedici per sette/in carattere corpo dieci. La copertina/dovrà essere in carta a mano grigia con/titolo in rosso. Il libro sarà legato e pronto per vendere. Secondo: all'atto del contratto mi vengono/versate Lire centodieci (110) e per/garanzia del restante mio avere il Signor/Campana mi lascia in deposito le copie stampate che io conserverò sino a che/non mi sia ricoperto del mio avere/mediante la vendita//M'impegno però a far pervenire appena/stampate venti copie all'autore/e di consegnare ai componenti la/nota dei sottoscrittori consegnatami e da/me e dai Signori Campana e Bandini firmata le quaranta /quattro copie già pagate.//Terzo. Il prezzo del libro è di lire/due e cinquanta. Ai rivenditori/solamente concederò lo sconto/in uso però se entro il 1914/non mi sarò interamente ricoperto/del mio avere avrò piena libertà di/vendita a qualunque prezzo. Data del presente contratto/Sette giugno mille/novecento-quattordici, sottoscritto in Marradi/Bruno Ravagli/Acettato in ogni sua parte da me/Dino Campana/Luigi Bandini testimonio/Fabroni Camillo teste.⁵⁴

Having secured the publication of his work on 7 June 1914, Campana spent the remainder of that Summer and early Autumn trying to sell it. He travelled

constantly, on foot, between his home and Florence, carrying with him as many copies of his work as he could manage. Once in Florence, he frequented some of the favourite haunts of the 'letterati', the caffès Paszkowski and the Giubbe Rosse, both of which still stand today. The methods by which Campana sought to sell his work were just as unconventional as his dedicace and sub-title were controversial. He made no attempt to hide the contempt he felt for a potential customer and, as contemporaries recall, he attracted considerable attention:

... Secondo il tipo del compratore, il libro subiva più metamorfosi. Un individuo simpatico o giudicato intelligente poteva magari ottenere i Canti con la firma autografa del poeta; un sempliciotto borghese riceveva il libro secco secco, se non pure privato del frontespizio e della copertina posteriore incriminati; se poi si trattava di un filisteo evidentemente estraneo alle arti, Campana non glielo dava se prima non ne aveva strappata davanti a lui quelle pagine che riteneva troppo alte per meritar d'esser profanate dal suo sguardo. A certi presuntuosi imbecilli che la facevano da poeti e da novatori, arrivò a non consegnare che la copertina e poche pagine da lui stimate men riuscite, e le sole adatte per simili cervelli senza eleganza.⁵⁵

To Marinetti, for whom Campana had previously expressed admiration, Campana is said to have given nothing but the cover.⁵⁶

Campana's generally provocative behaviour might suggest that he had no desire to be accepted by his contemporaries and that he had too much pride to ingratiate himself with prospective buyers. The grandiose gestures and outward display of flamboyance, however, reflect only a superficial aspect of his personality. Over the following months, once the excitement of the moment had subsided, Campana's fundamental desire to conform, or at least to gain approval, came to the fore. He sought to erase, as Soffici recalls, the controversial inscriptions from his work:

... Deciso a far sparire ogni traccia di quella gaffe, Campana raccolse quanto più potè esemplari del suo libro e, chiuso in un retrobottega del libraio Gonnelli, si mise all'opera. Per giorni e giorni, armato di temperino e di gomma, grattò, tagliò, rimpeciottò: la carta si sfondava sul più bello, le striscie ingommate sui malaugurati caratteri deturpavano la copertina; ma tant'è: Campana non ebbe pace se non quando fu cancellato ogni cosa ...⁵⁷

A further mark of Campana's insecurity and his desire to gain approval can be seen in his relationship with those responsible for the loss of his manuscript. In October, just three months after the rewritten work had been published, Soffici wrote to Campana, expressing his pleasure and congratulating him on his achievement.⁵⁸ No reference is made, however, to the loss of the original work and Campana, in replying, shows no sign of bitterness or anger. On the contrary, he seems eager for approval: '... Io non sono affatto adirato' he writes, 'anzi di lei e di Papini ho conservato e conservo un ricordo profondo...'⁵⁹

The tone of this letter suggests a degree of emotional instability. In moments of mental stress, Campana perceived his personal suffering in exaggerated terms and he responded warmly to Soffici's encouraging words: '... Questo mi basta assolutamente e mi incoraggia davanti a me stesso per aver saputo conservare la mia personalità spirituale attraverso le miserie e tutte le brutalità'. He closes this letter with a fervent affirmation of his patriotism and, specifically, his attachment to his home village as he signs himself in bold print 'Marradese!!!'⁶⁰ Such extreme fluctuations in the poet's attitudes would become a prominent feature of his behaviour over the years to come. His eagerness to compensate would be taken still further over the coming weeks as he set about composing a patriotic canzone to Italy.

The 'Canto proletario italo-francese' was published in November 1914 in Il Cannone, a student newspaper of Bologna. This composition has to be considered against the background of the times and the poet's desire to affirm his patriotism on the eve of Italy's entry into war. His developing nationalism would become prominent in subsequent letters and poems; it appears to be influenced by Nietzsche and linked to the notion of purity, derived from constant striving. Whilst ostensibly dedicated to Italy - '... Italia/Ti amo con smisurato dolore'⁶¹ - the 'Canto proletario italo-francese' is more deeply concerned with the subject of re-creation, the notion of synthesis between extremes and the perpetual movement towards spiritual heights. The brief 'refrain' which opens and closes the poem will recur in subsequent writings as a reminder of unattainable goals:⁶²

Come delle torri d'acciaio
 Nel cuore bruno della sera
 Il mio cuore ricrea
 Per un bacio taciturno.

In February 1915, although war was already raging in Europe, and just three months after publishing his Canzone, Campana was in Turin, ready to leave once more on his travels. In a letter to Papini, he describes his new lifestyle and his sympathy for the German Kaiser coupled with disgust for contemporary Italy which fails to recognize his worth: '... Mi sento avvilito del dover mendicare qualche lira per quello che ho scritto. Era assai meglio che fossi andato in guerra per il Kaiser, sputando senz' altro su questa porca Italia'.⁶³ This is the first of a number of such letters of this period in which Campana describes some of the financial and social difficulties of life away from his home. He writes of his life in Turin, of the 'freddo e la miseria atroce' but this is compensated by the satisfaction of being away from the literary life of Florence which he condemns: 'letteratura spiegata in riviste'. His intention seems to be to go to Germany: '... rinunciare alla nostra nazionalità, arruolarsi per la Germania, questo è il nostro dovere; la canaglia italiana è qualche cosa che deve essere finalmente schiacciata, e ciò con qualunque mezzo'.⁶⁴ but, as so often, Campana does not carry out his plans. Despite the virulence of his anti-Italian feelings and his bitterness at the treatment he has received, he ends this letter once again with the assurance that he holds no personal grudges.

Campana got involved in a great deal of correspondence early in 1915; often he would write numerous letters in one day, frequently repeating himself to different people. In a letter to Papini, he discusses some of the literary discoveries he has made in Turin and puts forward his own views on art. He shows appreciation for a demanding aesthetic, the kind he seems to have found in the editor of a newspaper in Turin whom he describes as 'un uomo austero, della vecchia razza, non mai contento di quello che fa'.⁶⁵ He excludes La Voce, now under the direction of de Robertis,⁶⁶ from his general condemnation of Florentine reviews and expresses the hope that his newly found friend from Turin may send something for publication there. He says that he is working as a news vendor, selling the Gazzetta del Popolo in the streets.

One month later, Campana was still in Turin, apparently undecided about his destination. He begins to correspond with Emilio Cecchi, another prominent literary figure in Florence who was holding beliefs different from those advocated by Papini and his circle. Cecchi had recently published an article, mentioning Campana's Canti Orfici and criticizing some contemporary writers, Papini and

d'Annunzio amongst others. Cecchi refers only briefly and deprecatingly to Campana here; the larger part of the article is devoted to condemning the contemporary literary scene in Italy in contrast to the richness of French literature and in particular to such poets as Mallarmé and Rimbaud.⁶⁷ Prompted by some mark of recognition, Campana writes to Cecchi, giving vent to his own views and expressing hostility to his contemporaries. He is crude in his attack: '... Un art nouveau chez les macaronis! Che bell'articolo farebbe! ... Ora questa civiltà mi ha messo addosso una serietà terribile. L'immagine dell'onesto Papini che rimastica il suo tragico quotidiano è una delle più tristi della mia memoria'.⁶⁸ However genuine Campana's condemnation may be, his lack of control, his sudden digression into French (a feature of his writings from this time), and the extreme nature of his views are evidence of severe mental instability. So is the very tone of the letter: the sudden changes of subject and mood, from condemnation of the 'giovanissimi parvenus', Soffici and Papini amongst them, to a sudden and exaggerated expression of esteem for Cecchi whom he accepts as the sole judge of his work. His invective is followed by a reiteration of his personal suffering and of his mission. He closes the letter by declaring his intention to go abroad - to France this time - and acknowledges the deterioration of his mental condition:

... Io anderò in Francia, non sono soldato, e curerò i feriti: forse potrei guarire io stesso ma non ci tengo oramai più. Infine io credo nel riprodursi simbolico degli avvenimenti e che il mio avvertimento è un simbolo di cui devo dare un'interpretazione che è la sola giustificazione di un 1/1000 ecc scala - dell'universo.⁶⁹

Commenting on a remark made by Cecchi, he writes: '... mi sembra, come Lei ha giustamente notato, che tutto ritorni al punto di partenza e che sia il tempo di cambiar aria',⁷⁰ an echo, it seems, of the Nietzschean concept of Eternal Return. The tendency to merge imaginative and poetic writing with real events would be increasingly prominent from this time and would be symptomatic of his mental decline.

Despite Campana's recently declared intention to go to France or Germany, it is from Switzerland that he writes his next letter to Cecchi. This, the first of several, is sent from Lausanne, evidently in reply to a warm letter he has received.

He shows more control than in previous letters and mentions only briefly the sense of injustice he feels at his treatment at home. He expresses admiration for Cecchi who he regards as a 'forza morale attiva', a quality he considers lacking amongst the Florentine 'I tterati'. To Cecchi, as to others, he boasts of his linguistic skills - '... Conosco le lingue, meno il russo' - and tells of his readiness for hard work. It is only at the end of this letter that his mental instability emerges. He feels persecuted and warns Cecchi against his enemies and those who may try to impersonate him.⁷¹

Campana's arrival in Switzerland in late March 1915 marks the beginning of a new phase from which would emerge such poetic works as 'Bastimento in viaggio', 'Arabesco-Olimpia' and 'Toscanità'.⁷² It is tempting, but perhaps too easy, to draw parallels between Campana's arrival in neutral Switzerland and his attempts, in real and poetic terms, to reconcile opposite extremes. He writes numerous letters during his two months stay. In April, he writes to Papini, requesting a number of La Voce: '... sono completamente all'oscuro dei rinnovamenti ultimi che hanno portato in Italia e gradirei un numero della Voce, per conformarmi, in caso, a lo stile in uso ora'. He also expresses the desire to engage in some serious literary pursuit. He wants to continue his translation of Bertrand Russell's The Problems of Philosophy and encloses a sample of some eighty pages he has already completed.⁷³ His interests seem to be focussing increasingly on aspects of language and style. His claim to have mastered several languages, his renewed interest in translation, his exiguous but refined poetic output and his approval of a literary magazine which has as its motto 'saper leggere' all indicate this.⁷⁴

Campana spent most of his time in Switzerland working as an agricultural labourer near Geneva. It is from there that he writes to Francesco Chiesa, a teacher in Lugano, to Renato Serra and to Aldovrandi, amongst others, asking for help in finding work.⁷⁵ His need to find a role, a place where he can feel he belongs, as well as financial needs, are related to his growing sense of rejection by Italy. In this correspondence, even though writing to people he hardly knows, he continues his invective against 'tutte le vigliaccherie' of the home he has left behind'.⁷⁶

One of those with whom Campana began to correspond at this time was the highly disciplined writer Renato Serra whose book L'Esame di Coscienza di un Italiano, had just been published and would appear in the form of extracts in La Voce a fortnight later.⁷⁷ The book recounts the dilemma of the author himself, an 'âme en crise', facing up to the limitations of a literature which refused any political involvement. The need for commitment which Serra recognized but was unable to accept for himself, was also felt by Campana. In this letter, he tells of his menial work as a labourer and the humiliations he has to suffer. His difficulties are plain: '... Quà cercavo un'occupazione ma detestano come una mostruosità un italiano che non è un'ilota. La Dante Alighieri mi mandano a mangiare la zuppa quotidiano dell'opera Bonomelli'.⁷⁸ His present employment and his treatment by the Swiss authorities prompts him to long for a 'patria ideale' and he writes: 'spero miglior fortuna dalla mia razza che io riconosco solamente nella rappresentazione di giovani come lei e come me'.⁷⁹ It is a notion which would be more fully developed in a letter written the following month, shortly before the poet's return home in June 1915.

Campana had communicated briefly with Soffici at the end of April, sending him a short composition - 'Bastimento in viaggio' - for publication in La Voce.⁸⁰ The letter he writes on 12 May reflects some interesting ideas concerning his recent philosophical and literary readings and shows his views on the Swiss character. Campana's knowledge and understanding of recent works by Karl Abraham on Giovanni Segantini, not yet translated into Italian, and Freud's essay on Leonardo da Vinci, also recently published, invites speculation on his contacts and on his access to literary material.⁸¹ Despite the evidently arduous conditions of his life, he had found the opportunity to become acquainted with these writings. Apart from showing Campana's knowledge of German (of which we have had indications elsewhere), he shows a remarkable familiarity with the ideas expressed in these works and even offers to write a summary of them for Lacerba.

Campana discerns in art the pursuit of a 'moral' synthesis:

... Credo si potrebbe fare una fusione tra la Svizzera sassone dello spirito in cui Nietzsche scrisse che si era rifugiato Schumann e la religione della maternità del lavoro e dell'amore, così divinamente espressa dal nostro dolce e severo Segantini, e che già si trova in Millet.⁸²

Campana believed he shared this pursuit with the artist Segantini who wrote:

L'arte deve rivelare sensazioni nuove allo spirito dell'iniziato; l'arte che lascia indifferente l'osservatore non ha ragione d'essere. La suggestività d'un'opera d'arte è in ragione della forza con cui fa sentita dall'artista nel concepirla e questa è in ragione della finezza, della purezza, dirò così, dei suoi sensi. Mercè sua, le più lievi e fuggevoli impressioni vengono rese più intense e fissate nel cervello, commovendo e fecondando lo spirito superiore che le sintetizza ed ha luogo allora l'elaborazione che traduce in forma viva l'ideale artistico.⁸³

The poems Campana wrote at this time (e.g. 'Arabesco-Olimpia' and 'Toscanità'), reflect his interest in the techniques of the visual arts. He also considers in this letter the possibilities of absorbing diverse aspects of foreign cultures into the Italian tradition, '... Se una nuova civiltà dovrà esistere, essa dovrà assimilare la Kultur'.⁸⁴ (my italics). The pursuit of a synthesis becomes the basis of Campana's search for an ideal: an ideal country, an ideal female presence, an aesthetic ideal; such preoccupations would dominate his writings henceforth.

When Campana wrote this letter to Soffici in May 1915, he was living at the Salvation Army Hostel.⁸⁵ His highflown cultural conceptions contrast with the fact that he had just been dismissed from his job (6 May), despite - as a letter from his employer confirms - his good conduct: 'Nous avons occupé D.C. et avons été très satisfaits de son travail'.⁸⁶ Whether or not Campana was mentally unwell during this time, he was able to hold down a job, something of which he would be increasingly incapable. At the end of this letter to Soffici, he refers briefly to his need to find work of some sort. He requests payment for the articles he has offered to write for Lacerba and reaffirms his feelings of friendship for Soffici: '... E triste che debba ricorrere per queste cose a lei, che è

forse l'unico capace di rivivere con me quel poco che ho fatto e che farò (e ciò perché noi due siamo intensamente latini)'.⁸⁷ He says that his plans, in his present 'condizioni disperate', are vague. He has no clear view of his future or even where he will go but asks Soffici to tell Papini that the translation on which he has been working is almost complete.⁸⁸

Between 12 and 15 May, we have no record of Campana's whereabouts.⁸⁹ One letter, sent from Berne and addressed to Luigi Bandini is undated but it seems likely that it was also written during this period. In this letter Campana says he is enclosing 'il mio manoscritto' which, he says 'forse testimonia che io non ho meritato la mia sorte'.⁹⁰ It is a matter for speculation whether the manuscript referred to is the Canti Orfici (Bandini did have a copy of it but this might have been in his possession from the time he witnessed the signing of the Ravagli contract).⁹¹ This letter, written in the Spring of 1915, during Campana's only known stay in Switzerland after 1906, is filled with lament about his lack of recognition by his fellow Italians and his sense of isolation: '... mi trovo disperato e sperso per il mondo'.⁹²

In mid-May 1915, Campana crossed the frontier on his way back home. From Domodossola, he sent Soffici a variant of the poem he had published some five months earlier (the 'Canto proletario italo-francese') and which would subsequently be re-published in another version, dedicated to Mario Novaro.⁹³ Campana does not enclose a message with this poem and the first indication that he has returned to Italy comes in a letter to Cecchi dated 11 June. It is a very brief note, sent from Florence, in which he declares his intention to enlist and signs himself 'ex-riformato'.⁹⁴

Subsequent correspondence bears witness to his deteriorating mental state. After two months of relative calm and productivity in Switzerland, a new phase of confusion and despondency sets in. He writes to Papini on 4 July in terms which indicate severe mental disturbance. He writes in French and signs the letter with the French translation of a previously encountered pseudonym, 'L'homme des bois'. The tone of this letter is despairing: '... je n'ai pas la force d'aller jusqu'au bout... Je voudrais n'avoir jamais ouvert la bouche puisque ma vie doit être ce long assassinat'.⁹⁵ His acute distress is caused, partly at least, by his recent rejection by the Army. As he recalls in a subsequent letter: '... Ero

riformato ma venni in Italia (dalla Svizzera) ad arruolarmi volontario e dopo dieci giorni passati all'ospedale militare del Maglio di Firenze fui riformato una seconda volta ...'.⁹⁶ The nature of Campana's disappointment is twofold: he had returned to Italy in the hope of finding a 'role'; this had not been realized. He was also becoming increasingly aware of his mental illness. He recognizes he is not cured and stops signing himself 'ex-riformato'.⁹⁷ Having been, as he feels, rejected by Italy, his thoughts turn or, as he writes to Soffici, 'bend' towards France. He asks for help in finding work in Paris and announces his belief that 'tutto è sforzo individuale' and that 'sembra già enormemente stupida e ridicola l'idea di un miracolo nazionale prodotto dal meccanismo della guerra'.⁹⁸

Apart from a brief letter to Giuseppe Ravegnani in which Campana expresses warm appreciation of his work - '... sarei contento che in quello che scrivo vi fosse un po' dell'umanità larga e dell'intenso colore della nostra Emilia'⁹⁹ - Campana's letters of this time show despondency and growing fears of persecution. In August, during one of his frequent visits to Faenza, Campana renews correspondence with Mario Novaro. He enquires about the possibility of employment and asks what happened to one of the compositions he sent for publication to Novaro's review, La Riviera Ligure.¹⁰⁰ In another letter, he explains an aspect of his behaviour which he feels Novaro may have misunderstood: '... io faccio l'orso, lo strambo, solo con quelli che non hanno gli elementi di sensibilità per cui si possa intendere: per il bisogno di sfuggire a dei fastidiosissimi... titillamenti'.¹⁰¹ This is just one of several such interpretations he will give to his behaviour over the months to come. Introspection, increasingly morbid in character, will be prominent as his mental state declines. When he writes again to Novaro at the end of that month, he appears even more obsessed with the thoughts of illness, physical as well as mental symptoms. Although he says he is 'abbastanza bene ristabilito da una grave malattia', he seems far from well.¹⁰² He states his wish to dedicate himself to 'la vita sedentaria in una ridente città di mare, visto che, oltre all'aver desistito dalla letteratura sotto tutte le forme, ho una gamba per me molto più pesante dell'altra'.¹⁰³

In his letter to Novaro, Campana mentioned that he had heard recently from the eminent writer and critic, Giovanni Boine. Boine had in fact written to Campana,

congratulating him warmly on his published work.¹⁰⁴ Later in 1915, Boine would write to Campana on several occasions but Campana would not reply until December. Early that Autumn, however, Campana did renew correspondence with another prominent literary figure, one from whom he had received little encouragement: Giuseppe Prezzolini. He writes to him from Marradi early in October and asks for his help in obtaining a passport. He also states - at some length - his views on contemporary art in Italy, condemning the 'cumulo di imbecillità' which has been published in La Voce.¹⁰⁵ After expressing his views on war, interpreting 'il vecchio spirito aristocratico' in terms reminiscent of Nietzsche, his letter becomes increasingly hyperbolic as he declares himself ready to give his life for the glory of France where, he says, the source of the greatest art can be found. He closes the letter by condemning the lack of such refinement ('aristocracy') in Italy and also the general poverty of cultural life there: '... Viva dunque la Francia. E chi... comprende queste cose da noi? cioè le integra e le risente non le violenta, colla animalità del parvenu?'¹⁰⁶ Arising out of this comparison, Campana condemns d'Annunzio and the culture of 'decadence' he represents. Although Campana clearly feels a profound need for commitment, he is unable to achieve this. Just one year after having published the Canti Orfici, a work which seems to have left the d'Annunzian influence behind, Campana accurately sums up the new tide of feeling in Italy, expressing opposition to an art which takes no account of social reality. He perceives the need for commitment to the present and expresses this need through a vivid image: '... Ci dondoliamo sulle anche come l'Italia nelle poesie di d'Annunzio che, poveraccio, dell'Europa moderna non capisce proprio nulla. Che pietà vedere la grande cultura in certe mani mezzane'.¹⁰⁷

If Campana's correspondence during the Summer and Autumn following his return from Switzerland had shown signs of distress (letter to Papini), and of rebellion against his country (letter to Prezzolini), it does not yet suggest the rapid mental decline which would now set in. Letters written to Boine and, in particular, to Novaro, show considerable signs of deterioration. To Boine, writing from Florence, Campana refers to a recent admission to hospital in Marradi - 'dove io sono stato un mese e mezzo inutilmente' - and it seems clear from letters written later that month that this spell in hospital brought little improvement.¹⁰⁸ He sends a sample of his work ('Vecchi versi') to Boine, enquiring about the possibility of publication.¹⁰⁹ He also makes the acquaintance of Cardarelli

who he finds 'simpatico e geniale'.¹¹⁰ Yet, as a letter written on Christmas day shows, he is still unable to pursue his own literary activities.¹¹¹ Henceforth he would not compose anything which he considered worthy of publication. He would be unable to apply himself to any sustained literary activity and, even when he considers a piece worthy of publication, he lacks the application to carry it through. In a letter thanking Novaro for the recent payment for 'Toscana', Campana addresses him by his pen-name, Geribò, and clearly believes he is dealing with two different people. As in an earlier letter to Cecchi (27 March 1915), he refers to his fears of persecution and expresses anxieties that his mail is being opened. Apart from warning Novaro to verify the authenticity of his signature (a warning earlier given to Cecchi), he shows more evident signs of his deluded state: '... Io non ricevo mai direttamente le lettere essendo regolarmente assente, inoltre sono strettissimamente sorvegliato e quindi alla mercè del primo lazzero'.¹¹² His fears of being watched, previously mentioned in fairly vague terms, now extend to fantasies of a police state which is persecuting him. These fears would become dominant preoccupations over the months to come. After describing these anxieties, Campana analyses the symptoms of his illness, and his wish for a stay in hospital, which his fellow citizens appear determined to prevent:

... Intanto crepavo a Firenze per un principio di paralisi vasomotoria al lato destro e quei fiorentini mi hanno sempre rifiutato l'entrata in un ospedale. Ora mi rimetto da me. Allo sgelo sarò in grado di scavalcare le Alpi Svizzere se sarà necessario. Sappia intanto che ero in cura per nefrite avendo la congestione cerebrale durante un mese nell'ospedale locale. Ora finalmente dopo due mesi ho dovuto attaccarmi le sanguisughe da me, ultimo avanzo dei barbari in Italia ...¹¹³

His letter becomes incoherent, reflecting the chaotic state of his mental processes:

... io sono un uomo e se lei paga 25 lire le ultime propaggini filosofiche del male de Naples ((gesuitismo, camorra, borbonismo sbirro, (= negazione di Dio ossia negazione dell'arte come la fa il campione Benedetto Croce quando dice arte = espressione) papini, il papinismo De Robertis (anello di congiunzione), putrefazione progressiva della lingua, stile, italianità,

ruffianesimo, la Voce, la civiltà filosofica, la Somma di Tommaso, il barocco, lo spionaggio ecc. all'infinito)) dico se lei paga 25 lire al pezzo le infami propaggini (vociane) della putrefazione progressiva di una buona metà dell'Italia, perché perdio dà solo dieci lire a me? ¹¹⁴

With the onset of 1916, Campana's mental state declined further. Throughout the Winter and Spring, he writes to friends - to Cecchi, Papini, Boine, Soffici and Novaro - in terms which reflect his mounting fears of persecution. The account he gives to each of these individuals of the tragedy which has befallen him differs only in small details. To each, he depicts himself as a victim, not only of Papini and Soffici but on a larger scale: victim of the medical staff who do not wish him to be cured, of the Emperor, Giolitti, of Florentine 'litterati', and of the country as a whole. His correspondence is prolific.

On 5 January 1916, Campana wrote two letters, one to Ardengo Soffici, the other to Mario Novaro. He begins an invective against those he considers responsible for the loss of his manuscript, an invective which would continue for months to come. Although Campana had in fact entrusted the manuscript to Soffici, he insists on blaming Papini and indeed excludes Soffici from the 'spionaggio e complicità di carne venduta' of Florentine literary circles since he considers him to be, like himself, 'una vittima delle donne'.¹¹⁵ This is just one of many strange statements Campana makes around this time.

In the letter he writes to Novaro on the same day, Campana continues to express his views in an intemperate language: '... oggi in poesia ci sono troppi rospi e troppi anfibi di una fantasia e di un gusto che non saprei meglio definire se non come quelli d'un paysan qui aurait lu Baudelaire - la qual cosa è forse la migliore che si possa dire di Papini, padre dello scandalo'.¹¹⁶ Papini, to whom Campana would write shortly, threatening to come to Florence 'con accuminato coltello' unless his manuscripts are returned, is depicted as the chief villain and the main source of Campana's personal tragedy.¹¹⁷ He, and his poetry, are associated with the qualities Campana most despises: '... il corrispettivo morale della poesia di Papini non può essere che uno sbirro o un assassino'.¹¹⁸

Campana's letters to Boine, Cecchi and Novaro at this time are full of persecutory delusions. To each, he describes events leading up to the loss of his work, 'ce qui devrait être ma défense et la justification de ma vie', to Boine,¹¹⁹ and to Cecchi, in Italian, 'la... giustificazione della mia esistenza'.¹²⁰ To Boine, he describes the 'étroite surveillance des flics qui de suite me frappèrent à coup de crosse de revolver et me laissèrent pour mort dans une rue de Bologne et m'empêchèrent de terminer ma quatrième année de chimie'.¹²¹ To Cecchi he tells of his resolve to recompose - 'a memoria' - the Canti Orfici, 'giurando di vendicarmi se avevo vita' and he writes, with reference to Soffici and Papini: '... Quegli sbirri fecero così perché mi sapevano strettamente sorvegliato'.¹²² In these letters, Campana dwells on details of his illness which is becoming a constant preoccupation. He describes it as a form of paralysis: 'Un po' di gonfiezza dal lato destro e brividi',¹²³ 'mezzo paralitico',¹²⁴ 'un peu paralysé',¹²⁵ and, to both Cecchi and Novaro he describes the attentiveness of the medical staff as a form of conspiracy: '... Mi ammalai gravemente e nessuno volle curarmi (dicevano che avevo un principio di nefrite per fregarsene)';¹²⁶ '... Sono stato quaranta giorni all'ospedale di quà, dove, per fregarsi di me hanno detto che avevo: la nefrite'.¹²⁷ Such statements are interspersed with flashes of insight: moments when Campana acknowledges his waning creative powers: '... scrivere non posso, i miei nervi non lo tollerano piu';¹²⁸ 'ho bisogno di un appoggio per fare ancora quel poco che potrò'.¹²⁹ Feelings, which for so long had not been expressed - bitterness, in particular, towards Soffici and Papini - now emerge in distorted recollections.

Critics have pointed out how strange it was that Campana let two years go by before reacting to the loss of the manuscript of Il Più Lungo Giorno. It is clear from studying his correspondence of this time that his sudden loathing for these two men of letters is linked to his deteriorating mental condition. It is just part of those fears and delusions in which he sees everyone - friends, the Florentines, Giolitti himself - in league against him. He rejects Italy and its literary heritage and once more contrasts it with France: '... il faudrait chercher en France un appuis contre les nègres d'ici qui paraissent monopoliser le génie latin qui est et sera demain la chose plus sacré qui existe sur la terre'.¹³⁰ Elsewhere, he dwells specifically on his need to find work. He tells Cecchi and others that France is his desired destination and asks for help

in finding work there. France, a country to which he will never return, seems now to embody those moral qualities which Campana had once seen in Germany. He explains his earlier dedicace to the German Emperor as follows:

... Ora io dissi die Tragödie des letzten germanen in Italien mostrando di aver nel libro conservato la purezza morale del Germanen (ideale non reale), che è stata la causa della loro morte in Italia. Ma io dicevo ciò in senso imperialistico e idealistico, non naturalistico. (Cercavo idealmente una patria non avendone). Il germano preso come rappresentante del tipo morale superiore (Dante Leopardi Segantini).¹³¹

Campana's prolific correspondence coincides broadly with the end of his poetic creativity and the waning of those qualities which poetry demands: control of material and clarity of expression. The little Campana would write from this time would have very little critical detachment; there are, however, rare and momentary flashes of insight into his deteriorating mental condition and its detrimental effect on his creative writing.

Extreme fluctuations of mood characterize this phase of Campana's correspondence. Invective against his Italian contemporaries and a reiteration of his feelings of persecution are his main themes; he also enquires sporadically about possibilities of finding work. His intention to find work in Nice (letter dated 9 April 1916, to Cecchi), has faded away by early May when he writes again to his friend (2 May 1916). The little he does write at this time, compositions like 'Notturmo teppista', part of which he encloses in a letter to Novaro¹³² and which he will subsequently describe as 'cose da ubriaco'¹³³ further reflect his unstable mental state. Even in its subsequently published form, the poem appears largely incoherent. In this same letter, Campana asks for Novaro's help in selling his work. His critical faculties are declining; the high standards formerly imposed have given way to a more careless approach which would be reflected in the slow disintegration of his writing. He writes hardly any poetry and the prose he writes is barely distinguishable from his correspondence. Indeed, in a letter to Novaro he encloses a sample of his most recent writings which he describes as 'sciochezze improvvisate oggi'.¹³⁴ Although such a flippant reference should not be taken too literally, the differences with

previously written works are striking. This is highlighted by Campana's question: 'Le pare che valgono 25 Lire? Se non bastano manderò ancora.'¹³⁵ He would not have made such a remark two years earlier.

Despite Campana's growing instability and the deterioration of his creative powers, he remains able to admire great art and does not lose sight of what it should be. It is again in letters to Cecchi and Novaro - two men of letters whose personal qualities Campana continues to admire - that he turns his attention to literary matters. In a brief note to Cecchi written in January 1916, he expresses his regard for Mallarmé and observes: '... Trovo una vera delicatezza e profondità di sentimenti intimi, della finezza di colore che ricordano Mallarmé, della modernità comica perfettamente intonata ... pure sento di non poter rendere ora la forza suggestiva che risento'.¹³⁶ This is a further acknowledgement of his own diminishing creative powers whilst continuing to appreciate great art. This is further seen from his communication to Novaro some months later. He sends him a composition by a little known sixteenth century authoress, Luisa Giaconi, and asks Novaro to publish it in his review, La Riviera Ligure. It is the order and discipline of the classical art form which he admires and which he considers to set it apart from contemporary literature. Introducing the poem to Novaro, he observes:

... A parte qualche noiosità femminile di melopea e qualche scintillamento di braccialetto... apre la gretta e taccagna arte italiana. La strofa liberata della multiforme catena, con due o tre assonanze elementari ritenta un più puro amore delle luci e delle forme. C'è, in questa poesia una sensibilità neo-greca che è quella della vera poesia italiana moderna ...¹³⁷

Campana stipulates, as a condition of publication, that the poem should be followed by the inscription 'Poeta Germanicus', an indication that he still associates certain moral qualities with national characteristics. Campana's continuing preoccupation with the concept of nationalism is also expressed elsewhere, as in his dedication of 'una poesia patriottica', earlier published under the title 'Canto proletario italo-francese', to his friend Novaro.¹³⁸ This poem is followed by the comment: 'La potrei rivivere e terminare nel senso di un "addio all'Italia" solamente. (Ma questo addio, anche praticamente, è

terribilmente difficile poterlo dare)'.¹³⁹

In these opening months of 1916, Campana's mental deterioration was even more obvious. Despite the apparent lucidity of his letters to Novaro, Campana's correspondence at this time reflects an exalted mental state and a deep dissatisfaction with life: '... Non sono un vile e temo che la mia riserva di eroismo sia esaurita'.¹⁴⁰ In preceding months, he had expressed his wish to go to France. He does not carry out this wish but arrives in Livorno in May. This change, however, does little to calm his mood. The coming weeks of the early Summer 1916, in which Campana would move freely between his family's new home in Lastra a Signa, Livorno and Antignano (on the outskirts of Livorno), would be amongst the most turbulent of his life.

In the villa of Bianca Fabroni where he lodged intermittently between the end of May and the 23 June 1916, he met and fell briefly in love with a fellow guest. Bianca Lusena, alive today and living in Rome, told me what she remembered of Campana's arrival - 'vestito da viandante'. In the daytime he remained in the village. She recalled an occasion when Campana presented her with a poem which he claimed to have composed 'lì per lì' and which he dedicated to her. However, the text of this poem appears identical to the poem published in La Riviera Ligure the same month under the title 'A M...N...' Poetry, she said, was his means of communication and he also gave her a dedicated copy of the Canti Orfici.¹⁴¹

During this same period, Campana came across the writings of a certain Ellen Key, a Scottish lady living at this time in Pisano and who had herself fallen under the influence of the mystic authoress Madame Aurel. Abandoned by her husband, apparently on account of her esoteric preoccupations, she had settled in Italy. Campana begins a short but passionate correspondence with her. He writes his first letter after reading one of her mystically orientated works, focussing on love as embodied in the ideal 'coppia umana'.¹⁴² Ellen Key's exalted writing, her theories about love and human relationships, would strike a chord in a distraught Campana. The tone of Campana's first letter to Mrs Key can only be imagined. From the reply, however, it emerges that in writing to her for the first time, Campana had drawn her attention to a recent critical appreciation of his work which had clearly made him very proud.¹⁴³

It is perhaps no coincidence that in the same newspaper in which this critical appreciation of Campana's work had appeared and with which he was clearly familiar, there was also an article on Madame Aurel, the mystic medium whose ideas now form the basis of Campana's correspondence with Ellen Key.¹⁴⁴ This article reports a lecture she had given in Rome - 'Gli errori della forza' - and mentions some of her writings like Le Couple and La semaine d'amour, giving a summary of her ideas. Most prominent amongst these and certainly one which would have intrigued the poet, are the parallels she draws between human relationships and world events. She links the occurrence of wars to the notions of 'force' and 'conquest' and distinguishes between the force or strength which comes from 'within' and that which comes from 'above'. In her Rome lecture, she said: '... Quando la guerra non era ancora proclamata l'uomo e la donna mettevano così poco pensiero nella loro unione e così poco saggezza nel persuadersi, che io disperai a volte di rendere la donna più cosciente e, reciprocamente vedevo l'uomo latino allontanarsi di più moralmente dalla sua donna'.¹⁴⁵ She argues that the sufferings imposed by war, in particular the war with Germany, have brought 'la coppia umana' closer together. These ideas would inspire Campana, first in his relationship with Ellen Key and subsequently in his relationship with Sibilla Aleramo.

From Ellen Key's replies to Campana's letters between 19 and 27 June, it emerges that Campana dedicated a copy of his work to her, inscribing it with the words 'Alla consapevole figliolina dell'Increato'.¹⁴⁶ It is not really surprising - although Ellen Key appears deeply shocked - that, after a few passionate exchanges, he declares his love and desire to be with her. Ellen Key, or 'Sorella Margherita' as she now calls herself, rebuffs him coldly. Addressing him as 'Infelice fratellino', she reminds him of the nature of their relationship as 'spirit-children'; she recalls 'da buona sorellina' that she is 68 years old (but adds: 'quantunque ne dimostro 50'), and urges him to return to his reading of Walt Whitman,¹⁴⁷

Campana's restlessness over these Summer months of 1916 is confirmed by a number of those to whom I spoke and who knew the poet at this time. Grazia Ciulini, sister of the present owner of the Albergo Sanesi at Lastra a Signa where the Campana family lodged, recalled Campana's constant comings and goings. When he returned home, she said, he always looked like a tramp and

seemed to have been drinking; 'grandi scenate', she told me, were to be heard upstairs when Campana demanded more money from his father and such scenes were generally followed by a further period of absence from home.¹⁴⁸

It was in Livorno that the most dramatic events of this time would occur. The background to them is given in a series of newspaper articles, spanning the first three weeks of June. The first, which carries the headline: 'Un letterato fiorentino arrestato per sospetto di spionaggio', is dated 1 June 1916. It documents a very strange incident which had taken place the previous day. After staring for some time towards the open sea, Campana had apparently enquired from two passing ladies the location of the naval base. The two 'donnette' immediately became suspicious, as much on account of his appearance, as by his question. The police were called and Campana was arrested.¹⁴⁹ This incident might seem trivial were it not for a subsequent event, reported in the same newspaper three weeks later (21 June), which again resulted in Campana's arrest on suspicion of spying. This time, however, no further details of this incident are given and the poet was released after twenty-four hours.¹⁵⁰

These events alerted the public to the presence of the author of the Canti Orfici in Livorno and the question of spying drew attention to the dedicace to the German Emperor. It was on this subject that Athos Gastone Banti, director of the local newspaper Il Telegrafo where these events had been reported, wrote an article on 22 June. Prompted by a letter of abuse he had received from the poet, blaming the people of Livorno for his recent misfortunes, Banti attacks Campana:

... Perché, insomma, per quanto brutto e rosso e di aspetto tedesco sia il signor Campana, non può essere che ogni volta lo arrestino soltanto per quello... Se lo arrestano vuol dire che egli fa, in pubblico, dei discorsi scemi: dei discorsi stupidi: dei discorsi cretini: dei discorsi... da poeta italo-germanico.¹⁵¹

In a letter dated the following day, Campana replies with a string of abuse: '... Voi siete un grottesco negro affatto idiota, perciò dicendomi germanico ho voluto darvi una pedata nel culo' and, in a postscript, challenged Banti to a duel.¹⁵² Banti accepted the challenge but the duel never took place; in a letter dated 25 June - just forty eight hours after issuing the challenge - Campana sent

word to Banti's second that he will be unable to keep the 'appointment'.¹⁵³
As a result, correspondence ceased and the affair came to an end.

By the Summer of 1916, Campana's emotional isolation was complete. His family, now living at Lastra, had long ceased to provide him with the security he needed and it was by now becoming increasingly doubtful whether anyone could. There was, however, to be one final attempt to find fulfilment, the total and impossible experience he craved. This he would now seek in a relationship with a woman who would play a crucial role in the final months of Campana's free, creative, life. Her name was Sibilla Aleramo.

Summer 1916 - Winter 1917: Declining Years.

Campana had hardly arrived back home following his traumatic adventures in Livorno when he received, early in July, a letter from Sibilla Aleramo, congratulating him on his recently published work and requesting a meeting.¹ She was a writer well known for her feminist ideas and for her affairs with some of the most prominent men of letters of this time, including Papini and Cardarelli.² Campana showed little interest at first and, in a letter to Cecchi expressed reservations: '... Sa che lasciasti l'università a causa delle studentesse, e non è ancora finita...'³ He acknowledges his unsatisfactory mental state but there is as yet no sign of the emotional turmoil which his relationship with the 'dramatic' Sibilla will entail.

A fairly lighthearted correspondence between Campana and Sibilla followed and a meeting was arranged at Il Barco. They met there, on 1 August, and spent a few idyllic days together. After separating, they continued to keep in touch by brief telegrams and letters. Throughout this time, it was Sibilla who was the more insistent, constantly making emotional demands on Campana and telling him of her need to be with him. '... Mi ami sempre?'⁴ By way of reply, Campana tells of his latest literary discovery - Omar Khayam⁵ - and, in an illustrated postcard a little later, he comments: 'Tutto va per il meglio nel migliore dei mondi possibili'.⁶ Writing again on 22 September, Campana does not express any passionate feelings but dwells on the simple joys of nature and makes plans for their next meeting. His enjoyment of the present is evident: '... Mi sono messo in viaggio con un tempo magnifico e per tutta la mattina ho pensato a te come per raccoglierti intorno gli ultimi splendori della bella stagione... Cantavo'.⁷ This mood, however, would not last. By early October, a change seems to have taken place which would culminate in the tumultuous end of the brief affair. This change in the relationship is vividly recorded in their correspondence.

Two letters, both dated 3 October, give the first real indication that all was not well with Campana. In a letter to Sibilla sent from the railway station of Pisa, he expresses fear of the people around him and reacts by withdrawing into a world of fantasy. Reality becomes a nightmare, like the one he had created in 'La giornata di un nevristenico'.⁸ He is preoccupied with women: '... Vi sono

molte donne né belle né brutte. Aimè, io non posso guardarle. Possibile?'⁹

In another letter sent by Sibilla to Emilio Cecchi on the same day, we have a more specific indication of Campana's mental disturbance: '... Campana è malato profondamente, neurastenia con mania continua di fuga, di annientamento ... Bisogna che senta altri cuori, oltre al mio che lo vogliono vivo'.¹⁰

Although she believes that Campana is now over the worst, she begs Cecchi - one of the few people Campana still regards as his friend - to come quickly and to give what support he can. Her guarded optimism - '... Ora ritorna un po' di calma'¹¹ - is soon dispelled. Some three weeks later she will describe his uncontrollable, often violent, expressions of passion: '... Giornate fantastiche ... Campana mi ama: con la passione di un fanciullo, d'un selvaggio, e, ahimè, d'un pazzo'.¹² Her memoirs recall many similar states of frenzy in the poet.¹³

Throughout October, Campana continued to show signs of his deteriorating mental condition, in spasmodic outbreaks of violence when they are together and in letters when they are apart. Two letters Campana wrote during this period contain 'poetic fragments'. On 13 October, he writes to Sibilla in a telegraphic and largely incoherent style, lamenting the fact that he is ill; he comments bitterly on her affair with Papini: '... So che vorreste avere la forza di seguire (?) il vostro destino e di... papini (tanto mi odiate?)'¹⁴ and continues by quoting five conventional lines of Italian verse which, perhaps even more than his outbursts, indicate the desolation of his present state of mind:

Fabbricare, fabbricare, fabbricare
 Preferisco il rumore del mare
 Che dice fabbricare fare e disfare
 Forse il disfare è tutto un lavorare
 Ecco quello che so fare¹⁵

As his farewell - 'Scrivete, Addio' - shows, he is unable to accept the thought of renouncing Sibilla completely. His need for her and for companionship will never allow him to accept the break in their relationship as final. The second letter probably written around this time although undated, incorporates the 'poetic fragment' 'Davanti alle cose'. As in the brief verse composition, 'Fabbricare, fabbricare, fabbricare', he expresses a resigned view of life, very

different from the extremes of frenzy described by Sibilla. He is drained of emotion, a defeated spectator of life: '... Davanti alle cose troppo grandi sento l'inutilità della vita'. He dwells on the past and contrasts it with the present which seems unreal: '... Il mare ieri era discretamente bello. Sono andato di notte al mare. Mia vergine perché leggemo d'Annunzio prima di partire...'. In his distorted perception, literary echoes merge with real experiences. His repudiation of d'Annunzio - '... Nessuno come lui sa invecchiare una donna o un paesaggio' - is both moral and literary.¹⁶ It is a lament for his past, for aspirations he no longer feels capable of fulfilling, for memories and experiences to which he no longer feels able to return and of which four lines of 'A M...N...', as Campana himself acknowledges - 'Ah miseria di questi ritorni' - provide a painful reminder:

Come delle torri d'acciaio
 Nel cuore bruno della sera
 Il mio spirito ricrea
 Per un bacio taciturno.

Campana's great need for love and his increasing inability to obtain it, are summed up in his final words: '... Puoi amarmi? ancora? ancora? ancora? ancora?',¹⁷

Throughout November and the early part of December, Campana continued to correspond with Sibilla, in one letter pleading for forgiveness, in another declaring their affair to be at an end. An indication of a further deterioration in his condition comes in two letters written later that month and dated 17 and 22 December. Writing to Cecchi and Danilo Lebrecht, Campana expresses his profound despair. He conveys his feelings through images of oppression and suffocation: a desolate landscape which is closing in, draining him of life and feeling:

...Là tra Sorrento e Cuma dove il Vesuvio fuma si fuma
 divago caro Cecchi mi sembra come se una montagna
 un'enorme montagna che enorme spettrale macabra perché
non esiste si sia drizzata accanto e voglia esistere -
voglia esistere voglia esistere questo e atroce
 che quello che non esiste voglia esistere, quest'incubo,
 voglia esistere a qualunque costo minacci di scomparire
 per esistere è atroce darei il mio sangue per dire che
 esiste ma non esiste è un incubo ...¹⁸

Campana's anguish arises from the stormy end of his affair with Sibilla:

'... Sono tre mesi che ci strappiamo di mano i resti del nostro amore ...'¹⁹

The letter becomes increasingly incoherent; despair mingles with abuse.

Expressions like 'incubo mostruoso' and 'Ora non ho più forza' describe the feelings which make him withdraw into a world of his own. When, five days later, he writes to Lebrecht, he refers to his personal tragedy in grandiose terms:

... Ora ti dirò solo che dopo tre giorni di disperato amore, tutto è nuovamente finito. Veniva [Sibilla] dal Sole, di là tra Sorrento e Cuma dove il Vesuvio fuma. L'amerò disse una volta sola e ciò sarà prima di morire. Là nella grotta di Cuma? ...²⁰

Campana's mental condition will continue to decline until his final internment in mental hospital one year later. His letters reflect increasing introspection and withdrawal from reality. His comments to Lebrecht: '... voglio rimettermi al corrente di tutto',²¹ the enquiries to Cecchi concerning the most recent number of La Riviera Ligure (30 December)²² and the possibility of finding a publisher for a second edition of his work are isolated statements which he does not pursue.²³ In reality, Campana is unable to make any sort of commitment; any interest he shows in literature and in his own future is transitory. In both letters, written between Christmas and the New Year, 1917, such practical concerns quickly give way to speculations of a very different sort. As earlier, he idealizes France: '... Vive la France'²⁴ and wants to enlist: '... Voglio ... che la primavera mi trovi alitare tra i campi a meno che non venga l'invasione nel qual caso son certo che partirò a battermi - in borghese'.²⁵

Issued with a Passaporto per l'interno in September 1916, Campana is quick to seize upon the limited freedom and in January 1917, he returns to Livorno.²⁶ In a letter addressed to Sibilla, his mother asks her to persuade Campana to leave Livorno, the scene of so much earlier trouble, and to return home: '... Farà molto piacere a dirle questo anche a nome del babbo suo, noi non gli scriviamo perché non ci dà ascolto'.²⁷ Little more than one month later, however, and after a very brief visit back to Lastra a Signa, Campana is in Turin. As his mother tells Sibilla in a further letter, they hear nothing more:

... Abbiamo atteso invano la risposta. Circa il 20 ebbe le altre 30 lire, e il primo di marzo altre 30 lire, con preghiera di dirci perché era costà, [Torino] cosa faceva come stava. Siamo al 5 [marzo] e nulla scrivere. Il babbo dice che se non gli chiede non gli manda più denaro ...²⁸

After lamenting her son's wretched state - 'fa il possibile per star male e fare star male i suoi ...', she recollects with pride his early promise and his ability as a child to recite the Ave in French.²⁹ She encloses medallions with each of these letters; that of the Madonna delle Grazie on 4 January 1917 and of St Francis of Assisi on 5 March.³⁰

Towards the end of March, Campana's mother wrote to Sibilla again. She says that they have now received a postcard from Dino, acknowledging receipt of his allowance. Thanking her for the continuing care she has shown her son, she raises the subject of marriage. Although she says she is unable to offer any advice on this matter, she makes it clear she feels no more sense of responsibility: '... A Dino non abbiamo che da salutarlo e fargli auguri, pregarlo a conservare quel puo [sic] di roba, camicola specialmente, e abiti che non ✓ potremo l'anno venturo rifarli...'³¹ As contact with his own home ceases and correspondence with friends dwindles, Campana is becoming increasingly dependent on Sibilla.

After the emotional turmoils of 1916 and the restless wanderings of the early months of 1917, Campana was back in Tuscany in early March. From here he writes to Sibilla, announcing his determination never to see her again:

'... preferisco uccidermi piuttosto che vivere con voi... Sento che non potrò mai perdonarvi. Addio dunque. Tutto è finito per sempre',³² only to follow this with a brief telegram sent next day, in which he begs for forgiveness.³³

This pattern of behaviour would continue throughout that year. Sibilla was not entirely guiltless; her attitude encouraged Campana's hope for reconciliation, something which even her friends acknowledge.³⁴

A further manifestation of Campana's growing dissatisfaction with life is found in a letter dated 9 April 1917 and sent from Rubbiana, Tuscany. He seems to accept defeat and lucidly assesses his present state: '... sono realmente

ammalato... sono troppo stanco e troppo ammalato per cercar di comprendere. Prendo il partito dei deboli, il mio solito partito: Parto... Sai che neppure le acque e neppure il silenzio sanno più dirmi nulla - e senti la mia infinita desolazione ...³⁵ His resignation persists when, some two weeks later, he writes again to Sibilla. In this brief, largely incoherent note, he comments on the folly of their continuing correspondence and observes: '... La vita è un circolo vizioso'.³⁶ Throughout this Spring and early Summer their relationship becomes increasingly tense: '... Né per vivere né per morire posso vivere senza di te'.³⁷ In August, Campana returned to Marradi; he writes to her again from Campigno, describing his joy to be back home, 'fra le vergini foreste'.³⁸ From here, he also renews correspondence with Cecchi and starts to correspond with Leonetta, Cecchi's wife. His sense of alienation persists and is expressed in terms which blend echoes of Futurism with the 'spiritual' experience of La Verna. He contemplates and identifies with the beauties of nature: '... Dalle rupi di Campigno, nelle cui rupi pietrose abita permanente il falco io spero di superarle e volare sopra di esse con tutta la fierezza e la forza dell'aquila. Fra tutti gli aeroplani moderni anche il mio seguirà il suo destino. O la morte o la gloria!...' His signature - 'poeta del presente e dell'avvenire' - is a further indication of his exalted state of mind.³⁹

Over the next few days, Campana would send only brief telegrams to Sibilla, simply stating his devotion to her: 'Yours forever'.⁴⁰ His next letter dramatizes their relationship in hyperbolic terms: '... Siete per me l'unica divinità sulla terra vi amo come un idolo senz'occhi. Ho esaurito tutto il mio ottimismo, ma venite a bere il sangue dei miei ginocchi, venite divina sola tra tutte la donne. Sono vostro schiavo'.⁴¹

Campana's subsequent letters sent to Novara (Ca' di Janzo) where Sibilla was now staying, continue in the same vein: '... ti scrivo piangendo ti supplico per l'amore che hai per me di tornare da C[ampana]. Lavora e sii felice' and '... Nella boccetta non c'è più profumo'.⁴² Such professions of devotion continue with mounting intensity throughout August and September when Campana carries out his intention - 'Vorrei venire in Piemonte e vivere presso di voi' - and arrives in Novara in search of Sibilla.⁴³ His subsequent arrest and internment there are reported in further newly-found documents.⁴⁴

Found to have no identity papers, Campana was arrested and imprisoned in Novara. From here, he sends a telegram to Sibilla, asking her to come. She did so and their final meeting took place. It is an occasion which is vividly described by Sibilla in her autobiographical novel:

... Uscii un giorno da un carcere, dove tre le sbarre
 un viso sciagurato m'invocava, sovrano viso che mi
 chiedeva perdono, caro ahi caro viso ritrovato e per
 sempre riperduto. Più tremenda la mia solitudine mi
 parve di quella stessa prigionia dove si gemeva e dove
 almeno qualche carciere assisteva ...⁴⁵

The emotional intensity of their relationship was certainly far from one-sided.

Campana's journey to Novara had at least one positive result. It prompted what is probably the only verse composition to emerge from this final period of decline, 'La dolce Lombardia'. Like most of his other posthumously published writings, it is undated. Its content, however, leaves little doubt that it was composed during, or very shortly after, his imprisonment there. The poem is unique amongst the increasingly incoherent and turbulent writings of this time and one can speculate whether the routine of prison life, albeit lasting only for two days, may have had a calming influence on the poet. It has certain affinities with some of the poetry of Verlaine, to whom Campana would pay tribute in later years:⁴⁶

La dolce Lombardia coi suoi giardini
 Il monte Rosa
 E un grande macigno
 Ci corrono le vette
 A destra e a sinistra all'infinito
 Come negli occhi del prigioniero ...
 ... Settembre solare denso
 Dove le betulle emergono nel
 Piano
 Lontano
 Il macigno bianco⁴⁷

The peace Campana may have found in the contemplation of nature was to be short-lived. Within two days of having sent the telegram to Sibilla, she had arrived in Novara and succeeded in securing his release; on 13 September 1917, Campana was issued with a Foglio di via and sent home.⁴⁸

His mental condition deteriorated rapidly and his correspondence with Sibilla came virtually to its end. He takes up correspondence again with old - and some new - acquaintances. Writing to the painter Carlo Carrà, to Leonetta Cecchi, to Papini and to Soffici amongst others, Campana expresses fears and fantasies which would ultimately lead to his committal to a mental hospital.

Some ten days after his return from Novara, Campana writes to his former 'enemy', Giovanni Papini. Although this may seem strange, particularly after a silence of some eighteen months, it is clear from the content of this brief note that Campana is beyond the reach of reason. In a series of vivid images, and without preamble, he portrays himself as living in a world inhabited only by mythological, animal-like, creatures: '... Come un fauno deluso prendo il ghiaccio di un bacino sotto una cascatella montanina'.⁴⁹ Although largely incoherent, this brief letter, like the fragment he will send Cecchi's wife the following day, conveys well Campana's mental state. He is barely able to express his ideas except in broken and fragmented language which mirrors his anguish and his sense of alienation from a hostile world.

Campana is still in Marradi when he writes to Leonetta Cecchi. The letter is presented in the form of a dialogue between Faust and Mephistopheles. The brief exchanges between the two protagonists are largely incoherent. Nonetheless, images like that of a woman (the Medusa is mentioned), who 'collo sguardo fisso fa ghiacciare il sangue dell'uomo e tosto l'uomo si cambia in pietra', and the fragmented nature of the passage as a whole, project a powerful sense of desolation.⁵⁰ Such morbid fantasies would be prominent in the poet's correspondence over the months to come.

Campana again writes to Leonetta Cecchi a few days later. He says he is at present living with his family and looks, without much sign of serious resolve, towards his future: '... Vedremo: vedremo, senza ormai troppe curiosità, mi dico ormai'.⁵¹ In two other letters written in October, one to Carrà and the other to Binazzi, Campana expresses similar sentiments. To Carrà he writes of his intention to enlist but gives no indication of any immediate plans. Indeed, having raised the subject, his thoughts drift almost immediately: '... Del resto non avrei neppure fiato. Poi sai quanto odio la discussione[.] Cosa fa

Cardarelli?'⁵² The letters and poems Campana composes in this final period are often indistinguishable, reflecting his progressive mental disintegration and his inability for coherent thought and action.

The letter addressed to Binazzi incorporates a 'poetic fragment', 'San Francesco delicatezza'.⁵³ It begins with a hostile review of Papini's latest publication, Cento Pagine di Poesia⁵⁴ but Campana quickly digresses into a confused and generalised invective:

... industria del cadavere. Imperialismo borghese
 frasaiole, modernità dell'Italia giolittiana ...
 Meglio Soffici aigre et maigre nella polvere stemperata
 di tutti i topazi e gli orienti di d'Annunzio et di
 Rimbaud[.] Stenterello en poete qui se tord confit
 dans le bleu du jour ... I commessi, la chérie, il
 genio solare, la gioventù latina (che pure sono partiti
 per il fronte).⁵⁵

Following this outburst, Campana suddenly calms down. He tells Binazzi, as he had earlier told Carrà, of his intention to join the army and mentions, once again, his mental exhaustion: '... sono triste a morte, e presto muoio', which seems to be at odds with these plans. The subsequent refusal by the army to accept him is certainly not surprising; he comments in a brief letter to Binazzi written shortly afterwards: '... Sum debilis, malandato, buon veterano della nostra giovane guerra, domato domator aiutami'.⁵⁶ To Binazzi and later to Papini he continues to express his hopes of finding work but this can no longer be taken seriously. Indeed, Campana himself is aware - as he comments in a letter to Meriano - that he is unable to perform even the most menial of tasks: '... Sembra che trattino la questione di salvarmi dandomi un alloggio nella sottoscala del Mattino come correttore di bozze. Ma la salute è troppo cattiva. Inoltre se tu fossi restato a Bologna avrei avuto un amico, e allora... Ma io non penso che a me mentre tu sei alle prese colla realtà piu dura ...'.⁵⁷ In one of his rare moments of insight at this time, Campana seems aware of his true situation. His lethargy soon gives way to gloom and fear. In another letter, also sent from Marradi, he describes his recent rupture with Cecchi - 'a causa della Aleramo'.⁵⁸ He writes to Giacinta Papini on this same subject.⁵⁹ The wife of his declared enemy may seem a strange choice for 'confidante', but Campana may have been prompted by a feeling of shared suffering since Papini

had had an affair with Sibilla some years earlier.⁶⁰ He believed she might thus be able to share his feelings of vindictiveness towards this woman whom he refrains from naming but refers to slightly as 'una certa signora più fredda tremendamente gelida del metallo stesso'.⁶¹ He is characteristically intemperate in his abuse:

... Questa signora scaldata al fuoco dell'incesto, della lussuria sfrenata e dell'assassinio sadico dei fanciulli e dei malati... Questa carogna è piombata su me come la collera di Dio e mi ha lasciato distrutto dall'orrore per più di un anno, e ora dopo essersi divertita della mia agonia per tanto tempo mi circuisce e sta per ricadermi addosso e mettermi ancora nel suo letto dove accanto all'assassina io mi alzerò con orrore a un tratto nella notte ...⁶²

Towards Giacinta Papini and Leonetta Cecchi he has a feeling of trust given to very few in these weeks preceding his final hospitalisation. He ends this invective by appealing to Giacinta Papini - 'come donna' - to help him find a job, even if this means enlisting her husband's help. It is request which Papini would have little hesitation in refusing.⁶³

Little more than one month remained before Campana's final internment. Letters written in December and early January reflect his helpless mental state. He continues to be obsessed by thoughts of Sibilla's betrayal and loses even his closest friend, Cecchi.⁶⁴ Writing to Soffici in mid-December 1917, his sufferings seem unbearable. He sees himself as the victim of a police state and his ill-fated relationship with Sibilla and his abortive attempts to join the army as part of a plot against him: '... Sibilla mobilita contro di me il fango delle vie ma preferisco morire piuttosto che tornare con Lei. Il commissario mi ha fatto chiaramente comprendere che se non torno con Sibilla mi manda al fronte'.⁶⁵ He sees no way out and he contemplates - as he hints obliquely - suicide.⁶⁶

Campana's letter to the painter Carlo Carrà also shows the nightmarish nature of his fears and his morbid fantasies: '... E giunta l'ora...'⁶⁷ '... Ora sto meglio e lontano dalle letterature mi vado riconciliando un po' colla terra in cui troveremo pure un giorno la salvezza del povero ingegno italiano così

compromesso'.⁶⁸ He likens himself to a 'personaggio d'Annunziano' and adds 'suono lo scarabillo della mia infanzia'.⁶⁹ He ends this letter with other literary echoes: '... Souvenirs sur quoi l'enfer se fonde. Perché ci hanno avvelenato le sorgenti del ricordo noi che non avevamo che il sogno a consolarci? Perché ci hanno tolto il sogno, they have murdered sleep, come Macbet fece uccidere i paggi ingenui dormenti. Caro Carrà addio addio'.⁷⁰ He feels suffocated by the present and looks to the past: '... Così la prima notte che arrivai sulle Alpi l'inverno per tutta la notte davanti ai colossi nervosi mi tintinnò all'orecchio il suono di scarabillo di una suoneria gotica... Io che vivo in un cantante e fischiante paesetto toscano invidio ora Milano'.⁷¹

Such letters provide insight into Campana's suffering. There are a number of other such documents dating from just days before his internment which describe the more dramatic aspects of his condition. Leonetta Cecchi recalls one of these delusions: that his own life - in particular in relationship with Sibilla - is inextricably caught up in world events:

... Non vorrei eccedere dicendo ch'egli era in preda a una crisi di follia, ma certo ch'egli parlò come un pazzo. Un pazzo di genio, sì, ma pazzo. Comincio col dire ch'egli era il responsabile della guerra e di lì partì per una sequela di ragionamenti che tornavano a fil di logica e di sintassi ma non so ridirti di che materia imprevedibile, astrusa, imbevuti. Papini, la moglie di Papini, Soffici, suo padre, il suo padrone di casa, Bastianelli che attraverso te gli succhiano la sua energia, il suo sangue...⁷²

Similar recollections of Campana's fantasies are given by Primo Conti, a prominent figure in Florentine literary circles.⁷³ He describes Campana standing on a table in the local Birreria Pilsen, declaring himself, and more particularly his relationship with Sibilla, to be the cause of the war.⁷⁴ Other scenes are recalled by friends of the poet who remember his intemperate and irrational behaviour: '... Una mania di persecuzione che gli concede intervalli di tranquillità ma anche eccitazioni e atti di violenza inconsulte'.⁷⁵ Violent scenes and extreme fluctuations of mood are also reported by those living near the Campana family lodgings at the Albergo Sanesi. Campana was now tortured

by jealousy and morbid fears.

He writes a brief 'poetic fragment', 'Romeo e Giulietta', which he describes as a 'dramma in 14 quadri/e sette scene/dove si vedono mostruosi fatti e scene di terrore e orrore e infine della lotta della passione il trionfo dell'innocenza'.⁷⁶

Places and personal relationships acquire an intensified role. He refers to the 'diritto divino' of women and to the 'senso divino' of French democracy.⁷⁷ A letter to Soffici, written by a friend, further documents Campana's mental confusion:

... Mon ami [Campana] me charge de vous écrire ces choses dont je ne comprends pas le sens. Le cycle commencé il y a quatre [sic] ans et qui renferme la guerre Italienne étant ferme, l'homme encore vivant demande au transmetteur de revoir la dame avec laquelle il veut vivre. Il promet fidélité a elle et a ses amis dans la quatrième Italie.⁷⁸ x

Campana has now left the rational world behind; delusions would dominate his thinking, almost uninterruptedly, for the remaining fourteen years of his life in the mental asylum of Castel Pulci.

It was amidst scenes of considerable violence - as acquaintances and relatives of the poet recall - that Campana was finally taken from his home in Lastra to the Istituto per le malattie mentali in Florence and from there, on 28 January 1918, he was transferred to the longstay hospital for the chronically sick, Castel Pulci. It was here, in the hills outside Florence, that he would spend the remaining fourteen years of his life.

The final years, January 1918 - March 1932: Castel Pulci

The most reliable source of information regarding Campana's years in Castel Pulci is contained in records of conversations between Campana and the psychiatrist, Dr Pariani, held between 1926 and 1930.¹ As described by the doctor, Campana's appearance was that commonly seen in schizophrenic patients after long hospitalization: '... Camminava avanti e indietro con passo elastico e lungo, raccolto nelle spalle e nel collo, un poco curvo il capo, senza guardarsi intorno. Trascurava i compagni, evitava di rivolgere loro la parola'.²

Evidence suggests that Campana's mother and brother visited him in Castel Pulci; his father never did.³ Possibly Campana refused to see visitors. This was certainly true at a later stage of his internment since he said to Dr Pariani in 1930: '... Non desidero veder nessuno. Non desidero cambiare, né ricevere visite, né uscire'.⁴ By this time he was also displaying other signs of apathy, often seen in inmates of hospitals for the chronically sick, whose horizons have become limited by the walls of the particular institution where they live. They lose interest in the outside world which no longer has any relevance for them, retreating into a fantasy world where morbid ideas proliferate freely, unchecked by the influence of everyday reality. However, Campana did not seek total isolation at the beginning of his hospitalization. The day before his transfer to Castel Pulci, he had written to Sibilla: 'Vieni a vedermi ti prego'.⁵

Campana's behaviour in Castel Pulci was at first very disturbed and he went through periods of irritability and violence, attacking nurses and other inmates.⁶ Gradually, he settled down, with intervals of calm and relative lucidity. His last letters to Bino Binazzi and to his brother Manlio concerning the second (1928) edition of his work are coherent.⁷ To the end of his life he remained deluded and aloof but much quieter: '... Nei colloqui usava voce di tono medio mimica e gesti misurati, maniere gentili. La fisionomia era distratta e serena, l'apparenza alquanto ritrosa ...'.⁸

A pattern of behaviour which had manifested itself during Campana's adolescence

persisted, in an aggravated form, throughout his life in Castel Pulci: '... Cominciata la pazzia circa ai quindici anni alternata da periodi di eccitabilità e misantropia quasi continua ed in forma non grave tanto da permettergli il proseguimento degli studi'.⁹ At intervals he saw himself as the transmitting station of the world, the centre of all order. He described his imaginary power as 'la suggestione'¹⁰ and said: '... sono ipnotico in alto grado, sono tutto pieno di correnti magnetiche, faccio il medium magnetico'.¹¹ He suffered from delusions of grandeur ('Faccio sposare tutte le principesse', 'Sono il direttore dell'Italia', 'Faccio tutto l'ordine del mondo'),¹² delusions of omnipotence ('Devo provocare il terremoto al Giappone per risolvere le questioni italiane')¹³ and believed he had eternal life ('Non invecchio mai... posso vivere a volontà').¹⁴ He hallucinated wildly ('Sto in comunicazione con Milano; una specie di grammofono, di telegrafo senza fili')¹⁵ and felt persecuted by Sibilla whom he accused of being in league with the doctors and nurses and believed that Dr Pariani was a representative of the king who wanted to make him return to Florence.¹⁶

Campana is dismissive about his poetry ('Serve ad ammazzare la gente quel libro [Canti Orfici]') and 'Ora bisogna mi occupi di affari piu importanti')¹⁷ but his observations on Verlaine and his comments on Binazzi's hyperbolic praise show that he had not lost his discrimination in literary matters.¹⁸ At times, his insight into his illness is also clear. He says 'Non sono affatto malato',¹⁹ yet he also exclaims: 'Ma io sono pazzo'.²⁰ Campana's delusions and hallucinations are completely real to him and he does not accept that they might be symptoms of an illness. He strongly denies that he is sick whilst, at the same time, he is aware that his mental faculties are impaired and that he cannot function normally: '... Non connetto le idee, non seguo' and 'Ero una volta scrittore ma ho dovuto smettere per la mente indebolita'.²¹

As many of the documents relating to Campana's internment in mental hospitals have been lost or destroyed, the exact nature of his illness has to be reconstructed from letters and eye-witness accounts.²² Nor has information from the poet's family been forthcoming. All his relatives to whom I spoke sought to cover up his mental illness. His cousin Maria Cappelli and her sister-in-law Maria Sartoni told me of the family's shame. As Elda Campana, the poet's niece

told me, mental illness in the family was certainly not something they wished to talk about. Whilst admitting that, as a child, she hardly heard mention of her uncle, she insisted on her father's continuing concern for his brother. She recalled one occasion when, as a child, she was sent in search of two books, The Odyssey and The Iliad, in the original. These books, it seems, had been requested by Campana in one of his more lucid moments, shortly before the end of his life. She also said that her father, Manlio, had been making plans to have his brother come and live with them just before his death.²³

It is perhaps surprising that the only member of the poet's family who is definitely recalled to have visited the poet in Castel Pulci should be his mother. She was perhaps motivated by guilt for her earlier neglect of her son, or perhaps she was better able to withstand the emotional strain of such visits than her husband. Possibly it was the memory of his brother's death in a similar institution which made it particularly hard for the father to witness the suffering of his son.²⁴

What was the nature of Campana's mental illness? There is evidence of psychiatric abnormality on the paternal side; his uncle had died in a mental hospital and his father had had a brief mental disturbance.²⁵ His mother was excessively religious but nothing is otherwise known of hereditary factors on the maternal side. There is no doubt that Campana was given to alcoholic excesses but this is unlikely to have been the cause of his mental illness which was manifest well before any heavy drinking. His alcoholism was more likely to have been a consequence of his illness, a manifestation of his disorganised way of life. However, alcohol probably contributed to Campana's troubles by accentuating his aggressive behaviour, leading to fights, clashes with the police, and imprisonment.

In connection with his 1915 admission to hospital in Marradi, Campana mentioned 'paralisi vasomotoria' and 'congestione cerebrale';²⁶ three months later he wrote: 'sono mezzo paralitico (paresi)'.²⁷ There is some independent evidence for this since Dr Pariani confirms 'disturbi della innervazione vascolare per la metà destra della faccia e per la mano dello stesso lato, da Dino attribuiti a un insulto apoplettiforme di quattro anni prima'.²⁸ This raises the subject of cerebral syphilis, a true 'mal du siècle' among men of letters such as

Maupassant and Nietzsche, to name only two of Campana's near-contemporaries. His way of life and travels abroad may well have exposed him to infection at a time when syphilis was rampant in the absence of effective treatment. Whilst this diagnosis cannot be excluded with total confidence, the subsequent course of Campana's illness makes it unlikely. Cerebral syphilis, also called general paralysis of the insane, leads to rapid physical and mental deterioration. Yet Pariani was unable to detect physical decay or impairment of memory invariably found in advanced cerebral syphilis and, in 1930 - after twelve years in Castel Pulci - Campana was in a rather better physical and mental condition than on his admission there.

There can be little doubt, therefore, that Campana was suffering from schizophrenia or 'demenza precoce' as diagnosed in 1906.²⁹ From early childhood he was withdrawn or 'schizoid', as described by his father and also by his brother Manlio.³⁰ On reaching adolescence he became disturbed, with attacks of rage, callous behaviour ('non sente affetti'),³¹ persecutory delusions and restless wanderings. This remained the pattern of his illness which progressed at first spasmodically, separated by periods of more acceptable, although still abnormal, behaviour. From 1916, there was no remission and Campana continued to deteriorate, with depressive symptoms becoming more prominent. By the time Pariani recorded their conversations, Campana was profoundly deluded, with a loss of inner unity of thought, feeling and action as well as marked fluctuations of mood which are characteristic of this illness and are manifest in the poet's writings of later years.³²

As recorded by Dr Pariani, Campana's physical condition was excellent and his mental state improved remarkably towards the end of 1931, so that recovery and a return to normal life in the community were considered a possibility. However, on 27 February 1932 he was admitted to the infirmary with a slight temperature although he was otherwise in good general condition. The next day, his fever increased and a diffuse macular rash appeared; there was oedematous swelling and reddish spots in the genital area and the lower limbs. His condition was deteriorating rapidly and he had a toxic appearance with ashen face, dry tongue, profuse swelling, diarrhoea and vomiting. He became delirious and died after twelve hours of agony. The cause of death was given as acute septicaemia, a

purely clinical diagnosis as neither laboratory tests nor post-mortem were carried out.³³ Dr Pariani makes no mention of the cause of septicaemia but, some twenty-five years later, Manlio Campana stated that his brother died of 'una forma di febbre perniciosa, probabilmente in seguito ad un'infezione che si era procurata scavalcando un ferro spinato'.³⁴

The circumstances surrounding the poet's death are even more uncertain than information has hitherto been on his life. Manlio Campana suggests that his brother was injured whilst climbing a wire fence and thus raises the possibility of an attempted escape from Castel Pulci. However, Manlio was not present at the time of the presumed accident, probably not even at his burial at Badia a Settimo, so the barbed wire incident rests on hearsay. There is certainly no proof that Campana ever tried to run away, even during the more disturbed periods of his long illness and in the period preceding his death he was by all accounts calm and contented. He stated repeatedly to Dr Pariani that he regarded Castel Pulci as his permanent home and when Dr Pariani said: 'Suppongo che stia malvolentieri rinchiuso', he answered without hesitation: 'No! no! Sto benissimo qui'.³⁵

Could Campana's wound have been self-inflicted and was he in fact trying to commit suicide? In 1917, the year before his committal to Castel Pulci, Campana was often in a very depressed state and contemplated at least once putting an end to his life.³⁶ As far as we know, he never actually attempted suicide and there is no record of severe depression or of suicidal impulses whilst in hospital. All we know for certain is that Campana died at the age of forty six on 1 March 1932, of acute septicaemia, origin unknown, in the mental hospital of Castel Pulci where he spent the last fourteen years of his life. At the time of his death, his mental illness was in a quiescent phase; he had become a 'burnt-out' case of schizophrenia: withdrawn, listless, without wild hallucinations or delusions, no longer violent or aggressive but in a flat emotional state which he described thus to Dr Pariani: 'Sono un po' attonito; sono senza impressioni, senza carattere'.³⁷

Campana's death went almost unnoticed by the general public. His poetry would be rediscovered some years later and his rightful place accorded in the history of Italian literature.

II. THE WORK.

Campana at Work : Method of Composition.

The journalist, Sergio Zavoli, gives the following account of Dino Campana at work, which he gathered from the then-Registrar at the Town Hall of Marradi:

... Dino veniva nel mio ufficio e, senza badare se le esigenze lo permettevano, ordinava al mio dattilografo di battere a macchina i versi che egli dettava dagli appunti presi su pezzetti di carta straccia e che tirava fuori dalle varie tasche del suo vestito. Accadeva spesso che il dattilografo commettesse degli errori di scrittura e allora Campana, dopo un sacco di impropri, non esitava a strappargli il foglio e a fargli ripetere la buttuta ...¹

This account is substantiated by others, including Federico Ravagli, a friend from university days, to whom Campana dedicated a copy of his work. Ravagli also stresses the constant changes made by Campana to the 'finished' work:

... se, rileggendo, sentiva che il canto era compiuto e perfetto così, non pensava ad ulteriori elaborazioni e sviluppi, rinunciava a ogni proposito di aggiungere o di modificare. Salvo ricredersi, in altro momento, se provava impressione diversa. Sofferenza spirituale che non gli dava tregua, della quale io ho avuto cognizione piena quando mi recitava qualcuna di queste liriche tormentate²

Campana's poetic output was affected by his mental illness, manifesting itself in restlessness and perpetual dissatisfaction. Not even the publication of his work would stop the ceaseless rewriting of words and phrases. His disorganised life-style and fluctuating moods are reflected in the uneven content and layout of his poetry which developed like a vast collage, the final form arrived at - it seems - quite arbitrarily. Poems published in the Canti Orfici would be re-drafted, partially at least, even after publication. Campana's description of his poetry as 'effetti musicali' is no empty remark;³ it expresses at once something of the fragmented nature of his work, made up of 'effects' pieced together in a variety of ways and subject to perpetual change and re-arrangement, and the underlying cohesion which sound - music - creates.

The phenomenon of Variants, although not peculiar to Campana, forms a large

part of his total output. By variants I refer to all Campana's writings and fragments relating to his published work. They are alternatives, not necessarily inferior drafts of published compositions, and their study has hitherto been much neglected. In many cases variants have been rejected by chance rather than choice. They have been gathered from several sources; some were written on scraps of paper now scattered amongst the poet's relatives and friends. Many of the originals have been destroyed, making us dependent on publishers, whilst many more have never reached the stage of publication at all. I do not propose to present an exhaustive survey of all variants. I hope, however, that by tracing one or two compositions from their origins to their 'final' form, a better understanding of the evolution of Campana's poetry may be reached.

Enrico Falqui was chiefly responsible for the publication of Campana's scattered fragments, as well as for successive editions of the Canti Orfici.⁴ Although he declares his intention to adhere to the Ravagli text, his critical presentation is less than scrupulous and this transcription of a single composition frequently varies from one publication to the next. He takes little account of variants and rejects Bino Binazzi's second edition without - seemingly - considering the possible validity of some of the changes Binazzi makes. He is dealing with the 'finished' work rather than with its evolution and, by doing so, risks ignoring a vital aspect of Campana's work. He is inclined to impose his own editorial desire for method and order on Campana's fundamental 'disorder'.

Apart from the Canti Orfici, Campana left only a relatively small number of poems behind. These may be a guide to a better understanding of the poet; they should not be regarded as writings of outstanding merit. Campana himself referred to his poetry outside the Canti Orfici as '... rima sugli di versi, povertà, strofe canticchiate ...'⁵. He continually tried to improve, to rework, the text and was easily influenced by external factors.

The Quaderno, containing forty three poems, was probably written from the beginning of his writing career (1905-6), until the completion of the manuscript of Il Più Lungo Giorno; it contains the seeds of many of his later published work. Unpublished writings outside the Quaderno, were first put together by Enrico Falqui in 1942, whilst fragments found at a later date were incorporated in subsequent editions and were sometimes, 're-arranged'.⁶ Although there is

no reliable way of putting these compositions in any chronological order, most of them seem to belong to the 'post-Orfici' phase and reflect the gradual decline of Campana's poetic powers. Of the fifty-nine poems collected by Falqui, more than half are variants of works published elsewhere either as individual poems or letter-compositions. Many are fragments of some of the best known of the Canti Orfici poems, like 'Viaggio a Montevideo' and 'Firenze', and evoke particular images or 'note musicali'.⁷

Another substantial source of variants is the Fascicolo Marradese published by Ravagli in 1972.⁸ The date of its various compositions is difficult to determine; they consist of a number of 'bundles of manuscripts', given to Ravagli by a relative of Campana after the poet's death. Although they include some new works (for example two partial translations of foreign poems), they consist largely of much re-written drafts of poems which would be published later. They include variants of a number of Canti Orfici poems. Many of these manuscripts are also published in facsimile by Ravagli and help us to trace the development of Campana's poetry in a way Falqui's transcription fails to do.

Other poems which have come to light gradually, are contained in two other publications. One of these, the Taccuinetto Faentino, first published by de Robertis, is a compendium of poetic ideas and reflects the development of Campana's aesthetics.⁹ Interspersed with reflections on art, we also find modified versions of already published poems like 'Il canto della tenebra' and 'Immagini del viaggio e della montagna'. In some we find single words or phrases which suggest new ideas and plans, in others experimentation with new technical effects.

The compositions I have selected to illustrate the role of variants in Campana's work were published in the collection of the Versi Sparsi.¹⁰ The first of these, published here under the title 'A M... N...', but earlier entitled

'Canto proletario italo-francese', shows Campana's continuing need to experiment with new technical effects and to re-shape his work.¹¹ It reflects, as the title suggests, Campana's newly found patriotism and was written three months after the publication of the Canti Orfici, which carried a dedicace to the German Emperor, Wilhelm II. It is set in the present and reflects the poet's susceptibility to social pressures.

Fragments of it appear in several of the poet's letters, reflecting the importance Campana attaches to them. The four lines of 'refrain' are quoted, sometimes on their own, conveying a feeling of hope: a sense of constant striving and re-creation which seems to echo the philosophy of Nietzsche:

Come delle torri d'acciaio
 Nel cuore bruno della sera
 Il mio spirito ricrea 12
 Per un bacio taciturno.

In Campana's letters of later years, these lines appear more as a bitter reminder of the poet's past than aspirations for the future. When, in a letter written in 1916, Campana once again quotes this refrain, it is followed by the introspective statement: 'Ah miseria di questi ritorni'.¹³

The change in the title from 'Canto proletario italo-francese' to 'A M...N...' shows a shift in the poet's current preoccupations, but the changes in the text are almost entirely technical. They concern punctuation and the arrangement of words: 'collegamento'. Two lines, for example are merged into a single one in the later version:

Prendi il fucile guarda il nemico ti tocca andar
 (L.40, 'A M...N...').

When Campana published the 'Canto proletario italo-francese' in November 1914, he had already reached the peak of his creative career. A comparison of this, with the re-written version published some eighteen months later, shows features which one associates with the later phase of the Versi Sparsi.

'A M...N...' is divided into a number of verses of varying length, separated by a series of dots, suggesting a pause, an evocation of a mood, which is different from the earlier, descriptive, style. Other changes in the texts occur in lines 5-6:

... Là se c'è un fulvo giardino
E se è elegiaca con il turchino ...

(Canto proletario italo-francese)

... Se là c'è un rosso giardino
Che cosa è il bianco con il turchino?

('A M...N...')

This illustrates the direction of Campana's process of revision: the move towards an 'essential', an increasingly 'pure', poetry. The use of the present tense instead of the past descriptive in the brief prose passage 'Nel verde si spostarono le rondinelle', shows a similar trend: a move from the narrative to the present moment. Even here, however, one must be wary of generalising. Campana eludes categorisation. All we can do is to discern general trends and highlight features of his poetic development. Poems are never subordinated to some abstract principle; the mood of the moment - feelings - always come first. One can discern in the two versions of the poem published some eighteen months apart a move towards a more essential style; there are, however, also some changes like the insertion of the pronoun 'ti' in line 52 of the later text: '... Che la porta ti si aprira' (my italics), which suggests a move in the opposite direction.

Another variant of this poem is enclosed in a letter sent to Soffici in May 1915 and seems to represent an intermediate phase of rewriting.¹⁴ It includes two descriptive lines (5 and 6), not found in either the 'Canto proletario italo-francese' or 'A M...N...' and also differs in other minor details. It is divided into verses and suspension dots are used although these are considerably less prominent than in the version dedicated to Novaro.

A linear development between the three versions is also seen in the closing passage of the poem:¹⁵

Nel paesaggio lente si spostavano le rondinelle

(Canto proletario italo-francese': in prose)

Nel paesaggio lente si spostano le rondinelle

(Letter to Soffici, May 1915: in verse)

Nel paesaggio lente si spostano le rondinelle

('A M...N': written in verse)

There are occasions, however, as in L.24, where - after experimenting in an intermediary phase - Campana reverts to an earlier version:

Fin dove ... ('Canto proletaio italo-francese')

Là dove ... (Letter to Soffici, May 1915)

Fin dove ... ('A M...N...')

The second of Campana's poems I would like to discuss is 'Notturmo teppista' first published in La Teda in November 1922. Campana talks of this poem in dismissive terms, '... sono effetti di notte, ma poco veri ...' and is quick to reject it from his work.¹⁶ It is, as Campana himself said, fragmentary, consisting more of a series of disquieting images than a cohesive succession of ideas.

The earliest version of 'Notturmo teppista' is 'Oscar Wilde a San Minato'.¹⁷ It is part of the Quaderno, has a narrative thread, and is exclamatory in style, descriptive rather than evocative in technique. Images, like the 'fiume mostruoso' which 'luceva torpido come un serpente a squame', convey a mood of unrest which will recur in subsequent variants of the poem.

'Frammento', the second variant of 'Notturmo teppista' is divided into three parts, linked together by a common theme. The sense of disquiet is slightly more developed; the third and final section resembles most closely the narrative style of 'Oscar Wilde a San Miniato'. This time, however, there is no attempt to 'finish' the composition, an indication - like the title itself - that Campana conceived it as a literary experiment. He is seeking a technique which suggests rather than describes, but it is one which, as yet, remains to be mastered.

Another variant, published by Falqui amongst the Taccuini Abbozzi e Carte Varie, is entitled 'Genova'.¹⁸ In style, content and structure it resembles the Quaderno poem. The title seems strange in view of the evidently Florentine setting and could be due to an editorial error. The poem centres around the same key images as before. In the closing lines, however, we find a feature which links it more to the 'experimental' phase of 'Frammento' than to the narrative form of the Quaderno. It ends in a series of 'ecc.', a device which is found elsewhere in Campana's writings.¹⁹ Like the earliest fragment, it shows the development of a technique which will characterize the Versi Sparsi period.

Other drafts of the poem which can be found in the Fascicolo Marradese and in the manuscript of Il Più Lungo Giorno, also focus on isolated images. The short 'Amo le vecchie troie' found in Il Più Lungo Giorno, was probably the last of these variants to be written. All that links it to the fragments discussed so far is the common mood, the abandoning of reason to passing sensations; it contains an element of fantasy which 'Notturmo teppista' embodies in its published form.

Amo le vecchie troie
 Gonfie lievitate di sperma
 Che cadono come rospi a quattro zampe sopra la coltrice rossa,
 Flaccide come mantici²⁰

Further variants of this poem are incorporated in letters written during the two years preceding the poet's internment in a mental hospital. Their mood is quite different from the 'Canto proletario italo-francese'. Both 'Notturmo teppista' and the fragments quoted from it, carry the suggestion of a nightmare, of disintegration, of a loss of control. A brief note sent to Novaro in January 1916, reflects Campana's mental state. He writes in French, signs himself by a pseudonym

and ends his letter with a fragment of the poem.²¹ A second letter, written only one month later, contains the same poetic fragment, but the lines are left unfinished. Campana seems to lack the mental energy to create and abbreviates the words themselves, showing an attitude far removed from a once demanding aesthetic:

Amo le vecchie trrr.
Gonfie lievitate di sprrr.
che cadono come rospi a 4 zampe ...²²

Other variants of 'Notturmo teppista' are contained in the Taccuinetto Faentino. Some, like fragment XVI, are too brief to allow us to link them specifically to it,²³ others, like sketch XV, suggest a link with another composition of this time which - thematically at least - has associations with Campana's mental illness: 'La giornata di un nevrastenico'.²⁴ Another, more complete draft of 'Notturmo teppista' is found in fragment VIII, which resembles closely the 'Frammento' of Taccuini Abbozzi e Carte Varie. Like the Taccuinetto Faentino which is something of an Art Poétique, this fragment also acknowledges the torment of creation itself:

... L'irrequietezza il tormento di non creare i fantasmi greci
è tutta la bellezza del tormento di Heine di razza mediterranea²⁵

This fragment also incorporates a visual plan of the scene which is described in 'Oscar Wilde a San Miniato'. Perhaps more than any other variant examined so far, this draft paints the background of the poem and shows the importance visual images have for Campana. Together with other variants and with the published poem itself, it sheds light on an aspect of Campana's method of composition which, from reading the finished text alone, and, from the poet's own adverse criticism, may elude us.

The original Canti Orfici published by Ravagli appeared in a limited edition only. Campana supervised the sales himself, travelling, as Ardengo Soffici recalls, between Marradi and Florence, laden with copies of his work, tearing out pages he considered the prospective buyer incapable of understanding.²⁶ There are a relatively small number of copies left of the Ravagli edition of Campana's work. Amongst those which have come to light are a number which contain personal

dedicaces and which also have handwritten alterations and additions to the text. Some pages given to friends have pages missing; others, like those dedicated to Pagliai and Bastianelli, have both the inscription and dedicace to the German Emperor crossed out, followed by the words 'non più'.²⁷ Elsewhere we see Campana's desire to add a 'personal' touch to his work. The copy given to Beyor is dedicated to a 'vecchio amico'; Ravagli's is inscribed 'Al caro Ravagli Federico'²⁸.

The copy of the Canti Orfici given to Sibilla Aleramo contains the following inscription on the title page: 'Con cuore fraterno a /Sibilla Aleramo/ Dino Campana, Il Barco, 5 August 1916'.²⁹ The date of the dedicace coincides with the time of their first encounter. There is nothing printed on the double page which follows apart from the section heading 'La notte'. Both sides of this and the next single page have been used by Campana to write a variant of the poem which was originally published as 'Canto proletario italo-francese' in November 1914 and, subsequently, as 'A M...N...'

Although Sibilla's copy was dedicated to her in August 1916, the handwritten poems seem to have been inscribed some time earlier. The heading of the first handwritten poem is 'Domodossola' and the date - although difficult to decipher - appears to be 1915.³⁰ It resembles the poem sent to Soffici in May 1915 more closely than either of the published versions of the poem ('Canto proletario italo-francese' November 1914, or 'A M...N...' May 1916).³¹

Suspension dots, suggesting something inexpressible, are a prominent feature of the poem as inscribed in Sibilla's copy, but are absent from the earliest published version (November 1914); they will be used again in the May 1916 text of 'A M...N...'

A comparison of a few lines over various phases of development shows the following changes:

Line 8:

- Del povero italiano non si sa
('Canto proletario italo-francese': no final punctuation)
- Del povero italiano non si sa
(May 1915, letter to Soffici: no final punctuation)
- Del povero italiano non si sa:
(Sibilla Aleramo, Canti Orfici: final colon)
- Del povero italiano non si sa.
('A M...N...': final full-stop)

Line 24

- 'Fin dove si poteva arrivar'
(Canto proletario italo-francese)
- 'Là dove si poteva arrivar'
(Letter to Soffici, May 1915)
- 'Là dove si poteva arrivar'
(Sibilla Aleramo, Canti Orfici)
- 'Fin dove si poteva arrivar'
('A M...N...')

Line 36

- Con il badile prendi il fucile
('Canto proletario italo-francese')
- Lascia il badile, prendi il fucile ti tocca andar
(May 1915 to Soffici)
- Con il badile, prendi il fucile ti tocca andar
(Sibilla Aleramo, Canti Orfici)
- Con il badile, prendi il fucile ti tocca andar
('A M...N...')

As seen from some of the variants above, it is difficult to discern any linear progression in Campana's poetic variants. He experiments with new effects, but frequently reverts to an original draft (as in line 24 above). Looking at the layout as well as textual changes, it seems probable, that the two unpublished variants as inscribed in the Canti Orfici given to Sibilla, and his letter to Soffici, represent an intermediary phase of composition between the original form published six months earlier (November 1914) and the one which would be published one year later.

It is important to differentiate between two types of variants in Campana's

writings. The first is prompted by a perpetual desire for improvement, a refusal to accept a poem - published or not - as 'final'; aesthetic rather than ideological considerations dominate here. Such variants are a particular feature of Campana's poetic output between the final months of 1914 and the end of 1915, the phase of the Versi Sparsi. The second type of variant reflects Campana's momentary reaction to external events, like the short-lived dedicace of the Canti Orfici to the German Emperor.

Another poem, 'Arabesco-Olimpia', published around this time is also inscribed on a blank page of Sibilla's copy of the Canti Orfici, between 'Il Russo' and 'Passeggiata in tram in America e ritorno'. The page on which the last part of 'Il Russo' and the first part of 'Arabesco-Olimpia' was probably written is missing. The second part of 'Arabesco-Olimpia' is written on the next page which is also the title page of 'Passeggiata in tram in America e ritorno.' This fragment of 'Arabesco-Olimpia' (almost the entire second paragraph), is identical to the text published in October 1915, except that it is followed by the inscription 'Berna-Marradi'.³²

The third poem inscribed in Sibilla's copy is 'A Bino Binazzi - Toscana'. It is written on the blank page which precedes 'Piazza Sarzano', the penultimate poem. The text is again identical to the published version except for the final inscription, 'Campagna di Falterona'.³³

The fourth and final poem in Sibilla's copy is 'Bastimento in viaggio'. This title appears here for the first time since it was originally published as 'Frammento'.³⁴ It is written on the blank page which precedes the final composition, 'Genova'. Although the texts of handwritten and published poems are identical, the layout is different; the opening three lines in Sibilla's copy are in prose, the remainder in verse; the whole of the published poem is in verse.

Apart from adding poems to the published volumes of the Canti Orfici, Campana also made alterations to individual poems. On page 79 of Sibilla's copy, for example, the second of the two verses of 'Firenze(Uffizii)' has been crossed through by a light stroke of the pen as though the poet now wished it to be omitted. This is a modification which deserves consideration as an 'alternative' reading of the poem. Similar changes are found later on. In 'Genova'

for example, Campana's marginal notes suggest considerable alterations in the layout of the poem; there are lines joining previously separate verses: lines 24, 25 and 26, lines 50 and 51, lines 83 and 84 and lines 112 and 113. Elsewhere (line 70), words are re-arranged. The line which in the published text reads: 'Bianca lontana faticosamente' is changed to 'Lontana bianca faticosamente'. Once again it would have been desirable, if not always easy, for successive publishers to have taken account of such changes.

Another copy of the Canti Orfici which Campana gave away is dedicated to his friend and university companion, Federico Ravagli.³⁵ It contains only three of the four poems inscribed in Sibilla's copy; the fourth poem 'Canto proletario italo-francese' is missing, but was given to Ravagli on a separate occasion, written on a piece of paper taken from the Bar Nazionale in Bologna, one of Campana's favourite haunts.³⁶

The first poem, inscribed on pages 68-70 is 'Arabesco-Olimpia'; the title of the printed poem on page 69 - 'Immagini del viaggio e della montagna' - is crossed through. Modifications from the published text are slight; in the opening paragraph a colon replaces a full-stop: 'la cicala che canta:', whilst in the second paragraph a comma is inserted which is not in the published text, 'mi chiese un fiore, quando ...'

On page 94, between 'Faenza' and 'Dualismo', Campana has inscribed the lyric 'Bastimento in viaggio'; it has the same title as the version in Sibilla's copy and is different from the published one ('Frammento'). The personal dedication above the title, 'Al caro Ravagli Federico' is written in a small scrawl, almost as an afterthought. As in Sibilla's copy the opening three lines have been written in prose (unlike the published text), the remainder in verse. There is just one disparity in punctuation; in the published text (line 5) there is a colon, here we find a comma: 'Illumina il segreto notturno, dalla finestra ...'

A third poem inscribed in Ravagli's copy is the one originally published as 'A Bino Binazzi - Toscanità': here the title changes to 'Toscanità (che fu)'. It is written on page 119 and is followed by the printed poem 'Pampa', the title of which is crossed through. There is just one change in punctuation: 'passione' is followed by a full-stop, not a colon as in the published text. There is also a

change in spelling: 'le treccie d'una trecciaiola', instead of 'le trecce di una trecciaiola' (my italics), as in the published text.

The fourth poem, written on the Bar Nazionale paper, has the same title as the version in Sibilla's copy 'Domodossola', but the title is crossed out. The poem is headed by the dedicace 'Ricordo al caro amico ed eccellente poeta Federico Ravagli', followed - in brackets - by the word 'Riservata'. The text resembles closely the version published in November 1914, but the layout differs considerably. The use of suspension dots is a device which Campana does not use at all in the 'Canto proletario italo-francese', but it becomes a prominent feature in Sibilla's and Ravagli's copies and also in the version published in May 1916 as 'A M...N...'. In Ravagli's copy there are two lines of dots following the opening refrain, in 'A M...N...' there are four. Beneath this, in the middle of the line (Ravagli's copy), Campana has inserted the brief phrase 'scaglia di lavoro'; this is followed after two further lines of dots by 'del povero italiano non si sa', although this has been crossed through by a faint stroke of pen. In the original publication, the 'Canto proletario italo-francese', the two isolated phrases are joined:

'Sull'Alpe c'è una scaglia di lavoro
Del povero italiano? non si sa' :

They follow two lines which do not appear at all in Ravagli's copy, but return in a modified version in the poem published as 'A M...N...' in May 1916. Line 5 of the third verse in Ravagli's copy reads: 'Italia non ti posso lasciare'; in the 'Canto proletario italo-francese' and in 'A M...N...' there is no final punctuation. Further on in Ravagli's copy we also find the insertion of two colons which are not included in either of the published texts: 'l'edera gira le torri:...' and 'ti tocca andar: ...'.

In the arrangement of lines we find further variations. What appears as two lines (10 and 11), in both published texts are merged into one in Ravagli's copy: 'Al margine degli occhi bruni della sera'. In another passage, the text as well as the layout differs. Suspension dots are most prolific in Ravagli's copy and in the 'final' version, 'A M...N...' There is one further discrepancy in the wording of this poem: Ravagli's copy reads 'Da un ponte' instead of 'Dal ponte' as in both published versions.

A look at just some of the variants reveals much about Campana and his method of working and shows us the application of the term 'collegamento' to his work. This technique is further illustrated by another poetic fragment which was found amongst Campana's papers after his death and published in 1942. Written entirely in German, it was recognized by G. Gabetti to be the re-working of two poems of H. Heine which Campana had sought to synthesize. Gabetti writes:

L'origine dei versi è del n. 23 e n. 24 delle poesie del gruppo Heimkehr nel Buch der Lieder di Heine. Del n.23 manca la prima strofe; del 24 manca ugualmente la prima strofe e anche i due ultimi versi. Probabilmente Campana ha sentito la parentela che esiste fra le due poesie, e si è divertito a fonderle insieme, sopprimendo gli elementi che non rispondevano al suo gusto: la prima strofe del 23 è brutta; e la prima strofe e il finale del 24 parvero, forse, al Campana troppo romantici³⁷

Another of the 'miscellaneous' fragments found amongst Campana's papers but not published anywhere, was discovered in 1954 by the critic S. Giannelli. It reads:

Dino Campana nacque il 20 agosto 1885 in Marradi, che è pure patria del prof. F. Ravagli, noto specialmente in Germania e America per le sue ricerche di erudizione. All'età di quindici anni colpito da confusione di spirito, commise in seguito ogni sorta d'errori ciascuno dei quali egli dovette scontare con grandi sofferenze. Conservò l'onore benchè ormai esso non gli servisse più a nulla e, come a testimonio di sè medesimo, in vari intervalli della sua vita errante scrisse questo libro (my italics).³⁸

Giannelli believes that this may have been intended as a preface to the Canti Orfici and this seems likely, since we know of no other book Campana intended to publish. It may, however, have been written separately for publication, presenting a potted biography of his life and work. Whatever the truth, it seems certain to have been written towards the end of the poet's career when he was filled with morbid pessimism and an exaggerated view of his personal suffering.

It is my intention in subsequent parts of this thesis to consider the merits of successive editions of Campana's work. Even though considerable variations can be found in the poems of the Canti Orfici themselves, the greatest confusion surrounds the Inediti, which were published only after Campana's death.³⁹

This can be attributed to a variety of reasons: the difficulty - at times - to

decipher Campana's handwriting and the fact that he rarely wrote a composition just once, causing uncertainty as to what he considered as the 'definitive' version. These were just some of the problems with which successive publishers would have to contend.

The most authentic edition of Campana's work must be that of Federico Ravagli, the first and only one which Campana supervised himself. This, taken together with the variants, gives us the best picture of Campana's poetic development and of his method of working.

Successive Editions of Campana's Work.

Campana's disorganised method of composition, and the many variants he wrote of his poems have contributed to discrepancies which exist between successive editions of his work. At times, variations are so considerable that one can only suppose that editions were not based on the same manuscript. Elsewhere, changes are relatively minor - punctuation or spelling - and suggest different interpretations of the same manuscript. In general, editors state their intention to publish an author's 'last will' but, in the case of Campana who continued to alter his work even after publication, this clearly has little meaning. I propose to discuss some of the major discrepancies in successive editions of Campana's work, in particular in the Canti Orfici and the Versi Sparsi, poems first published during his lifetime. His work has appeared in the following editions:¹

1914	<u>Canti Orfici</u> , Ravagli, (Marradi)
1920	<u>Poeti d'Oggi</u> , G. Papini, P. Pancrazi, (Florence) ²
1928	<u>Canti Orfici</u> ed altre liriche, B. Binazzi, (Florence)
1941	<u>Canti Orfici</u> , E. Falqui, (Florence)
1942	<u>Inediti</u> , E. Falqui, (Florence)
1949	<u>Taccuino</u> , F. Matacotta, (Fermo)
1952	<u>Canti Orfici e altri scritti</u> , E. Falqui, (Florence)
1960	<u>Taccuinetto Faentino</u> , D. de Robertis, (Florence)
1962	<u>Canti Orfici</u> , E. Falqui, (Florence)
1966	<u>Canti Orfici</u> , E. Falqui, (Florence)
1972	<u>Fascicolo Marradese Inedito</u> , F. Ravagli, (Florence)
1972	<u>Canti Orfici e altri scritti</u> , C. Bo, (Milan)
1973	<u>Il Più Lungo Giorno</u> , D. de Robertis, (Rome)
1973	<u>Opere e contributi</u> , 2 vols, E. Falqui, (Florence)

The first edition of Campana's Inediti was published by E. Falqui in 1942. It contained 'abbozzi e frammenti, spunti e appunti rimasti dispersi, nonché componimenti male attribuiti al Campana o mal rappezzati'³ as well as the poems of Quaderno. Many of the poems and poetic fragments in this edition had previously been published in newspaper articles, individually or in groups, frequently by the same editor, Falqui.⁴ Even here, however, discrepancies

appear, as seen for example in comparing the text of some poems as first published in a newspaper article in 1941 with the Inediti of the following year. Only two of the eleven poems which figure in the newspaper article are identical with the 1942 publication.⁵ Discrepancies in the remaining poems are as follows:

E. Falqui, Primato,
15 September 1941.

E. Falqui, Inediti (1942)

Tre giovani fiorentine camminano

L. 4	sola.	sola
L.15	Nell'ultime febbri dei tempi o città	Nell'ultime febbri dei tempi remoti

Firenze cicisbea

L. 4	ultima moda,	<u>Ibid.</u> But the text of Falqui's 1973 edition reads 'ultima moda.
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Boboli

L.11	Io su le spoglie aiuole io t'invocavo: o quali le tue voci	Io su le spoglie aiuole Io t'invocavo: o quali le tue voci (L.11-12)
L.20	Ma anelo al mio balcone E mi prese suadente Tenero e grandioso Così fondo e amaro In aroma dell'alloro: Ella mi fu presente (Tra le statue spettrali del tramonto)	Io mi affaccio a un balcone E mi investe suadente Tenero e grandioso Fondo e amaro il profumo dell'alloro: Ed ella mi è presente (Tra le statue spettrali nel tramonto).

Umanità fervente sullo sprone

L. 6	Suoi giù dal cielo	Suoi giù dal celo
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Marradi

L.10	lontano appello.	lontano appello
L.12	vertigine.	vertigine

[writes Falqui] sempre più regolare e ordinata, anche nella scrittura'.⁹ It is impossible for the reader to assess the original text if, as Caretti observes, Falqui has already selected from the manuscript whichever of the variants appeared most 'regolari e ordinate'. It should have been the editor's task to present a true picture of what Campana wrote and substitute what was illegible by a row of dots or a similar device, placing other versions in a table of variants.

Difficulties, evident from the outset, persist. Although many of Falqui's earliest errors would be corrected in subsequent editions, changes continue to occur even in his most recent publication.¹⁰ Seeking to justify himself in response to Caretti's remark concerning his 1942 edition, Falqui quotes from the critic L. Russo:

... Chi non perderebbe la pazienza, specialmente quando si assiste alla più buffa, alla più grottesca, alla più mostruosa caricatura del metodo filologico, se per un'edizione delle poesie di D.C. si annotano tra le varianti anche i lapsus calami dello scrittore? C. scrive nei suoi quaderni qualche volta "scuassare", "discuassa" (per "disquassa"), "silhuettes", "eletrizzati" ecc. Trascorsi di penna che potevano tutt'al più interessare i medici ed essere registrati nella cartella clinica¹¹

Although one must allow for some editorial rights, the discrepancies between successive editions of Campana's work surely exceed what is reasonable. This is in contrast to another 'Campanian' scholar, Federico Ravagli, who in publishing Campana's work, seeks to reproduce, as faithfully as possible, the original manuscript.¹² This also applies to Franco Maticotta who gives as much background information as possible in order to shed light on the likely genesis of a poem.¹³ When publishing the 'Canto proletario

italo-francese', in 1946 and again in 1949, Matacotta draws attention to another work found in Campana's possession - the works of Francois Villon, in which Campana had made notes. Next to the well-known 'Ballade des Pendus', Campana has written the opening lines of the 'Canto proletario italo-francese' in French:

Comme des tourelles d'acier
 Dans le coeur brun du soir
 Mon esprit qui se ...

It is possible - as Matacotta points out - that Campana at one time intended to write the poem in French.¹⁴ Whatever the explanation, this knowledge is relevant to our reading of the text and deserves mention.

These are the kinds of alternatives which Falqui ignores. Although an avid collector of Campana's work, his dislike of ambiguity tends, as already seen, to distort his editing. Errors which occur in the publication of the Inediti are perhaps more understandable than those made in poetry which was published in Campana's lifetime. It is this latter group which I propose to examine now.

The Canti Orfici

Writing to his brother Manlio from Castel Pulci shortly after the second edition of his work by Bino Binazzi, Campana clearly expressed his preference for the earlier, Ravagli, text:

... tempo fa ebbi l'occasione di vedere la ristampa dei miei Canti Orfici edita da Vallecchi-Firenze. In qualche momento di tranquillità potei notare i continui errori del testo che è così irriconoscibile. Vi anno pure aggiunte poesie di lezione fantastica. Non sono più in grado di occuparmi di studi letterari, pure vendendo che il testo va così perduto. Ti pregherei ricercare l'edizione originale di Marradi, per conservarla per ricordo ...¹⁵

Campana was equally forthright when writing to Binazzi: '... L'edizione [dei Canti Orfici ed altre liriche] dovrebbe essere raffrontata e corretta sul testo di Marradi e delle riviste che stamparono i miei versi per la prima volta'.¹⁶ It is on the basis of these comments that critics and editors of Campana's work subsequently sought to adhere to the Ravagli text.¹⁷ Binazzi's edition, published

some twelve years after Campana's internment in Castel Pulci, has never been highly regarded. Since both the Binazzi and even more the Ravagli editions of the Canti Orfici are scarce, Falqui's claims to have adhered to the Ravagli edition have been widely accepted. I was fortunate enough to have been able to examine both these editions. I found that there were considerable discrepancies between Ravagli's text and the most recent one of Falqui and that at least some of the changes made by Binazzi were not as inexplicable as Falqui suggests. My own chief criticism of Binazzi lies in his failure to explain the changes he makes rather than in the changes themselves. The most striking disparity between the first edition by Ravagli and the second edition by Binazzi lies in the latter's omission of the German subtitle and dedicace. It is not difficult to understand the reason for this; Campana is known to have torn out or deleted these inscriptions from as many copies of his work as he could retrieve in the months following its original publication.¹⁸ This, however, cannot justify its unexplained omission from any subsequent edition. A second immediately striking difference between the first two editions of Campana's work lies in the inclusion by Binazzi of five poems which were published over the fourteen years separating this edition from the original one of Ravagli; hence the new title, Canti Orfici ed altre liriche. Campana is particularly critical of these poems: '... anno pure aggiunte poesie di lezione fantastica ...'¹⁹ I propose to examine the textual variations as well as differences in layout between these earliest two editions of Campana's work and the most recent one of Falqui.

<u>Ravagli, June 1914</u>	<u>Binazzi, 1928</u>	<u>Falqui, 1973.</u>
<u>Canti Orfici</u>	<u>Canti Orfici ed altre liriche</u>	<u>Opere e contributi</u>
Subtitle is printed directly beneath title; dedicace is printed overleaf.	No subtitle or dedicace	Subtitle and dedicace are printed below title.
	<u>La notte</u>	
	<u>Paragraph 1</u>	
Agosto	agosto	As Ravagli
L'ancella ingenua crudo e selvaggio	L'ancella l'ingenua crudo, e selvaggio	As Ravagli

Ravagli, June 1914Binazzi, 1928Falqui, 1973.Paragraph 6Mi accompagnò per strade
male odoranti ...

As Ravagli

Mi accompagnò per le
strade ...Le domande restavano
senza risposta ...Le domande restavano
ancora senza risposta

As Ravagli

... Lassù tra gli abeti fumosi
nella nebbia, tra i mille e
mille ticchiettì e le mille
voci del silenzioLassù tra i mille e mille
ticchiettì le mille voci
del silenzio

As Ravagli

Io fisso tra le lance
il mio cuore era affannato

As Ravagli

Io fisso tra le lance

As Ravagli

il mio cuore era
affamato

rintornelli

ritornelli

As Binazzi

fuggii

As Ravagli

fuggì

metalizzato

metallizzato

As Binazzi

La chimera

rocce

rocce

rocce

La Verna

Le rocce e il fiume

Le rocce e il fiume

As Ravagli

leure

leur

As Binazzi

dolce amica luna, solitario
fumigante

As Ravagli

dolce amica luna,
solitario e fum-
iginanteImmagini del viaggio e della montagnaAn unbroken, horizontal line
separates the final verse
from the rest of the poem.

No division

No dividing line but
separated in layoutLa giornata di un nevrastenicoNon hanno l'arduo sorriso
d'AnnunzianoNon hanno l'arduo sorriso
dannunzianoNon hanno l'arduo
sorriso d'annunzianoPampa

Noi ... guardavamo ferreo:

noi... guardavano ferreo

As Ravagli

<u>Ravagli, June 1914.</u>	<u>Binazzi, 1928</u>	<u>Falqui, 1973.</u>
	<u>Il Russo</u>	
la testa della fanciulla d'Este. Poi teste di contadini	la testa della fanciulla d'Este di contadini	As Ravagli
	<hr/>	
	<u>Genova</u>	
E udii canto	E udii canti udii	As Ravagli
E dal fondo il vento del mar senza posa.	E dal fondo il vento, del mar senza posa.	As Ravagli
Già a fronte s'avventurano	As Ravagli	Già a frotte s'avventurano
proterva opulente matrona	proterva opulenta matrona	As Ravagli
Ch'era la notte fonda	C'era la notte fonda	As Ravagli
Walt Whitman epigraph figures directly beneath the final verse of Genova, separated only by a short horizontal line.	Epigraph is omitted. Five more poems follow.	Epigraph figures on a blank page follow- ing 'Genova'.

If, with few exceptions, the differences shown above can be attributed to printing errors rather than editorial decisions, there are some changes which are more substantial. Whilst it might seem trivial to remark on the number of blank pages and the layout of the poem as a whole, these are features which should not be ignored. Campana laid great emphasis on the technique he called 'collegamento'.²⁰ He liked to use every available space and when he left a blank space it was for a purpose. Whilst one can sympathise with the need for economy felt by successive Publishing Houses, one may still regret the editor's failure to draw the readers' attention to these features in their presentation of the texts.

I do not propose to dwell here on the comparative merits of each of these editions. My principal aim is to examine the differences between them and to show the need for a comparative rather than definitive approach to the poet's work. The changes incorporated by Binazzi are clearly too subjective for a serious critical approach; Falqui's approach is too inflexible. Both fall short of the kind of serious analytical study which Campana's work requires.

The Versi Sparsi

The poems collected by Falqui under this title and previously published as Liriche by Bino Binazzi, are poems published in newspaper articles and reviews, after the Canti Orfici but during the poet's lifetime. As already seen, Campana was critical of Binazzi's editing of these poems: and with good reason. Particularly controversial is Binazzi's amalgamation of two poems, 'Vecchi versi' and 'Notturmo teppista', making five compositions in this group instead of the six which appear in Falqui's edition.²¹ Although Binazzi's edition has prompted considerable criticism, his interpretation is more understandable than has been suggested. In publishing the two poems as a single composition, Binazzi is adhering to the way 'Notturmo teppista' was published in La Teda in 1922 where it was immediately followed by the text of 'Vecchi versi' as though they were single composition.²² 'Vecchi versi', however, had already been published in 1916.²³ Falqui considers that the poem was certainly not intended to be published as part of 'Notturmo teppista' and that the error arose because the division between the two poems was probably not clearly indicated in the manuscript originally sent to the review.²⁴ Although we may agree with Falqui, Binazzi's transcription cannot simply be dismissed as arbitrary.

'Frammento (Bastimento in viaggio)'

When this poem first appeared in La Voce, it simply had the title 'Frammento'.²⁵ Although the text was faithfully adhered to by Binazzi, Enrico Falqui adopted the title 'Bastimento in viaggio', acknowledging the earlier title in a parenthesis: 'già Frammento'. Another variant of the poem which was enclosed in a letter to

Soffici has no title.²⁶ It is only in some of the hand-written versions of the poem inscribed in texts given to friends that the heading 'Bastimento in viaggio' occurs.²⁷ This does not seem to be a sufficient basis for Falqui to make such a change, and certainly not without explanation.

Arabesco-Olimpia

'Arabesco-Olimpia', the second of these poems to be published, first appeared in La Tempra (Pistoia) in October 1915. Like 'Frammento', it is inscribed by the poet in copies of his work given to friends. In the opening paragraph of Binazzi's version, there is one change from the original reproduced by Falqui:

... la prima volta che la vidi nella mia gioventù

instead of:

... la prima volta che la vidi nella prima gioventù

Toscanità

This poem first appeared under the title 'A Bino Binazzi - Toscanità' and this title was retained by Binazzi.²⁸ Falqui, however, chose to give greater prominence to the second part, 'Toscanità', placing the dedicace to Bino Binazzi between parentheses: 'già a Bino Binazzi'. Discrepancies between the original and subsequent publications are confined to minor details of typography. In the first paragraph, for example, the word 'trecce' is transcribed with an 'i' by Binazzi. Towards the end of the composition, we find a further discrepancy. A colon, not a full-stop as in each of the other editions, precedes the final passage:

... : essi ti risponderanno

instead of:

... Essi ti risponderanno

Vecchi versi

The fourth composition to follow the publication of the Canti Orfici was first published in March 1916 in La Riviera Ligure and was also enclosed in a letter to Giovanni Boine in December 1915;²⁹ it was not, however, inscribed in either Ravagli's or Sibilla's copy of the Canti Orfici. There is no change in the text of the poem although, as already seen, it was amalgamated with 'Notturmo teppista' when published in La Teda in November 1922 and this transcription is adhered to by Binazzi. The poem had also been included in the manuscript of Il Più Lungo Giorno where we also find four lines not included in subsequent publications of the poem.³⁰

A M...N...

The remaining composition in this group of poems, 'A M...N...', is placed fifth amongst Falqui's Versi Sparsi, between 'Vecchi versi' and 'Notturmo teppista'. Falqui's transcription is identical to the version originally published in La Riviera Ligure;³¹ Binazzi's version contains a minor variation in Line 41:

... Ti sei fatta a forzare la pietra	<u>(La Riviera Ligure)</u>
... Ti sei fatta sforzare la pietra	(Binazzi)

In the final verse ('refrain'), small letters replace capitals at the beginning of lines, a feature which can be confidently attributed to the Publishing House Vallecchi rather than to the editor, Binazzi.

The compositions I have selected, show just a small number of discrepancies arising in successive editions and explain, to some extent, the uncertainty which continues to surround Campana's work.

The Mature Work: From Il Più Lungo Giorno to the Canti Orfici

Il Più Lungo Giorno is the title of the manuscript which Campana gave to Papini and Soffici in the Winter of 1913 and which was lost and not found again for almost sixty years.¹ In appearance, the manuscript is unremarkable. It is an exercise book, not dissimilar to that in which the forty-three poems published as the Quaderno were found and measuring some 190 mm by 138 mm. Its seventy-two leaves were not numbered by Campana but de Robertis inserted page numbers in his publication of the work.²

The exercise book is full. Only pages 53-56, 109-111 and 140-144 have been left completely blank and it is likely that Campana intended to insert further compositions here at a later stage. On the last blank page, Campana has turned the book upside-down to write: 'Problema/Una carrozza'.³ On page 14 are the words 'una carrozza', written at an angle between the third-from-last and penultimate lines.

The writing is entirely in pen (only two deletions are in pencil) and it is uneven. Different coloured inks and different pens have been used, apparently at random: a black ink and a heavy pen in the opening three paragraphs of 'La notte', a greyish ink most frequently used in the fourth paragraph of the same poem, a rust colour for the inscription 'Solo il dolore è vero' in the opening prose poem, whilst a yellowish ink is mainly used for corrections as in 'Il canto della tenebra' on page 44. Campana often changes pen in the middle of a word, writing a correction over the top or adding final punctuation, apparently as an afterthought. On page 15 there is a disorderly sequence of mathematical calculations, written over the script of 'La notte': this seems a surprising intrusion into a work of art.

There are relatively few corrections in the manuscript of Il Più Lungo Giorno and this makes it unlikely that this copy was a first draft. Changes, nevertheless, do occur; composition was a never-ending process for Campana and Il Più Lungo Giorno is one of many drafts, some partial, others more complete, of the Canti Orfici.

A comparison of Il Più Lungo Giorno with the Canti Orfici, and with some of the other elaborative phrases of Campana's work, reveals the nature of changes made by the poet. It allows us to chart this development over the six months preceding the publication of his masterpiece.

Of the thirteen poems found in the Canti Orfici but not in Il Più Lungo Giorno, only two had been published before the handing-over of the manuscript to Papini and Soffici.⁴ It seems likely, therefore, that the other eleven poems were composed during the seven months separating this event from the publication of the Canti Orfici in June 1914.

There is also a third manuscript which was given to Luigi Bandini and first published in 1957. This contains seven Notturmi poems of the Canti Orfici and appears, from a comparison with the two other manuscripts, to be an intermediate version.⁵

In an Appendix I have drawn up a detailed comparison of Il Più Lungo Giorno, the Canti Orfici and the seven poems in the Bandini manuscript.⁶ In prose poems I have shown changes in punctuation only where they appear of particular significance. I have shown changes in line divisions in verse compositions only. Following the method of de Robertis, I have interpreted the dash as a full stop where it is followed by a capital letter. I have taken the Ravagli edition - the only one Campana supervised himself - as my standard text.

The Manuscripts

Since the manuscript of Il Più Lungo Giorno was found in 1971 and published two years later, interest in both this and the previously published Canti Orfici has revived.¹

The disappointment - 'delusione' - felt by Falqui after reading the long lost work was shared by many.² The manuscript was considered aesthetically inferior to the published text and lacking in any important new material. The most obvious disparity between the two works is the change of the title and a series of inscriptions which appear in the manuscript of Il Più Lungo Giorno only.³ Little is known of the origins or timespan of the work Campana handed over to Papini and Soffici at the end of 1913. We can only speculate whether the poet had an overall plan in mind when he started to write Il Più Lungo Giorno or whether it represents a more random collection of poems.

The title Campana gave to this work has prompted considerable speculation. What were the origins of the phrase 'Il più lungo giorno'? Were its associations purely poetic or were they also philosophical? What were the factors which contributed to it being changed a few months later to 'Canti Orfici'? The source for the title, Il Più Lungo Giorno is probably d'Annunzio's novel, Forse che si, forse che no,⁴ where the phrase occurs twice in the opening pages:

... Ed ecco, tutte le forze del suo desiderio con tutte le immagini della voluttà le balavano dentro e rotavano in una vertigine di delirio.
E il più lungo giorno! esclamò, come si risvegli nel sussulto del ricordarsi. Oggi è il più lungo giorno, è il solstizio d'estate. Non lo sapete? (my italics).⁵

and a few pages later:

... La sua ansia le diceva che il suo destino era sospeso nella luce del più lungo giorno. Ella aveva dinanzi a sé l'immagine della sua felicità riversa come la sua faccia nell'atto di mordere il dolore simile a un frutto maturo che la bagnasse di succo vermiglio ... (my italics)⁶

The phrase recurs in 'La notte' of Il Più Lungo Giorno and is associated with languor, an abandonment to sensations instead of an intellectual appraisal of experience:

... E si raccoglie la mia anima - e volta al più lungo giorno de l'amore antico ancora leva un canto a l'amore notturno.⁷

The phrase 'si raccoglie' reflects a mood of introspection which is characteristic of the decadent mood. The abandonment of this title, as well as other changes made to the manuscript, reflects d'Annunzio's waning influence on Campana. The atmosphere suggested by the title of the re-written work, Canti Orfici, is in striking contrast; these are 'orphyic' songs, strongly positive in inspiration.

Nietzsche's influence on Campana's major work is undisputed. Campana's friend and contemporary, Federico Ravagli, recalls the clearly Nietzschean associations which the term 'orphyic' had for Campana:

... Poi d'improvviso si eclissò di nuovo: ma l'assenza fu breve. Quando riapparve, era di buon umore. Era stato a Marradi e là aveva preso accordi con un tipografo per la pubblicazione di un volume intitolato Canti Orfici. Canti Orfici? Perché? La parola non ci parve chiara. E Campana disse orfici di potenza dionisiaca, di miti cosmici ... (my italics)⁸

The wish to reconcile opposite forces is symbolised in Campana's work by the bridge, an image which had been recalled in one of the inscriptions of Il Più Lungo Giorno - 'E come puro spirito varca il ponte' - and in several of the poems.⁹ A key concept in Nietzsche's Die Geburt der Tragödie which takes us back to the legendary Orpheus is the belief that music is able to convey the most profound human experience for which words are inadequate.

Whatever precise association the term orphyic had for Campana, it certainly suggests something very different from the title previously given to his work. Orpheus sums up the process of descent, darkness, chaos, recovery and ultimate loss. This is a pattern we shall find in the Canti Orfici and which is already contained in a draft of this work:

Parte prima del libro i notturni
e il libro finisce nel Più chiaro giorno di
Genova e la discussione sull'arte mediterranea¹⁰

Whilst the title Il Più Lungo Giorno is descriptive, Canti Orfici suggests a sense of challenge and daring which is implicit in the figure of the legendary hero. The series of inscriptions which follow the title in the earlier manuscript describe ideas - the belief, for example, in the purity of art - which are conveyed in the title of the later work. In the Canti Orfici, we also find a tightening of structure and style, a move in a direction which may be described as 'orphic'.

The subtitle and dedicace which replace the inscriptions in the Canti Orfici are difficult to explain. At first sight they are incongruous. The subtitle, 'Die Tragödie des Letzten Germanen in Italien', the dedicace to the German Kaiser Wilhelm II, are unexpected intrusions into the essentially private work suggested by the title. According to Adengo Soffici, Campana explained these remarks - published just months before Italy's entry into war - as a 'vendetta' against 'quegli idioti di Marradi' - 'il farmacista, il prete, l'ufficiale postale' who were inventing stories about the barbaric deeds of the Germans.¹¹ How far this explanation was true is difficult to establish; what seems clear, however, is that both dedicace and subtitle were not the result of a seriously thought-out process but were written on impulse. It seems that, like the title, they were added shortly before the work appeared in print. As Campana would explain later in a letter to Emilio Cecchi, Germany was for him an example of that integrity he saw to be absent from the Italy of his own day:

... Ora io dissi 'die Tragödie des letzten Germanen in Italien', mostrando di aver nel libro conservato la purezza morale del germano (ideale non reale) che è stata la causa della loro morte in Italia. Ma io dicevo ciò in senso imperialistico e idealistico, non naturalistico; (cercavo idealmente una patria non avendone).¹²

It was, then, partly as a gesture of defiance, partly as a statement of genuine pro-German - or pro-Nietzschean - feeling that the subtitle and dedicace appeared in the first edition of Campana's work in June 1914. They caused a considerable outcry.

The Poems

Apart from a few isolated compositions referred to in the earlier part of this section, the 29 poems of the Canti Orfici are the only ones published during the poet's lifetime. The exiguity of Campana's poetic output can be attributed to a variety of causes: Campana's creative life was extremely short; he was no 'enfant prodige' - although he has been compared to the 'enfant prodige', Rimbaud¹ - and his mental faculties declined rapidly after the age of 30. The term 'museo di fieri' which has been applied to the Canti Orfici gives some indication of the extreme variety which characterizes this work.²

The most immediately striking feature of the Canti Orfici is the impression of a work 'in the making'. Although it represents the high point of Campana's art, there is a quality of un-evenness, of experimentation, which reflects the poet's search for his own style. It is divided into four sections and the title reinforces the theme of a search.

Even though one can try and group some of the poems - the long prose poems 'La notte', 'Dualismo', 'Pampa', for example, the more 'impressionistic' compositions like 'Batte botte' and 'Piazza Sarzano', and the poems of the Notturmi - such groupings would be largely artificial. Each poem gives a flavour of some aspect of the poet's art but it is difficult, if not impossible, to speak of a campanian style.

The Taccuinetto Faentino - a very thin collection of reflections on art and 'impressions' - contains the outline of a plan which shows that Campana conceived this work as opening with Night and ending in broad daylight.³ How far this plan is realised will be discussed in a later part of this study.

The term 'in the making' helps to define a fundamental feature of Campana and his approach to his work. It is difficult to imagine him labouring for long stretches over a single manuscript, revising and polishing a single poem. His temperament was more conducive to the piecing-together of past compositions, using and re-using earlier lines and phrases. He loved to capture, refine and store away the fleeting sensation; numerous variants of published poems centre around isolated

impressions or effects, auditive or visual. By the time the Canti Orfici was written, Campana had amassed numerous variants on which to draw.

There are two main ways in which successive versions of single poems illustrate the poet's development. Changes to wording and syntax indicate the direction of his evolution on a stylistic plane; the second feature relates more specifically to structure: the process of 'collegamento' already referred to elsewhere.⁴ At times, as will be seen, Campana re-uses quite extensive passages from his *Juvenilia*, the Quaderno. Omissions, as well as changes made, provide important indications of the direction in which the poet is developing.

As it would be impossible to discuss here each of the poems - 15 in verse, 14 in prose - which make up the Canti Orfici, I have limited my examination to two compositions, both of which seem in some way representative of this heterogeneous work. Both are verse poems, which appear better suited to illustrate the evolution of Campana's art than the longer prose poem, of which there are generally fewer variants. Both have a number of earlier drafts which - unusually for Campana - can be dated with some accuracy and thus help to distinguish more clearly the various phases of his development and the emergence of ideas which are central to his mature work. This is particularly valuable in one who, like Campana, was no theorist and produced only isolated statements concerning his views on art.

The first of these poems is probably also his best known: 'La Chimera'. In its development it shows how Campana's perception of art would change over the years immediately preceding the Canti Orfici. Whilst its subject alters through successive drafts, the poem remains classical in form: a factor which no doubt contributed to its immediate acclaim.

The second poem I have chosen for a detailed examination is in striking contrast to 'La chimera'. 'Genova' is an innovatory poem; both in structure and technique it reflects the contemporary climate of experimentation. It has strong affinities with recent developments in the visual arts: with Cubism and with the technique which the poet refers to as 'collegamento'.⁵ In literature, the closest analogies can be drawn with his contemporary, Guillaume Apollinaire. Although the individual

verses of this poem are probably as old as 'La chimera', their 'piecing together' reflects a relatively late campanian idea. Unlike 'La chimera', it did not meet with immediate public approval.

In tracing the development of these two poems rather than merely examining their published form, I hope to highlight something of the character of Campana, and the polarities of his work.

La chimera

'La chimera' was first published on 8 December 1912 in Bologna; it had the title 'Montagna - La chimera'. The second version of the poem published in Campana's lifetime was 'La chimera' of the Canti Orfici.¹

A draft of 'Montagna - La chimera' was given by Campana to his friend, Mario Beyor; it differs in relatively small details from the published version and it has no title.

'La chimera' of the Canti Orfici, published in June 1914, has three earlier variants. The first was part of the 'lost' manuscript of Il Più Lungo Giorno, completed in 1913 but not published until 1973; the second was sent in a letter to Giuseppe Prezzolini in 1914 and the third was sent to Luigi Bandini.

When speaking of variants of Campana's work one has to distinguish between the numerous drafts and changes made by the poet himself and the differences resulting from the transcriptions of successive editors. The second edition of the Canti Orfici, published in 1928 by Bino Binazzi, contains one typographical change from the original Ravagli edition. The spelling of 'roccie' is 'corrected' by Binazzi into 'rocce' in Line 1. In a more recent (1973) edition by Enrico Falqui, the title 'La chimera' appears with a small 'c'; in the original edition it had been printed, like all other titles, in capital letters.²

The original edition of the Canti Orfici, supervised by Campana himself, is widely regarded as the 'authentic' one. In examining posthumously published manuscripts, however, one is largely reliant on editorial interpretations. Discrepancies emerging from these publications are accentuated when an editor does not state clearly his source. Two early variants of 'Montagna - La chimera' were published in 1942, one edited by Federico Ravagli in a biography of the poet, and the other by Enrico Falqui.³ Divergencies between these two publications are as follows:

	<u>F. Ravagli</u>	<u>E. Falqui</u>
L4	Tu ne <u>[sic]</u> china eburnea	Tu ne la china eburnea
L5	Fronte fulgente	Fronte fulgente,
L9	O Regina o Regina	O regina o Regina
L12	esangue	esangue.
L15	Regina de la melodia.	Regina de la melodia:
L24	O estate che ardi nei cieli	O estate che ardi nei cieli!
L26	A la regina che lange <u>[sic]</u> conchiusa dentro i suoi veli	A la Regina che langue conchiusa dentro i suoi veli.

Ravagli describes the manuscript in detail. It was given by Campana to Mario Beyor, his contemporary at Bologna University; it has no title and is not dated. It is written on the reverse side of a large notice displaying the time-table of lectures at the University in the department of chemistry over the academic year 1911/12.⁴ We know from recollections of his contemporaries that Campana, although not officially enrolled as a student, started frequenting university circles at this time following five years of almost uninterrupted travels abroad.⁵ The notice is folded into sixteen sections, reducing it to pocket size. The published version of this draft, which appeared some twelve months later, had the title 'Montagna - La chimera'. Both poems have 26 lines.

Although Falqui does not indicate his sources, similarities between his transcription and that of Ravagli suggest that both editors were working from the same manuscript. Falqui - as would appear from Lines 4 and 26 - tends to 'correct' errors; Ravagli transcribes them as they occur, adding a 'sic' in parentheses. I consider, therefore, the version of Ravagli to be the more faithful one.

Considerable changes are found in subsequent versions of the poem. The title is shortened to 'La chimera' and it is now incorporated into a larger work: Il Più Lungo Giorno, which seems to have been written with publication in mind. It cannot be considered a draft in any conventional sense as it was lost and not found again until 1971.⁶

On 6 January 1914, whilst still awaiting the return of his manuscript, Campana wrote to Giuseppe Prezzolini. This letter contains another version of 'La chimera'

and tells of his need for public recognition and encouragement:

... nessuno mi vuole stampare e io ho bisogno di essere stampato: per provarmi che esisto, per scrivere ancora ho bisogno di essere stampato. Aggiungo che io merito di essere stampato perché io sento che quel poco di poesia che so fare ha una purità di accento che è oggi poco comune da noi ...⁷

'La chimera' of the Canti Orfici appeared in June 1914 and begins the second section of this work, the Notturni.

The final variant is one of seven poems given to Luigi Bandini, a friend and one of the witnesses to the signing of the contract of the Canti Orfici. It is written on one of seven unbound leaves and resembles the poem of the Canti Orfici more closely than any of the other variants. In the light of this it could be a final draft of that work but it also seems possible from a letter which probably dates from 1915, that it is a partial rewriting of it.⁸

From the Beyor manuscript to 'Montagna - La chimera' : 1911/12 .

	<u>Manuscript given to M. Beyor (November 1911-June 1912)</u>	<u>'Montagna - La chimera'; first published on 8 December 1912.</u>
L1	rocce	rocce
L4	Tu ne [sic] china eburnea	Tu ne la china eburnea
L5	Fronte fulgente o giovine	Fronte fulgente, o giovane
L6	Suora de la Gioconda:	Suora della Gioconda
L7	Tu de le primavere	(Tu de le Primavera
L9	O Regina o Regina adolescente!	O regina, o Regina adolescente)...
L10	O per ...	Oh! per ...
L11	... dolore	... Dolore
L12	esangue	esangue,
L16	O invano pel ...	Oh! invano pel ...
L18	Vigilo	Vegliai
L19	Io fido al	Io fiso al
L20	No division between lines	Separation by a single line of dots.
L21		
L22	Entro i capelli vivente	Entro i capelli viventi
L23	Sul suo secreto pallore	Sul suo profondo pallore
L24	O estate	O Estate
L25	Accendi pel suo corpo eburneo	Tu accendi pel suo corpo eburneo;
L26	A la regina che lange [sic] conchiusa dentro i suoi veli	A la regina dei sogni che appare nei suoi vaghi veli.

'Montagna - La chimera' opens on a positive note. The subject, whom Campana addresses as 'Tu', presents an idealised picture of a woman. The poet's ambivalent and changing attitude to women will be reflected in his future poetry. Here, she is described in visual terms:

Tu tra le rocce il tuo pallido
Viso traente al sorriso ...

('Montagna - La chimera', L.1-2).

There is a symmetry in the opening nine lines; they develop around three statements of three lines; each begins by addressing the subject as 'Tu'. In 'Montagna - La chimera', although not in the Beyor draft, lines 7-9 are more deliberately set apart; they are placed in parentheses and followed by suspension dots. In the Beyor manuscript, Line 9 is followed by an exclamation mark. Further on, exclamation marks appear in the published version only. In Lines 10 and 16, they occur in the middle of a line, following the exclamatory 'Oh!'. Campana is seeking to accentuate the mood and to create a note of contrast with the rest of the passage. The sense of confidence which is denoted by the exclamation mark will be considerably subdued in later versions.

In Lines 19-20 of the published version, we find another familiar technique in Campana's poetry: repetition. The phrase 'lo fiso al ...' replaces the earlier 'lo fido al ...' in Line 19 and is repeated in the following line.

The sensuality implicit in the final lines of the Beyor draft:

... A la regina che lange [*sic*] conchiusa dentro i suoi veli
(L.26)

is also omitted. It is replaced, in 'Montagna -La chimera', by an attempt to define the subject in idealised terms:

... regina dei sogni

Both passages will be omitted from subsequent rewritings of the poem.

II

From 'Montagna - La chimera' to 'La chimera' : 1913.

The Beyor draft and the subsequently published version represent the first phase in the development of 'La chimera'. Campana's growth in self-awareness and his developing aesthetics are reflected in the second phase. The break between the two stages is immediately apparent from the abbreviation of the title. 'Montagna-La chimera' into 'La chimera'.

<u>'Montagna - La chimera'</u>	<u>'La chimera', Il Più Lungo Giorno, completed by November 1913.</u>
L1 Tu tra le rocce il tuo pallido	Non so se tra roccie il tuo pallido
L2 Viso traente al sorriso	Viso m'apparve o sorriso
L3 Da lontananze ignote:	Di lontananze ignote
L4 Tu ne la china eburnea	Fosti - la china eburnea
L5 Fronte fulgente, o giovane	Fronte fulgente - o giovine
L6 Suora della Gioconda:	Suora de la Gioconda:
L7 (Tu de le Primaverae	O delle primaverae
L8 Spente, per i tuoi mitici pallori	Spente, per i tuoi mitici pallori
L9 O Regina, o Regina adolescente)...	O regina o regina adolescente.
L10 Oh! per il tuo ignoto poema	Ma per il tuo ignoto poema
L11 Di voluttà e di dolore	Di voluttà e di Dolore
L12 Musica fanciulla esangue,	Musica fanciulla esangue
L13 Segnato di linea di sangue	Segnato di linea di sangue
L14 Nel cerchio delle labbra sinuose	Nel cerchio de le labbra sinuose
L15 Regina de la melodia.	Regina de la melodia
L16 Oh! invano pel vergine capo	Ma per il tuo vergine capo
L17 Reclino io poeta notturno	Reclino io poeta notturno
L18 Vegliai le stelle vivide nei pelaghi del cielo	Vegliai le stelle vivide nei pelaghi delcielo
L19 Io fiso al tuo dolce mistero	Io per il tuo dolce mistero
L20 Io fiso al tuo divenir taciturno	Io per il tuo divenir taciturno
.....	
L21 Oggi una fiamma pallida	Non so se la fiamma pallida
L22 Entro i capelli viventi	Fu dei capelli il vivente
L23 Sul suo profondo pallore	Segno del tuo pallore
L24 O Estate che ardi nei cieli	Non so se fu un dolce vapore
L25 Tu accendi pel suo corpo eburneo:	Dolce sul mio dolore
L26 A la regina dei sogni che appare nei suoi vaghi veli.	Sorriso di un volto notturno
	L27 Guardo le bianche roccie le mute fonti dei venti
	L28 E l'immobilità dei firmamenti
	L29 E i gonfii rivi che vanno piangenti
	L30 E le ombre del lavoro umano curve là su i poggi algenti

- L31 E ancora per teneri cieli lontane
 chiare ombre correnti
 L32 E ancora ti chiamo ti chiamo
 Chimera.

'La chimera' is no longer presented as a person in Il Più Lungo Giorno but as an aesthetic ideal. A mood of uncertainty which permeates the poem is established from the opening phrase, 'Non so se ...'

The earlier symmetry disappears. The opening six lines now focus on two verbs - 'apparve', 'Fosti'. Both verbs are used in the past historic tense, reinforcing the impression of fleeting images. The effect created earlier by the use of parentheses and suspension dots is now achieved by more subtle technical means. The very concept of 'La chimera' is now a constantly developing one. The shift from past to present in Line 21 and the wide range of imagery reflect the nature of the poet's continuing search. The earlier 'lo fiso al ...' changes to 'lo per ...' (L.19). Campana is no longer describing his subject; he is observing his own reactions to it. Every stylistic and structural device is used in an attempt to capture a constantly eluding subject. There is a newly found cohesion which is rare in Campana's poetry.

Campana's pursuit is expressed in more concrete terms in the final six lines, found only in the later versions. In the opening passage, he had been involved with the subject; from Line 10, beginning with the conjunction 'Ma' he starts to show detachment. This is developed in the final lines as he expresses, with increasing conviction, his intention to pursue his search. His choice of verb - 'Guardo' - and the conjunctions 'E' (repeated in five consecutive lines) and 'ancora' underline this determination, as does the repeated invocation in the closing lines:

... E ancora ti chiamo ti chiamo Chimera.

III

The final version: the Canti Orfici.

	<u>Il Più Lungo</u> <u>Giorno</u>	<u>Letter to</u> <u>G. Prezzolini,</u> <u>6 January 1914</u>	<u>Canti</u> <u>Orfici</u>	<u>Bandini</u> <u>manuscript</u>
L1	roccie	rocce	roccie	roccie
L2	Viso m'apparve	Viso mi apparve,	Viso m'apparve	Viso m'apparve,
L4	Fosti -	Fosti,	Fosti,	Fosti,
L5	Fronte fulgente-	Fronte fulgente	Fronte fulgente	Fronte fulgente
L9	adolescente.	adolescente	adolescente:	adolescente:
L10	ignoto	ignaro	ignoto	ignoto
L12	esangue	esangue	esangue,	esangue,
L14	de le labbra sinuose	delle labbra sinuose	delle labbra sinuose,	delle labbra sinuose,
L15	melodia	melodia:	melodia:	melodia:
L16	il tuo vergine	il tuo vergine	il vergine	il vergine
L17	Reclino	Reclino,	Reclino,	Reclino,
L18	cielo	cielo.	cielo,	cielo,
L20	taciturno	taciturno	taciturno.	taciturno:
L23	tuo pallore	tuo pallore,	suo pallore,	suo pallore,
L24	vapore	vapore	vapore,	vapore,
L25	dolore	dolore,	dolore,	dolore
L26	notturno	notturno.	notturno:	notturno:
L27	Guardo le bianche roccie	Guardo le bianche rocce,	Guardo le bianche rocce	Guardo le bianche roccie, ¹
L30	su i	sù i	sui	su i
L32	E ancora ti chiamo ti chiamo Chimera.	E ancora ti chiamo Chimera!	E ancora ti chiamo ti chiamo Chimera.	E ancora ti chiamo ti chiamo Chimera.

¹ Appears to be a comma but may be a slip of the pen.

Variations in the later stages of 'La chimera' can be attributed to a variety of causes: to Campana's non-systematic approach to his writing, his experimentation with different effects and to the diverse interpretations of editors. One puzzling variation occurs in the spelling of the word 'rocce'. It is spelt with an 'i' ('roccie') in Line 1 everywhere except in the letter sent to Prezzolini. In Line 27, the word recurs with the same spelling as before except in the Canti Orfici where it now changes to 'rocce'. This is perhaps a surprising inconsistency in a work the poet supervised himself. Editors are also inconsistent in their transcriptions of the word. Bino Binazzi, in his 1928 edition, changes the original, Ravagli rendering - 'roccie' - into 'rocce' in Line 1. This is just one of a number of divergencies between successive editions.

Other inconsistencies in spelling seem to reflect more particularly the influence of d'Annunzio. In Line 5, for example, the adjective 'giovine' in the earliest draft is 'amended' to 'giovane' in the published 'Montagna - La chimera'. One is tempted to generalise and to discern here the waning influence of Campana's earlier mentor. In each subsequent version, however, Campana reverts to the earlier 'd'Annunzian' form. Elsewhere - for example, in the poet's use of the articulated preposition which occurs four times in Il Più Lungo Giorno, (L.6, L.14, L.15, L.30), there are signs of a move away from d'Annunzio. Although the trend is decisively away from this form, however, it is not abandoned altogether from the Canti Orfici poem.⁹ Influences cannot be cast off at will and echoes of d'Annunzio continue to occur. Caution is also needed when examining the influence of Nietzsche whose vision can be felt in the general development rather than in precise details of Campana's mature work.

Other changes in the later phase of elaboration confirm the poet's overall intention. In Line 16, for example, the personal pronoun, 'il tuo vergine capo' is replaced in the Canti Orfici and Bandini versions by 'il vergine capo'; 'il tuo pallore' (L.23) is also replaced in the later manuscripts by the more impersonal form, 'il suo pallore'. Other changes relate more specifically to technique. In the letter to Prezzolini, the invocation to 'La chimera' (L.32) is not repeated but is followed by an exclamation mark. In the later versions, Campana reverts to the earlier form of Il Più Lungo Giorno.

Changing punctuation is one of the most striking features to emerge from a comparison of the later versions of the poem. In Il Più Lungo Giorno, it is notably sparse: two dashes (interpreted as commas), one colon and one full stop.¹⁰ It becomes notably more prolific in subsequent versions - nine commas and four colons in the Canti Orfici - as Campana concentrates increasingly on small details. As has already been suggested, however, it is less the frequency of punctuation than the way in which it is used which is most striking in the development of Campana's poetry. The structure is less broken up than in earlier versions; colons are now used more in the sense of a pause than as a full stop.

'La chimera' reflects, in its evolution, the development of Campana's personal aesthetics. It is a lyric poem in the purest sense. Its 'musical effects' suggest the influence of Verlaine and other 'decadent' poets whilst the repetition of words and phrases reflects in particular the influence of d'Annunzio.¹¹ The classical form and rigorous discipline of the poem invites analogies with a Parnassian art.

In its balance between tradition and innovation, 'La chimera' represents a unique moment in Campana's poetry. It looks forward to but does not yet express features which will become associated with the visionary dimension of his art: a dimension which will produce some of his greatest and most original poetry but which will also lead to a loss of control and to the total fragmentation of his art.

Genova

'Genova', the longest of Campana's verse poems, is also one of the most complex. The poet's association with that city spans the period 1906-13. Although his visits generally resulted in arrests and expulsions, he repeatedly returned. Whilst 'La chimera' reflected the development of Campana's personal aesthetic - the development of a concept rather than of a place - 'Genova' is based in the real world. The evolution of this poem reflects Campana's changing perception of the city, seen at different times and in the light of new associations; it reveals his interest and growing awareness of the visual arts - notably of Cubism - and of a technique which came to be known as 'collage'.

The evolution of 'Genova' probably spans the same period as that of 'La chimera'. Its origins can be traced to five poems which are found towards the end of the Quaderno, an exercise book containing 43 poems; they seem to follow some chronological order and were probably completed shortly before Il Più Lungo Giorno in 1913.¹ A final stanza, which appears in the Canti Orfici only, originates in a 'miscellaneous' manuscript which, like the Quaderno, was also found at the poet's home after his death.

Another source of 'Genova' can be traced to the Fascicolo Marradese, a small collection of fragmentary writings which was published by Federico Ravagli.² It is full of crossings-out - unlike the manuscript of Il Più Lungo Giorno which gives the impression of a 'copying-out' of already completed poems - and is also undated. It contains some of the most difficult passages of Canti Orfici poems: experiments with words and phrases which will be used again, in more polished form, in Il Più Lungo Giorno and the Canti Orfici.³

An indication of Campana's conception of 'Genova' within his work as a whole is given in the Taccuinetto Faentino, a sort of Ars Poetica, which was probably written over the period 1913/14:

... e il libro finisce nel più chiaro giorno di Genova ...⁴

How far this plan is realised in the development of 'Genova' will be discussed at a later stage.

Changes made to the poem by Campana himself are to be distinguished from those made by successive editors, discussed in an earlier chapter.⁵ Differences between the original edition of Ravagli (1914), the subsequent one of Binazzi (1928) and the most recent one of Falqui (1973), are as follows:

Lines 5 and 6 are transcribed by Ravagli and Binazzi as two lines:

Che tutto a lei d'intorno era già arcana-
mente illustrato del giardino il verde.

They are amalgamated by Falqui into a single one.

Line 9 is transcribed by Ravagli and Falqui as follows:

E udii canto udii voce

In Binazzi, the text reads:

E udii canti udii voce

There is no formal separation between stanzas in the texts of Ravagli or Falqui; Binazzi divides them by asterisks.

Binazzi inserts a comma in Line 42:

E dal fondo il vento, del mar senza posa.

This is not found in the texts of Ravagli or Falqui.

There is no division between Line 49 and 50 in the texts of Ravagli or Falqui. Binazzi divides them as though they were separate verses:

E mille e mille occhi benevoli

Delle Chimere nei cieli:

Lines 61-63 are italicised and placed in inverted commas by Ravagli and Falqui:

"Come nell'ali rosse dei fanali
Bianca e rossa nell'ombra dei fanali
Che bianca e lieve e tremula salì ..."

The inverted commas are omitted by Binazzi and the passage is followed by a dash.

In Line 102, the transcription of Ravagli and Binazzi, 'Già a fronte s'avventurano' is changed by Falqui into:

Già a frotte s'avventurano

Line 133 of the poem reads 'proterva opulente matrona' in the texts of Ravagli and Falqui; it is transcribed by Binazzi as 'proterva opulenta matrona'.

The origins of 'Genova' can be traced to the following poems from the Quaderno:

'Quando gioconda trasvolò la vita', L.2-4, L.9-11.

'Piazza S. Giorgio', L.7-16.

'Pei vichi fondi tra il palpito rosso', L.1-19.

'Spiaggia, spiaggia', L.2-46.

'Il porto che si addorme, il porto il porto', L.2-15.

and one 'miscellaneous' fragment, also published posthumously:

O siciliana proterva opulenta matrona', (L.1-13).

They correspond to stanzas 1, 2, 4, 5,6 and 7 of the Canti Orfici poem. All these passages except the last will also be incorporated into 'Il canto di Genova' of Il Più Lungo Giorno. Although the individual Quaderno poems are brought together, a number of formal divisions appear in the poem of Il Più Lungo Giorno. The second passage, corresponding to 'Piazza S. Giorgio', becomes a separate

section (II) and is headed 'Attimo meridiano'. The fourth section is not numbered but is divided into a number of short passages, separated by asterisks. The fifth section has a title - 'Spiaggia, spiaggia' - which corresponds to the opening line of the fourth Quaderno poem. The final section corresponds to a passage from the fifth of the Quaderno poems, 'Il porto che si addorme, il porto, il porto'. In the evolution of 'Genova', it will be seen how Campana re-uses the vocabulary and imagery of the variants, but to a different purpose and in a considerably altered structural framework.

In the Canti Orfici, the title is shortened to 'Genova' and a final stanza is added. The layout is less fragmentary. There are no section-headings, either titled or numbered and the asterisks which punctuated the fourth verse of Il Più Lungo Giorno are omitted.

I

The opening stanza originates in the shortest of the Quaderno poems, 'Quando gioconda trasvolò la vita'.⁶ In the Quaderno, the four verses, written in hendecasyllables, appear to close in on themselves. Although the opening conjunction, 'Quando', denotes a precise moment in time, the poem as a whole is descriptive. The mood is one of confidence. A comparison of part of the first and third verses with Il Più Lungo Giorno and the Canti Orfici reveals considerable changes.

QuadernoQuando gioconda trasvolò la vita

- L.1 Quando gioconda trasvolò la vita
 L.2 Qual bianca nube per gli aperti cieli
 L.3 Di sopra della tacita infinita
 L.4 Marina in sogno nei lontani veli?
- L.9 Pianser le fonti, risero i poeti?
 L.10 Parlarono le sfingi sui frontoni
 L.11 Stieder gli umani nuovamente proni, ...

Il Più Lungo Giorno'Il canto di Genova''Preludii mediterranei'

- L.1 Poi che la nube sparve dentro i
 cieli
 L.2 Lontani su la tacita infinita
 L.3 Marina chiusa nei lontani veli
 L.4 E ritornava l'anima partita
 L.5 Che tutto a lei d'intorno era già
 arcana-
 L.6 mente illustrato del giardino il
 verde
 L.7 Sogno ne l'apparenza sovrumana
 L.8 De le corrusche sue statue superbe
 L.9 E cantavano in voce di poeti
 L.10 Sacre fonti e le sfingi sui frontoni
 L.11 Benigne un vecchio oblio parvero
 ai proni
 L.12 Umani ancor largire: io dai
 segreti
 L.13 Dedali ...

Canti Orfici'Genova'

- L.1 Poi che la nube si fermò nei
 cieli
 L.2 Lontano sulla tacita infinita
 L.3 Marina chiusa nei lontani veli
 L.4 E ritornava l'anima partita
 L.5 Che tutto a lei d'intorno era
 già arcana-
 L.6 mente illustrato del giardino il
 verde
 L.7 Sogno nell'apparenza sovrumana
 L.8 De le corrusche sue statue
 superbe
 L.9 E udii canto udii voce di poeti
 L.10 Ne le fonti e le sfingi sui
 frontoni
 L.11 Benigne un primo oblio parvero
 ai proni
 L.12 Umani ancor largire: di
 segreti
 L.13 Dedali ...

The opening line - 'Quando gioconda trasvolò la vita' is abandoned; both later versions focus not on life but on the cloud, which now appears as its symbol. In Il Più Lungo Giorno, the opening lines centre around the moment of the cloud's disappearance: 'sparve'. In the Canti Orfici, that moment is arrested: 'si fermò'. Campana is moving away from the more abstract connotations of the Quaderno to a more concrete image which yet remains remote; the adjective 'lontani' is changed into an adverb, 'Lontano' in Line 2. Having created a visual image, Campana moves towards an increasingly rarified atmosphere.

The conjunction 'Poi che' (L.1) echoes the opening of another of Campana's mature poems, the 'Immagini del viaggio e della montagna'. The same poem is recalled further on (L.4) in Il Più Lungo Giorno and the Canti Orfici. The reference to a living soul - 'E ritornava l'anima partita' - echoes an allusion found in that poem to Dante's Virgil:

... Ombra che torna ch'era dipartita.⁷

Virgil, an example of living soul descending to the underworld of his own free will, is central to the developing 'orphyic' dimension of Campana's work. In both Il Più Lungo Giorno and the Canti Orfici, the reference to the 'living soul' is interspersed with allusions to the 'other world': 'arcanamente', 'Sogno nell'apparenza sovrumana'. The concept of forging a link between two worlds is present in both poems and returns throughout Campana's mature work; references to it form part of a web of interlinking ideas, images and themes.

The evolution of Lines 9-11, which also originate in the Quaderno, confirm earlier trends. The enclosed and rhetorical style of the earliest poem is abandoned in subsequent rewritings. Although these lines form part of a separate verse in the intermediary manuscript, there is no structural division at all in the Canti Orfici. In Il Più Lungo Giorno, the passage is descriptive: '... E cantavano in ...'; in the Canti Orfici, auditive effects are introduced through the first person: 'E udii ... udii'. Repetition has a dual function. It both gives the poem a greater fixity: a sense of being rooted in a given moment and it reinforces impressions, intensifying the experience. This duality will be increasingly reflected in the development of this poem.

Separated by a brief fragment from another Canti Orfici poem, and on a separate page, is a further variant of the same passage:¹³

dedali uscendo: aereo un torreggiare(:)
 (E) Per i chiarori, (innumeri del mare)
 (Di già i torpidi) sogni dei mattini
 (torpidi dileguare) che tutti dileguati
 Per i chiarori innumeri del mare

(tutti i torpidi sogni dei mattini)
 E tu in ignoto turbine di suono
 Regina sognavi
 Dentro il sole di Maggio
 Dedali uscendo: aereo un torreggiare
 Bianco: già tutti i sogni dei mattini
 Torpidi dileguati
 per i chiarorori *[sic]* innumeri del mare

dedali: in un aereo torreggiare
 O Regina ti vidi
 uscendo (vidi un): aereo un torreggiare
 (nell'aria tutti) era bianco: già i sogni dei mattini
 (Torpidi) Già tutti dileguati
 Per i chiarori innumeri del mare: ed ascoltai
 Un turbine di suono (te regina) te Regina sognare.

The ideas expressed through images and vocabulary - 'Dedali', 'apparve' - link up with the other passage of 'Genova' not included in the Quaderno: Lines 4-8. The fragments from the Fascicolo Marradese illustrate the way in which Campana's composition centres around 'effects', both auditive and visual. References to light and luminosity are prominent here as in other 'jottings' of this period and link up with the poet's plan of the Canti Orfici, outlined in the Taccuinetto Faentino.¹⁴ Auditive effects - 'un torreggiare', 'turbine di suono' - also recur. The omission of certain images, and the elaboration and 're-arrangement' of others, illustrate the process of Campana at work. The passage links up with L.13-17 of 'Il canto di Genova' and 'Genova'.

Il Più Lungo Giorno

- L.13 Dedali uscendo apparve un
torreggiare
- L.14 Bianco nell'aria: innumeri dal
mare
- L.15 Parvero i bianchi sogni dei
mattini
- L.16 Lontani dileguando incatenare
- L.17 Come un ignoto turbine di suono.

Canti Orfici

- L.13 Dedali uscii: sorgeva un
torreggiare
- L.14 Bianco nell'aria: innumeri dal
mare
- L.15 Parvero i bianchi sogni dei
mattini
- L.16 Lontano dileguando incatenare
- L.17 Come un ignoto turbine di suono.
L.18 Tra le vele di spuma udivo il
suono.
L.19 Pieno era il sole di Maggio.

In Line 13 of the Canti Orfici, the sense of an emerging duality is reflected by the choice of verb, 'sorgeva', and is reinforced by the use of the colon. In Il Più Lungo Giorno, the gerund is used in Line 13 and 16, denoting simultaneity.

The Canti Orfici passage moves towards a synthesis by the use of the first person and the past historic tense in Line 13 and the gerund ('dileguando') in Line 16.

A further variant of this passage is deleted from the manuscript of Il Più Lungo Giorno - a rare occurrence in this manuscript - which indicates something of the complexity behind these lines. It is followed by the note 'imperfetta':

Dedali uscendo
vidi: aerea eccelsa
Torreggiavi nel sole
Tu nel sole di Maggio:
Tutti i torpidi sogni dei mattini
Lontani dileguati
Per i chiarori innumeri del mare
Che udii? Tu tutta in turbine di suono
Tu sognavi o Regina
Dentro il sole di Maggio

Images like that of the 'Regina' - found elsewhere in Campana's work - and the personal pronoun, 'Tu', link it with the sketches of the Fascicolo Marradese. Variants of the final line and the reference to the mid-day sun, which are found in both deleted versions, are not included in 'Il canto di Genova'. The opening stanza of this poem ends, as it had begun, with a reference to movement: 'Come un ignoto turbine di suono'. The omission of final punctuation - a characteristic feature of this manuscript - reinforces this impression.

In the Canti Orfici the final line of the opening stanza of 'Genova' - 'Pieno era il sole di Maggio' - links up with the opening one, denoting a moment of fixity: 'si fermò'. It gives this stanza a sense of completeness, not found before.

II.

The development of the second stanza also reflects a move away from the self-contained form of the Quaderno poem and the formal section divisions of Il Più Lungo Giorno towards a more open structure. As the original title/opening line of the Quaderno poem - 'Piazza S. Giorgio' - indicates, this passage is firmly rooted in the real world of Genova. In subsequent versions the omission of the opening six lines shows Campana focussing increasingly on the evocation of an atmosphere which will reach its greatest intensity in the Canti Orfici poem.¹⁵

Apart from the change of the preposition 'dal' to 'del' in Line 23, the second stanza of 'Il canto di Genova' is identical to the last part (L.7-16), of the Quaderno poem. Changes between the intermediary version and the Canti Orfici poem are more considerable.

Il Più Lungo GiornoII (Attimo meridiano)(L.18-27)

L.18 Sotto la torre orientale

L.19 Tra le terrazze viridi

L.20 E la lavagna cinerea

L.21 Dilaga la piazza rombante

L.22 Inverso al mare che addensa le
navi inesaustoL.23 Rosso ride l'arcato palazzo dal
portico grande

L.24 Come le cateratte del Niagara

L.25 Canta ride svaria ferrea la
sinfoniaL.26 Feconda urgente verso l'aperto
mare

L.27 Canta il tuo canto o Genova

Canti Orfici(L.20-25).L.20 Sotto la torre orientale, ne la
lavagna cinereaL.21 Dilaga la piazza al mare che
addensa la navi inesaustoL.22 Ride l'arcato palazzo rosso del
portico grande:

L.23 Come le cateratte del Niagara

L.24 Canta, ride, svaria ferrea la
sinfonia feconda urgente al
mare:

L.25 Genova canta il tuo canto!

Changes once again centre around structure and technique rather than images and vocabulary. The most striking change is the lengthening of lines: a general 'intensification' of the atmosphere and an emphasis on movement, on gathering pace. The passage develops towards a crescendo, achieved by the use of visual and auditive images. In three places - L.20, 21 and 24 - lines are amalgamated in the Canti Orfici so that there are only six lines in contrast to the earlier ten. The passage reaches a climax in the penultimate line with references to song, to a symphony and to movement towards the sea: '... Canta, ride, svaria ferrea la sinfonia feconda urgente al mare'. There is no further reference to the first person. Campana captures movement 'in the making' which he expresses through images like the 'mare ... inesausto' and '... Come le cateratte del Niagara'. The exclamation mark with which this passage ends in the Canti Orfici is a reflection of the general trend.

III.

The more subdued third stanza of the Canti Orfici has no corresponding passage in the Quaderno: in the manuscript of Il Più Lungo Giorno, it begins a separate section - III - but is not given a title.

<u>Il Più Lungo Giorno</u>	<u>Canti Orfici</u>
(L.28-44)	(L.26-42)
L.28 In una grotta di porcellana	L.26 Entro una grotta di porcellana
L.29 Sorbendo caffè levantino	L.27 Sorbendo caffè
L.30 Guardavo dall'invetriata la folla salire veloce	L.28 Guardavo dall'invetriata la folla salire veloce
L.31 Di tra le femmine sfingee, eguali statue porgenti	L.29 Tra le venditrici uguali a statue, porgenti
L.32 I frutti del mare e del suolo con rauche grida cadenti	L.30 Frutti di mare con rauche grida cadenti
L.33 Su la bilancia immota.	L.31 Su la bilancia immota:
L.34 Io ti ricordo ancora e ti rivedo imperiale	L.32 Così ti ricordo ancora e ti rivedo imperiale
L.35 Sopra l'erta tumultuante	L.33 Su per l'erta tumultuante
L.36 Verso la porta disserrata	L.34 Verso la porta disserrata
L.37 Contro l'azzurro serale:	L.35 Contro l'azzurro serale,
L.38 Fantastica di trofei	L.36 Fantastica di trofei
L.39 Mitici tra torri nude al sereno:	L.37 Mitici tra torri nude al sereno,
L.40 A te per l'erta aggrappata d'intorno	L.38 A te aggrappata d'intorno
L.41 La febbre de la vita	L.39 La febbre de la vita
L.42 Pristina: e per i vichi lubrici de i fanali	L.40 Pristina: e per i vichi lubrici di fanali il canto
L.43 Instornellato de le prostitute	L.41 Instornellato de le prostitute
L.44 E dal fondo il vento del mare senza posa	L.42 E dal fondo il vento del mar senza posa.

The contrast with the preceding stanza is immediately apparent. The passage opens with an image of great delicacy; the cafe is depicted as 'una grotta di porcellana'. Changes between the two versions denote a move towards greater

realism; the 'femmine sfingee' of Il Più Lungo Giorno (L.31) are described as 'venditrici' in the Canti Orfici (L.29). In both passages, Campana uses the first person, 'Guardavo', as he had in the opening stanza. The visual dimension of the poem is particularly prominent.

Other features, apart from the use of the first person, recall the opening stanza. Although not formally separated, it can be divided into two parts: the first six and the last eleven lines. In the manuscript of Il Più Lungo Giorno, they are divided by a full stop, in the Canti Orfici by a colon. The opening six lines are evocative and subdued; in the second part, a sense of dynamism and movement emerges and is reflected by the substitution of the preposition 'Sopra' by 'Su per' (L.33). A new temporal perspective is introduced through the intervention of memory; time-barriers are broken down. In the Canti Orfici, the impinging of the past on the present is introduced by the adverb 'Così' (L.32) which replaces the statement 'Io ti ricordo' (L.34) of Il Più Lungo Giorno. Campana uses language in a way which tends to render the scene more abstract and fleeting than real: 'l'erta tumultuante', 'porta disserrata', 'l'azzurro serale', 'il vento del mar senza posa'. Elsewhere, adjectives are used to denote a mythical or imaginary dimension: 'Fantastica', 'Mitici'. This passage provides a transition into the fourth stanza - the climax of the visionary experience of 'Genova'.

IV.

The fourth stanza again originates in a Quaderno poem, 'Pei vichi fondi tra il palpito rosso', although changes between this and subsequent versions are considerable.¹⁶

Quaderno'Pei vichi fondi tra il palpito rosso' (L.1-19).

- L.1 Pei vichi fondi tra il palpito rosso
 L.2 Dei fanali, sull'ombra illanguidita:
 L.3 Al vento di preludio di un gran mare
 L.4 Ricchissimo accampato in fondo all'ombra
 L.5 Che mi cullava di venture incerte
 L.6 Io me n'andavo nella sera ambigua
 L.7 Nell'alito salso umano
 L.8 Tra nimbi screziati sfuggenti
 L.9 In alto da ogive orientali
 L.10 Col caro mare nel petto
 L.11 Col caro mare nell'anima
 L.12 Or tremo. L'apparizione fu ineffabile
 L.13 Una grazia lombarda in alto sale
 L.14 Ventoso dolce e querula salia
 L.15 (Vicendevano infaticabilmente
 L.16 Nuvole e stelle nel cielo serale)
 L.17 L'accompagnava un vecchio combattente
 L.18 Ischeletrito da sorte nemica
 L.19 Dallo sguardo diritto, umile ed alto:

Il Piu Lungo Giorno
(L.46-80)

- L.46 Tra i palazzi marini infra dei
bianchi
 L.47 Miti inscenati dal palpito rosso
 L.48 Dei fanali sull'ombra illanguidita,
 L.49 Nel vento di preludio alto dal mare
 L.50 Ricchissimo accampato in mezzo
a l'ombra.
 L.51 Io me n'andavo ne le sera ambigua
 L.52 Vagando ad incerte venture
 L.53 Cullato dagli occhi benevoli

Canti Orfici
(L.42-84)

- L.42 Per i vichi marini nell'ambigua
 L.43 Sera cacciava il vento tra i
fanali
 L.44 Preludii dal groviglio delle navi:
 L.45 I palazzi marini avevan bianchi
 L.46 Arabeschi nell'ombra
illanguidita
 L.47 Ed andavamo io e la sera ambigua
 L.48 Ed io gli occhi alzavo su ai mille
 L.49 E mille e mille occhi benevoli

- L.54 De le Chimere nei cieli
 L.55 Quando
 L.56 Melodiosamente in alto sale
 L.57 Ventoso sorse dal mare la
 Visione di Grazia
- L.58 Ne le vicenda infaticabile
 L.59 De le nuvole e de le stelle
 dentro del cielo serale
 L.60 Su dal vico marino tra i fanali
- L.61 Apparso il dolce suo viso
 languente
 L.62 A me l'ignota melodiosamente
- L.63 E lieve e dolce e querula salì
 *
 * *
 L.64 (pianissimo)
 L.65 (Quando melodiosamente in alto
 sale
 L.66 A me l'ignota melodiosamente
- L.67 E bianca e dolce e querula sali).
 * * *
 L.68 Quando: attonita faticosamente
 L.69 L'eco lontana rise un irreale
 L.70 Riso. Mi volsi: intorno
- L.71 Lucea la sera ambigua
 L.72 Del palpito battuto
 L.73 Dei fanali nell'ombra:
 L.74 Lontani rumori franavano
 L.75 Dentro silenzi solenni.
 L.76 Stetti, se ancor dal mare l'irreale
 L.77 Riso si udisse: in alto
 L.78 Infaticabilmente
 L.79 Le nuvole e le stelle
 L.80 Viaggia van pel cielo serale
- L.50 Delle Chimere nei cieli: ...
 L.51 Quando,
 L.52 Melodiosamente
 L.53 D'alto sale, in vento come
 bianca finse una visione di
 Grazia
 L.54 Come dalla vicenda infaticabile
 L.55 De le nuvole e de le stelle
 dentro del cielo serale
 L.56 Dentro il vico che rosse in alto
 sale
 L.57 Marino l'ali rosse dei fanali
- L.58 Rabescavano l'ombra
 illanguidita, ...
 L.59 Che nel vico marino, in alto sale
- L.60 Che bianca e lieve e querula
 salì.
 L.61 "Come nell'ali rosse dei fanali
 L.62 Bianca e rossa nell'ombra del
 fanale
 L.63 Che bianca e lieve e tremula
 salì ..."
 L.64 Ora di già nel rosso del fanale
- L.65 Era già l'ombra faticosamente
 L.66 Bianca
 L.67 Bianca quando nel rosso del
 fanale
 L.68 Bianca lontana faticosamente
 L.69 L'eco attonita rise un irreale
 L.70 Riso: e che l'eco faticosamente
 L.71 E bianca e lieve e attonita salì ...
 L.72 Di già tutto d'intorno
 L.73 Lucea la sera ambigua:
 L.74 Battevano i fanali
 L.75 Il palpito nell'ombra
 L.76 Rumori lontano franavano
 L.77 Dentro silenzi solenni
 L.78 Chiedendo: se dal mare
 L.79 Il riso non saliva ...
 L.80 Chiedendo se l'udiva
 L.81 Infaticabilmente
 L.82 La sera: a la vicenda
 L.83 Di nuvole là in alto
 L.84 Dentro del cielo stellare.

A comparison of the three versions of this passage shows increasing emphasis on the visionary dimension: a movement towards fragmentation - 'dissolution'-of the 'I' into the outside world. The function of the Quaderno poem becomes particularly apparent. It clarifies what is only referred to allusively in the Canti Orfici and thus sheds light on the interpretation of this section.

The Canti Orfici passage is considerably longer than the preceding ones. Key words and images denote the nature of the experience. The vision cannot be described in physical terms; it can only be evoked through suggestion which centres around whiteness and musical effects. Suspension dots in the Canti Orfici further convey the inexpressibility of the vision. Whilst the passage in the Quaderno poem is descriptive and the 'apparition' is described in increasingly concrete terms, in the two later versions, the vision becomes more unearthly.

In the Quaderno, the setting of Genova is evoked and the figure of the poet is introduced early on: '... mi cullava di venture incerte' (L.5). Vocabulary and imagery set the scene for a melodrama of a rather conventional nature. There is no real 'development' of the vision. A comparison of these lines with the corresponding passage of Il Più Lungo Giorno and the Canti Orfici reveals considerable changes. The opening line of the Canti Orfici shows Campana selecting some elements from both earlier versions. The preposition 'Pei' of the Quaderno is abandoned in Il Più Lungo Giorno and replaced by 'Tra (il)'; in the Canti Orfici, Campana reverts to the Quaderno version, using the form 'Per i'. The noun - 'vichi' - is also the same in the Quaderno and the Canti Orfici but is replaced by 'palazzi' in the intermediary version. As in the preceding stanza, the vocabulary continues to reflect a sense of movement, in keeping with the poet's vision of Genova.

The adjective - 'ambigua' - which appears in Line 42 of the Canti Orfici and recurs in all three versions marks a turning point in the elaboration of the visionary dimension of this passage. The concrete connotations of the Quaderno, denoting colour: 'palpito rosso/dei fanali' - become less precise in Il Più Lungo Giorno - 'Miti inscenati' - and acquire a more allusive quality still in the Canti Orfici:- '... nell'ambigua/Sera'.

In the Quaderno, the introduction of the 'I': 'Io me n'andavo nella sera ambigua' (L.6) follows three lines of physical description: '... Al vento di preludio di un gran mare / Ricchissimo accampato in fondo all'ombra / Che mi cullava di venture incerte'. In Il Più Lungo Giorno, the same reference occurs but is clearly differentiated from the preceding passage; it forms a new sentence. In the Canti Orfici, the first person plural is used, coupling the narrator with evening; they appear indistinguishable: '... Ed andavamo io e la sera ambigua' (L.47). This fusion between the poet and evening is now preceded by allusions to movement and to shapes: 'cacciava il vento', 'groviglio delle navi'. The symbolic presence of the spiral or undulating shape - 'Arabeschi' - which is associated with Campana's perception of an ideal, sets the tone of the passage.¹⁷

Changes in the subsequent part of the stanza are considerable. Whilst the Quaderno poem continues to centre around conventional imagery, in the later versions, vocabulary and structure, like the subject, become increasingly 'unearthly'. The gerund is used in Il Più Lungo Giorno - 'Vagando a' (L.52) - so that the two planes of experience - reality and vision - are brought together. The verb, which in the Quaderno had appeared in a personalised form ('mi cullava', L.5), is now rendered by the past participle and placed in a new context '... Cullato dagli occhi benevoli' (L.53). The image of the eyes will become increasingly prominent in the development of this poem.

In Line 13 of the Quaderno, the 'apparition' is introduced as something that has already taken place: 'L'apparizione fu ineffabile' (my italics). The vision is defined with increasing clarity in the course of the poem; it - or she - is a young girl - 'Una grazia lombarda' - whose companion is also described: 'un vecchio combattente ... Dallo sguardo diritto, umile ed alto'. In the development of this passage, the vision loses all human traits. Lines are shortened. The use of suspension dots in the Canti Orfici generates a climate of expectancy and echoes the visionary nature of the experience. The synthesis develops gradually, not only 'outwards', with evening, but 'upwards', with the vision itself. The motive of ascent, which is central to this part of the poem, begins here. The 'I' seems literally to 'fragment' into the elements; the eyes are again a key in expressing this transition: '... Ed io gli occhi alzavo su ai mille e mille occhi benevoli / Delle Chimere nei cieli ...' (L.49-50). This is just one of several references to

'Chimere' in Campana's work. It has diverse associations but always brings with it connotations of an ideal.¹⁸

In Il Più Lungo Giorno and the Canti Orfici, the conjunction 'Quando' marks a further stage in the development of the visionary experience; words and phrases which have musical associations become increasingly prominent, as do references to brightness and to the colour white. Although the Quaderno passage appears considerably altered, there are one or two lines and images - notably the evocation of an atmosphere in Line 14: '*... Ventoso dolce e querula salia*' - which will be used again. In Il Più Lungo Giorno and the Canti Orfici, the phrase is recalled; it recurs like a chorus, echoing the central motive and forming a cohesive thread throughout the passage. Repetition, both of phrases and of individual words, is becoming increasingly prominent. Three consecutive lines begin with the word 'Bianca' in the Canti Orfici; once it stands alone (L.66) and is followed by suspension dots, as if to underline the ineffable nature of the experience.

References to music are also prominent. The adverb 'Melodiosamente' stands alone in the Canti Orfici (L.52). The vision becomes increasingly diffuse. In Il Più Lungo Giorno, it arises from a physical setting: '*... Ventoso sorse del mare la Visione di Grazia*'; in the Canti Orfici, it emerges from above. Vocabulary and images denote its dissolution: '*... D'alto sale, il vento come bianca finse una visione di Grazia*' (my italics, L.53). Suggestions of an ideal recur; the arabesque of Line 46 is echoed in the verb 'Rabescavano' (L.58).

There is a move towards a more allusive style. In Il Più Lungo Giorno, Campana's intention is explicitly stated: 'pianissimo' (L.64); parentheses are used both here and in the Quaderno poem. In the Canti Orfici, Campana achieves this graduation of effects by the use of italics and inverted commas instead of parentheses. Other devices which make the passage more disjointed - like the use of asterisks in Il Più Lungo Giorno - are also abandoned.

In the final lines of this section, words and phrases which continue to recall the vision - references to whiteness and ineffability - are interspersed with more concrete references to the town itself '*... nel rosso del fanale*' (L.64). In Il Più Lungo Giorno, Lines 68-70 seem to stand outside the rest of the poem,

divided on either side by asterisks; they form a sentence which seems to have no resonance in the remainder of this passage:

... Quando: attonita faticosamente
L'eco lontana rise un irreale
Riso. (L.68 - 70).

In the Canti Orfici the echo is not introduced as a 'separate' statement; it is interwoven into the passage as a whole and, like the vision itself, appears as a 'happening'. The repetition of the gerund: 'Chiedendo' (L.79), 'Chiedendo se ...' (L.80) recaptures the echo of before (L.69). Repetition - echoes of words and phrases - is particularly prominent. The phrase 'L'eco attonita rise un irreale/Riso' (L.69-70) breaks off; it is separated by a colon from what follows. The subject is now the echo itself:

... e che l'eco faticosamente
E bianca e lieve e attonita salì ... (L.71-72).

Earlier images and themes - notably that of ascension - recur and carry the echo away. In Il Più Lungo Giorno, by contrast, the return of the first person: 'Mi volsi' (L.69), 'Stetti' (L.75), conveys more strongly the sense of a return to earth.

The difference between the two passages is reinforced by a familiar technique: the replacement of an adjective by an adverb in the Canti Orfici, to create a distancing effect. The phrase 'Lontani rumori franavano' (L.73) becomes 'Lontano rumori franavano' (L.76). The image on which this passage ends is more striking than in Il Più Lungo Giorno. The clouds and stars are no longer fleeting but fixed; the final image of light has a greater penetration:

... Di nuvole là in alto
Dentro del cielo serale. (L.83-84).

The move towards a more open structure continues in the development of the fifth stanza.¹⁹

Quaderno

Spiaggia, spiaggia

(L.2 - 46)

- L.2 Giunse il battello e riposa
- L.3 Nel crepuscolo e l'anima divina
- L.4 Costella di elettriche lune
- L.5 Gli alberi
- L.6 Il paesaggio è mitico
- L.7 Di navi all'infinito:
- L.8 Dal battello capace
- L.9 Ascendono i tesori della sera
- L.10 Calida di felicità:
- L.11 Ininterrottamente.
- L.12 Triangoli magici
- L.13 Di lampade elettriche
- L.14 S'incastonan nel crepuscolo
- L.15 I viaggiatori oziano sul molo
- L.16 I bambini rincorronsi sul molo
- L.17 Son giunti al porto di felicità
- L.18 Il battello si scarica
- L.19 Ininterrottamente
- L.20 Instancabilmente
- L.21 Ha finito il suo compito e s'accende
- L.22 Delle luci d'argento
- L.23 La bandiera è calata
- L.24 Il mare e il cielo è d'oro
- L.25 Splende sugli alberi felicità
- L.26 A frotte s'avventurano
- L.27 I viaggiatori alla città tonante
- L.28 Che stende le sue piazze e le sue vie
- L.29 La poesia mediterranea
- L.30 S'arronda in pietra di cenere
- L.31 S'ingolfa pei vichi antichi e profondi.
- L.32 Fragore di vita
- L.33 Gioia intensa e fugace
- L.34 Velario d'oro di felicità
- L.35 E il cielo ove il sole ricchissimo
- L.36 Lasciò le sue spoglie
- L.37 E la città comprende
- L.38 E s'accende
- L.39 E la fiamma titilla ed assorbe
- L.40 I resti magnificenti del sole
- L.41 E intesse un sudario d'oblio
- L.42 Divino per gli uomini stanchi.
- L.43 Perdute nel crepuscolo tonante
- L.44 Ombre di viaggiatori
- L.45 Vanno per la Superba
- L.46 Terribili e grotteschi come i ciechi

Il Più Lungo Giorno
Spiaggia, spiaggia
 (L.81-119)

- L.81 Giunse il battello e riposa
 L.82 Nel crepuscolo e brilla
 L.83 Negli alberi quieti in frutti di luce
 L.84 Il paesaggio è mitico
 L.85 Di navi intorno al cerchio
 d'infinito
 L.86 E dal battello ondulando
 L.87 I carichi si levano nella sera
 L.88 Calida di felicità.
 L.89 (Le lampane un grande un grande
 velario lucente
 L.90 Hanno steso coi diamanti sul
 crepuscolo
 L.91 Con mille e mille diamanti un
 grande velario vivente
 L.92 Il battello si scarica
 L.93 Ininterrotamente cigolante
 L.94 Instancabilmente introna
 L.95 La bandiera è calata
 L.96 Il mare e il cielo è d'oro
 L.97 Dei fanciulli s'inseguono pel
 molo
 L.98 Brilla sugli alberi felicità.
 L.99 A frotte s'avventurano
 L.100 I viaggiatori a la città tonante
 L.101 Che stende le sue piazze e le
 sue vie
 L.102 La grande luce mediterranea
 L.103 S'è fusa in pietra di cenere:
 L.104 Pei vichi antichi e profondi
 L.105 Fragore di vita
 L.106 Gioia intensa e fugace:
 L.107 Velario d'oro di felicità
 L.108 E il cielo ove il sole
 ricchissimo

Canti Orfici
 (L.85-120)

- L.85 Al porto il battello si posa
 L.86 Nel crepuscolo che brilla
 L.87 Negli alberi quieti di frutti di
 luce
 L.88 Nel paesaggio mitico
 L.89 Di navi nel seno d'infinito
 L.90 Ne la sera
 L.91 Calida di felicità, lucente
 L.92 In un grande in un grande
 velario
 L.93 Di diamanti disteso sul
 crepuscolo,
 L.94 In mille e mille diamanti in un
 grande velario vivente
 L.95 Il battello si scarica
 L.96 Ininterrotamente cigolante,
 L.97 Instancabilmente introna
 L.98 E la bandiera è calata e il
 mare e il cielo è d'oro e
 sul molo
 L.99 Corrono i fanciulli e gridano
 L.100 Con gridi di felicità
 L.101 Già a frotte s'avventurano
 L.102 I viaggiatori alla città tonante
 L.103 Che stende le sue piazze e
 le sue vie:
 L.104 La grande luce mediterranea
 L.105 S'è fusa in pietra di cenere
 L.106 Per vichi antichi e profondi
 L.107 Fragore di vita, gioia intensa
 e fugace:
 L.108 Velario d'oro di felicità
 L.109 E il cielo ove il sole
 ricchissimo
 L.110 Lasciò le sue spoglie
 preziose
 L.111 E la Città comprende
 L.112 E s'accende

- | | | | |
|-------|---|-------|--|
| L.109 | Lasciò le sue spoglie
preziose: | L.113 | E la fiamma titilla ed
assorbe |
| L.110 | E la città comprende | L.114 | I resti magnificenti del sole. |
| L.111 | E s'accende | L.115 | E intesse un sudario d'oblio |
| L.112 | E la fiamma titilla ed assorbe | L.116 | Divino per gli uomini stanchi. |
| L.113 | I resti magnificenti del sole | L.117 | Perdute nel crepuscolo
tonante |
| L.114 | E intesse un sudario d'oblio | L.118 | Ombre di viaggiatori |
| L.115 | Divino per gli uomini stanchi | L.119 | Vanno per la Superba |
| L.116 | Perdute nel crepuscolo tonante | L.120 | Terribili e grotteschi come
i ciechi. |
| L.117 | Ombre di viaggiatori | | |
| L.118 | Vanno per la Superba | | |
| L.119 | Terribili e grotteschi come
i ciechi | | |

The time of day - 'crepuscolo' - is explicitly stated (L.2), unlike in preceding passages where it had been denoted through images: 'bianchi sogni dei mattini' (L.15), 'l'azzurro serale' (L.35). The opening line/title of the Quaderno poem, 'Spiaggia, spiaggia' is retained as the title of the next section of 'Il canto di Genova' and it is thus more clearly differentiated from the rest of the poem. In the Canti Orfici, the transition from the preceding stanza is more gradual and the change of the adjective 'serale' into 'stellare' in the last line of the previous stanza (L.84) seems to reflect a growing concern for consistency, both in the time-sequence of the poem and in the prominence of light - the special light of evening. The artificial lights - 'elettriche lune' - of the Quaderno become more pervasive light 'effects' in the subsequent versions: '... Negli alberi quieti in frutti di luce: ...' Whilst references to ascension and whiteness (purity) were the dominant note of the visionary fourth stanza, light is here more specifically associated with the human world: with lamps, diamonds and with human riches. As in the preceding stanza, repetition is a central feature. In Il Piu Lungo Giorno, the dominant mood of the passage is captured in a parenthesis:

(Le lampane un grande un grande velario lucente
Hanno steso coi diamanti sul crepuscolo
Con mille e mille diamanti un grande velario vivente) ...

(L.89-91).

In the Canti Orfici, this passage is incorporated into the wider structure of the verse. The suggestion of a human presence, denoted by the active verb ('Hanno steso') is replaced by an 'impersonal' atmosphere: an overall impression of light which continues from the preceding stanza.

The fourth stanza had represented the climax of the visionary experience; in the fifth, Campana gradually returns to the real world. The second reference to the sailing boat in the Canti Orfici (L.95) brings about a change in mood. The boat now sets sail; the pace is slow, reflected in the rhythm and through adverbs like 'Ininterrotamente', 'Instancabilmente'. Shorter lines are no longer semi-articulated passages, centred on the evocation of a mood but reflect a return to reality. Human presences - 'fanciulli' - now appear on the scene. City lights are increasingly pervasive. The 'poesia mediterranea' of the Quaderno (L.29) becomes 'luce mediterranea' and the verb changes from 's'arronda (in)' to 's'è fusa (in)' in the two later passages.

In the final lines of the stanza, the twilight hour takes over and overshadows human activity. The passage ends on a note of languor: 'sudario d'oblio', 'uomini stanchi', 'Ombre di viaggiatori'. The final analogy:

... Ombre di viaggiatori
Vanno per la Superba
Come i ciechi

reintroduces the image of the eyes, this time through blindness. It is an appropriate transition into the final stanza of Il Più Lungo Giorno and the penultimate one of 'Genova'.

VI

References to sleep and immobility permeate this sixth stanza which also originates in a Quaderno poem: 'Il porto che si addorme, il porto il porto'²⁰

QuadernoIl porto che si addorme, il porto il porto (L.2-15)

- L.2 Il porto nell'odor tenue vanito
- L.3 Di catrame vegliato dalle lune
- L.4 Elettriche, sul mare appena vivo
- L.5 Vi si addormentan stanchi i vagabondi
- L.6 Sotto la nube delle ciminiere
- L.7 Ancor fumanti, ancor congiunte al cielo
- L.8 Abbracciandosi nell'odor del mare
- L.9 Che culla i loro sogni e i loro amori
- L.10 E la forza che dorme, e la tristezza
- L.11 Inconscia delle cose che saranno
- L.12 E la vita che cullasi nel ritmo
- L.13 Affaticato. Sta la negra nube
- L.14 Sopra e si stende
- L.15 Dal vomito silente ...

Il Più Lungo Giorno

(L.120-130)

- L.120 Vasto dentro un odor tenue vanito
- L.121 Di catrame, vegliato da le lune
- L.122 Elettriche, sul mare appena vivo
- L.123 Il porto il vasto porto s'addorme
- L.124 S'alza la nube delle ciminiere
- L.125 Ed il porto in un dolce schricchiolio
- L.126 Dei cordami s'addorme: e la tristezza
- L.127 Pare culli le cose che saranno
- L.128 E il vasto porto oscilla dentro un ritmo
- L.129 Affaticato e si sente
- L.130 La nube che si forma dal vomito silente

Canti Orfici

(L.121-132)

- L.121 Vasto, dentro un odor tenue vanito
- L.122 Di catrame, vegliato da le lune
- L.123 Elettriche, sul mare appena vivo
- L.124 Il vasto porto si addorme.
- L.125 S'alza la nube delle ciminiere
- L.126 Mentre il porto in un dolce schricchiolio
- L.127 Dei cordami s'addorme: e che la forza
- L.128 Dorme, dorme che culla la tristezza
- L.129 Inconscia de le cose che saranno
- L.130 E il vasto porto oscilla dentro un ritmo
- L.131 Affaticato e si sente
- L.132 La nube che si forma dal vomito silente

Although the passage is shorter than preceding ones, lines are longer. The revisionary trend is a familiar one. There is no separate section-heading in Il Più Lungo Giorno but the passage is separated from preceding ones. The rhythm denotes a slowing down of pace. Whilst in the Quaderno, the setting is given at the outset: 'Il porto nell'odor tenue vanito', in the later versions the emphasis is on the evocation of an atmosphere: 'Vasto, dentro un odor tenue vanito' and the setting - Genova - is not made explicit until the end of the passage (L.123). The sea is 'appena vivo', the smell 'vanito'. The climax of the stanza is reached in Lines 125-129 of the Canti Orfici. Repetition focusses on the verb 'Dorme'. The rather conventional rhyme scheme of the Quaderno: 'Ancor fumanti ancor congiunte al cielo', is abandoned. A sense of movement is characterised in the later versions by verbs like 'oscilla'. This is not a movement 'upwards', towards life, but a rocking movement, back and forth. The use of the colon in the two later versions, the conjunctions 'Mentre' and 'che', and the vocabulary, 's'addorme', 'Dorme', 'Inconscia', suggest the atmosphere of the passage. The future tense - 'saranno' - which was already present in the Quaderno, denotes a sense of the poet's aspiration which finds no outlet here. Style and structure increasingly reinforce this mood. To quote from the Canti Orfici:

Mentre il porto in un dolce scricchiolio
 Dei cordami s'addorme: e che la forza
 Dorme, dorme che culla la tristezza
 Inconscia de le cose che saranno ... (L.126-129).

A sense of being enclosed is increasingly conveyed. The image which ends Il Più Lungo Giorno - 'vomito silente' - denotes the descent of night. This is perhaps a logical ending to a poem which had begun in the 'bianchi sogni dei mattini'. The day is at an end and a seal can be set on the whole experience.

VI

In many ways, the additional seventh stanza, not found either in the Quaderno or in Il Più Lungo Giorno, is most closely linked to the opening one. The passage originates in the 'miscellaneous' fragment, 'O siciliana proterva opulenta matrona'.²¹

O siciliana proterva opulenta matrona

(L.1-13)

- L.1 O siciliana proterva opulenta
matrona
L.2 A le finestre ventose del vico
marinaro
L.3 Ne la città corsa di suoni di
navi di carri
L.4 Classica mediterranea femina
di porti.
L.5 Pei grigi rosei de la città di
ardesia
L.6 Sonavano i clamori vespertini
L.7 Seguivano i rumori quieti ne la
notte serena:
L.8 Dietro delle finestre lucenti
come stelle
L.9 Passavano le ombre de le
famiglie marine
L.10 Nel salido odore del vento
L.11 E la melodia di lontani canti
sperduti
L.12 Correva le vene de la città
mediterranea
L.13 Sempre più lenta e ambigua ne
la notte tirrena
L.14 ecc. ecc. ecc. ecc. ecc. ecc.
ecc. ecc. ecc.

Canti Orfici

(L.133-157)

- L.133 O Siciliana proterva opulente
matrona
L.134 A le finestre ventose del vico
marinaro
L.135 Nel seno della città percossa
di suoni di navi e di carri
L.136 Classica mediterranea femina
dei porti:
L.137 Pei grigi rosei della città di
ardesia
L.138 Sonavano i clamori vespertini
L.139 E poi più quieti i rumori dentro
la notte serena:
L.140 Vedevo alle finestre lucenti
come le stelle
L.141 Passare le ombre de le famiglie
marine: e canti
L.142 Udivo lenti ed ambigui ne le
vene de la città mediterranea:
L.143 Ch'era la notte fonda.
L.144 Mentre tu siciliana, dai cavi
L.145 Ventri in un torvo giuoco
L.146 L'ombra cava e la luce
vacillante
L.147 O siciliana, ai capezzoli
L.148 L'ombra rinchiusa tu eri
L.149 La Piovra de la notti mediterranee.
L.150 Cigolava cigolava cigolava di
catene
L.151 La gru sul porto nel cavo de la
notte serena:
L.152 E dentro il cavo de la notte
serena
L.153 E nelle braccia di ferro

- L.154 Il debole cuore batteva un piû
alto palpito: tu
L.155 La finestra avevi spenta:
L.156 Nuda mistica in alto cava
L.157 Infinitamente occhiuta
devastazione era la notte
tirrena.

A human figure again appears on the scene: the 'Siciliana', whom the poet addresses as 'tu'. References to night, but also to brightness, recur. A sense of duality emerges which was not present in the preceding stanzas. In Line 143, the descent of night is explicitly stated. In contrast to the preceding stanza, however, references to night carry with them a sense of hope. The windows are 'lucenti come le stelle', colours appear in a more 'natural' form than before '... Pei grigi rosei della città di ardesia' (L.137). References to the verbs of seeing and hearing reinforce the cohesive thread which has emerged throughout the poem and was already present in the opening stanza. The 'unifying' presence of the 'I' also returns: '... Vedevo alle finestre ...', 'Udivo lenti ed ambigui ne le vene de la città mediterranea ...' (L.142). A comparison of the Canti Orfici passage to the 'miscellaneous' fragment reveals a familiar pattern. Images are largely unchanged; the perspective, however, suggested through the introduction of the first person and the variety of the rhythm - particularly through the use of colons in the Canti Orfici - remains comparatively flat. The passage is descriptive; it is written entirely in the imperfect tense.

A further sense of contrast is reflected by the structure of the stanza in the Canti Orfici. The passage falls into two sections, broken, unusually, by a full-stop in Line 143, following the reference to nightfall:

... Ch'era la notte fonda.

The miscellaneous fragment breaks off at this point, ending in a series of 'ecc'. The Canti Orfici passage continues. The transition into the final lines is indicated by the familiar conjunction, 'Mentre'. A sense of movement is conveyed by the structure and vocabulary of these lines. The onomatopœic repetition of the verb in Line 150: 'Cigolava cigolava cigolava di catene' introduces a more popular language. This second section of the stanza seems in many ways to mirror the first. Life starts up again, only to grind to a halt. The recurrence of the

colon in the closing lines reflects, like the images, a sense of human resistance: '... Il debole cuore batteva un più alto palpito ...' Whilst in the preceding stanza the elements themselves seemed to be in control, there is a suggestion here of a human presence; descending night is no longer all-enveloping:

... La finestra avevi spenta : ... (my italics)

Even the final line - unlike that which had ended the miscellaneous fragment - carries a sense of hope. The image of the all-seeing eye returns: a reminder of the repetitive pattern of life itself and an indication of the poet's vision of Eternal Return which reflects the influence of Nietzsche and is prominent throughout the Canti Orfici:²²

... Infinitamente occhiuta devastazione era la notte tirrena
(L.157 - my italics).

Genova, in many ways, contains 'in miniature' the recurrent patterns of Campana's mature work. The final poem of the Canti Orfici, it has strong links with others, notably with the opening prose-poem 'La notte'. It is an aesthetic more than a 'philosophical' statement; and expresses a duality which is characteristic of Campana's vision. As has already been suggested, a comparison may perhaps be drawn with contemporary painters; in literature, the closest analogy may be drawn with Apollinaire who was experimenting with his innovatory 'poème-conversation', 'Zone', in the year that the manuscript of Il Più Lungo Giorno was completed.²³

'Genova' contains passages of great beauty but throughout the poem one is aware of the process of 'collegamento', of piecing together. One is left with the overall impression of a great poem of uneven texture.

III: EPILOGUE

Campana in the Eye of the Critic.

Some seventy years after the publication of the Canti Orfici and fourteen years after the dramatic 'rediscovery' of the manuscript of Il Più Lungo Giorno, Campana's work remains relatively little known. During his lifetime, it was the character of the man - his extravagant attitudes and manners - which drew the public's attention to him. Today, critics are focussing increasingly on the intrinsic merit of his work.

Critical evaluation of Campana has changed considerably in the course of this century. Amongst the Futurists, with whom he first sought favour, his behaviour and unkempt appearance did little to improve his reputation. His outlandish way of dressing - the 'giubbone di mezzalana e i pantaloni eterei e fioriti'¹ - and his unsophisticated manners sufficed to disqualify him from certain literary circles. He appeared, at best, as 'un malato di spirito preso dal fuoco della poesia ma senza l'equilibrio necessario per essere un buon poeta'.² Neither Papini nor Soffici, from whom Campana sought recognition, would help to establish his reputation in these early years.

The loss of Campana's work at the hands of his literary patrons and the considerable difficulties in rewriting and publishing his work six months later, are by now well known.³ To what extent Campana's reception was affected by the original loss of his work and by the arduous circumstances of its publication and sales, is a question on which we can only speculate. In the short space of time - three and a half years - which would separate the publication of his work from his final internment in mental hospital, Campana made relatively little impression on the literary scene.

Positive critical responses to Campana's work came from circles which were detached from the Futurists, the predominant literary force of the day. One of the earliest critics to recognize Campana's work was De Robertis. In an article published in La Voce in December, 1914, he discerned strong affinities between Campana's poetry and the 'solid' tradition of Giosuè Carducci. He perceived in the Canti Orfici:

... un'ispirazione diversa e più sana, e più pacata:
 ... Meno spirito decadente, e meno sensibilità
 atroce, ma un gusto di cose vive e rozze, ... Su
 questa base il [Campana] ha lavorato a scoprire
 il suo canto (my italics).⁴

De Robertis was to focus on the rational aspect of Campana's poetry which would provoke little reaction from other critics of the time.

A very different appraisal of Campana came some six months later from Bino Binazzi. In an enthusiastic article he showed his appreciation of Campana as a romantic, basing his judgement more on the tragic circumstances of the poet's life than on the qualities of his work.⁵ Writing to Papini in defence of the poet, Binazzi explained these views:

... ti prego credere che se anche per combinazione avessi esagerato per entusiasmo, non me ne pento affatto perché rimane ferma la convinzione che questo bel tipo di Campana è destinato a scrivere grandi cose ... La sua vita randagia è per me un fatto che incontra tutta la mia simpatia. Poi Campana è povero e se io ho potuto contribuire a fargli vendere qualche volume ciò mi sembra meglio della ... letteratura e della critica. Bada bene, però, che io sostengo sempre che i Canti Orfici sono un ottimo libro dove si sente l'alito di una creatura viva e anelante fin dalla prima pagina ...⁶ (my italics).

A third critic of this time who would mention Campana in two articles, was Emilio Cecchi. In the first, he dismisses the poet rather summarily, describing him as '... una specie di Gabriele d'Annunzio ... lo stomaco aperto ugualmente a tutte le minestre. Pronto a tutto ...'⁷ The second article, however, is much more positive. Cecchi judges Campana to be sincere - a quality which he compares favourably with Papini; he also recognizes links between Campana and the French poetic tradition, notably with Rimbaud (poet of the Illuminations), and with Verlaine whom Campana greatly admired.⁸

These articles, although significant, were still limited in their appraisal of the poet. Their judgements reflect the diversity of Campana's work, a feature which would help to explain the widely differing reactions to him over the years to come.

Although a slim volume, the content of the Canti Orfici was very varied. There was something which would appeal to most tastes equally, there would be parts to which some critics could take exception. At this early stage it was considered by Cecchi to have little cohesion: a 'museo di fiera con qualche numero bello'.⁹ For Binazzi, however, the few poems worthy of special note sufficed to qualify the whole as a masterpiece:

... Se anche vi siano - come tu [Papini] dici -
trenta pagine di buona poesia nel volume, ciò è
per me più che abbastanza, trattandosi più o
meno d'un cento pagine in tutto ...¹⁰

The most enthusiastic response to Campana's work - one which made even that of Binazzi look restrained - was that of Giovanni Boine. Writing to Campana in August 1915, he described the 'febbre d'esaltazione' generated by his first reading of the Canti Orfici.¹¹ Like Binazzi, he responded to the tragedy of the poet's life. He even drew a parallel between the instability of Campana's mental state and lifestyle, and the uneven appearance of the Ravagli publication: ('la carta a piacer suo muta di qualità tre volte in cento-settanta pagine ...').¹² Boine discerned the work 'una strapotenza bizzarra', which 'via ti solleva fuori di te' and described Campana's linguistic experiments as 'la trasposizione illogica delle parole nel discorso, la sintassi a salti, nonché il salto dei vocaboli ed eziandio di intere preposizioni ...'. The fragmentation of his verse was seen to mirror his life. 'Genova', which was later claimed to be one of Campana's greatest - and certainly most innovatory - poems was quoted to demonstrate the critic's conclusion: poetry has become the sole prerogative of the 'pazzi' and the 'poveri'.¹³

It was to be some years before critics would again take a serious analytical approach to Campana's work. The first real sign of recognition - following the poet's internment in mental hospital in 1918 - came from the two people responsible for the publication of the second edition of his work in 1928, Attilio Vallecchi and Bino Binazzi. Prior to this, there had been little indication of a growth of public interest in Campana, despite a brief mention in an anthology published by Papini and Pancrazi in 1920.¹⁴ Four years after Campana's internment, Binazzi wrote a glowing appraisal of the Canti Orfici;¹⁵

In 1927, the publisher Vallecchi wrote to Binazzi asking him to adapt the article as a preface for a second edition of Campana's work 'al quale vorrei dare una larga diffusione come il contenuto si merita ...'¹⁶ With this second edition, published in 1928, edited by Binazzi, began a more lively interest in Campana's poetry.

Sergio Solmi, in an article first published in 1928, discussed Campana's art at considerable length. Having established, like Boine, a parallel between the 'forma esteriore' of Ravagli's edition and the 'squilibrio' and 'miseria' of the man, he too, like Cecchi, drew analogies with the poetry of Rimbaud, discerning a common source of their art:

... Si tratta quindi d'esperienze uniche ed irripetibili
 ... La follia di Campana, come l'estasi visionaria di
 Rimbaud ... tende a convertirsi in ebra musica o in
 ermetico simbolo

Solmi recognized a unifying philosophical quest in Campana's work, a quest for the truth:

... un disperato tentativo d'abdicazione alla sintesi
 intellettuale per assecondare senza sforzo la segreta
 durata, l'aereo respiro della vita indistinta... la
 parola ha sempre in Campana questo carattere di
melodiosità estatica (my italics)

Solmi drew attention to the polarities in Campana's art: the 'atmosfera febbrile' of such poems and images as Night and the balance and harmony maintained through the melody of the verse. This balance was broken in the 'climactic poem', Solmi, like preceding critics, saw in 'Genova' the disintegration of the poet's great art, the moment 'in cui il pensiero fissatosi su tre o quattro parole, si frantuma addirittura per qualche pagina in un balbettio demente' (my italics).¹⁷

A more 'historical' approach to Campana was undertaken some years later, in 1933, by another critic: A. Gargiulo. He examined Campana's ties with other writers and poets of his day. In Campana's 'segni di un'inclinazione all'estetismo', he discerned the influence of d'Annunzio, but

was quick to dismiss other influences. Impressionism, he argued, was totally alien to the poet's sensibility; he saw Campana's needs in strongly sensual terms, as '*... una cupidità di vita cui non corrisponde, ad appagarla, se non una "mitica" nostalgia; un ardor sensuale che ha i suoi termini, oltre ogni realtà immediata, soltanto in trasfiguratrici "visioni".*' Gargiulo's evaluation of Campana's prose, as superior to his verse, is in keeping with this appraisal. This is where the sensuality of Campana is most vividly expressed, giving an underlying cohesion to the whole. The verse-compositions, by contrast, are fragmentary and uneven: '*nella misura ... in cui a tratti si rivela intensa, quasi folgorante: mosse arbitrarie, incertezze, oscurità, non lasciano alla coerenza dell'ispirazione se non brevi respiri*'.¹⁷

Another phase in the appreciation of Campana, came with the publication of an article by Gianfranco Contini in 1937 (Campana's death some five years earlier has passed almost un-noticed).¹⁸ Contini took issue with critics who had tended to romanticize Campana and to place him in the line of 'visionary' poets: '*... Ma Campana non è un veggente o un visionario: e un visivo, che è quasi la cosa inversa ...*' (my italics). Campana's poetry, argued Contini, was firmly rooted in the real world, in towns like Faenza and Florence. Like Gargiulo, Contini considered Campana's greatest art to lie in his prose; verse-compositions - notably '*La Chimera*' - are dismissed; they represent '*la fase magico-balbettata della poesia di Campana, tentativo di captare l'ideale magari l'assurdità verbale ...*'¹⁹

Despite Contini's attempt to redefine Campana's work, reactions remained as widely divergent as before. Carlo Bo (who would be responsible for a subsequent edition of the Canti Orfici)²⁰ evaluated Campana very differently, as the title of his article - '*Dell'infrenabile notte*' - suggests. He interprets the Canti Orfici in terms of a philosophical quest for the absolute, which he sees mirrored in the title of the work itself: '*... Altezza del titolo che spiega benissimo l'assoluta necessità della parola in lui ... la parola inquieta di Campana obbligata sempre a uno stato migliore di metamorfosi e riferita sensibilmente ... all'essenza, allo spirito realmente suo*'. Bo analysed the close relationship between language and content; Campana's characteristic technique of repetition, which has '*tanto e così male stupito*', was seen to reflect a '*canto interno*'. It

was a carefully worked-out technique, not incoherent utterances suggested by earlier critics. Repetition helped to define the typically Campanian 'music' which was expressed by the first part of the title ('Canti') of the work. Like critics before him, Bo also discerned in the climactic poem 'Genova' the poet's loss of control and the disintegration of his art: '... La ripetizione è ormai ridotta a un inciampo, a un incidente d'ordine intellettuale. Parole che salgono in un'assenza di respiro e segno di impotenza, di una potenza irraggiungibile'.²¹

The third edition of the Canti Orfici, in 1941, followed one year later by Campana's posthumously published writings, marked a further stage forward in his critical acclaim.²²

Following the publication of the Canti Orfici, his literary 'beginnings' (Quaderno) and the scattered fragments of his later years, critics were able to assess Campana in a new light. F. Donini, writing at this time, considered some likely derivations of Campana's poetry. Like critics before him, he alighted on the technique of repetition as one of the most striking characteristics of Campana's art. Donini traces this to the influence of the 'decadent' tradition, as exemplified in Edgar Poe, but also notes it to be a prominent feature of d'Annunzio's Notturmo and of his novels. In Poe's poetry Donini discerns its frequent use of onomatopaeic effects, as exemplified in a poem like 'The Bells'.²³ The technique is seen in the context of a broader tradition which placed sound (music), and sensual appeal in general, at the forefront of art.

One of the most influential articles to appear at this time was that of Eugenio Montale. He sees Campana in a new light and describes the chief contribution of the Inediti as follows: '... they put us in a better position to place Campana historically and shed light on the futuristic phase of his career - a phase over which there are many doubts'.²⁴ It is not only in helping to establish Campana's links with the contemporary Italian scene, but in enabling us to trace the extent to which he rejected these early influences and elaborated an aesthetic philosophy of his own, that the chief contribution of these Inediti lies.

Montale sought to reconcile opposing views of Campana the 'visionario' and the 'visivo'. The 'Orphism' of the title is interpreted in the context of the visual

arts and is related in particular to the rise of Metaphysical painting (Carrà, De Chirico) in Italy. Like the early De Chirico - writes Montale - 'Campana is also a suggestive evoker of the old Italian cities: Bologna, Faenza, Florence and Genova bestow their lustre on his poetry and inspire one of his greatest poems'. Unlike Contini, Montale assesses positively the quality of obscurity or suggestiveness in Campana's poetry, describing it as 'one of the charms of Campana's poetry' which his illness nurtured.²⁵

Other critics writing at this time also considered the importance of Campana's posthumously published works for an understanding of the Canti Orfici. Manlio Dazzi described their chief contribution in enabling us to trace the poet's rejection of early influences - the 'superamento di tutti gli "ismi"' - and the elaboration of an original art. The irrational element which is found in Campana's mature art is seen as the result of a deliberate technique. Dazzi considers Campana to be the precursor of hermeticism: '... Quel che mi pare è che Campana sia stato il primo a richiamare i poeti a una essenzialità che è diventato loro canone solo dopo Montale, a non temere l'ermetismo, a inaugurare l'irrazionale'.²⁶

Although a number of critics writing in the 1940's and 50's tended to consider Campana in the context of hermetic poetry in Italy, Francesco Flora who in fact coined this phrase, makes no mention of any such affinities when writing about Campana in 1947: he singled out musicality and suggestiveness as dominant qualities of Campana's art:

... L'intensità musicale ed il potere di rievocazione che hanno i Canti Orfici non attraggono meno di quelli dell'Alycone o delle Faville del Maglio ...²⁷

Other critics writing in the early 50's perceived Campana in a very different light; he was seen to represent the tragedy of the modern man. Following the publication of the first major biography of Campana by Gino Gerola in 1955, together with a detailed study of his work, there was a renewal of public interest.²⁸ His native village of Marradi for the first time granted him recognition by publishing a newspaper ('numero unico') dedicated to him and containing articles by some leading critics of the day. Sergio Antonielli,

writing in the same year, described him as the victim of an age of transition, experiencing the '... ultimo contorcimento del romanticismo che muore affidandosi agli effetti dei rumori e dei colori allo stato grezzo e rifiutando l'intervento classico della poesia che compone i dissidii'.³⁰

Movement and colour were the features of Campana's art which interested Alessandro Parronchi in 1953. His article - 'Genova e il senso dei colori nella poesia di Campana' - is almost entirely devoted to 'Genova', a poem which would be examined with increasing interest by critics of this period. Technical innovations, which Parronchi links particularly with the climate of experimentalism, are seen to place Campana firmly in the 'modern' age: '... coi nuovi e per la novità ...'.³¹

Over the past decades, critics have begun to examine what must surely be one of the most innovatory aspects of Campana's art: his linguistic experiments. Carlo Martini, writing in 1955, drew particular attention to the poet's use of adjectives which both create and express moods: '... Sono aggettive che sono raramente banali ... raramente entrano nei domini quasi proverbiali del Pascoli e del d'Annunzio. Sono aggettivi che creano spazi, movimento, ritmo, musica, segrete modulazioni: che aiutano insomma il suo creare voraginoso'. The visual dimension which Martini considered to be so prominent in Campana's poetry is seen to have a likely derivation in El Greco, greatly admired for his use of striking colours and for the bold dynamism of his art.³²

Other critics writing in the late fifties and early sixties - Carlo Pacher (1955), Barberi Squarotti (1957) and G. Venè (1963) - all reach different conclusions in assessing Campana's place in the line of Italian poetry. For Pacher he is the precursor of hermetic poetry; Barberi-Squarotti considers him in the context of a poetic evolution beginning with Pascoli and culminating with Montale, whilst G. Venè, in an article entitled 'Letteratura e capitalismo in Italia', interprets Campana in a socio-political context, discerning in his poetry '... lo struggente desiderio del ritorno alla natura, la coscienza della falsità dei miti' and finds he lacks the will to represent humanity 'nella sua naturale tendenza verso il progresso sociale e scientifico'.³³ Another article, first published in 1950 but republished some eighteen years later, also focusses on the social implications of Campana's poetry and discerns a similarity between Campana and his

contemporaries, Onofri and Rebora; in each case, their poetry is a means of communication, an attempt to reach beyond that isolation which is the very condition of modern man.³⁴

In recent anthologies like that of G. Pozzi published in 1965, Campana's place in the development of Italian poetry is again examined. Pozzi defines Campana's links with the 'hermetic' tradition as follows: '... Lungo l'intero arco di sviluppo della poesia ermetica, la presenza di Campana è avvertibile ovunque la stilizzazione orfica, con la sua metafisica istintività musicale prende la mano al poeta, dove più il senso viene sacrificato all'impeto irrazionale della voce, appunto allo "ignoto turbine di suono"'.³⁵

Interest in Campana has continued to grow over the last decade. The Canti Orfici has been translated into English, French, even Rumanian, and has now reached its eighth edition in Italian.³⁶ The recovery of the lost manuscript in 1971 - Il Più Lungo Giorno - has brought a further revival of interest. Following the publication of this work in 1973, an International Conference, dedicated to Campana, was held in Florence.³⁷ More recently he has been the subject of both a film and a play.³⁸ In Campana's home village of Marradi, this upsurge of interest has been particularly marked. A lively debate has sprang up over the last decade concerning Campana's rightful burial place. Marradi now seems ready to acknowledge Campana as 'their' poet and has even erected an impressive tombstone in the cemetery in readiness to receive his remains from Badia a Settimo.³⁹ This, however, remains just one of many projects of Campana's home village which looks like remaining unfulfilled for many years to come. Another project - to make a library in Marradi's Town Hall for all the poet's scattered and largely inaccessible manuscripts - looks equally far from realization.

One of the most interesting works to emerge in this centenary year of Campana's birth - 1985 - is the biography - La notte della Cometa - by Sebastiano Vassalli, himself a novelist and poet.⁴⁰ The book is an important contribution to the awakening of public interest in Campana. Vassalli was attracted by the character of the man and the tragedy of his life. The appeal of his book lies in its very readability. There are some factual inaccuracies in his account of

Campana's life.⁴¹ However, these do not detract from its interest to the general public and Vassalli makes it clear in his introduction that this is a 'Vita romanzata' rather than a 'scholarly' work:

... Io cercavo un personaggio con certi particolari connotati. Il caso me l'ha fatto trovare nella realtà storica e da lì l'ho tirato fuori: con accanimento, con scrupolo, con spirito di verità ... Ma se anche Dino non fosse esistito, io ugualmente avrei scritto questa storia e avrei inventato quest'uomo meraviglioso e mostruoso ... l'avrei inventato così ...⁴²

As critics' responses over the past seventy years have shown, there is something in Campana's work to excite most tastes; he has been hailed as a 'visionary' poet and as a 'realistic' one, claimed as a 'Romantic', a 'Decadent' and a 'Hermetic' poet in turn. Perhaps of all views expressed by critics in recent years, that of Eugenio Montale appears the most convincing. To Cecchi's comment that 'having passed like a comet, Campana did not perhaps exercise an incalculable influence', he retorted:

... But the trace of his passage is still quite visible.
Nothing about him was mediocre. (my italics).⁴³

Campana is certainly a poet who has exercised, and no doubt will continue to exercise, a profound if 'irrational' appeal.

NOTES TO TEXT

I. LIFE.

A Revised Chronology of the Life of Dino Campana

- 1 The school Campana attended from 1902-03 is named by Gino Gerola as the Collegio 'Bresso' di Carmagnola in Dino Campana (Florence, 1955), p.13. In a personal letter, however, given to me by Gino Gerola and dated 21 March 1950, the school is named as the Collegio Civico 'Conte di Carmagnola'. I use this name throughout my thesis.

Background: Italy at the turn of the century.

- 1 The Treaty of the Triple Alliance: signed by Italy, Germany and Austro-Hungary in 1882.
- 2 In France, Symbolism dominated the final decades of the 19th Century; in Italy, the decline of Realism was followed by very diverse tendencies, ranging from the enclosed, domestic world of the Crepuscolari poets (e.g. Pascoli, Gozzano), to the climate of d'Annunzio's 'superman'. See C. Salinari, Miti e coscienza del decadentismo italiano (Milan, 1960).

Campana's Early Years.

- 1 See the Birth Certificate of Dino Campana which I obtained from the Town Hall in Marradi, Appendix A1.
- 2 I was able to reconstruct this partial genealogy of the Campana family through talks with relatives (in particular the poet's cousin, Maria Cappelli) and with the help of employees at the Town Hall in Marradi, See Appendix A2.
- 3 The Schools Pass List for the academic year 1871 names Raffaello Campana as one of the teachers of the Scuola Inferiore Maschile in Marradi. I found this document in the Town Hall of Marradi.
- 4 Campana's memories of his youth from the mental hospital of Castel Pulci are recorded by C. Pariani in Vita non romanizzata di Dino Campana, second edition (Milan, 1978), pp.28-49.
- 5 I learnt of the existence of Mario Campana, youngest brother of Giovanni, whilst examining the Atti di Morte at the Town Hall of Marradi. This certificate shows he was born on the 21 November 1870 and died in the mental hospital of Imola on 30 May 1902.
- 6 Unpublished Birth Certificate of Francesca Luti Campana which I found in the parish archives of Comeana (Carmignano). See Appendix A3.

- 7 Information concerning the maternal side of Dino's family background was given to me largely by the Ragioniere Larini, a landowner in Comeana and a distant relative of the family Luti.
- 8 This letter from a School Inspector was given to me by Gino Gerola, the earliest major biographer of the poet (see bibliography). It is addressed to the Direzione Didattica of Marradi and is dated 22 February 1950.
- 9 Further references to this work will be given in this abbreviated form. For full details, see bibliography.
- 10 Giovanna Diletti Campana in Ricordi su Dino Campana, private archives of Zauli Giuseppina Campana, Bologna.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 "... Dimenticavo scrivere che finchè vissero le due vecchiette, [Dino] non passò giorno che non andasse a trovarle", Ibid.
13. Ibid.
- 14 Ibid.

Childhood and Early Schooling.

- 1 "... Da bambino ebbi un'infanzia felice", said Campana in Castel Pulci. In C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, p.41. All subsequent references to this work will be given in this abbreviated form. For full details see bibliography.
- 2 "... Dino non mentiva mai", says his cousin Raffaello (known as Lello), "esagerava, ma se qualche volta mentì, questa volta fu a Castel Pulci, quando dichiarò 'Da bambino ebbi un'infanzia felice', recorded by G.C. Millet in 'L'Altro Campana', Prospettive Settanta, January-March 1977, p.104.

- 3 "... Dino era geloso e questo è indubbio, certo è ch'egli cercava invano nella mamma l'affetto del nome di Mamma", Giovanni Diletti Campana in Ricordi su Dino Campana. This passage is quoted on page 15 of the present thesis. All subsequent references are in this abbreviated form. For full details, see bibliography.
- 4 "... Cercavo la sua compagnia", says Manlio Campana, "ma forse non desiderava altrettanto la mia ... nè quella degli altri", in S. Zavoli, Campana, Oriani, Panzini, Serra, (Bologna, 1959). Also quoted by C. Pariani in Vita non romanzata, p.152.
- 5 A photograph of Dino under the tutelage of his uncle Torquato is published by G.C. Millet in an appendix to his work, Le mie lettere sono fatte per essere bruciate, (Milan, 1978).
- 6 Several documents, mainly in the form of letters, concerning Campana's schooling and university years, were given to me by Gino Gerola when I visited him in Florence. They include a letter from the headmaster of the Salesian school, confirming Campana's attendance there over the year 1897/98.
- 7 Michele Campana, in the newspaper (single issue) published in Marradi on 20 August 1955 to commemorate 70 years since the poet's birth. The newspaper contains a number of articles by some leading critics of the time. (see bibliography).
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 G. Diletti Campana in Ricordi su Dino Campana.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 G. Gerola also supposes that Campana began his secondary education under the tutorship of his father: "... Nell'anno scolastico 1897-98 egli [Campana] risulta alunno della terza ginnasiale; perciò, dato che nessun'altro documento comprova la sua presenza negli anni immediatamente precedenti mi sembra logico pensare che abbia fatto la prima con l'aiuto del padre ... e sia quindi entrato nel Convitto passando subito alla seconda", Dino Campana, p.11. All subsequent references will be given in this abbreviated form. For full details, see bibliography.
- 12 A letter dated 18 February 1950 from the headmaster of the Liceo Torricelli to G. Gerola states:
 "Dai registri di questo Istituto risulta che il poeta Dino Campana sostenne esami negli anni seguenti:
 1897/98 proveniente dall'Istituto Salesiano di Faenza, l'esame di Ammissione alla IVa Ginnasiale riportando le seguenti votazioni: Italiano, 6-6; dal Latino 8; in Latino 7; Francese, 6-8; Geografia, 6; Aritmetica, 8; Storia Naturale -"
 1899/1900 proveniente dall'Istituto Salesiano l'esame di

Ammissione alla Ima liceale riportando le seguenti votazioni:
Italiano, 7-8; dal Latino, 7; in Latino, 6; dal Greco, 6-6;
Storia, 8; Geografia, 6; Matematica, 6; Storia Naturale, 7;
Francese, 9-7".

All the original registers have now been destroyed.

- 13 Part of the school register which shows Campana's academic performance over the year 1900/01 is reproduced in Appendix A4. I obtained a copy of this document from the archives of the Liceo Torricelli in Faenza.
- 14 C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, p.43.
- 15 "... Nel 1900, allorchè egli cominciò a dare prova di impulsività brutale, morbosa in famiglia e specialmente colla mamma ...", C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, pp.20-21.
- 16 In Italian, Campana's marks range between 5 and 10; in Latin, between 4 and 8; in Greek between 2 and 8; in History between 3 and 10. (See Appendix A4).
- 17 All references to Campana's literary production are taken from the most recent edition of his work: E. Falqui, Opere e contributi, 2 vols (Florence, 1973). The poem entitled 'Faenza' is from the Canti Orfici, 1, pp.55-56; another version of the piece is published in the Taccuinetto Faentino, 11, pp.469-70.
- 18 I would like to thank Dr Casadei, Director of Faenza Museum for suggestions concerning paintings which Campana is likely to have seen in the museum. Amongst these were the bust of San Giovannino, attributed to Donatello and a number of other paintings which Campana refers to in the Taccuinetto Faentino version of 'Faenza'; in E. Falqui, 11, pp.469-70. Full details of this edition are given in the bibliography.
- 19 Domenico Baccharini, painter and sculptor from Faenza (1882-1906). In 1908, his work was displayed at the Grande Esposizione Torricelliana in Faenza Museum. He died in great poverty. No longer able to support his wife (La Bitta) and daughter (Maria), he abandoned them at the end of his life in a declining state of health.
- 20 "... Alla fine [i familiari] danno ascolto al suggerimento di un certo Solenni di Firenze e lo mandano a Torino", G. Gerola, Dino Campana, p.12.

- 21 A letter from the Director of the Collegio Civico, Conte di Carmagnola, dated 21 March 1950, lists the marks obtained by Campana over the academic year 1902/03 over four Bimestri. In the first of these, marks for academic performance and for conduct are consistently high. The Director notes that Campana obtained his Maturità on 15 July 1903, having come to the school from the Liceo Massimo d'Azeglio in Turin one year earlier.

Formative Years: Summer 1903-1913.

- 1 "... In Italia arrestato e poi un mese di prigione a Parma verso il 1902, 1903", C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, p.46.
- 2 "... Io studiavo chimica per errore e non ci capivo nulla ... la presi per errore, per consiglio di un mio parente. Io dovevo studiare lettere. Se studiavo lettere potevo vivere. Le lettere erano una cosa più equilibrata, il soggetto mi piaceva, potevo guadagnare da vivere e mettermi a posto. La chimica non la capivo assolutamente, quindi mi abbandonai al nulla ...", C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, p.44. Elda Campana, niece of the poet and now living in Palermo, told me that her father, Manlio, had also been pressurised into studying Chemistry; he had little inclination for it and later became a banker.
- 3 The chronology of Campana's university years is recorded by a number of biographers including E. Falqui in Per una cronistoria dei Canti Orfici, (Florence, 1960). Subsequently incorporated into Opere e contributi, 1, pp. 127-190. All references are to the second edition. A letter I obtained from G. Gerola, sent by Luca Palasciano from the Istituto Chimico Ciamician at Bologna and dated 16 March 1951 confirms these dates which span the period 1903-07 and 1912-13.
- 4 Leva della Classe 1885: unpublished document dated 23 May 1905 which I found in the Town Hall of Marradi, See Appendix A5.
- 5 Letter published by C. Mezey in 'The Travels of Dino Campana: Some Unpublished Documents', Italian Studies, 1985, p.92.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Letter dated 10 May 1906, in C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, p.21.

- 8 Letter which I found in the Town Hall of Marradi. See Appendix A6.
- 9 Letter dated 30 June 1910 which I found in the Town Hall of Marradi. See Appendix A7.
- 10 Letter dated 7 August 1906 which I found in the Town Hall of Marradi. Published by C. Mezey in Italian Studies, p.91. All subsequent references to this article will be given in this abbreviated form. For full details, see bibliography.
- 11 E. Falqui, for example, suggests that Campana travelled to France in the Summer of 1907., in Per una cronistoria dei Canti Orfici, 1, p.134.
- 12 'La notte', Canti Orfici in E. Falqui, 1, p.12.
- 13 M. Beyor, Dino Campana a Bologna, 1911-1916, (Ravenna, 1943), p.8.
- 14 Until now, most of what was known of Campana's life has been based on heresay and on his verbal recollections from Castel Pulci and thus the question as to whether his poetry was based on imagined or lived experience has been open to debate. R. Jacobbi poses this question in 'L'esilio e la visione', Dino Campana Oggi, (Florence, 1973), p.148.
- 15 E. Falqui in Per una cronistoria dei Canti Orfici, 1, p.133 and C. Pariani in Vita non romanzata, p.10, give the date of Campana's internment in Imola as 4 September 1906. A document I recently found in Marradi is an order for Campana's immediate internment in Imola and is dated one day later: 5 September 1906. (See Appendix A8). The Medical Admissions Card to Imola hospital is also dated 5 September 1906. See below.
- 16 Medical Admissions Card to Imola hospital dated 5 September 1906. Published by C. Mezey in Italian Studies, pp.89-90.
- 17 Mario Campana, youngest brother of Giovanni, of whose existence I recently learned. See Campana's Early Years, note 5, above.
- 18 Letter from Giovanni Campana to Professor Brugia dated 13 September 1906, in C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, p.22.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Unpublished document dated 20 February 1907 which I found in the Town Hall of Marradi. See Appendix A9.

- 22 In May 1907, Campana was given a clear bill of health by the Servizio Sanitario in Marradi.
- 23 "... Stiedi cinque anni in Argentina facendo il pianista. A Buenos Ayres ho lavorato tre anni; stavo benissimo. Poi andai a Bahia Blanca per un anno, Rosario de Santa Fe quattro mesi, un anno a Santa Rosa de Toay nel centro dell'Argentina. Mendoza un altro anno presso le ande ...", C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, p.42. Despite Campana's claims, however, only seventeen months of the poet's life remain undocumented (September 1907 - April 1909), the only period in which the South American voyage could thus have taken place.
- 24 Although Campana does not claim that his journey to Odessa followed directly on from South America, the two voyages seem clearly linked in his mind: "... Ho fatto il carbonaio nei bastimenti mercantili, il fuochista. Ho fatto il poliziotto in Argentina, ossia il pompiere: i pompieri là hanno qualche incarico di mantenere l'ordine. Sono stato a Odessa ...", C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, p.45. E. Falqui accepts this account of the poet's travels in Per una cronistoria dei Canti Orfici, 1, p.134.
- 25 G. Diletti Campana recalls the circumstances of Dino's departure from South America in Ricordi su Dino Campana.
- 26 R. Jacobbi puts forward this hypothesis in 'L'Esilio e la Visione', Dino Campana Oggi, p.148. Subsequent references to this work will be in this abbreviated form. For full details, see bibliography.
- 27 The term "visivo", as opposed to "visionario" was used by G. Contini in 'Due poeti degli anni vociani', an essay first published in 1937 and subsequently in Nuova edizione aumentata di un'anno di letteratura fourth edition, (Turin, 1974), pp.16-24. His essay opened up a lively debate which has continued to the present day.
- 28 R. Jacobbi, 'L'Esilio e la Visione' in Dino Campana Oggi, p.148.
- 29 G.C. Millet, 'L'Altro Campana' in Prospettive Settanta, pp.93-108. All subsequent references to this work will be given in this abbreviated form. For full details, see bibliography.
- 30 C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, p.45.
- 31 G.C. Millet, 'L'Altro Campana' in Prospettive Settanta, p.95.

- 32 "... A Buenos Ayres [Dino] prese dimora presso una famiglia, collocò là le sue valigie, si fermò un giorno e una notte, ma al sorgere del secondo giorno non vi fece più ritorno. Mandò un uomo a ritirare i suoi bagagli e partì per la Pampa...", Manlio Campana in an interview reported by S. Zavoli in Campana, Oriani, Panzini, Serra (Bologna, 1959) and by C. Pariani in Vita non romanzata, p.42.
- 33 C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, p.45.
- 34 'Pampa', Canti Orfici, in E. Falqui, 1, p.69.
- 35 A letter from the Prefect of Florence to the Mayor of Marradi dated 2 September 1907 which I discovered in the Town Hall of Marradi. See Appendix A10.
- 36 Another letter which I found in the Town Hall of Marradi. It is sent by the Mayor of Marradi to the Police in Florence and encloses the certificate of Augusto Pellegrini, "... dal quale risulta che Campana Dino trovasi in perfetto stato di mente". See Appendix A11.
- 37 A page from the Register of passports. This is another unpublished document which I recently found in Marradi. See Appendix A12.
- 38 G. Diletti Campana, in Ricordi su Dino Campana.
- 39 G. Gerola points out that Campana sat only four exams in four years (1903 - 07), in Dino Campana, p.22.
- 40 G. Diletti Campana, in Ricordi su Dino Campana.
- 41 C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, p.60.
- 42 Campana's stories of life in Montmartre are recalled by M. Beyor in Dino Campana a Bologna, p.8. All subsequent references to this work are given in this abbreviated form. For full details, see bibliography.
- 43 C. Pariani in Vita non romanzata, p.45.
- 44 In a letter dated 11 March 1911 which I recently found in Marradi, Campana gives his profession as an interpreter. (See below).
- 45 Letter to E. Cecchi dated 27 March 1915, in G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.33. All subsequent references to this work will be given in this abbreviated form. For full details, see bibliography.

- 46 Document dated 8 April 1909 which I found in Marradi. Published by C. Mezey in 'Dino Campana's Return from Belgium', The Modern Language Review, October 1983, p.833.
- 47 The Medical Admissions Card to the hospital of San Salvi which I found in Marradi is dated 9 April 1909. Published by C. Mezey in The Modern Language Review, p.837. All subsequent references to this article will be given in this abbreviated form. For full details, see bibliography.
- 48 See Appendix A8 : an order for Campana's immediate internment in Imola hospital.
- 49 A document dated 9 April 1909 which I found in the Town Hall of Marradi is an order for Campana's immediate internment in the hospital of San Salvi. See Appendix A13.
- 50 "Dedito al caffè al quale è avidissimo e ne fa un abuso eccezionalissimo", Admissions Card to Imola hospital; see note 16, above.
- 51 A letter which I recently found in the Town Hall of Marradi.
- 52 Letter dated 31 March 1910 which I found in the Town Hall of Marradi. See Appendix A14; it is a reply to a letter dated 25 March 1910 which is published by C. Mezey in The Modern Language Review, p.836.
- 53 A document I recently discovered in the Town Hall of Marradi. It reveals a hitherto unknown incident in Campana's life: an internment in Livorno hospital in September 1909. It is a letter from the RR Spedali Riuniti in Livorno to the Mayor of Marradi and is dated 15 September 1909. Published by C. Mezey in Italian Studies, p.91.
- 54 In publishing three poems in the student newspaper Il Papiro, on 8 December 1912, Campana uses three different pseudonyms: Campanone, Campanula and Din-Don; writing to G. Papini on 4 July 1915, he signs himself "L'homme des bois", in G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.110.
- 55 Letter dated 31 March 1910; see note 52, above and Appendix A14.
- 56 Ibid.
- 57 C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, p.59.

- 58 These documents include a report from a psychiatrist in Tournai dated 10 February 1910. See Appendix A15. The two letters dated 25 March 1910 and 22 April 1910 are published by C. Mezey in The Modern Language Review, pp.836 and 837, respectively.
- 59 "... Nel viaggio di ritorno in Italia, passando nel Belgio, mi arrestarono e mi tennero nella cella, per due mesi, di una prigione: Saint Gilles. ... Poi fui rinchiuso a Tournai", said Campana; quoted by C. Pariani in Vita non romanzata, p.59.
- 60 'Il Cappello alla Rembrandt', Taccuini, Abbozzi e Carte Varie in E. Falqui, 11, pp.418-421.
- 61 'Sogno di prigione', Canti Orfici, in E. Falqui, 1, p.74.
- 62 C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, p.60.
- 63 'Il Russo', Canti Orfici, in E. Falqui, 1, p.74.
- 64 See note 58, above.
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 The "bulletin confidentiel" is referred to in the psychiatrist's report is probably the "unito documento" mentioned in the Florentine Prefect's letter dated 25 March 1910. See note 58, above.
- 67 The reluctance of Campana's parents to have him back home is documented in the Mayor's letter of 31 March 1910. See note 52, above and Appendix A14.
- 68 Ibid.
- 69 Unpublished letter dated 7 April 1910 which I found in the Town Hall of Marradi. It is sent by the Prefect of Florence to the Mayor of Marradi in reply to a letter of 31 March and concerns the repatriation of Campana. Having stated that Dino's family are legally obliged to have him home, the Prefect cites clause 386 of the Penal Code. This clause concerns the "abbandono di fanciulli e di altre persone incapaci di provvedere a sè stesse ovvero in pericolo" and states: "... Chiunque abbandona un fanciullo minore dei dodici anni ovvero incapace, per malattia di mente o di corpo, di provvedere a sè stessa, e della quale abbia la custodia o debba aver cura, è punito con la reclusione da tre a trenta mesi". See Appendix A16.

- 70 An unpublished letter from the Florentine Police to the Mayor of Marradi dated 8 June 1910 which I found in the Town Hall of Marradi. See Appendix A17.
- 71 Two unpublished letters which I found in the Town Hall of Marradi.
- 72 Letter from the Florentine Police to the Mayor of Marradi. See Appendix A18.
- 73 Letter from the Mayor of Marradi to the Police in Florence, documenting Campana's arrival back home and dated 17 June 1910. See Appendix A19.
- 74 This letter is part of a correspondence which I discovered in Marradi Town Hall and concerns the payment of Campana's hospital fees. Other letters which I found there include the following: a letter dated 22 December 1910 from the Mayor of Marradi to Giovanni Campana, 19 January 1911 from the hospital of San Salvi to the Mayor of Marradi and 10 February 1912 from the mental hospital of San Salvi to the Mayor of Marradi. Other letters discuss the payment of fees incurred during the poet's stay in Livorno hospital from 13-19 September 1909. One is sent by the Prefect of Florence to the Mayor of Marradi; a second is dated 16 January 1910 and is sent by the RR Spedali Riuniti in Livorno to the Mayor of Marradi. All these letters discuss legal responsibility for payment of Campana's fees.
- 75 Campana participated in the local production of a musical by Anacleto Francini which was performed at the Teatro degli Animosi in August 1910. This is documented by G.C. Millet in Le mie lettere, p.217.
- 76 Letter to M. Novaro which is undated but was probably written in August 1915. Campana's correspondence with Novaro is published by E. Falqui in his publication of Campana's Complete Works (op. cit.) It is revised by G.C. Millet in Letteratura Italiana Contemporanea III, May-August 1982. The letter from which I quote is in E. Falqui, Per una cronistoria dei Canti Orfici, 1, p.203. All subsequent references will be to Falqui's edition.
- 77 The recollections of Francesco Mercatali, interviewed in Marradi in 1977, are recorded by G.C. Millet in Le mie Lettere, p.218.
- 78 La Voce, cultural review founded in Florence by G. Prezolini in December 1908.
- 79 G. Prezolini, 'La nostra promessa di essere onesti e sinceri', La Voce, 27 December, 1908.
- 80 G.C. Millet publishes this letter and suggests it was written at this time in Le mie lettere, pp.216-17.
- 81 Ibid.

- 82 E. Falqui, Per una cronistoria dei Canti Orfici, 1, p.134 and G. Gerola, in keeping with other biographers of the poet, make this assumption, in Dino Campana, p.32.
- 83 "... Noi vogliamo esaltare il movimento aggressivo, l'insonnia febbrile, il passo di corsa, il salto mortale, lo schiaffo ed il pugno ...", Manifesto del Futurismo in Le Figaro, 20 February, 1909.
- 84 Ibid.
- 85 G. Papini, 'Campagna per il forzato risveglio' in Il Leonardo, August 1906.
- 86 "... Noi vogliamo distruggere i musei, le biblioteche, le accademie d'ogni specie ...", Manifesto del Futurismo in Le Figaro, 20 February, 1909; "... Noi inventeremo insieme ciò che io chiamo l'immaginazione senza fili. Giungeremo un giorno ad un'arte ancora più essenziale, quando oseremo sopprimere tutti i primi termini delle nostre analogie per non dare più altro che il seguito ininterrotto dei secondi termini ...", F.T. Marinetti (author's italics) in Manifesto tecnico della letteratura futurista, first published on 11 May 1912.
- 87 "... Il gesto per noi, non sarà più un momento fermato del dinamismo universale: sarà, decisamente la sensazione dinamica eternata come tale" Manifesto tecnico della pittura futurista, published jointly by Boccioni, Russolo, Balla and Severini on 11 April 1910 (authors' italics).
- 88 G. Apollinaire, 'L'Esprit nouveau' in Le Mercure de France, 1 December 1918.
- 89 'La forza'. L.13-19, Quaderno, in E. Falqui, 11, p.329.
- 90 Letter dated 13 March 1911 which I found in the Town Hall of Marradi. See Appendix A20.
- 91 See p.25, present thesis, concerning the issue of a passport for Campana's voyage to South America.
- 92 M. Beyor, Dino Campana a Bologna, p.24.
- 93 'O poesia tu più non tornerai', Quaderno, in E. Falqui, 11, p.335.
- 94 'Parti battello sul mar redimito', Quaderno, in E. Falqui, 11, p.339.
- 95 'Uomo, sin dai primevi torbidi', Quaderno, in E. Falqui, 11, p.340.

- 96 See Appendix A21: a Foglio di via ordering Campana to return to Marradi from Genova and dated 24 July 1911. This is one of several such documents I found in the Town Hall of Marradi (see below).
- 97 Previous biographers of the poet make no mention of a voyage to Genova before 1913. Eg. E. Falqui, Per una cronistoria dei Canti Orfici, 1, pp.133-34.
- 98 Other Fogli di via which I found in the Town Hall of Marradi are dated 16 February 1912 and 29 February 1912 (no year is given on this last document but Campana's age is stated to be 27).
- 99 F. Nietzsche, The Joyful Wisdom, 2, 91; translated from the German by Thomas Common in The Complete Works, X, (London, 1910), pp.225-26.
- 100 Recollections of F. Mercatali in Marradi reported by G.C. Millet in Le mie lettere, p.218.
- 101 Two unpublished documents I recently found in the Town Hall of Marradi show that Campana was looking for work. The first of these is a letter dated 8 November 1911 and sent by the Prefettura of Florence to the Mayor of Marradi. It shows that Campana has recently applied for the post of Segretario Comunale in Florence and requests further documents. See Appendix A22.
- 102 Another unpublished document which I found in the Town Hall of Marradi. This is a registered letter dated 4 December 1911 and is also sent by the Florentine Prefect to the Mayor of Marradi. It states that Campana cannot be considered as a candidate for "la carriera di alunno delegato" because he has failed to supply all the necessary documents. See Appendix A23.
- 103 The date of Campana's re-enrolment at Bologna, recorded by E. Falqui and other of his biographers, is confirmed by the letter from Luca Palasciano to G. Gerola. See note 3, above.
- 104 F. Ravagli, Dino Campana e i goliardi del suo tempo, (Florence, 1942), p.51.
- 105 "... Nutriva per il professor Galletti un rispetto di scolaro e maestro", M. Beyor, Dino Campana a Bologna, p.11. This was probably A. Galletti, author of Il Novecento in Storia della Letteratura Italiana (Milan, 1935).
- 106 E. Delahaye, 'Rimbaud e l'essere morale' in La Voce, 1 February, 7 March, 4 July and 1 August, 1912.

- 107 "... Nietzsche gli procurò anche per richiesta traduzione d'un passo difficile, una ricompensa di cinquanta lire da un professore dell'università ...", M. Beyor, Dino Campana a Bologna, p.28; "... Prediligeva Verlaine e ne aveva tradotte poesie con tale aderenza e perfetta espressione poetica italiana da sfidare le simili magie di d'Annunzio ... è la sola poesia non sua che Dino sentisse propria per la veste modellatale", M. Beyor, Dino Campana a Bologna, p.17.
- 108 'Parti battello sul mar redimito', Quaderno, in E. Falqui, 11, p.339.
- 109 M. Beyor, Dino Campana a Bologna, pp.26-27.
- 110 "... Non era attratto dalle donne di tutti i giorni ... A giudicarlo insieme a noi, pareva un misogino", F. Ravagli, Dino Campana e i goliardi del suo tempo, p.76. All subsequent references to this work will be given in this abbreviated form. For full details, see bibliography.
- 111 Fogli di via dated 16 and 29 February 1912 and ordering Campana to Marradi from Genova. I found these documents in the Town Hall of Marradi.
- 112 E. Falqui, Per una cronistoria dei Canti Orfici, 1, p.134.
- 113 F. Ravagli, Dino Campana e i goliardi del suo tempo, p.61.
- 114 'Le Escadesenze di uno studente' in Il Giornale del Mattino, 27 December 1912; republished in L'Informatore, March-April, 1982, p.53.
- 115 M. Beyor, Dino Campana a Bologna, p.15.

The Literary Scene.

- 1 G. 'Annunzio, Canzoni della gesta d'Oltremare; ten of these Canzoni, celebrating Italy's conquest of Libya, were published at intervals over 1912 in Il Corriere della Sera; now in 'Merope', Laudi, IV, [Verona, 1929].
- 2 Il Leonardo ceased publication from 10 May 1903 - 10 November 1903.

- 3 G. Prezzolini, 'Programma sintetico', opening article in the first number of Il Leonardo, 4 January 1903.
- 4 H. Bergson, (1859-1941): Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience (1907).
Matière et Mémoire, (1907).
- 5 The October-December 1905 issue of Il Leonardo contained an announcement by G. Prezzolini of his forthcoming translation of Novalis. This would appear, in serialised form, over the coming months.
- 6 G. Papini, 'Che senso possiamo dare a Hegel', in Il Leonardo, October-December 1906; B. Croce, Ciò che è vivo e ciò che è morto della filosofia di Hegel (Bari, 1907).
S. Hoffding, 'Soren Kierkegaard, 'Un discendente di Amleto' in Il Leonardo, April-June 1906; Knud Ferlov, 'S. Kierkegaard: Il più infelice' in Il Leonardo, August 1907.
- 7 'Al di là della vita' was the title of an article published by G. Papini in Il Leonardo on 29 March 1903.
- 8 G. Vannicola, De Profundis Clamavi Ad Te, (Rome, 1906).
- 9 G. d'Annunzio, 'Anniversario orfico' in Il Leonardo, 14 January, 1903.
- 10 La Critica, a review founded jointly by B. Croce and G. Gentile and which began publication in 1903.
- 11 G. Scalia, in his introduction to La Cultura italiana del '900 attraverso le riviste, 4 vols. (Turin 1961), IV, p.11.
- 12 G. Papini, 'Discorso di Roma', in Lacerba, 1 March, 1913. Papini had delivered this speech on 21 February at the Teatro Costanzi in Rome.
- 13 G. Papini, 'Perché sono futurista' in Lacerba, 1 December, 1913.
- 14 U. Boccioni, 'I Futuristi plagiati in Francia' in Lacerba, 1 April, 1913.
- 15 Letter from Apollinaire to Soffici dated 23 July 1913. It is part of a correspondence which spans the period 10 April 1913-9 January 1914 which was published by A. Soffici in '36 lettere inedite di Apollinaire a Soffici' in Rete Mediterranea, (Florence, 1920), pp.229-227.
- 16 G. Apollinaire, 'L'Antitradizione Futurista. Manifesto-Sintesi' in Lacerba, 15 September 1913.

- 17 Apollinaire expressed this duality in terms of 'Ordre' and 'Aventure' in 'La Jolie Russe', Calligrammes, (Paris, 1918).
- 18 G. Apollinaire. Alcools (Paris, 1913).
- 19 A. Soffici published a number of articles on the 'naïf' artist, H. Rousseau, including one on 15 September and one on 30 November, 1910, in La Voce.
- 20 P. Claudel, (1868-1955), poet and dramatist, wrote: "... La lecture des Illuminations, puis, quelques mois après, d'Une Saison en Enfer, fut pour moi un événement capital. Pour la première fois, ces livres ouvraient une fissure dans mon baigne matérialiste et me donnaient l'impression vivante et presque physique du surnaturel ...", Contacts et circonstances, (Paris, 1940).
- 21 A. Soffici, A. Rimbaud, (Florence, 1911).
- 22 The first exhibition of Italian Futurist painters held in France opened at the Bernheim-Jeune Gallery in February 1912.
- 23 A. Soffici, 'Il Claudellismo' in La Voce, 10 October, 1912.
- 24 G. Papini, 'Ciò che dobbiamo alla Francia' in Lacerba, 1 September, 1914.
- 25 G. Apollinaire, Les Peintres Cubistes. Meditations Esthétiques, (Paris, 1913); the work was introduced to the Italian public in an article by A. Soffici: 'Les peintres cubistes', La Voce, 26 June 1913.
- 26 Picasso and Braque began the technique of 'collage' around 1912, introducing fragments of real objects into their pictures. They sought thus to underline the basic realism of their pictures and to express their repudiation of illusionistic devices. The synthesis of real and apparent in one work of art would be adopted by the Surrealists to serve different aims.
- 27 G. Apollinaire, 'Zone', (Paris, 1912); subsequently in Alcools, (Paris, 1913).
- 28 D. Campana, Taccuinetto Faentino, 1, ['Faenza'], in E. Falqui, II, p.470.
- 29 G. Apollinaire dedicated two articles to the Futurists' Exhibition held in Paris at the Bernheim-Jeune Gallery; 'Les peintres futuristes italiens' in L'Intransigeant, 7 February, 1912 and 'Les futuristes' in Le Petit Bleu, 9 February, 1912.

- 30 The correspondence between Apollinaire and Soffici was published in Rete Mediterranea, (Florence, 1920). See note 15, above.
- 31 G. Apollinaire compares the Italian Futurists with the French Cubists in 'L'Esprit Nouveau et les Poètes', Le Mercure de France, 1 December 1918. See p.37, above.
- 32 G. Papini, 'Ricordo di Gide' in Autoritratti e Ritratti, (Turin, 1962), IX, p.713.
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 A. Gide, Les Nourritures Terrestres, (1897); L'Immoraliste, (1902).
- 36 G. Papini, 'Ricordo di Gide' in Autoritratti e Ritratti, IX, p.713. Subsequent references to Papini's autobiographical work will be given in this abbreviated form. For full details, see bibliography.
- 37 A. Soffici, Giornale di Bordo, (Florence, 1948), p.148. These diary-writings were published at intervals in Lacerba throughout 1913. The passage quoted is dated 16 July 1913; the italicised passage will appear in the manuscript of Il Più Lungo Giorno.
- 38 Ibid.

Genova, February 1913 - June 1916.

- 1 'Montagna - La Chimera' and 'Dualismo. Ricordo di un vagabondo' were published in the student newspaper Il Papiro on 8 December 1912; the first eight paragraphs of 'La notte' appeared in another student newspaper, Il Goliardo, in mid-February 1913.
- 2 Unpublished document which I recently found in the Town Hall of Marradi. See Appendix 24.
- 3 Unpublished letter which I found in the Town Hall of Marradi. See Appendix A25.

- 4 Undated letter to Giovanni Papini which I examined, together with the remainder of the Campana-Papini correspondence at the Fondazione Primo Conti in Fiesole (Florence). Published by G.C. Millet in Le mie lettere, pp.99-100. References like that to Papini's 'Discorso di Roma', published in Lacerba on 1 March 1913 and to Govoni's article, 'Le cose che fanno la primavera', published in Lacerba on 1 May 1913, suggest it dates from this time.
- 5 'Prosa in poesia' and 'Davanti alle cose' are published by E. Falqui in Taccuini, Abbozzi e Carte Varie, pp.395 and 436-437, respectively. The second of these compositions is also incorporated in a letter to Sibilla Aleramo which is undated but thought to have been written in October 1916. Published by G.C. Millet in Le mie lettere, pp.57-58.
- 6 In the Archives of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, where I looked for further information on Garcia, the travelling companion Campana names in his poem, I found no definite information. I did, however, find the name of a certain Augusto Garcia, born at Forlì on 1 March 1889; no surviving relatives, however, could be traced. Campana's relatives to whom I spoke did not recall the voyage to Sardinia at all and could certainly not recall a companion of that name.
- 7 'Davanti alle cose', in E. Falqui, Taccuini, Abbozzi e Carte Varie, 11, p.436.
- 8 Undated letter sent to Papini. See note 4, above.
- 9 'La Verna', Canti Orfici, in E. Falqui, 1, pp.31-43.
- 10 G. de Chirico (1888-1978), the originator of Metaphysical Painting. The 'metaphysical' phase of this artist may be seen to begin with his visit to Turin in 1911. It would reach its height, however, over the period 1913-14 with paintings like The Uncertainty of the Poet (1913), The Transformed Dream (1913) and The Melancholy of Departure (1914).
- 11 G. de Chirico, Memorie della mia vita (Rome, 1945), p.91.
- 12 G. de Chirico recalls the paintings he sent to be exhibited in the Salon d'Automne in Memorie della mia vita, p.98, (subsequent references to this work will be given in this abbreviated form. For full details, see bibliography).
- 13 G. de Chirico, Memorie della mia vita, p.81.

- 14 The pilgrimage to La Verna has hitherto been thought to have taken place in 1910. See: Formative Years, note 82, above.
- 15 Picasso's landmark painting, Les Demoiselles d'Avignon, first displayed in Paris in 1907, is generally considered to mark the start of Cubism. It coincided with the Great Memorial Exhibition in commemoration of the death of Paul Cézanne who died in 1906 and is generally recognized as a precursor of the movement.
- 16 'La Verna', Canti Orfici, in E. Falqui, 1, p.33.
- 17 G. Apollinaire, Les Peintres Cubistes. Méditations Esthétiques. (Paris, 1913).
- 18 Letter dated 10 September 1913. Published by C. Mezey in Italian Studies, p.92.
- 19 In the manuscript of Il Più Lungo Giorno, for example, 'La Verna' opens one day earlier than in the Canti Orfici; a subsequent passage is recorded to have taken place two days later there, (28 September in Il Più Lungo Giorno and 26 September in the Canti Orfici).
- 20 Maria Cappelli, cousin of the poet, was one of those who pointed out to me the contrast between the deep religiosity of Francesca Luti Campana and the apparent lack of religious belief of her son.
- 21 'La Verna', Canti Orfici, in E. Falqui, 1, p.34.
- 22 Letter dated 10 September 1913. See note 18, above.
- 23 Stia is a small township in the vicinity of La Verna. On 20 August 1972, a commemorative plaque was unveiled here, on the facade of a restaurant, La Buca, where Campana stayed for some days during this pilgrimage.
- 24 The manuscript of Il Più Lungo Giorno was handed over to Soffici and Papini during the late Autumn of 1913; the Canti Orfici was published in June 1914 (see below).
- 25 A. Soffici, 'Dino Campana a Firenze' in Ricordi di vita artistica e letteraria, VI, (Florence, 1965), p.81.
- 26 A. Soffici, 'Dino Campana a Firenze', p.82. All subsequent references to this work will be given in this abbreviated form. For full details, see bibliography.

- 27 G. Papini, 'Il Poeta Pazzo' in Autoritratti e Ritratti, IX, (Turin, 1962), p.969.
- 28 'Sogno di prigionie', 'L'incontro di Regalo' and 'Piazza Sarzano' were published in Lacerba on 15 November 1914; now in E. Falqui, Versi Sparsi, II, pp.60, 77 and 84, respectively.
- 29 Undated letter to Papini thought to date from the late Spring of 1913. See note 4, above.
- 30 Eg., A. Soffici in 'Dino Campana a Firenze', pp.81-86.
- 31 A. Soffici, 'Dino Campana a Firenze', p.83.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Campana recalls his first introduction to Prezolini in a letter dated 6 January 1914. I examined this letter, together with the remainder of the Campana-Prezolini correspondence at the Biblioteca Comunale in Lugano. Published by G.C. Millet in Le mie lettere, p.165.
- 34 Campana's correspondence with Carlo Carrà is published by G.C. Millet in Le mie lettere, pp.131-36. It spans the period October-December 1917.
- 35 Introduction to the catalogue of the Exhibition of Futurist paintings inaugurated in Florence on 30 November 1913. I was able to examine this catalogue at the Fondazione Primo Conti in Fiesole (Florence).
- 36 A. Soffici, 'Dino Campana a Firenze', p.83.
- 37 F.T. Marinetti, 'Agli spettatori della Grande Serata Futurista' in Lacerba, 15 December, 1913.
- 38 Letter to E. Cecchi dated 13 March, 1916. The archives of Cecchi are now at the Gabinetto Scientifico Vieusseux, Florence. This letter is published by G.C. Millet in Le mie lettere, p.37.
- 39 Postcard to Papini dated 23 December 1913. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.102.
- 40 Letter to G. Prezolini dated 6 January 1914. Published by G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.165. See note 33, above.
- 41 Ibid.

- 42 Ibid.
- 43 Letter to the Publishing House, Vallecchi, dated 6 January 1914 which I saw at the Fondazione Primo Conti, Fiesole.
- 44 Undated postcard to Papini, probably written in February 1914. It is published by G.C. Millet in Le mie lettere, p.104.
- 45 Letter to G. Papini dated 4 February, 1914. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.105.
- 46 Campana says, for example, "... riscrissi a memoria il manoscritto", (my italics) but he also states, in the same letter, "... scrissi in qualche mese i Canti Orfici, includendo cose già fatte", letter to E. Cecchi dated 13 March 1916 in G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, pp.37-38.
- 47 Campana's endeavours to erase the pro-German inscriptions from his work are recounted by A. Soffici in 'Dino Campana a Firenze', p.89.
- 48 See note 46, above.
- 49 F. Ravagli, Dino Campana e i goliardi del suo tempo, p.127.
- 50 See The Mature Work, pp.158-216, and Appendix B4, present thesis.
- 51 Documented by G. Gerola, Dino Campana, pp.44-45 and by E. Falqui, Per una cronistoria dei Canti Orfici, 1, p.177.
- 52 E. Falqui, Per una cronistoria dei Canti Orfici, 1, p.178.
- 53 A. Soffici, 'Dino Campana a Firenze', p.88; according to Soffici, it was the anti-German rumour-mongering of the local people which prompted Campana to place the German inscriptions in his work.
- 54 Contract for the publication of the Canti Orfici which I saw at the Fondazione Primo Conti (Fiesole). Published by E. Falqui, Per una cronistoria dei Canti Orfici, pp.138-39.
- 55 A. Soffici, 'Dino Campana a Firenze', p.89.
- 56 This anecdote is told by G. Papini in 'Il Poeta Pazzo', p.970. Subsequent references to Papini's work will be given in this abbreviated form. For full details, see bibliography.

- 57 A. Soffici, 'Dino Campana a Firenze', p.89. See note 47, above.
- 58 "... lessi il libro [Canti Orfici] da cima a fondo, riportandone l'impressione di una aperta luce solare ... Ancora sotto l'incanto di tanta felicità poetica scrissi senza por tempo in mezzo, una bella lettera a Campana, dove gli esprimevo il mio sentimento e la mia gratitudine e gliela mandai a Marradi", A. Soffici, 'Dino Campana a Firenze', p.86.
- 59 Letter to Soffici dated 27 October 1914 which I saw, together with the remainder of the Campana-Soffici correspondence at the home of his daughter, Valeria, in Florence. Published by G.C. Millet in Le mie lettere, p.117.
- 60 Ibid.
- 61 'Canto proletario italo francese', L. 19-20; first published in Il Cannone, student newspaper of Bologna; subsequently in E. Falqui, Taccuini, Abbozzi e Carte Varie, 11, pp.398-99.
- 62 These lines recur, for example, in the prose-composition, 'Davanti alle cose', in E. Falqui, Taccuini, Abbozzi e Carte Varie, II, pp.436-37, which is partially incorporated into a letter to Sibilla Aleramo. See note 5, above.
- 63 Letter to Papini dated 1 February 1915. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, pp.106-07.
- 64 Ibid.
- 65 Letter to Papini dated 2 February 1915. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.108.
- 66 De Robertis edited La Voce from December 1914-1916.
- 67 E. Cecchi, 'False audacie' in La Tribuna, 13 February 1915.
- 68 Letter to E. Cecchi dated 10 March 1915 in G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.31.
- 69 Ibid.
- 70 Ibid.
- 71 Letter to E. Cecchi dated 27 March 1915 in G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.33.

- 72 The three poems are published by E. Falqui in Versi Sparsi, 11, pp.283-85.
- 73 Letter to G. Papini dated 14 April 1915. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.109. Papini gives his own account of his attempt to give Campana some work on a translation in a newspaper he edited, La Cultura dell'Anima, and of its negative outcome in 'Il Poeta Pazzo', p.971.
- 74 De Robertis stated one of the aims of the 'new' Voce as 'saper leggere' in his opening declaration as editor on 15 December 1914.
- 75 Much of the correspondence spanning Campana's stay in Switzerland between April and early June 1915 is published by F. Maticotta 'I Corrispondenti di Dino Campana' in La Fiera Letteraria, 31 July 1949.
- 76 Letter to Francesco della Chiesa published by F. Maticotta in 'I Corrispondenti di Dino Campana'. Subsequent references to this article will be given in this abbreviated form. For full details, see bibliography.
- 77 R. Serra, L'Esame di Coscienza di un Italiano (Florence, 1915). The first extract from this novel was published in La Voce on 30 April 1915.
- 78 Postcard to R. Serra sent from Geneva dated 17 April 1915. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.183.
- 79 Ibid.
- 80 Letter to A. Soffici dated 15 August 1915 in which Campana encloses a variant of this poem. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.118.
- 81 K. Abraham, Giovanni Segantini, Ein psychoanalytischer Versuch, (Vienna, 1911); S. Freud, Eine Kindheiterinnerung des Leonardo da Vinci. Gesammelte Schriften, 9, (Vienna, 1910).
- 82 Letter to A. Soffici dated 12 May 1915 in G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.119.
- 83 G. Segantini, 'Scritti sull'Arte' in Scritti e Lettere (Turin, 1910), p.27.
- 84 Letter to Soffici dated 12 May 1915. See note 82, above.
- 85 According to the address given on Campana's letter to Soffici of 12 May 1915 (above), Campana was staying, at this time, at the Hôtel de l'Armée du Salut in Geneva.

- 86 Letter quoted by F. Matacotta in 'I Corrispondenti di Dino Campana'.
- 87 Letter to Soffici dated 12 May 1915. See note 82, above.
- 88 Ibid.
- 89 Although we do not have the exact itinerary of the poet's travels, he returns to Italy at this time since the next letter he writes is dated 15 May 1915 and sent to Soffici from Florence. Published by G.C. Millet in Le mie lettere, p.121.
- 90 Undated letter to Luigi Bandini sent from Berne which I saw at the Fondazione Primo Conti, (Fiesole). Published by G.C. Millet in Le mie lettere, p.193.
- 91 It is also possible that the manuscript Campana refers to is that which contains the seven Notturni poems, a variant of a number of the poems found in Il Più Lungo Giorno and the Canti Orfici. This manuscript, along with a copy of the Canti Orfici itself, was recently donated by Luigi Bandini's son to the Fondazione Primo Conti in Fiesole. For an examination of this manuscript, see pp.172-8 of the present thesis and Appendix B4.
- 92 Undated letter to L. Bandini. See note 90, above.
- 93 'A M ... N ...', published in La Riviera Ligure in May 1916. Now in E. Falqui, Versi Sparsi, 11, pp.287-289.
- 94 Letter to E. Cecchi dated 11 June 1915, published by G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.34.
- 95 Letter to Papini dated 4 July 1915; in G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.110. In a previous letter to Papini, dated 23 December, Campana had signed himself "uomo dei boschi". See note 39, above.
- 96 Letter to M. Novaro dated 12 April 1916, in E. Falqui, Per una cronistoria dei Canti Orfici, 1, p.194.
- 97 Letter to E. Cecchi dated 11 June 1915. See note 94, above.
- 98 Undated letter to Soffici, probably written in July 1915. Published by G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.124.
- 99 Letter to the writer and critic G. Ravagnani; this is the only exchange between Campana and Ravagnani which remains and is dated 9 July 1915. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.189.

- 100 Letter to M. Novaro, editor of La Riviera Ligure, dated 10 March, 1915. In E. Falqui, Per una cronistoria dei Canti Orfici, 1, pp.192-93.
- 101 Undated letter to M. Novaro, probably written in August 1915. In E. Falqui, Per una cronistoria dei Canti Orfici, 1, p. 202.
- 102 Letter to M. Novaro dated 23 August 1915. In E. Falqui, Per una cronistoria dei Canti Orfici, 1, p.194.
- 103 Ibid.
- 104 Postcard from G. Boine dated August 1915. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.155.
- 105 Letter to G. Prezzolini dated 4 October 1915. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, pp.167-68.
- 106 Ibid.
- 107 Ibid.
- 108 Undated letter to G. Boine, probably written in December, 1915. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, pp.158-59.
- 109 Ibid.
- 110 Ibid.
- 111 Letter to M. Novaro dated 25 December 1915. In E. Falqui, Per una cronistoria dei Canti Orfici, 1, pp.203-05.
- 112 Ibid.
- 113 Ibid.
- 114 Ibid. Throughout my transcription of Campana's correspondence, I have retained his own punctuation and spelling without further reference to error.
- 115 Letter to A. Soffici dated 5 January 1916. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p. 125.
- 116 Letter to M. Novaro dated 8 January 1916. In E. Falqui, Per una cronistoria dei Canti Orfici, 1, p.166.

- 117 Papini tells of Campana's threats in 'Il Poeta Pazzo', p.971.
- 118 Letter to M. Novaro dated 8 January 1916. See note 116, above.
- 119 Letter to G. Boine dated 18 January 1916 in G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.160.
- 120 Letter to E. Cecchi dated 13 March 1916. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.38.
- 121 Letter to G. Boine dated 18 January 1916. See note 119, above.
- 122 Letter to Cecchi dated 13 March 1916. See note 120, above.
- 123 Letter to E. Cecchi dated 28 March 1915. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.43.
- 124 Letter to E. Cecchi dated 13 March 1916. See note 120, above.
- 125 Letter to G. Boine dated 18 January 1916. See note 119, above.
- 126 Letter to M. Novaro dated 12 April 1916. In E. Falqui, Per una cronistoria dei Canti Orfici, 1, p.195.
- 127 Letter to E. Cecchi dated 28 March 1916. See note 123, above.
- 128 Letter to M. Novaro dated 23 August 1915. See note 102, above.
- 129 Letter to E. Cecchi dated 17 February 1916. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.36.
- 130 Letter to G. Boine dated 18 January 1916. See note 119, above.
- 131 Letter to E. Cecchi dated 13 March 1916. See note 120, above.
- 132 Part of this poem is enclosed in a letter to M. Novaro dated 25 March 1916. In E. Falqui, Per una cronistoria dei Canti Orfici, p.201.
- 133 C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, p.67.
- 134 Undated letter to M. Novaro in which Campana encloses part of the 'Storie' (in E. Falqui, Taccuini, Abbozzi e Carte Varie, 11, p.441). E. Falqui suggests February-March as the most likely date of composition; Per una cronistoria dei Canti Orfici, 1, p.248.

- 135 Ibid.
- 136 Letter to E. Cecchi dated 9 January 1916. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.35.
- 137 Undated letter to M. Novaro, probably sent in early Spring 1916; the poem enclosed here, 'Dianora', was published in La Riviera Ligure in May 1916. Published by Falqui in Per una cronistoria dei Canti Orfici, 1, pp.231-32.
- 138 Postcard to M. Novaro dated 27 February 1916. In E. Falqui, Per una cronistoria dei Canti Orfici, 1, pp.206-07.
- 139 Ibid.
- 140 Letter to E. Cecchi dated 2 May 1916. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.46.
- 141 In a letter dated 27 September 1983, Bianca Lusena told me what she recalled of her meeting with the poet, "... una figura un po' rozza - trascurata, non certo attraente si trattenne con noi", and who composed "Iṽ per Iṽ, una poesia - A l'Italia - e me la offrì".
- 142 Campana's correspondence with the Scottish woman Ellen Key is published by F. Maticotta, 'Il Poeta e la Pitonessa' in Il Mondo, 25 March 1950.
- 143 Campana's first letter to Ellen Key has been lost. The opening words of her reply, however, make it clear that he has drawn her attention to Cecchi's critical review of his work: "... per orientarmi intorno allo scrittore della cartolina da Livorno, sono andata in cerca della Tribuna del 21 maggio', F. Maticotta, in 'Il Poeta e la Pitonessa'. All subsequent references to this article will be given in this abbreviated form. For full details, see bibliography.
- 144 B. Paul, 'La conferenza di Mme Aurel. Gli errori della forza'. This was the title of an article which appeared next to Cecchi's review of the Canti Orfici in La Tribuna, 13 February 1913.
- 145 Ibid.
- 146 Copy of the Canti Orfici dedicated to Ellen Key, described by F. Maticotta in 'Il Poeta e la Pitonessa'.
- 147 Ibid.

- 148 Recollections of Grazia Ciulini, former maid at the Albergo Sanesi in Lastra a Signa where the Campana family lived from the Spring 1916 and where I recently interviewed her. Today, the hotel and restaurant, still run by the Sanesi family, bears a commemorative plaque to the poet.
- 149 'Un letterato fiorentino arrestato per sospetto di spionaggio', in Il Telegrafo, 1 June 1916. Published by G.C. Millet in Le mie lettere, p.206.
- 150 'L'arresto di uno spione?' in Il Telegrafo, 21 June 1916. Published by G.C. Millet in Le mie lettere, p.207.
- 151 Athos Gastone Banti, 'Il signor Dino Campana poeta germanico' in Il Telegrafo, 22 June 1916. Published by G.C. Millet in Le mie lettere, pp.208-09.
- 152 Letter to Athos Gastone Banti dated 23 June 1916 and sent from Lastra a Signa. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.210.
- 153 Letter to A. Takeda dated 25 June 1916 and sent from Lastra a Signa. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.213.

Summer 1916 - Winter 1917: Declining Years.

- 1 I was able to examine the Campana-Sibilla correspondence at the Istituto Gramsci in Rome. This correspondence was first published by N. Gallo, Lettere. Carteggio con Sibilla Aleramo (Florence, 1958). Subsequently in E. Falqui, 11, pp.521-633. The first letter of this correspondence has been lost. All my references are to the later edition.
- 2 Sibilla's relationships with some of the most prominent men of her time are documented by B. Conti and A. Morino in Sibilla Aleramo e il suo tempo (Milan, 1981).
- 3 Letter to E. Cecchi dated 26 July 1916. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, pp.50-51.
- 4 Letter from Sibilla Aleramo to Campana enclosing a composition ('Fauno') in commemoration of their first meeting at Il Barco. In E. Falqui, 11, p.539.
- 5 Postcard from Campana to Sibilla postmarked 7 August 1916. In E. Falqui, 11, p.539.

- 6 Postcard from Campana to Sibilla dated 18 August 1916. In E. Falqui, 11, p.550.
- 7 Express letter from Campana to Sibilla postmarked 22 September 1916. In E. Falqui, 11, p.554.
- 8 Canti Orfici, in E. Falqui, 1, pp.61-63.
- 9 Postcard from Campana to Sibilla dated 3 October 1916. Beneath his signature, Cloche, Campana has added 'ora eterna. Pisa'. In E. Falqui, 11, p.557. This is the third time Campana has used this pseudonym in the course of his correspondence with Sibilla. The previous two letters signed in this way (27 July 1916 and 30 July 1916), were written in French; both showed evident signs of mental disturbance (persecutory delusions, exalted language); in E. Falqui, 11, pp.529 and 532, respectively. Such features would be increasingly prominent in his correspondence henceforth.
- 10 Letter from Sibilla Aleramo to Cecchi dated 3 October 1916. In G.C.Millet, Le mie lettere, p.56.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Letter from Sibilla Aleramo to Cecchi dated 22 October 1916. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.59.
- 13 In her autobiographical novel, for example, Sibilla recalls: "... Per tutte le cose orrende che ho veduto e saputo, io che ho pagato per tante donne, io su chi l'uomo s'è vendicato di tante. Per le lividure finanche che il mentecatto [Campana] lasciò su le mie membra bianche, che io guardava bruciante attonita, ed egli sghignazzava stridulo sinistro ed aggiungeva vituperi e sputi. Per le rose che furono calpestate presso l'orlo della mia veste. Io ch'ero la vita e che ho veduto dove l'uomo giunga quando odia la vita', Il Paesaggio, second edition, (Florence 1921), pp.177-78.
- 14 Postcard to Sibilla Aleramo dated 13 October 1916. In E. Falqui, 11, p.561.
- 15 The five lines of verse written on this postcard are published separately by E. Falqui amongst the Taccuini, Abbozzi e Carte Varie, 11, p.392. See also note 14, above.
- 16 Undated letter to Sibilla, probably written in October 1916. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, pp.57-58. Partially published as the 'poetic fragment', 'Davanti alle cose' in E. Falqui, Taccuini, Abbozzi e Carte Varie, 11, pp.436-47.

- 17 Undated letter to Sibilla. See note 16, above.
- 18 Letter to Cecchi dated 17 December 1916. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.63.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Letter to the writer, D. Lebrecht sent from Fiesole and dated 22 December 1916. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.171.
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Letter to Cecchi dated 30 December 1916. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.65.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 Letter to D. Lebrecht. See note 20, above.
- 26 Document dated 8 September 1916 which I found in the Town Hall of Marradi. In C. Mezey, 'The Travels of Dino Campana', pp.88-89.
- 27 Letter from Francesca Luti Campana to Sibilla Aleramo dated 4 January 1917. In E. Falqui, 11, p.590.
- 28 Letter from Francesca Luti Campana to Sibilla dated 5 March 1917. In E. Falqui, 11, p.597.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 See notes 27 and 28 above.
- 31 Letter from Francesca Luti Campana to Sibilla dated 22 March 1917. In E. Falqui, 11, p.605.
- 32 Letter from Campana to Sibilla sent from Rubiana and postmarked 8 March 1917. In E. Falqui, 11, p.599.
- 33 Telegram dated 9 March 1917 and sent from Rubiana. In E. Falqui, 11, p.600.

- 34 Filippo and Matilde Savini, for example, show their disapproval of Sibilla's behaviour in a letter dated 16 May 1917: "... Posso parlarle france? In nome della nostra vecchia amicizia non posso nasconderle la mia impressione sfavorevole su quello che lei fa in questo momento. ... Se lei ha voluto fuggire Campana e se noi l'abbiamo aiutata a ciò fare è stato appunto perché questo l'aveva fino ad ora fatta soffrire in ogni senso, ma se lei ora ch'è lontano eccita il Campana che già lo è abbastanza dal solo puntiglio di scoprire il suo rifugio, francamente è un gioco non solo pericoloso, dato il tipo, ma francamente non da immischiarci gli amici ...", B. Conti and A. Morino, Sibilla Aleramo e il suo tempo, p.148. Subsequent references to this work will be given in this abbreviated form. For full details, see bibliography.
- 35 Letter from Campana to Sibilla Aleramo. In E. Falqui, 11, p.606.
- 36 Postcard from Campana to Sibilla sent from Rubiana; date of receipt is shown as 25 April 1917. In E. Falqui, 11, p.607.
- 37 Undated letter from Campana to Sibilla, probably written during the Summer 1917. In E. Falqui, 11, p.614.
- 38 Letter from Campana to Sibilla dated 8 August 1917. In E. Falqui, 11, p.618.
- 39 Ibid.
- 40 Campana sends two identical telegrams, both dated 13 August 1917 and stating "Yours for ever". They are sent to a hotel in Milan where Sibilla has left a forwarding address. In E. Falqui, 11, pp.619 and 620.
- 41 Letter from Campana to Sibilla. It is sent from Marradi and is dated 14 August 1917. In E. Falqui, 11, p.622.
- 42 Letter from Campana to Sibilla. It is sent from Florence and dated 6 September 1917. In E. Falqui, 11, p.624.
- 43 Undated letter from Campana to Sibilla. In E. Falqui, 11, p.625.
- 44 Campana's arrest and brief imprisonment in Novara is recorded in some unpublished documents I found in Marradi; these include a Foglio di via dated 13 September 1917. See Appendix A26. Further unpublished documents show Campana's arrival back to Florence. The first is a letter dated 19 September 1917 from the Florentine Police to the Mayor of Marradi. The second is a letter dated 25 September from the Mayor of Marradi to the Police in Florence. See Appendix A27.

- 45 S. Aleramo, Il Paesaggio, second edition (Florence 1921), p.178.
- 46 Campana's admiration of Verlaine is frequently expressed over this declining phase of his career. At times, the French poet is recalled indirectly through reflections on typically Verlainian themes: childhood and nature, for example (letter written in French and dated 27 July 1916, in E. Falqui, 11, p.529); elsewhere, the French poet is explicitly recalled (letter to Cecchi dated 30 July 1916, in G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.65 and a letter to a Swedish journalist, Anstrid Anhfelt dated 23 November 1916, in E. Falqui, 11, p.576). Even in the mental hospital of Castel Pulci, Campana continues to show his regard for the French poet and responds modestly to a comparison drawn by the psychiatrist between himself and Verlaine: "... Verlaine certo era molto meglio", in C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, p.46.
- 47 'La dolce Lombardia', in E. Falqui, Taccuini, Abbozzi e Carte Varie, 11, p.377.
- 48 See note 44, above.
- 49 Letter to G. Papini dated 25 September 1917 and sent from Marradi. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.112.
- 50 Letter to L. Cecchi Pieraccini dated 26 September 1917 and sent from Marradi. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.80. Also published by E. Falqui, 'Letteratura', in Taccuini, Abbozzi e Carte Varie, 11, p.448.
- 51 Postcard to L. Cecchi Pieraccini postmarked 1 October 1917 and sent from Marradi. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.82.
- 52 Postcard to Carlo Carrà postmarked 2 October 1917 and sent from Marradi. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.131.
- 53 Letter to B. Binazzi dated 3 October 1917. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.142. It incorporates the 'poetic fragment' published by E. Falqui in Taccuini, Abbozzi e Carte Varie, 11, p.431.
- 54 G. Papini, Cento pagine di poesia, (Florence 1915).
- 55 Letter to B. Binazzi dated 3 October. See note 53, above.
- 56 Postcard to Binazzi sent from Marradi and dated 23 October 1917. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.143.

- 57 Letter to F. Meriano postmarked 22 September 1917 and sent from Marradi. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.180.
- 58 Postcard to Binazzi dated 23 October 1917. See note 56, above.
- 59 Letter to Giacinta Papini sent from Lastra a Signa. Although the letter is undated, it was almost certainly written in November 1917. Campana here portrays Cecchi as being in league with Sibilla against him: "... colla complicità di Cecchi (che mi scrisse che [Sibilla] era una buonissima donna) quella donna mi ha iniettato il veleno nel sangue. Ora quà mi perseguita e mi rende la vita impossibile ..." in G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, pp.221-223. Cecchi confirms this estrangement in a letter to Sibilla Aleramo dated 24 February 1918. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.88.
- 60 Sibilla's brief affair with Papini which lasted only from May until November 1912 is documented by B. Conti and A. Morino in Sibilla Aleramo e il suo tempo, pp.66-79.
- 61 Letter to Giacinta Papini. See note 59, above.
- 62 Ibid.
- 63 Papini describes his reaction to Campana's request for work in 'Il Poeta Pazzo', p.972.
- 64 See note 59, above.
- 65 Letter to A. Soffici sent from Lastra a Signa and dated 16 December 1917. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.126.
- 66 "... E meglio che abbrevi le mie sofferenze", letter to Soffici dated 16 December 1917. See note 65, above.
- 67 Letter to C. Carrà dated 14 December 1917 and sent from Lastra a Signa. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, pp.132-33.
- 68 Letter to C. Carrà dated 24 December 1917 and sent from Lastra a Signa. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.134.
- 69 Letter to C. Carrà dated 14 December 1917. See note 67, above.
- 70 Ibid. The phrase "Souvenirs sur quoi l'enfer se fonde" is perhaps an echo of one of Apollinaire's best-known poems, 'La Chanson du Mal-Aimé' (Paris 1909) subsequently published in Alcools, (Paris 1913):
 "Regrets sur quoi l'enfer se fonde
 Qu'un ciel d'oubli s'ouvre à mes vœux ..." (L. 46-47).

- 71 Letter to C. Carrà dated 24 December 1917. See note 68, above.
- 72 Letter from Leonetta Cecchi Pieraccini to Sibilla Aleramo dated 7 January 1918. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.85.
- 73 Primo Conti was a prominent figure in the Florentine Futurist circles. Today, he lives in Florence and is responsible for the Fondazione Primo Conti, an important source of authentic material on the poet (see bibliography). It was at his home that I interviewed him in 1983.
- 74 P. Conti, 'D. Campana: Ultimo Discorso' in L'Informatore, March-April 1983, pp.50-53.
- 75 Letter from Leonetta Cecchi Pieraccini to Sibilla Aleramo dated 15 April 1918. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.91.
- 76 Poetic fragment published by E. Falqui in Taccuini, Abbozzi e Carte Varie, 11, p.631.
- 77 Undated letter published by E. Falqui, 11, pp.632-33. It is not possible to identify the recipient since the opening address reads "Caro fratello".
- 78 Letter to A. Soffici dated 5 January 1918 and sent from Lastra a Signa; it is not signed. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.127.

The final years, January 1918 - March 1932: Castel Pulci.

- 1 C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata di Dino Campana, second edition, (Milan 1978).
- 2 C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, p.29.
- 3 "... Il babbo non andò mai a trovarlo a Castel Pulci, non gli reggeva il cuore ma la mamma sì, andava", G. Diletti Campana in Ricordi su Dino Campana. "... il fratello lo [Campana] visitava di rado perché impiegato in una città lontana ...", C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, p.70.
- 4 C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, p.38.

- 5 Letter to Sibilla Aleramo dated 17 January 1917 and sent from the mental hospital in Florence. Published by E. Falqui, 11, p.630.
- 6 "... Insorgevano turbamenti causati dall'inasprirsi delle idee false e delle percezioni fittizie; diveniva cupo irascibile scontroso restìo, perdeva il sonno e picchiava innocui vicini", C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, p.30.
- 7 Letters to Bino Binazzi and to Manlio Campana dated 11 April 1930 and 2 June 1930. In G. C. Millet, Le mie lettere, pp.144 and 197, respectively.
- 8 C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, p.30.
- 9 Medical Admissions Report to Imola hospital dated 5 September 1906. See C. Mezey, Italian Studies, p.89.
- 10 The phrase "la suggestione" recurs throughout Campana's talks with Dr Pariani. E.g., "Io non vivo. Vivo in uno stato di suggestione continua" and "abbiamo la vita elettrica per suggestione. La comunicazione suggestiva radiofonica esiste", C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, p.34.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, p.32.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, p.33.
- 15 C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, p.32.
- 16 "... Lei è mandato dal Governo per sapere se volessi uscire: ma non voglio uscire ... Lei rappresenta il re d'Italia che mi vuol mandare a Firenze, mentre io non ci voglio andare ...", C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, p.36.
- 17 C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, p.33 and 31, respectively.
- 18 Responding to a comparison drawn by Pariani between himself and Verlaine, Campana retorts: "... Verlaine certo era molto meglio"; he is also dismissive of the warm praise given him by B. Binazzi in his second edition of Campana's work (see bibliography): "... Ma ... sono esagerazioni", C. Pariani, pp.46 and 47, respectively.
- 19 C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, p.36.

- 20 C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, p.47.
- 21 C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, p.31.
- 22 Regarding the loss of many documents concerning Campana's mental illness, I quote from three personal letters: (i) from Dr Edelweiss Cotti of the Unità Sanitaria Locale of Imola, 11 November 1982: "Sono dispiaciuto di dover Le comunicare che non è stato possibile rintracciare la cartella clinica di Dino Campana"; (ii) from Dr Cnapkens, Médecin en chef, Hôpital Psychiatrique de L'Etat Les Marronniers, Tournai, 12 January 1982: "J'ai l'honneur de vous informer qu'il nous est impossible de vous fournir des renseignements sur ... toutes les années précédant 1940 ... En effet, l'hôpital psychiatrique de l'état à Tournai a été bombardé par les Allemands lors de l'invasion en mai 1940, et toutes les archives ont entièrement brûlé"; (iii) from Professor Nistri, Director of the Ospedale Neuropsichiatrico, Florence: "Purtroppo non posso fornirLe particolari su Dino Campana perché i suoi documenti clinici non sono più agli atti di questo archivio. Tale smarrimento può essere avvenuto in occasione dell'alluvione di Firenze ... oppure può essere che il materiale di cui trattasi sia stato preso in esame da studiosi precedenti omettendo poi la restituzione".
- 23 Elda Campana, now living in Palermo, was contradictory in the account she gave me of her father's attitude towards his elder brother. She recalled running errands as a child on behalf of her uncle but she also told me she had never heard mention of him as a child.
- 24 G. Diletti Campana confirms the account of Maria Cappelli who I interviewed in Florence, that Campana's mother was the only member of the family who certainly visited him. See note 3, above.
- 25 Giovanni Campana describes his mental breakdown in a letter to Professor Brugia dated 13 September 1906. In C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, p.20.
- 26 Letter to M. Novaro dated 25 December 1915. In E. Falqui, 1, p.204.
- 27 Letter to E. Cecchi dated 13 March 1916. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.38.
- 28 C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, pp.28-29.
- 29 Medical Admissions Report to Imola hospital. See note 9, above.

- 30 Manlio Campana, in S. Zavoli, Campana, Oriani, Panzini, Serra (for full details, see bibliography) and in C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, p.152.
- 31 Letter from Giovanni Campana to Professor Brugia quoted by C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, p.20. See also note 25, above.
- 32 For observations regarding the nature of Campana's mental illness. I wish to thank Dr Alexander Mezey, consultant psychiatrist in London.
- 33 A description of Campana's physical state at this time is given by C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, pp.72-73.
- 34 Manlio Campana, in S. Zavoli, Campana, Oriani, Panzini, Serra and in C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, p.154.
- 35 C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, p.34.
- 36 E.g. letter to A. Soffici dated 16 December 1917. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.126.
- 37 C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, p.38.

II. THE WORK.

Campana at Work: Method of Composition.

- 1 G. Bucivini-Capecchi, registrar at the Town Hall of Marradi. Quoted by S. Zavoli in Campana, Oriani, Panzini, Serra; also in E. Falqui, Per una cronistoria dei Canti Orfici, 1, p.178.
- 2 F. Ravagli, Dino Campana e i goliardi del suo tempo, p.160.
- 3 C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, p.56.
- 4 E. Falqui is responsible for six editions of Campana's work which were published between 1941 and 1973. I was able to examine these editions and often to compare them with their original newspaper publication. A number of discrepancies emerged which I have indicated in the present thesis (See Successive editions of Campana's work).
- 5 Letter to B. Binazzi dated 11 April 1930. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.144.
- 6 The 'miscellaneous' writings, published as the Taccuini, Abbozzi e Carte Varie in E. Falqui, 11, pp.375-450, were originally published both individually and in groups as they came to light (See Successive editions of Campana's Work, present thesis). They were grouped in a variety of ways by successive publishers; Falqui, for example, in his most recent, 1973 edition, groups them into two parts, the first comprising all verse compositions, the second all those written in prose.
- 7 The phrase 'note musicali' is used by Campana with reference to 'Piazza Sarzano' (Canti Orfici), in C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, p.62.
- 8 F. Ravagli, Fascicolo Marradese, (Florence, 1972).
- 9 D. de Robertis, Taccuinetto Faentino, (Florence, 1960) and in E. Falqui, 11, pp.466-517.
- 10 Versi Sparsi, in E. Falqui, 11, pp.283-90, comprising poems, published after the Canti Orfici in June 1914 but still in the poet's lifetime.

- 11 'Canto proletario italo-francese' in *Il Cannone*, November 1914; in E. Falqui, 11, pp.398-99; 'A M...N...' in *La Riviera Ligure*, May 1916; in E. Falqui, 11, pp.287-289.
- 12 'Davanti alle cose' in E. Falqui, 11, pp.436-37; also incorporated in a letter to Sibilla Aleramo which is thought to have been written in 1916. In G.C. Millet, *Le mie lettere*, pp.57-58.
- 13 Letter to Sibilla Aleramo. See note 13, above.
- 14 Letter to A.Soffici dated 15 May 1915. In G.C.Millet, *Le mie lettere*, pp.121-22.
- 15 Another variant of this passage is published amongst Campana's 'miscellaneous writings': 'Nel verde si spostarono le rondinelle' (my italics), in E. Falqui, *Taccuini, Abbozzi e Carte Varie*, 11, p.402.
- 16 Campana in conversation with Dr Pariani in C. Pariani, *Vita non romanziata*, pp.67-68.
- 17 'Frammento' in E. Falqui, *Taccuini, Abbozzi e Carte Varie*, 11, p.384.
- 18 'Genova' in E. Falqui, *Taccuini, Abbozzi e Carte Varie*, 11, p.385.
- 19 'O siciliana proterva opulenta matrona' in E. Falqui, *Taccuini, Abbozzi e Carte Varie*, 11, p.386.
- 20 'Amo le vecchie troie' in *Il Più Lungo Giorno* (Rome 1973) and in F.Ravagli, *Fascicolo Marradese*, pp.65-66.
- 21 Postcard to M. Novaro dated 21 January 1916. In E. Falqui, *Per una cronistoria dei Canti Orfici*, 1, pp.197-98.
- 22 Letter to M. Novaro postmarked 25 February 1916. In E. Falqui, *Per una cronistoria dei Canti Orfici*, 1, p.201.
- 23 *Taccuinetto Faentino XVI*, in E. Falqui, 11, p.488.
- 24 *Taccuinetto Faentino XV*, in E. Falqui, 11, p.487. The reference to Ofelia in this fragment suggests a possible link with the closing lines of 'La giornata di Un nevrastenico', *Canti Orfici*, in E. Falqui, 1, p.63.
- 25 *Taccuinetto Faentino VIII*, in E. Falqui, 11, p.488.

- 26 A. Soffici, 'Dino Campana a Firenze', p.90.
- 27 The copies of the Canti Orfici dedicated to Bastianelli and Pagliai were displayed at the major exhibition of Campana's work at the Gabinetto Scientifico Vieusseux in Florence in March 1973 and are described in the catalogue of the exhibition which I examined there. G. Salerno also describes the deletions made by the poet in 'Dino Campana e Guglielmone', La Fiera letteraria, 15 April 1973.
- 28 M. Beyor, Dino Campana a Bologna, p.3.
- 29 Archives of Sibilla Aleramo, Istituto Gramsci, Rome.
- 30 'Domodossola' is the title given to the opening poem inscribed in Sibilla Aleramo's copy of the Canti Orfici. See Appendix B1.
- 31 Letter to A. Soffici dated 15 May 1915. See note 15, above.
- 32 'Arabesco-Olimpia', published in La Tempra in October 1915; in E. Falqui 11, p.284.
- 33 See Appendix B2.
- 34 'Frammento' in La Voce, 15 August 1915; in E. Falqui, 11, p.283.
- 35 Restilla Ravagli, widow of Federico and now living in Bologna, allowed me to examine the copy of the Canti Orfici given to her husband along with other manuscripts in her possession.
- 36 Reproduced in facsimile by F. Ravagli in Dino Campana e i goliardi del suo tempo, pp.152-53.
- 37 G. Gabetti, 'Dino Campana', in Primato, 15 November, 1942.
- 38 S. Giannelli, 'Felicità di Dino Campana' in Il Giornale del Mattino, 26 September 1954.
- 39 D. Campana, Inediti, published by E. Falqui, (Florence 1942).

Successive Editions of Campana's Work.

- 1 I have not included here Campana's correspondence, either with Sibilla Aleramo (also incorporated in Falqui's 1973 edition of the poet's work) or with other of his contemporaries; it is published by N. Gallo, Lettere, and by G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, in 1958 and 1978 respectively. Full details of both works are given in the bibliography.
- 2 This anthology of poems contains fragments of some of Campana's best-known compositions: 'La notte' (the extract here is entitled 'La Matrona'), 'La petite promenade du poète', 'La Verna' (the reproduced passages are entitled 'Sulla Falterona', 'Presso la Verna; 'Marradi/Antica Volta. Specchio Velato' and 'Toscana').
- 3 E. Falqui, Per una cronistoria dei Canti Orfici, 1, p.225.
- 4 E.g., E. Falqui, 'Sulle montagne' in Omnibus, 19 November 1938; 'La messa a S. Maria della Fortuna' in Documento, November 1941; 'Il Cappello alla Rembrandt', Documento, November, 1941.
- 5 'Firenze vecchia' (Quaderno) and 'Lontane passan le navi' (Quaderno) are identical in the two publications.
- 6 L. Caretti, 'Gli Inediti di Campana' in Tempo di Scuola, September 1942.
- 7 Caretti points out another error in 'Pei vichi fondi tra il palpito rosso' and reads 'Le navi inermi, drizzavansi in balzi', but Falqui here maintains his own transcription: 'Le navi inermi drizzavate in balze', (Quaderno, 11, p.349).
- 8 L. Caretti in 'Gli Inediti di Campana' Subsequent references will be given in this abbreviated form. For full details, see bibliography.
- 9 E. Falqui in the introduction of his 1942 edition of Campana's Inediti and L. Caretti in 'Gli Inediti di Campana'.
- 10 E. Falqui, Opere e contributi, 2 vols, (Florence 1973).
- 11 L. Russo, La critica letteraria contemporanea, (Bari, 1942).
- 12 F. Ravagli, Dino Campana e i goliardi del suo tempo and Fascicolo Marradese; both works contain facsimiles of manuscripts as well as transcriptions of poems.

- 13 F. Matacotta, Taccuino (Fermo 1949), p.39.
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 Letter to Manlio Campana dated 2 June 1930. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.197.
- 16 Letter to B. Binazzi dated 11 April 1930. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.145.
- 17 "... Tranne nei punti indicati, [writes E. Falqui] il nostro testo dei Canti Orfici riproduce esattamente, secondo il volere dell'Autore, quello della prima edizione", E. Falqui, Per una cronistoria dei Canti Orfici, 1, p.187.
- 18 A. Soffici describes this in 'Dino Campana a Firenze', p.89.
- 19 Letter to Manlio Campana dated 2 June 1930. See note 15, above.
- 20 "Il valore dell'arte non sta nel motivo ma nel collegamento e quindi nel punto di fusione si ha la grande arte e la grande arte come la grande vita non è che un punto di fusione", Dino Campana, Taccuinetto Faentino, in E. Falqui, 11, p.470.
- 21 E. Falqui, Versi Sparsi, 11, pp.283-90.
- 22 'Vecchi Versi' in La Riviera Ligure, March 1916.
- 23 'Notturmo teppista' was first published in La Teda in November 1922 where it was immediately followed by the eight lines of 'Vecchi Versi'. See Appendix B3.
- 24 Falqui draws attention to a similar error which arose elsewhere in the publication of Campana's work: "... Sorte curiosamente molto analoga a quella toccata nella Teda ai due componimenti 'Notturmo teppista' e 'Vecchi versi' hanno avuto nell'Italiano (IV, n.11-12; Sett, 1929), i due componimenti 'La Genovese' e, 'Traguardo' pubblicativi sotto il titolo 'Versi Inediti ...', Per una cronistoria dei Canti Orfici, 1, p.228.
- 25 D. Campana, 'Frammento' in La Voce, 15 August 1915.
- 26 Letter to Soffici dated 25 April 1915. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.118.

- 27 The title 'Bastimento in viaggio' occurs in copies of Canti Orfici given to Sibilla Aleramo and to Federico Ravagli. See Campana at Work: Method of composition, in the present thesis.
- 28 The poem was first published in La Riviera Ligure in November 1915.
- 29 Undated letter to G. Boine thought to have been written in December 1915. In G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.158.
- 30 'Scirocco serale' in the manuscript of Il Più Lungo Giorno contains three verses, only two of which are found in 'Vecchi Versi'. See my Comparative table of the two manuscripts, Appendix B4, present thesis.
- 31 'A M...N...' in La Riviera Ligure, May 1916.

The Mature Work: From *Il Più Lungo Giorno* to the *Canti Orfici*.

- 1 The manuscript of *Il Più Lungo Giorno* was found at the home of Ardengo Soffici by his wife, Maria. The event was brought to public notice in an article by M. Luzi, 'Il manoscritto perduto e ritrovato' in *Il Corriere della Sera*, 17 June 1971.
- 2 All page references to *Il Più Lungo Giorno* are those given to the work by D. de Robertis in *Il Più Lungo Giorno*, 2 vols, Limited Edition (Archivi di Arte e Cultura), Rome 1973.
- 3 This is not visible in the facsimile but is described by de Robertis in his introduction to the work, 'Storia di un manoscritto', p. xlii. For full details of this publication, see bibliography.
- 4 'Dualismo. Ricordo di un vagabondo', in *Il Papiro*, 8 December 1912 and 'Barche amarrate', incorporated into another poem published in this newspaper: 'Le cafard (nostalgia di viaggio)'
- 5 The manuscript belonging to Luigi Bandini and corresponding to the seven Notturmi poems of the Canti Orfici is perhaps the manuscript Campana refers to when writing to Bandini from Berne: "... Ti mando il manoscritto che spero sarà comprensibile. Esso testimonia qualche cosa in mio favore, forse testimonia che io non ho meritato la mia sorte ...", in G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.193. The letter is undated but was probably written between April and June 1915. This manuscript, first published by G. Innamorati in Paragone, June 1957, is now at the Fondazione Primo Conti (Fiesole) where I examined it.
- 6 A Comparative Table, showing variations between *Il Più Lungo Giorno* and the *Canti Orfici* and also with Bandini's manuscript forms the basis of the present chapter. See Appendix B4, pp.365-411, present thesis.

An Evaluation of the Two Manuscripts.

- 1 The finding of the manuscript of *Il Più Lungo Giorno* was brought to public notice by M. Luzi in *Il Corriere della Sera*, 17 June 1971. For full details, see bibliography.
- 2 D. de Robertis in 'Storia di un manoscritto', p. xxxiv, introduction to his publication of *Il Più Lungo Giorno*.

- 3 See my Comparative Table, Appendix B4, pp 272 - 311, present thesis.
- 4 G. d'Annunzio, Forse che si, forse che no, first published in 1910.
- 5 G. d'Annunzio, Forse che si, forse che no, (second edition), (Verona 1927), p.17. All subsequent references to this novel are to this edition.
- 6 G. d'Annunzio, Forse che si, forse che no, p.17.
- 7 'La notte', manuscript of Il Più Lungo Giorno. See Appendix B4, pp. 272-311, present thesis.
- 8 F. Ravagli, Dino Campana e i goliardi del suo tempo, pp.126-27.
- 9 The phrase 'E come puro spirito varca il ponte' is deleted from the opening page of Il Più Lungo Giorno. See Appendix B4, p. 272, present thesis.
- 10 Taccuinetto Faentino XXII, in E. Falqui, 11, p.494.
- 11 A. Soffici, 'Dino Campana a Firenze', p.88.
- 12 Letter to E. Cecchi dated 13 March 1916; in G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.38.

The Poems.

- 1 E.g. E. Cecchi in 'False audacie', La Tribuna, 13 February 1913 and S. Solmi, in 'Il libro di cui si parla. I Canti Orfici', in La Fiera Letteraria, 26 August, 1928.
- 2 E. Cecchi in 'False audacie'. Subsequent references will be given in this abbreviated form. For full details, see bibliography.
- 3 Taccuinetto Faentino XX11, in E. Falqui, 11, p.494.
- 4 See pp.50 and 124, present thesis.
- 5 "... Il valore dell'arte non sta nel motivo ma nel collegamento e quindi nel punto di fusione si ha la grande arte: e la grande arte come la grande vita non è che un punto di passaggio ...", and: "Il motivo e la forma del collegamento Suppone l'immagine", Taccuinetto Faentino, in E. Falqui, 11, pp.470 and 472, respectively.

La chimera

- 1 'Montagna - La chimera' first appeared in the single number of a student newspaper, Il Papiro (Bologna); the Canti Orfici was published on 7 June 1914 (see p.64, present thesis).
- 2 The word 'chimera' is generally spelt with a capital letter in Campana's work, for example in 'La notte' where it echoes a passage from La Vita Nuova (chapter iii): "... l'antica amica, l'eterna Chimera teneva fra le mani rosse il mio antico cuore", in E. Falqui, 1, p.9; in Line 32 of 'La chimera', it recurs with a capital letter. Falqui consistently uses small letters in his transcriptions of titles. I have followed Falqui's rendering in my own transcriptions.
- 3 F. Ravagli, Dino Campana e i goliardi del suo tempo (Florence, 1942); E. Falqui, Inediti, (Florence, 1942), see p.116, present thesis.
- 4 Described by F. Ravagli in Dino Campana e i goliardi del suo tempo, pp.152-54.
- 5 "... Comparve fra noi, se la memoria non m'inganna, sul finire dell'inverno 1911-12; portato dalla comune origine regionale, non da preesistenti amicizie ..." M. Beyor, Dino Campana a Bologna, p.3.

- 6 The manuscript of Il Più Lungo Giorno, given to Papini and Soffici in November 1913, was subsequently lost. It was found at the home of Ardengo Soffici in 1971, following his death. It is reproduced in facsimile and transcribed by D. de Robertis, 2 vols, (Rome, 1973).
- 7 Letter to G. Prezzolini dated 6 January 1914, in G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, pp.165-66. Also quoted on p.60, present thesis.
- 8 Manuscript given to L. Bandini and corresponding to the seven Notturmi poems of the Canti Orfici. It was donated by Bandini to the Fondazione Primo Conti, Fiesole. See p. 128 , present thesis.
- 9 In Line 6 of 'La chimera', the form 'de la' is retained.
- 10 D. de Robertis explains his transcription of dashes, which are prolific in Il Più Lungo Giorno, in his introduction to this work. Where followed by a capital letter, he transcribes them as a full stop, where followed by a small letter, they are retained. See also p.128 , present thesis.
- 11 The phrase "effetti musicali" is used by Campana to describe one of his poems in his conversations with Dr Pariani. In C. Pariani, Vita non romanzata, p.56. See also p.101, present thesis.

Genova

- 1 The Quaderno is literally an exercise book which was found at the poet's home after his death. In E. Falqui, 11, pp.297-395. The themes and style of the earliest poems found here suggest an early date of composition, probably preceding the poet's journey to South America in 1908; the later poems centre around Genova and contain the beginnings of his 'mature' work.
- 2 F. Ravagli, Fascicolo Marradese (Florence, 1972). See also p.103, present thesis.
- 3 A brief passage from 'Viaggio a Montevideo' appears at the top of page 4, interspersed between variants of 'Genova'; fragments of other Canti Orfici poems found here include 'Crepuscolo mediterraneo', 'La notte', 'La giornata di un nevrastenico', 'La sera di fiera' and 'Faenza'. There is also the outline of a plan: 'Fare: La giornata dell'alta montagna l'vecchia II ascesa III tenebra', (p.7) which also suggest a date of composition shortly preceding Campana's mature work.

- 4 Taccuinetto Faentino XXVII, in E. Falqui, 11, p.494.
- 5 See Successive Editions of Campana's Work, pp.116 - 126
and p. 135 , present thesis.
- 6 'Quando gioconda trasvolò la vita', in E. Falqui, 11, p.354.
- 7 'Immagini del viaggio e della montagna', L.67, in E. Falqui, 1, p.46.
- 8 I obtained a facsimile of the manuscript from Restilla Ravagli, widow of
Federico, in Bologna. See Appendix B5.
- 9 This sketch appears in smaller print and was probably inserted at a later
stage.
- 10 The spacing before the conjunction appears in the manuscript.
- 11 This sketch appears on the right hand side of the page.
- 12 A further variant of this passage which is almost entirely deleted, appears
down the left hand margin: "(Su le vele di spuma il torreggiare) /Bianca
(nell'aria in turbine di suono) (nell'aereo) torreggiare (sognare) / (Era)
(Ch'era) il sole di Maggio / udii"
- 13 The passage is a partial sketch of 'Viaggio a Montevideo', L.4-9, in
E. Falqui, 1, p.47; "Verso il crepuscolo d'oro la bruna terra fuggente/
(Velava) Pareva nel seno l'inzanto. (Una) tremare una viola / Angelica
al piede dei colli ancora / III [anguidiva]".
- 14 E.g. "la vita bizzarra de le figure ne la luce bianca e noi discesi", and:
"E cost che nasce la luce il luminoso fantasma", Taccuinetto Faentino,
in E. Falqui, pp.484 and 495, respectively.
- 15 'Piazza S. Giorgio', in E. Falqui, 11, p.345.
- 16 'Pei vichi fondi tra il palpito rosso', in E. Falqui, 11, p.348.
- 17 The term is particularly used in the group of poems published over the
18 months following the publication of the Canti Orfici in June 1914.
The title of one of these poems is 'Arabesco-Olimpia'; it is used as a
verb - 'rabesco' - in the same poem. In E. Falqui, Versi Sparsi, 11,
p.284.
- 18 See 'La chimera', note 2, above.

- 19 The poem passage originates in 'Spiaggia, spiaggia', in E. Falqui, 11, p.351.
- 20 'Il porto che si addorme, il porto il porto', in E. Falqui, 11, p.343.
- 21 'O siciliana proterva opulenta matrona' in E. Falqui, Taccuini, Abbozzi e Carte Varie, 11, p.386.
- 22 The influence of Nietzsche is also apparent in the subject of Genova itself: its power to awaken in man "the power to possess and exploit" (The Joyful Wisdom, IV, 91; translated from the German by Thomas Common, second edition, London 1910). Nietzsche's conception of Eternal Return emerges with increasing prominence in Campana's work, culminating in the Canti Orfici. The journey motive runs through this work which begins, and ends, with Night. The image of the eyes which ends the Canti Orfici, also looks forward to a reawakening. More generally, it is reflected in terms of a duality. A more specific analogy with Nietzsche's concept of Eternal Return is suggested by a notation found amongst Campana's papers:
 "Nel giro del ritorno eterno l'immagine muore immediatamente",
 'Storie 11, in E. Falqui, Taccuini, Abbozzi e Carte Varie, 11, p.444.
- 23 'Zone' first published in Le Mercure de France, Paris 1912; subsequently in Alcools, Paris, 1913. See p.50, present thesis.

III EPILOGUE.Campana in the Eye of the Critic.

- 1 A. Soffici, 'Dino Campana a Firenze', p.81.
- 2 Letter from G. Papini to B. Binazzi dated 15 January 1915, in 'Una cartolina inedita del poeta Dino Campana a Bino Binazzi', La Parola (Anon), 2 August 1970.
- 3 The account is given, for example by A. Soffici in Dino Campana in Firenze', pp.81-94.
- 4 G. de Robertis, 'Dino Campana. Canti Orfici' in La Voce, 30 December 1914.
- 5 B. Binazzi, 'Canti Orfici in Il Giornale del Mattino, 25 December 1915.
- 6 Letter to Papini dated 15 January 1915 in La Parola (Anon). Subsequent reference will be given in this abbreviated form. For full details, see bibliography.
- 7 E. Cecchi, 'False audacie'. For full details see bibliography.
- 8 'C. Linati, D. Campana' in La Tribuna, 21 May 1916.
- 9 E. Cecchi, 'False audacie'.
- 10 Letter to Papini dated 10 January 1915 in La Parola (Anon).

- 11 Postcard from G. Boine to Campana in G.C. Millet, Le mie lettere, p.155.
- 12 G. Boine, 'I Canti Orfici' in La Riviera Ligure, August 1915.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 G. Papini - P. Pancrazi, Poeti d'Oggi, (Florence, 1920). The anthology includes extracts from 'La notte', 'La Verna' and 'La petite promenade du poète'.
- 15 B. Binazzi, 'I Canti Orfici' in Il Resto del Carlino, 11 April 1922.
- 16 Letter dated 15 February 1927 in La Parola (Anon).
- 17 S. Solmi, 'Il libro di cui si parla: I Canti Orfici'. For full details see bibliography.
- 18 A. Gargiulo, 'Dino Campana' in L'Italia Letteraria, 26 February 1933.
- 19 G. Contini, 'Due poeti degli anni vociani' in Letteratura, October 1937.
- 20 C. Bo, Canti Orfici e altri scritti (Milan, 1972).
- 21 C. Bo, 'Dell'infrenabile notte' in Otto Studi, second edition, (Florence, 1939).
- 22 E. Falqui, Canti Orfici, (Florence, 1941): E. Falqui, Inediti, (Florence, 1942).
- 23 F. Donini, 'Il Poe nella letteratura italiana', Maestrale, January, 1942.
- 24 E. Montale, 'Sulla poesia' in L'Italia che scrive, October, 1942. All my quotations from this essay are taken from the translation by G. Singh in Selected Essays, (Manchester 1978), pp.70-78.
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 M. Dazzi, 'Dino Campana' in La Rassegna d'Italia, August, 1947.
- 27 F. Flora, 'Lirici Mitici e Mistici: La poesia dell'intervento e della guerra' in Storia della letteratura italiana, (Florence, 1947).

- 28 G. Gerola, Dino Campana, (Florence, 1955).
- 29 This newspaper, which I obtained from the Town Hall in Marradi, contains commemorative articles by G. Gerola, E. Alquati, P. Bigongiari, P. Poggiolini, M. Campana and F. Ravagli. It was published in Marradi on 20 August, 1955.
- 30 S. Antonielli, 'Dino Campana' in Aspetti e figure del Novecento, (Parma, 1955).
- 31 A. Parronchi, 'Genova e il senso dei colori nella poesia di Campana' in Artisti toscani del '900', (Florence, 1958); first published in Paragone, December, 1953.
- 32 C. Martini, 'Dino Campana' in Idea, 19 August, 1956.
- 33 C. Pacher, Dalla lirica ermetica e di alcuni precedenti, (Trento, 1955); G. Barberi-Squarotti, 'Un'insofferenza per Campana' in Gli Inferi e il Labirinto, (Bologna, 1974); G. Venè, Letteratura e capitalismo in Italia dal '700 ad oggi, (Milan, 1963).
- 34 P. Bargellini, 'Dino Campana e la nuova lirica', "Pian dei Giullari" in Il Novecento XI (Florence, 1950); republished in 1963, XII: "... Lo stato d'isolamento e di difesa dell'uomo moderno [writes the author], ridotto alla sua nuda umanità, ispira la lirica moderna, che ebbe come iniziatori tre poeti coetanei, il Rebora, l'Onofri e il Campana; uno finito prete, uno finito mago e l'ultimo finito pazzo", p.91, second edition.
- 35 G. Pozzi, 'Dino Campana' in La poesia italiana del Novecento: Da Gozzano agli Ermetici, (Milan, 1965).
- 36 Orphic Songs, translated by J.L. Solomon, (New York, 1968); Cinturi Orfice, translated by Dragos Vranceanu, (Bucarest, 1970); Chants Orphiques, introduced by Maria-Luisa Spaziani, (Paris, 1977).
- 37 The manuscript of Il Più Lungo Giorno was transcribed and reproduced in facsimile by D. de Robertis, (Archivi di Arte e Cultura, Rome, 1973). An international conference on the poet was held at the Gabinetto Scientifico Vieusseux in Florence from 19-21 March 1973. The lectures delivered at this conference and dedicated to Campana were published in Dino Campana Oggi, (Florence, 1973).
- 38 The film on Dino Campana was made by Marco Moretti and won an amateur prize in 1976; I saw the film in Marradi in August 1983. The play, entitled Quasi un Uomo, (Rome, 1977), was written by G.C. Millet and first performed in Marradi on 31 July 1977.

- 39 The debate concerning Campana's 'rightful' burial place is of longstanding. P. Bargellini first raises this issue in 'Il tomba del poeta' in Il Giornale del Mattino, 16 March 1958; in the '70's and '80's, it has become an election issue in Marradi. I myself received an invitation to attend the 'reburial' ceremony when I visited Marradi in 1983 and have received others since. Numerous articles have appeared, announcing the ceremony. Campana remains, however, at Badia a Settimo, close to Castel Pulci where he died.
- 40 S. Vassalli, La Notte della Cometa, (Turin, 1984).
- 41 E.g. Vassalli refers to the presence of the 'zio Pazzo', Mario, in Marradi in 1904 (La notte della Cometa, pp.16-17); as has emerged from my recent research, however, this uncle died in May 1902, (see note 5, p. 183, present thesis). Vassalli also dates Campana's internment in a Belgian mental hospital to July 1908 (op. cit., pp.115-116); Campana's internment in Tournai is now known to have taken place between February and June, 1910. See pp. 30-32, present thesis.
- 42 S. Vassalli, La notte della Cometa, p.239. For full details of this work see bibliography.
- 43 E. Montale, Selected Essays, p.78. For full details of this work, see bibliography.

APPENDIX A

Life

Appendix A1.

L'anno Milleottocottanta cinque, addì ventitrè di Agosto Numero 201
a ore postmeridiane due e minuti trenta, nella Casa Comunale.

Avanti di me Francesco Scalini Sindaco

Campana Dino Carlo
Giuseppe

Ufficiale dello Stato Civile del Comune di Marradi, Provincia di Firenze,
è comparso Campana Giovanni, di anni trentuno, Maestro domiciliato
in Marradi il quale mi ha dichiarato che alle ore pomeridiane due
minuti quindici del dì venti del corrente mese, nella Casa posta in
via Pescetti al Numero venti da Luti

Francesca, sua moglie, donna da casa, ...^b convivente

è nato un bambino di sesso maschile che egli mi presenta, e a cui dà i nomi di
Dino Carlo Giuseppe.

A quanto sopra e a questo atto sono stati presenti quali testimoni Luti Lorenzo
di anni Ventinove, Possidente e Ghezzi Leopardo
di anni trentanove Impiegato entrambi residenti in questo Comune.

Letto il presente atto a tutti gli interessati questi s'hanno meco sottoscritto

Giovanni Campana

Lorenzo Luti

Leopardo Ghezzi

Francesco Scalini

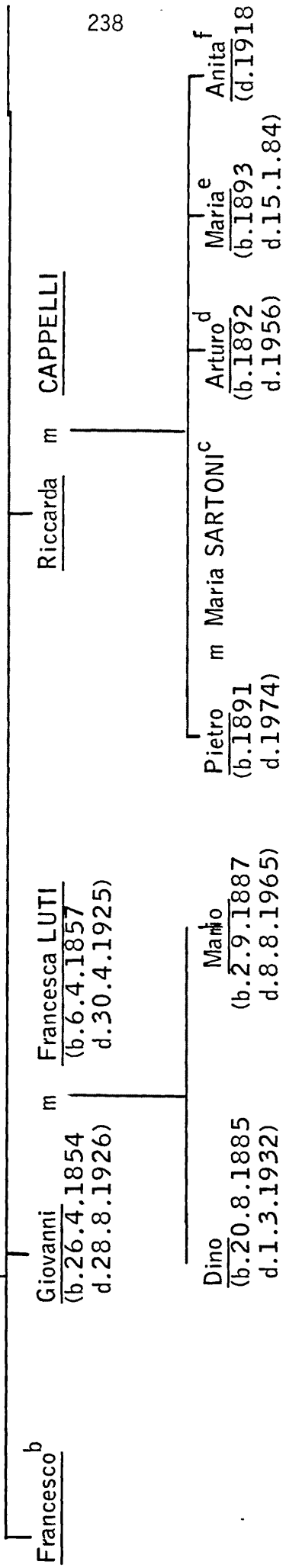
^a Throughout the appendices, underlined passages indicate printed parts of documents.

^b ... indicates undecipherable word.

Appendix A2

Giovanni CAMPANA and Paola SAVINI

Raffaello
(b.22.8.1824
d.9.5.1913).



- a. there is no existing record of date of birth. I have omitted such details elsewhere in the family tree for the same reason.
- b. became Attorney General in Florence.
- c. Maria Sartoni, still living in Marradi where I interviewed her.
- d. Arturo Cappelli became a priest.
- e. Maria Cappelli, cousin of Dino, who I interviewed in Marradi.
- f. Anita Cappelli became a nun.

Appendix A3.No. 69Il di 6 Aprile 1857.

E stata BATTEZZATA in questa Chiesa nel suddetto giorno una creatura
di sesso Femminile alla quale sono stati imposti i nomi
di Maria Leopolda Francesca Luti

e le indicazioni datemi sulla medesima, sono le seguenti:

ORA, GIORNO, MESE ed ANNO della Nascita 10 pomgo. del giorno anter.
 mese e giorno

COGNOME e NOME del PADRE Luti Sig. Giuseppe

MESTIERE o CONDIZIONE del medesimo Possidente

NOME dell'Avo, ossia del NONNO del nato Gaetano —

COGNOME e NOME della MADRE Chiarini Sig. Giuseppa

MESTIERE o CONDIZIONE della medesima Possidente

NOME del Padre della Madre Alessandro

POPOLO al quale appartiene il Nato Comeana

COMUNITA nella quale è compreso detto Popolo Carmignano

COGNOME e NOME del COMPARE o COMARE
o di chi ne ha fatte le veci

Bini Sig. Leopoldo

Avvertenze particolari del Battezziere

Sottoscrizione del
Battezziere

(undecipherable
 signature)

Appendix A4 (continued)

Cinque	Sette	Sei	Sei	Cinque	Cinque	
Quattro	Sette	Escluso		Cinque	Quattro	Escluso a luglio/in/Latino
Quattro	Sette	Escluso	-	Cinque	Quattro	e in greco
Sei	Nove	Tre	np.	Quattro	Sei	
Cinque	Nove	Sei		Cinque	Cinque	Respinto a luglio
Sei	Sette	Quattro	n.p.		Sei	Ed a ottobre
Sei	Otto	Tre	n.p.		Sei	
Sei	Nove	Cinque	n.p.		Sei	

Appendix A5.COMUNE DI MARRADI

Leva della Classe 1885

Avvisi

per l'estrazione a sorte dell'11 Aprile 1905
e per l'esame definitivo ed arruolamento
del 23 maggio 1905

<u>d'Ordine</u>	<u>Numero della Lista di Leva</u>	<u>di Estrazione</u>	<u>COGNOME E NOME DELL'INSCRITTO</u>	<u>Nome del Padre e Cognome e Nome della Madre</u>	<u>Decisione del Consiglio di Leva</u>
88	23	132	Dino	Giovanni Luti Francesca	Visitato per delegazione del consiglio di leva di Bologna e dichiarato abile arruolato in 1 ^a cat, Non accampa diritti civ.

Appendix A6.

COMUNE DI MARRADI

Marradi, 28 giugno 1906

Prot 73 17 Cat.11^a

Oggetto
Campana Dino di Giovanni

Illmo Sig Borgomastro
di Bignasco
(Canton Ticino)

Con mio telegramma del 22 corrente mese chiedeva alla SV Illma di somministrare i mezzi di viaggio da S. Carlo a Locarno, allo scopo di rimpatrio, a certo Campana Dino di Giovanni trovantesi provvisoriamente costà. Non avendo ottenuto nessuna risposta da V.S. Illma al mio telegramma e d'altra parte trovandosi la famiglia del Campana in grave apprensione pel figlio, prego vivamente a favorire un[a] risposta in proposito [.]

Il Sindaco

A. Bandini

^a Official stamp of Marradi Town Hall.

Appendix A7.

La Municipalità di
Bignasco

Bignasco 30 giugno 1906

Onorevole Sindaco di Marradi

Quando il suo telegramma giungeva invitandomi a fornire a certo Dino Campana il necessario per fare il viaggio a Locarno questi era già da costì partito. Procurai di farci avere, la vostra relazione e ricevetti da Locarno l'acclusa cartolina. Con questo cessava il mio incarico; avrei mandato del denaro laggiù, ma non seppi come farcelo arrivare.

Quando il Campana, passò da costì fermandosi una notte era in buonissimo istato di salute, solo sembrava di essere un po' esaltato. Contava di recarsi a Friburgo ove aveva mandato una domanda per essere ammesso in quella Università, sembrava anche di avere idea di girare per la Svizzera per Svaregisi.^a Questo è quanto sono in grado di comunicarvi. Vi consiglio di rivolgervi al Municipio di Locarno ove forse si potrà ancora trovare.

Con tutta stima

G. Begnudini Sindaco

^a Italian rendering of Schwarzsee.

Appendix A8.

VITTORIO EMANUELE III

PER GRAZIA DI DIO E PER VOLONTÀ DELLA NAZIONE

Re d'Italia

Il V Pretore del Mandamento di Marradi

Avvocato Alderigo Bellini

Ha pronunciato la seguente

ORDINANZA

Sulla domanda fatta dall'Illmo Sig. Sindaco di Marradi

in data odiurna -

tendente ad ottenere che sia autorizzata l'ammissione in via provvisoria, al

manicomio di Imola - dell'alienato Campana Dino

di Giovanni di anni 21 da Marradi -

Visto il certificato rilasciato in data 5 7mbre corrente dal Sig. Dottor

V. Mercatali - - Medico-Chirurgo esercente in

Marradi: -

Visto l'atto di notorietà in data 5 corrente -

Ritenuto che da tali documenti risulta in modo non dubbio che il pre nominato Campana

Dino - è affetto da alienazione mentale, che è pericoloso a sè ed agli altri e

che non può essere convenientemente custodito e curato fuorchè in un manicomio;

Che è quindi di pubblico interesse provvedere in conformità al disposto dell'art. 2

della legge 14 febbraio 1904 numero 36;

Per questi motivi

Autorizza l'ammissione, in via provvisoria nel manicomio di Imola

- dell'alienato Campana Dino -

Marradi addì 5 Settembre 1906

IL PRETORE

(signature)

IL CANCELLIERE (signature)

Per copia conforme all'origine
Il Cancelliere

Appendix A9.

Circondario di FIRENZE

Mandamento di MARRADI

^aComune di MARRADI

CERTIFICATO

comprovante l'esito avuto nella leva sui giovani nati nell'anno 1885 da Campana Dino

Il sottoscritto Sindaco del suddetto Comune dichiara che dalle liste di leva esistenti negli archivi comunali risulta:

1^o che Campana Dino

figlio di Giovanni e di Luti Francesca

nato a MARRADI

il 20 agosto 1885 ha fatto parte della leva sui nati nell'anno 1885

2^o che all'estrazione gli toccò in sorte N. 132 e fu dal Consiglio di leva in occasione dell'esame definitivo dichiarato abile, assegnato alla 1^a categoria e successivamente riformato al Corpo

In fede lo stesso sindaco rilascia il presente certificato in carta libera per uso amministrativo

Il 20 febbraio 1907

FIRMA DEL SINDACO
(undecipherable signature)

- b Confrontato il sovraesteso certificato con le liste di estrazione, è stato da me sottoscritto riconosciuto veritiero.

Firenze, 190

IL PREFETTO

^a Official stamp of Marradi Town Hall.

^b Reads: Se arruolato in 2a categoria accennare se fece poi passaggio alla 3a per l'art. 95 del testo unico delle leggi sul reclutamento.
Se esentato dal servizio di là e di 2a categoria ed assegnata alla 2a indicare in virtù di quale articolo del testo unico suddetto e per quale titolo.
Beneath this: P.S. Lorenzo - Tip. Mazzocchi.

Appendix A10.

... 3c
 ... 27426
 ... del 28 Agosto u.s.

COMUNE DI MARRADI
Prot N.7 Tit 17 Cat 11
3 7mbre 1907^a

Firenze, 2 7mbre 1907

Campana Dino

Risultando che il controscritto ha parecchie volte dato segni di alienazione mentale tanto da essere ricoverato nel Manicomio Provinciale di Imola, non si pu` ora provvedere al rilascio del passaporto per l'estero a di lui favore, specie per la chiesta destinazione, dove, giusta quanto ` prescritto nell'Allegato B annesso al [l'] urgente Regolamento, non sono ammessi i dementi.

Sig^e
 Sindaco
 di
 Marradi

Nel caso poi che il Campana fosse guarito, per poter ottenere il chiesto documento, occorrer` che produca un regolare Certificato medico, col quale si attesta che egli ` perfettamente guarito dall'accennata malattia, e n` v'` pericolo che possa ricadervi.

Il Questore (signature)

^a Official stamp of receipt from Marradi Town Hall.

Appendix A11.

Marradi 5 Settembre 1907

In relazione alla lettera controdistinta,^a trasmetto alla S.V. Illma un certificato di questo medico condotto dottr Augusto Pellegrini dal quale risulta che Campana Dino trovasi in perfetto stato di mente.

Prego pertanto la S.V. Illma a volersi compiacere di trasmettermi il richiesto passaporto per l'estero.

Il Sindaco

A. Bandini

^a Although the name of the addressee is not visible on this document, it is evidently a reply to Appendix A10.

Appendix A12.

<u>N. d'ordine del passaporto</u>	<u>COGNOME E NOME del titolare del Passaporto</u>	<u>Paternità</u>	<u>Luogo di Nascita</u>	<u>Data della Nascita</u>	<u>Luogo di Residenza</u>	<u>Condizione</u>
3474	Campana Dino	di Giovanni	Marradi	20 Agosto 1885	Marradi	Scrivano

<u>STATO per il quale il passaporto è rilasciato</u>	<u>DATA del passaporto</u>	<u>PERSONE che accompagnano il titolare del passaporto</u>	<u>NOME</u>	<u>Rapporto col titolare</u>	<u>Età</u>	<u>Annot [azioni]</u>
Buenos Ayres	7 7mbre 1907	-	-	-	-	al padre 9/9 ...

Appendix A13.COMUNE DI MARRADI

Il Sindaco sottoscritto:

In seguito a denunce specifiche pervenute all'Ufficio C.^{le} dalle quali risulta che il Sig. Dino Campana di Giovanni di anni 23; celibe, domiciliato in Marradi; da qualche tempo non trovasi nella pienezza delle proprie facoltà mentali e che a cagione di ciò rendesi assai pericoloso, inquantochè ha minacciato anche con armi e nelle ore notturne, pacifici cittadini;

Assunte le debite informazioni e controllata la veridicità delle denunce stesse
Visto l'unito certificato medico del Dottor Auguato Pellegrini in data con cui si dichiara ritenere il Sig. Dino Campana affetto da alienazione mentale;

In conformità dell'art. 2 della legge 14 febbraio 1904 N.36 e 42 del Regolamento
5 Marzo 1905

Ordina

che il nominato Campana venga provvisoriamente ammesso nel Manicomio di
Firenze per misure di Pubblica Sicurezza

Marradi li 9 Aprile 1909
(undecipherable signature)

Appendix A14.

31 Marzo 10

47

14 8

25 Marzo 10

P.S. 9273

DOMANDA DI RIMPATRIO
DEL SUDDITO ITALIANO
CAMPANA DINO

PREFETTO DI FIRENZE
DI FIRENZE

In risposta al foglio della S.V. a margine indicato, significo che il giovane Campana Dino, prima di emigrare, dimorò per un certo periodo di tempo in Marradi presso la sua famiglia. E a causa del suo contegno, fu dai Reali Carabinieri tratto in arresto come da verbale in data 8 Aprile 1909. Siccome nel verbale stesso il Campana era qualificato come 'matto furioso', io lo feci visitare dall'Ufficiale Sanitario; e avendo questi col certificato che Le accludo dichiarato necessario il ricovero del medesimo in una Casa di Salute, con mia ordinanza del 9 Aprile 1909 disposi per l'immediato ricovero del Campana nel Manicomio di San Salvi.

Senonchè i medici di quel Manicomio, dopo 15 giorni, disponevano per il rilascio del giovane stesso non avendo in lui riscontrato sintomi di alienazione mentale.

Io non potei quindi rifiutarmi di rilasciare al medesimo il passaporto per l'estero, tanto più che ero persuaso sussistere sempre i motivi di S.P. che mi avevano indotto a far ricoverare il Campana a S. Salvi, e giovava al Comune l'allontanamento del giovane.

Prego quindi la S.V. a voler disporre in modo che se il Campana verrà rimpatriato, non venga riconsegnato alla famiglia che d'altronde a appena mezzi sufficienti per il proprio mantenimento e solo con gravi sacrifici potè provvedere alle spese che le furono addossate quando si trattò di ricoverare il giovane in Manicomio. La

famiglia inoltre essendo il padre del Campana maestro elementare, e non convivendo con lui che la moglie, non potrebbe assumersi la grave responsabilità di tenere il demente presso di sè.

Veda quindi la S.V. di provvedere in quel modo che riterrà migliore anche dal punto di vista della P.S. di questo paese, dato il precedente rifiuto del Manicomio di S. Salvi di mantenere rinchiuso il più volta ricordato Dino Campana.

Con ossequi

Per il sindaco
(undecipherable signature)

Appendix A15.Certificat Médical^a

Asile des Hommes aliénés à Tournai

Je sossigne [sic] Ch. Cuyllits docteur en medecine certifie avoir personnellement exploré et interrogé le nommé.

Campana Decio [sic] âgé de 24½ ans né à Marradi (Italia) sans résidence fixe [sic]^b, célibataire, et déclare avoir constaté qu'il est atteint d'une maladie qui se caractérise par les symptômes suivants:

Deiginrenence [sic] mentale, Caractère deisequilibré [sic] imbecilit [sic] tendance à la fureure, [sic], au ...^c

Il est, en conséquence, indispensable tout dans l'intérêt de sa santé que de la sécurité publique de le colloquer dans un établissement spécial pour y être sumis [sic] au traitement que réclame son état.

Ci-joint le bulletin confidentiel [Moldel]

A Tournai li 10 feireer [sic] 1910

(undecipherable signature)

^a Accents in this document are almost all omitted or mistakenly used. I have corrected them throughout.

^b fixe.

^c This part of the document is almost undecipherable. Mispelt words should read: dégénérescence, déséquilibré, imbecilité e fureur. Last three words are wholly undecipherable.

Appendix A16

Firenze, 7 aprile 1910

PREFETTURACOMUNE DI MARRADI
Prot. N.47 Tit 14 Cat 8
Addi 13 APR 1910^aDELLAPROVINCIA DI FIRENZEUfficio Provinciale di Pubblica
Sicurezza

In relazione alla lettera controdistinta,
comunico che il Campana Dino, quando sar 
rimpatr[ia]to, dovr  essere consegnato ai suoi
genitori, i quali dovranno prend[er]ne cura a
scanso di essere denunziati all'autorit 
giudiziaria in base all'art.^{lo} 386 Cod. pen.
Qualora egli al suo ritorno cos[t] venga
ricoverato dall'ufficiale sanitario in istato di
squilibrio, la S.V. vorr  provocare dal Pretore
del Mandamento i provvedimenti di cui
all'art.^{lo} 2 della legge 14 febbraio 1904
N  36.

N. 9273Risposta alla Letteradel 31 marzo u.s.Divisione - Sezione - N.47

Restituisco i documenti comunicati[mi].

OGGETTO

Rimpatrio di Campana Dino

Allegati N. 4

Sig. Sindaco di Marradi

^a Official stamp of Marradi Town Hall.

Appendix A17.

R. QUESTURA

Firenze, 8 GIU 1910

FIRENZE

COMUNE DI MARRADI
Prot. N 47 Tit 14 Cat.8
Add^a 10 GIU 1910^a

Divisione 111

N^o 12545

Risposta alla lettera
del 22 aprile us.

N. 47 Div

OGGETTO

Rimpatrio di Campana Dino

Sig. Sindaco di Marradi

Il Ministero dell'Interno mi partecipa che è stato disposto il rimpatrio del folle Campana Dino. Per quanto riguarda la custodia di lui da parte dei genitori non trattandosi di trasferimento da un nosocomio in un altro quest'ufficio si riporta alla sua lettera 7 aprile scorso N^o 9273, non potendosi nelle attuali condizioni psichiche del Campana provvedere al ricovero in un manicomio la prescritta ordinanza del Pretore, nè la famiglia di lui può esimersi dalle responsabilità di cui all'art 388 cod.pen. Ciò in risposta al foglio

Continua al retro^b

^a Official stamp of receipt from Marradi Town Hall.

^b The continuation sheet of this letter is missing.

Appendix A18.R. QUESTURA

Firenze, 17 giugno 1910

FIRENZE

COMUNE DI MARRADI

Divisione 3^a

Prot. 47 Tit 14 Cat.8

Addi 17 GIU 1910^aNo 12345

In relazione a precedente corrispondenza faccio

Risposta alla lettera

accompagnare da due agenti in codest 'ufficio

del

il controscritto individuo proveniente dal

N. - Div. -

Manicomio di Tournai (Belgio) e prego la S.V.

OGGETTO

di provvedere per la consegna del medesimo a

Campana Dino

chi di ragione, avvertendo che per dichiarazione

da Marradi

scritta da questo medico Sigr Barzellot[ti]

Sig. Sindaco

attualmente nel Campana Dino non si

di

riscontr[a] verun segno di alienazione mentale

Marradi

nè altri sintomi che possano giustificare la

sua ammissione d'urgenza al manicomio.

Il Questore

(undecipherable signature)

^a Official stamp of receipt from Marradi Town Hall.

Appendix A19.

COMUNE

Marradi, li 17 Giugno 1910

DI

Ho regolarmente ricevuta la lettera della S.V. a margine segnata e dichiaro di prendere at[to] di quanto in essa si contiene in riguardo al giovane rimpatriato Campana Dino il quale era stato ricoverato nel manicomio di Tournai.

MARRADI

Provincia di FirenzeN. 47 di ProtocolloTitolo 14 Categoria 8Risposta al Fogliodel dì 17 Giugno 1910Div. 3 Sez. - Num 123845

Il giovane è stato riconsegnato alla famiglia poichè si è ritenuto inutile farlo sottopor[re] a visita del nostro Ufficiale Sanitario poichè [a] S.V. riferisce che il medesimo Campana Dino è stato riconosciuto sano di mente dal Dr. Barzellotti[.]

OGGETTO

RIMPATRIO DI DINO CAMPANA

Il padre Campana Giovanni a acconsentit[o] a ricoverare nuovamente presso di sè il giovane so[lo] in seguito alle assicurazioni della S.V.

Allegati N.Ill.mo Signor

QUESTORE

Tanto per norma di questo ufficio per [qua]lunque circostanza che possa verificarsi in avvenire.

DI

Con ossequi

FIRENZE

p. IL SINDACO
IL SEGRETARIO-CAPO

(undecipherable signature)

Appendix A20.Comune di Firenze

Ufizio

di Polizia Comunale

Reg. N°Oggetto

Richiesta di nulla

osta per passaporto

III^{mo}Sig. Sindacodi Marradi

COMUNE DI MARRADI
 Prot. N.4 Tit. 19 Cat.2
Addi 16 MAR 1911^a

Il 13 MAR 190

Campana Dino di Giovanni e di Francesca Luti
nato a Marradi il di 20.8.1885 di condizione
Interprete, mi ha richiesto il nulla osta per
ottenere il passaporto onde recarsi in Germania
a scopo di lavoro. Avendo il medesimo
dichiarato di avere la sua abituale residenza in
cotesto Comune, interesso la S.V. Illma a
volermi dire, in ordine al comma 1° dell'Art.2°
del R. Decreto 31 Gennaio 1901, n° 36, se
il medesimo trovisi in alcuno dei casi previsti
dai Nⁱ 1.2.3.6 e il dell'Art. 3° del
succitato R° Decreto, e se nulla osti per parte
di cotesto Municipio al rilascio del richiestomi
documento. Prego la S.V. Illma di voler
compiacersi dal sollecito alla presente.

Con ossequio

b

Il Sindaco

(undecipherable signature)

^a Official stamp of receipt from Marradi Town Hall.

^b Official stamp from the passport office.

Appendix A20.

	COMUNE DI MARRADI Prot. N.4 Tit. 19 Cat.2 <u>Addi 16 MAR 1911^a</u>
<u>Comune di Firenze</u>	<u>Il 13 MAR 190</u>
Ufizio	
di Polizia Comunale	Campana Dino <u>di Giovanni e di Francesca Luti</u>
<u>Reg. N^o</u>	<u>nato a Marradi il di 20.8.1885 di condizione</u>
	<u>Interprete, mi ha richiesto il nulla osta per</u>
<u>Oggetto</u>	<u>ottenere il passaporto onde recarsi in Germania</u>
	<u>a scopo di lavoro. Avendo il medesimo</u>
Richiesta di nulla	<u>dichiarato di avere la sua abituale residenza in</u>
osta per passaporto	<u>cotesto Comune, interesse la S.V. Illma a</u>
	<u>volermi dire, in ordine al comma 1^o dell'Art.2^o</u>
<u>Ill^{mo}</u>	<u>del R. Decreto 31 Gennaio 1901, n^o 36, se</u>
<u>Sig. Sindaco</u>	<u>il medesimo trovisi in alcuno dei casi previsti</u>
<u>di Marradi</u>	<u>dai Nⁱ 1.2.3.6 e il dell'Art. 3^o del</u>
	<u>succitato R^o Decreto, e se nulla osti per parte</u>
	<u>di cotesto Municipio al rilascio del richiestomi</u>
	<u>documento. Prego la S.V. Illma di voler</u>
	<u>compiacersi dal sollecito alla presente.</u>
	<u>Con ossequio</u>
b	<u>Il Sindaco</u>
	(undecipherable signature)

^a Official stamp of receipt from Marradi Town Hall.

^b Official stamp from the passport office.

Appendix A21.PROVINCIAdi

GENOVA

CIRCONDARIOdi

GENOVA

N. 16 34CONTRASSEGNIEtà 25StaturaCapelliFronteSopraccigliaCigliaOcchiNasoBoccaMento[Ba]rbaVisoColoritoCorporaturaCondizioniMarche particolariFirma del LatoreAmministrazione di Sicurezza PubblicaFOGLIO DI VIA delIl nominato Campana Dinocircond. di Marradifiglio di Giovanni residente a —circond. di — provincia di —ha ordine di trasferirsi a Marradicircond. di provincia dipassando per e di presentarsi all' entro giorni due cui dovrà rimettere
il presente.A termine della legge, se il latore si scosta dallo
stradale sovra designato, e nel termine prefisso non
si presenta all'Autorità giudiziaria pel prescritto
procedimento.Constando che il latore si trovi sprovveduto dei
necessari mezzi di sussistenza lungo il viaggio, o
che abbisogni per il suo stato fisico di mezzi di
transporto, s'invitano le Amministrzioni comunali
dei luoghi pei quali deve transitare a
somministrarglieli, a mente delle vigenti
disposizioni.Rilasciato a Genova addì 24.7. 1911

a

^a Official Stamp of Genova.

Appendix A22.

Firenze, 8 Novembre 1911

COMUNE DI MARRADI

Prot. N.99 Tit.17 Cat.11
Addi 9 NOV 1911^a

PREFETTURA

DELLA

PROVINCIA DI FIRENZE

Divisione 2

N. 42857

Risposta alla Lettera

del

Divisione Sezione N.

OGGETTO

Campana Dino di

Giovanni

Sono pervenuti a quest'Ufficio senza lettera accompagnatoria alcuni documenti al nome del controindicato e fra essi il diploma di licenza liceale.

Quest'ultimo fa credere che si tratta di documenti da allegarsi ad una domanda per l'ammissione ai prossimi esami per conseguimento della patente di Segretario Comunale ma mancano la domanda e la quietanza della prescritta tassa d'ammissione. Pregasi la S.V. d'interpellare l'interessato e far conoscere a quale uso debbono servire i documenti suddetti.

Allegati N.

Sig. Sindaco

Marradi

Il Prefetto

(undecipherable
signature).

Indicare nella Risposta la Div., il Num.
e la data della presente.

^a Official stamp of receipt from Marradi Town Hall.

Appendix A23.

Firenze, li 4 Dicembre 1911

PREFETTURA DI FIRENZE

COMUNE DI MARRADI

GABINETTO
No. 7714

Prot. N.99 Tit.17 Cat.11
Addi 5 Dic.1911^a

Risposta alla Lettera

Raccomandata

del

Si prega la S.V. di partecipare al Sig.

Div. Sez. Num.

Campana Dino, che la sua domanda diretta ad
ottenere l'ammissione agli esami di concorso

OGGETTO

per la carriera di alunno delegato di P.S. non
ha potuto essere dal Ministero dell'Interno

Concorso per la carriera
di alunno delegato di
P.S.

accolta perché non trovasi in possesso di tutti
i requisiti richiesti dall'avviso di concorso.

La S.V. vorrà restituire all'interessato in pari
tempo gli acclusi documenti previa dichiarazione
di ricevuta da rimettersi a questa Prefettura.

All. No.7

Inviati ricevuti dei
documenti

Signor Sindaco di
MARRADI

IL PREFETTO
(signature)

^a Official stamp of receipt from Marradi.

Appendix A24.

a

D'URGENZA

di

SCONTRINO

di

ricevuta

da

consegnarsi

al Mittente

del

Telegramma

N. -

di Par. -

per -

ore -

Indicazionieventuali -

^b DESTINAZIONE PROVENIENZA NUM PAROLE
DATA VIA
INDICAZIONI
EVENTUALI
d'ufficio

c

Destinatario QuestoreDestinazione GenovaTesto No 38

Prego Vossignoria telegrafarmi motivo
 arresto giovane Campana Dino avvenuto 16
 corrente detunuto carcere giudiziario
 Marassi

Sindaco

^a Official stamp: Marradi-Florence, 23 March 1913.

^b I have transcribed only the main official headings.

^c Official print reads: Scrivere una parola per casella; mai a tergo dei modelli.
 Il telegramma dev'essere scritto con chiarezza nel modo che la lettura ne sia facile.

^d Official print reads: spazio riservato alla dichiarazione di stato e bollo del
 funzionario mittente.

Appendix A25.

Firenze 2.4.913

R. QUESTURA

COMUNE DI MARRADI

FIRENZEProt No.38 Tit 17 Cat 4
Addi 5 APL 1913^aDivisione 2

Informo la SV che il controscritto individuo venne il 28 Marzo u.s. munito dalla Questura di Genova di foglio di via con obbligo di presentarsi in cotesto ufficio entro giorni due.

N^o 12489Risposta alla lettera

Qualora egli non avesse ottemperato alla fattagli ingiunzione prego informarmene.

delN. DivOGGETTOp[er] Il Questore
(signature)

Campana Dino di Giovanni e
di Luti Francesca di anni
26^b da Maddari [sic]

^a Official stamp of receipt from Marradi Town Hall.

^b There is an error in Campana's age; he was 28 in 1913.

Appendix A26.

13 SETT 1917

<u>PROVINCIA</u>	<u>Amministrazione di Sicurezza Pubblica</u>
Novara	<u>FOGLIO DI VIA</u> Obbligatorio
<u>CIRCONDARIO</u>	<u>Il nominato</u> Campana Dino
<u>di Novara</u>	<u>nativo di Marradi</u> <u>circond. di Firenze</u>
<u>N 130</u>	<u>provincia di Firenze</u> <u>figlio di Giovanni</u>
<u>CONTRASSEGNI</u>	<u>residente a -</u> <u>circond. di -</u>
<u>Età</u> anni 31	<u>provincia di Firenze</u> <u>ha ordine di trasferirsi</u>
<u>Statura</u>	<u>a Marradi</u> <u>circond. di Firenze</u>
<u>Capelli</u> biondi	<u>provincia di Firenze</u> <u>passando per</u>
<u>Fronte</u> alto	<u>e di presentarsi all'autorità PS</u> <u>entro giorni 4</u>
<u>Sopracciglia</u> bionde	<u>cui dovrà rimettere il presente.</u>
<u>Ciglia</u>	<u>A termini della legge, se il latore si scosta dallo</u>
<u>Occhi</u>	<u>stradale sopra designato, e nel termine prefisso non</u>
<u>Naso</u> regolare	<u>si presenta all'Autorità cui fu diretto, sarà tradotto</u>
<u>Bocca</u> regolare	<u>innanzi all'Autorità giudiziaria pel prescritto</u>
<u>Mento</u> tondo	<u>procedimento.</u>
<u>Barba</u> biondo	<u>Constatando che il latore si trovi sprovvisto dei</u>
<u>Viso</u> ovale	<u>necessari mezzi di sussistenza lungo il viaggio, o</u>
<u>Colorito</u> roseo	<u>che abbisogni per il suo stato fisico di mezzi di</u>
<u>Corporatura</u> regolare	<u>trasporto, s'invitano le Amministrazioni comunali</u>
<u>Condizioni</u>	<u>dei luoghi nei quali deve transitare, a</u>
<u>Marche particolari</u>	<u>somministrarglieli, a mente delle vigenti disposizioni.</u>
<u>Firma del Latore</u>	<u>Rilasciato a Novara addì 13 Settembre 1917</u>
	<u>Timbro</u>
	<u>d'Ufficio</u>

(2 signatures)

Appendix A27.

N 80 del Protocollo
Titolo 17 Categoria 4

Risposta al Foglio

del dì 19 7mbre 1917

Div. Sez. 2 N 12-6

OGGETTO

Campana Dino di Giovanni

Allegati N.

Ill.mo Signor
Questore

di

Firenze

Marradi, 25 SET 1917 191

Il S. Campana Dino oggetto della lettera della S.V. al margine distinta, si è presentato alla scrivente il 15 corrente mese.

Nella lettera trovasi allegati il passaporto per l'interno rilasciato in quest'ufficio al G. Campana e con il certificato di esito di leva cui accenna la S.V. Illma; pero la prego a volermi inv[iare] documento con cortese sollecitudine.

Con ossequi

IL SINDACO

(signature)

APPENDIX B

The Work

Appendix B1

Non fallo strada per la montagna
 con pace canto con molto vento
 lei arrivata vicino
 a dove si poteva arrivare.
 lenna interrogare la giubba rossa delle stelle
 Hai spandato finche si poteva arrivare
 finche si andata a riposare
 claggio anche straniero vuol.
 Italia non ti posso lasciare
 che si spara dell'italiano senza cuore
 D. R. Ela: stai fida l'onore
 LA NOTTE
 e lo vendremo con una nuova verginita
 L'edera gira la torri
 e la corona di la tua passione
 Italia che fai professione
 con il bardi te, benchi il guai la tua andare
 allora la giubba rossa delle stelle
 Questa volta con il cannone
 Italia che fai professione
 Prendi il facile guarda il nemico ti tocca
 Guardo il nemico che fai non l'importa
 ti sei fatto a fermare la finestra
 Prendi coraggio se batti la porta
 Questo volta ti si aprira
 Con Italia che l'importa

come la tua
 come della tua
 e del essere primo della terra
 Il mio spirito
 con un bacio taciturno
 e c'è un bacio
 con o il bacio con il turchino?
 che di ha un bacio di lavoro
 del primo italiano non si sa
 tra i baci
 e il margine degli occhi
 Biondi della terra
 e c'è una piccola non si sa
 e che pare far baci le torri
 e il taglio di un fioppo che bolla:
 Italia
 che come torri d'acciaio
 e del cuore biondo della terra
 Il mio spirito
 Per un bacio taciturno
 baci biondi

Appendix B1 (cont)

LA NOTTE

I.

LA NOTTE

Ricordo una vecchia città, rossa di mura
 turrata, arsa su la pianura sterminata nel-
 Agosto torrido, con il lontano refrigerio di
 colline verdi e molli sullo sfondo. Archi enor-
 memente vuoti di ponti sul fiume impaludato
 in magre stagnazioni plumbee: sagome nere
 di zingari mobili e silenziose sulla riva: tra
 il barbagliq lontano di un canneto lontane
 forme ignude di adolescenti e il profilo e la
 parba giudaica di un vecchio: e a un tratto
 dal mezzo dell'acqua morta le zingare e un
 canto, da la palude afonta una nenia primor-
 diale monotona e irritante: e del tempo fu
 sospeso il corso.

10. 10. fatta a formare la pietra
 Prendi coraggio questa volta
 Che la porta ti si aprirà.

Del paesaggio lirite ti mostrano le ridenti
 Il paesaggio è costretto dal fonte in
 al secondo fiume
 L'oro e l'arancio dei tramonti d'ogni
 Si è cambiato in verde

Ulla come Torri d'adriano
 e del cuore bruno della sera
 Il mio spirito ricrea
 Per un bacio Torquato

habesco alle sparis dei prati, Berna.
 Come la quercia all'ombra i suoi rami
 per anche verdi; l'acqua colando dei
 fiori bianchi e rossi sul muro sono
 spuntati come trei fiori del corallo.
 I vostri occhi blu fiordalisi in un
 tramonto di farfalle rosse perché
 io pensavo nel flimfià che aveva
 i denti che parla la prima volta
 che la vostra vedeva prima.

PASSEGGIATA IN TRAM IN AMERICA

E RITORNO

Gioventù

Berna - Marnard.

— 132 —
 della città rotta di torri gotiche. E così ogni
 sera coricandomi nella mia prigione salutavo
 la primavera. E una di quelle sere seppi: il
 Russo era stato ucciso. Il pulviscolo d'oro
 che avvolgeva la città parve ad un tratto
 sublimarsi in un sacrificio sanguigno. Quando?
 I riflessi sanguigni del tramonto eredei
 mi portassero il suo saluto. Chiusi le
 palpebre, restai lungamente senza per-
 siero: quella sera non chiesi altro. Vidi che
 intorno si era fatto scuro. Nella camerata non
 c'era che il tanfo e il respiro sordo dei pazzi
 addormentati dietro le loro chimerè. Col capo
 affondato sul guanciale seguivo in aria delle
 farfalline che scherzavano attorno alla lam-
 pada elettrica nella luce scialba e gelida. Una
 dolcezza acuta, una dolcezza di martirio, del
 suo martirio mi si torceva pei nervi. Febbrile,
 curva sull'orlo della stufa la testa barbata
 scriveva. La penna scorreva strideva spasmo-
 dica. Perché era uscito per salvare altri
 uomini? Un suo ritratto di delinquente, un
 insensato, severo nei suoi abiti eleganti, la
 testa portata alta con dignità animale: un
 altro, un sorriso, l'immagine di un sorriso

Una lirica inedita di Dino Campana.

Il manicomio di Castel Pucci presso Firenze ha fermato il viaggio di questo grande poeta vagabondo, che dalle solitudini di Campigno, in quel di Marradi, aveva, senza mezzi, armato solo di coraggio e di sogni, spiccato il volo verso i più lontani paesi del mondo, al solo fine di dissetare quella sua insaziabile ursura di poesia e di grandezza!

Noi non possiamo sapere se il suo cervello, ottenebrato certo dalla vastità del problema che voleva liricamente risolvere, potrà ancora "creare", per la nostra gioia e per la nostra gloria!

Formuliamo però l'augurio che il poeta ci sia restituito. Ed intanto uniamo a quella di mille altri giovani d'Italia la nostra modesta voce a ricordare ed a celebrare!

C'è nel fato di questo figlio della Romagna Toscana qualche cosa che lo fa tanto rassomigliare a Walt Whitman, con cui ha di comune l'inarrivabile senso ritmico e lo spirito di vagabondaggio.

E rappresenta per il nostro Paese un miracolo nuovo: quello di un giovane che si arrischia a pubblicare alquanto sue liriche in un'edizione umile umile, non cerca di strombazzarla in nessun modo, vende da sé le copie per le strade e nei caffè di Firenze, insulta quei critici che osano esprimere un giudizio sulla sua opera: eppure fra i giovani egli è oggi uno dei più discussi, egli è uno dei più rimpianti per la sventura che l'ha strappato ai suoi sogni.

Crediamo di far cosa grata ai lettori pubblicando su la TEDA una sua lirica inedita che la famiglia ha salvata e che ci favorisce. Ci riserbiamo di parlare compiutamente del poeta, chiedendo ai nostri amici di rievocare i loro ricordi personali e dipingere un quadro completo della sua interessante adolescenza; trascorsa in mezzo al fascino dei nostri monti.

NOTTURNO TEPPISTA

Firenze nel fondo era gorgo di luci di fremiti sordi:
 Con ali di fuoco i lunghi rumori fuggenti
 Del tram spaziavano: il fiume mostruoso
 Torpido riluceva come un serpente a squame.
 Su un circolo incerto le inquiete facce beffarde
 Dei ladri, ed io tra i doppi lunghi cipressi uguali a fiaccole spente
 Più aspro ai cipressi le siepi
 Più aspro del fremer dei bussi,
 Che dal mio cuore il mio amore,
 Che dal mio cuore, l'amore un ruffiano che intonò e cantò:
 Amo le vecchie troie
 Gonfie lievitare di sperma
 Che cadono come rospi a quattro zampe sopra la coltrice rossa
 E aspettano e sbuffano ed ansimano
 Flaccide come mantici.
 Le rosse torri altissime riaccese
 Dentro dell'azzurro tramonto commosso di vento
 Vegliavano dietro degli alti palazzi le imprese
 Gentili del serale animamento.
 (E ad una ad una e ad una ad una levavano
 Brunì i capelli levano, giovani in un movimento
 Aitante passando nel vento levavano intese
 Come ad un interrotto avvertimento)
 Esse parlavano lievi e facevano: gli occhi levati
 Invan seguendo la scia sconosciuta nell'aria
 De le parole rotte che il vicendevole vento
 Diceva per un'ansia solitaria.

DINO CAMPANA

Appendix B4.From Il Più Lungo Giorno to the Canti Orfici: A Comparative Table.Il Più Lungo Giorno

Solo il dolore è vero^a
NN

Federico Nietzsche

Essere un grande artista non significa
nulla: essere un puro artista ecco ciò
che importa

A.G.

L'arte deve essere considerata oramai
nella sua purezza nella sua genuinità
espressiva unicamente. Una grande
opera d'arte si compone di più elementi
- elementi temporali - logici, morali,
pratici, civili, utilitarii magari.
Quello che importa però è la sua
musicalità. E per musica non si deve
intendere sonorità o melodia, ma
quello stato in cui si trova a volte
l'anima, stato elementare armonico con
tutte le cose, disinteressato, estraneo
ad ogni contingenza. Un flusso di
simpatia col mondo, al di sopra di
qualunque ordine di valori morali e in
contatto e fusione con l'eternità dei
fenomeni sensibili

Ardengo Soffici

Canti Orfici

Dino Campana

CANTI

ORFICI

(Die Tragödie des letzten Germanen
in Italien)

MARRADI

Tipografia F. Ravagli
1914

A GUGLIELMO II IMPERATORE
DEI GERMANI L'AUTORE
DEDICA

^a In the top, right-hand corner is the poet's name. At the top centre, in large letters, is the phrase: "E come puro spirito varca il ponte" and then the following saying from Nietzsche: "Federico Nietzsche "L'incasso e il passo dei vostri pensieri tradiscono la vostra origine". Both phrases have been deleted.

Il Più Lungo GiornoLA NOTTE MISTICA DELL'AMORE
E DEL DOLORE

(i) La notte mistica

(ii) Il viaggio

(iii) Sosta

La Chimera

Giardino autunnale (Firenze)

La petite promenade du poète (Firenze)

Il canto della tenebra (tono minore)

Scirocco serale (Piazza S. Petronio)^a

L'invetriata

Sul torrente notturno. La speranza

La notte di fiera

Amo le vecchie troie^bFirenze (Uffizii)^cCanti Orfici

LA NOTTE

(i) La notte

(ii) Il viaggio e il ritorno

(iii) Fine

NOTTURNI

La Chimera

Giardino autunnale

La speranza

L'invetriata

Il canto della tenebra

La sera di fiera

La petite promenade du poète

^a 'Scirocco serale' is a variant of 'Vecchi versi' which was first published in La Riviera Ligure in March 1916; subsequently in E. Falqui, II, p.286.

^b *Italicized titles of poems indicate that they appear in only one of the two versions being compared: 'Amo le vecchie troie' is a partial variant of 'Notturmo teppista' which was first published in La Teda in 1922; subsequently in E. Falqui, II, p.290.*

^c A variant of the poem of the same title included in the section La Verna in the Canti Orfici. In E. Falqui, I, p.50.

Il Più Lungo Giorno

IL MATTINO: IL PELLEGRINAGGIO:
LE SORGENTI

La Verna (note di viaggio)

Ritorno

Alba

Giro d'Italia in bicicletta

'Ma un giorno ...'

111 : IL VIAGGIO E L'INCIDENTE

Passeggiata in tram fino in America
e ritorno

Pampa

Il canto di Genova. Preludii
mediterranei

'Poi che la nube ...'

Canti Orfici

LA VERNA

1. La Verna (diario)

11. Ritorno

Immagine del viaggio e della montagna

Viaggio a Montevideo

Fantasia su un quadro di Ardengo
Soffici

Firenze (Uffizii)

Batte botte

Firenze

Faenza

Dualismo (Lettera aperta a Manuelita
Etchegarray)

Sogno di prigione

La giornata di un nevrastenico

VARIE E FRAMMENTI

Barche amarrate

Frammento

Pampa

Il Russo

Passeggiata in tram in America
e ritorno

L'incontro di Regalo

Scirocco

Il Più Lungo Giorno

II (Attimo meridiano)

111 'In una grotta di porcellana ...'

'Tra i palazzi marini ...'

'Spiaggia spiaggia'

'Vasto dentro un odor ...'

Canti OrficiCrepuscolo mediterraneoPiazza Sarzano

Genova

They were all torn
and cover'd with
the boy's blood

THE MANUSCRIPTSIl Più Lungo GiornoCanti OrficiLa notte
Paragraph 1

La notte mistica dell'amore e del
dolore - scorci bizantine (e)^a morti
cinematografiche

La notte

"Solo il dolore è vero"

[Cinematografia sentimentale]^b

[L'Amore]

arsa sulla

arsa su la

Paragraph 2

[levai] alzai

levai

la sera

la Sera

Paragraph 3

Casupole basse finestre mute attorno
a una piazzetta deserta. A lato in un
balenio enorme la torre rossa
impenetrabile : arida.

Una piazzetta deserta, casupole
schiacciate, finestre mute: a lato in
un balenio enorme la torre,
otticuspide rossa impenetrabile arida.

^a de Robertis transcribes 'e scorci' but the conjunction is not visible in the facsimile of the manuscript.

^b Square brackets show deletions. I have shown deletions in verse compositions but have shown them in prose writings only where they appear particularly significant.

Il Più Lungo GiornoCanti OrficiParagraph 4

Una porta si spalancò.
 Dei vecchi si accalcavano
 spingendosi coi gomiti
 perforanti, obliqui e
 accaniti nella luce meridiana.
 Avanti a la

Fu scosso da una porta che si
 spalancò. Dei vecchi, delle forme
 oblique, ossute e mute, si accalcavano
 spingendosi coi gomiti perforanti,
 terribili nella gran luce. Davanti alla

lungo i muri rossastri e scalcinati
 verso la città nell'incubo de la luce
 abbagliante essi tutti simili ad ombra.

lungo i muri rossastri e scalcinati,
 tutti simili ad ombra.

Paragraph 5

Muovevano le loro ombre lungo i
 muri rossastri scalcinati

Strisciavano le loro ombre lungo i
 muri rossastri e scalcinati:

Paragraph 6

le femine
 vigilata da una giovine femina
 Matrona
 su la
 da l'occhio
 da gli
 ne l'ombra
 con la bocca

le femmine
 guardata da una giovane femmina
 matrone
 sulla
 dall'occhio
 dagli
 nell'ombra
 colla bocca

Paragraph 7

da la pelle

dalla pelle

Paragraph 8

de la Ruffiana
 de la sera
 de le nostre anime
 il problema de la

della Ruffiana
 della sera
 delle nostre anime
 il problema della

Il Più Lungo GiornoCanti OrficiParagraph 9

La notte compì la conquista de
l'ancella

i suoi ispidi neri capelli ed a tratti

di lei la matrona intangibile, suadente
regina

tra le grandi sorelle

del ricordo - di poi che

colei colei che piega e non posa

il sogno umano - come lo sbattere

delle barbare regine antiche travolte
avea udito Dante spegnersi laggiù col
grido di Francesca su le rive dei fiumi
[mettono foce mentre] che stanchi ...

mentre su le loro

La lunga notte spirituale trascorreva
nell'inganno de le varie immagini

Venne la notte e fu compita la
conquista dell'ancella

i suoi ispidi capelli a tratti

di Lei, la matrona suadente, la
regina

tra le sue grandi sorelle

del ricordo: poi che

colei che piega, che piega e non
posa,

il sogno umano, e lo sbattere

delle barbare travolte regine antiche
aveva udito Dante spegnersi nel grido
di Francesca la sulle rive dei fiumi
che stanchi ...

nel mentre sulle loro

La lunga notte piena degli inganni
delle varie immagini.

Paragraph 10

Ai cancelli d'argento de le prime
avventure si affacciavano le antiche
immagini

d'amore come a proteggermi

per proteggermi ancora di un sorriso

la luce si affonda

E ancora - ancora tutto ciò ch'era
arido e dolce sfogliate le rose de la
nostra giovinezza viveva sul panorama
scheletrico del mondo

Si affacciavano ai cancelli d'argento
delle prime avventure le antiche
immagini,

d'amore, a proteggermi

col loro sorriso

la luce affonda

e ancora tutto quello che era arido
e dolce, sfiorite le rose della
giovinezza, tornava a rivivere sul
panorama scheletrico del mondo.

Il Più Lungo GiornoCanti OrficiParagraph 11

In un odore	Nell'odore
di sera di festa ne l'aria	di fiera, nell'aria
sui ponti gettati al sobborgo	a mezzo i ponti gettati da la città
tre quarti ne la linea classica udendo	tre quarti, udendo
luci orgiastiche. Ora addolcite nell'incanto di un morto cielo - ne la sosta più dolci e rosate alleggerite di un velo - come Santa Marta	luci orgiastiche: ora addolcite: nel già morto cielo dolci e rosate, alleggerite di un velo: così come Santa Marta,
cessato sui sempre verdi paesaggi ne l'estasi il canto che	cessato già sui sempre verdi paesaggio il canto che
presso al	presso il
Ricordi di zingare ricordi di paesi lontani	Ricordi di zingare, ricordi d'amori lontani,
e ancora - tutto ciò	così quello
sfiomite le rose della nostra giovinezza	sfiomite le rose della giovinezza,
viveva	sorgeva

Paragraph 12

L'Amore ^a - Ne la sera	Ne la sera dei
ci avavano ("forse") illanguiditi ^b	ci aveva illanguiditi
negli occhi e nel viso andava ("ora") a scatti nella lunga veste perduto il barbaglio della collana dal collo ignudo inesperta stringendo il ventaglio.	negli occhi e nel viso, perduto il barbaglio della collana dal collo ignudo, camminava ora a tratti inesperta stringendo il ventaglio.
autocrati rasserenati	autocrati, si volsero rasserenati

^a not underlined but appears to be a subtitle

^b Quotation marks inside brackets indicate a word or phrase inserted into the text.

Il Più Lungo Giorno

ne la luce. Le vedute erano di un'irrealità spettrale - dei morti bizzarri guardavano il cielo in pose legnose. C'erano dei panorami scheletrici di città - un'odalisca

di quel mistero - ih! oh - E così Parigi? - Ecco Londra. La battaglia di Muckden! Noi guardavamo intorno -

La seguì dunque come si segue un sogno che più si ama quanto e vano

Così ad un tratto eravamo divenuti stranieri

dopo lo strepito della festa avanti al

Canti Orfici

nella luce. E guardammo le vedute. Tutto era di un'irrealità spettrale. C'erano dei panorami scheletrici di città. Dei morti bizzarri guardavano il cielo in pose legnose. Un'odalisca

di quel mistero. "E così Parigi? Ecco Londra. La battaglia di Mukden" Noi guardavamo intorno:

La seguì dunque un sogno che si amava:

Così eravamo divenuti a un tratto lontani e stranieri

dopo lo strepito della festa, davanti al

Paragraph 13

Ripartivo come nelle mie passeggiate notturne solitario per l'ombra dei portici stillanti nella nebbia gocce e gocce di luce sanguigna - nebbia dicembre.

La porta si era aperta ad

Davanti ("a me sedeva") una matrona de le mammelle enormi: gli occhi bruni e vivaci posava nello sfarzo di un'ottomana rossa poggiato il gomito reggendo la testa da gli occhi giovani - mentre dietro di lei sopra di lei era mossa una tenda una tenda bianca ("di trina") che sembrava agitare da le immagini, [agitare de le immagini] su lei, de le immagini candide sopra di lei pensierosa negli occhi giovani. ("Avanti a lei una fanciulla ambrata") inginocchiata e forte profilo giovine e fine ("ignudo sotto") i capelli recisi la fronte inginocchiata con grazia ingenua e giovanile le gambe lisce e forte ("ignude") da la vestaglia smagliante. Uscito dall'incubo dei portici stellati di gocce e gocce di luce sanguigna io contemplavo con amore e con nostalgia la grazia simbolica e avventurosa di quella scena.

Ero sotto l'ombra dei portici stillata di gocce e gocce di luce sanguigna nella nebbia di una notte di dicembre.

Ad un tratto una porta si era aperta in

In fondo avanti posava nello sfarzo di un'ottomana rossa il gomito reggendo la testa una matrona, gli occhi bruni vivaci, le mammelle enormi: accanto una fanciulla inginocchiata, ambrata e fine, i capelli recisi sulla fronte, con grazia giovanile, le gambe lisce e ignude dalla vestaglia smagliante: e sopra di lei, sulla matrona pensierosa negli occhi giovani una tenda bianca di trina, una tenda che sembrava agitare delle immagini, delle immagini sopra di lei, delle immagini candide sopra di lei pensierosa negli occhi giovani. Sbattuto a la luce dall'ombra dei portici stillata di gocce e gocce di luce sanguigna io fissavo astretto attonito la grazia simbolica e avventurosa di quella scena.

Il Più Lungo Giorno

Era tardi erano là pochi e allora sorse un'intimità libera e la ruffiana il gomito poggiato all'ottomana, "poggiata" la testa,

per sfondo la mobile tenda di trina - parlò- con voce un po' stanca ("e velata") ma ("a") tratti vivace e in fondo commossa parlò.
Scoprì le sue curiosità infantili.

Adorava i piccioni - seguiva i loro amori delle sue curiosità irraggiungibili. La femmina lo picchiava di baci da destra tanto ... e poi lui perché? Non si muoveva: dieci minuti - perché - Queste domande restavano senza risposta - allora la sua nostalgia la spingeva ancora a ricordare a lungo.

la conversazione si illanguidiva o tutti si erano fatti serii nessuno voleva scherzare più. Il mistero della voluttà rivestiva colei che lo aveva rievocato e la consacrava.

Io sconvolto con le lacrime agli occhi in faccia alla tenda di trina seguivo seguivo de le fantasie bianche.

Ero restato solo doveva essere tardissimo. Davanti a me la Viennese da lo splendore veneziano posava il corpo lussurioso sulle ginocchia piegate - piegate con grazia di cinedo.

Oh! ("un attimo") vivere qualche cosa di delicato di delicato di infantile di commovente di irraggiungi ("bi") le. Lei sola poteva comprendere - la tenda ("era") ancora agitata da le sue nostalgie candide. Anita dov'era? che sa l'irraggiungibile di cui la mia ha sete - lei quelle nostalgie incantevoli che sfiorano l'anima con uno sfioramento silenzioso struggente che lasciano vuoti distrutti.

Canti Orfici

Già era tardi, fummo soli e tra noi nacque una intimità libera e la matrona dagli occhi giovani poggiata per sfondo la mobile tenda di trina parlò. La sua vita era un lungo peccato: la lussuria. La lussuria ma tutta piena ancora per lei di curiosità irraggiungibili.

"La femmina lo picchiava tanto di baci da destra: da destra perche? Poi il piccione maschio restava sopra, immobile?, dieci minuti, perche?" Le domande restavano ancora senza risposta, allora lei spinta dalla nostalgia ricordava ricordava a lungo il passato.

la conversazione si era illanguidita, la voce era taciuta intorno, il mistero della voluttà aveva rivestito colei che lo rievocava.

Sconvolto, le lacrime agli occhi io in faccia alla tenda bianca di trina seguivo seguivo ancora delle fantasie bianche. La voce era taciuta intorno. La ruffiana era sparita. La voce era taciuta. Certo l'avevo sentita passare con uno sfioramento silenzioso struggente. Avanti alla tenda qualcita di trina la fanciulla posava ancora sulle ginocchia ambrate, piegate piegate con grazia di cinedo.

* * *

Corresponding passage, which forms part of the preceding paragraph in Il Più Lungo Giorno text, is omitted from the Canti Orfici.

* * *

Il Più Lungo GiornoCanti Orfici.Paragraph 14

Faust era giovine

Faust era giovane

Allora le bolognesi somigliavano

Le bolognesi somigliavano allora

gli scolari d'Alemagna

gli scolari

tra i calmi conversari l'inverno
bolognesetra i calmi conversari dell'inverno
bolognese,

Amava

Amava allora

sotto la pettinatura ("fumosa")

sotto la lunga pettinatura

In un giorno come quello dalla saletta
tappezzata tutta rossa tra i rintornelli
di un organo automatico e una
decorazione floreale udivo scorrere la
folla sotto i portici e il rumore cupo
dell'inverno. Ero giovane ...In un giorno come quello, dalla saletta
tappezzata, tra i rintornelli degli
organi automatici e una decorazione
floreale, dalla saletta udivo la folla
scorrere e i rumori cupi dell'inverno.
Oh! ricordo! : ero giovane,

quieta

quieta poggiata

per me

per la mia fede

stelle tutto un

stelle, tutta un

cattedrali bianche

bianche cattedrali

piene dell'ombra

delle grandi ombre verdi

ticchettii

ticchet^aiisalivo: su lo sfondo le Alpi un
bianco delicato mistero:salivo: salivo alle Alpi, sullo sfondo
bianco delicato mistero.

^a Henceforth, such discrepancies which arise from spelling along and attributable to printer's rather than author's changes, (E. Falqui will write "ticchiettii"), will not be listed in this study.

Il Più Lungo Giorno

(forse così tu il riso di Simonetta e di Beatrice sull'acque specchianti del lago estatico dell'oblio Leonardo fingevi?) Le Alpi sullo sfondo un bianco delicato mistero per la verginità dei miei pensieri salivo (o immagini di sogno, chiusi occhi stanchi di amare il tuo Cristo Leonardo! pallide immagini doloranti di ricordi oscuri prima che il sogno nel dolore si facesse carne!) il torrente mi raccontava oscuramente la storia.

e povero ignudo, felice di riflettere nei miei occhi il paesaggio quale un ricordo incantevole e orrido indelebile in fondo al mio cuore salivo. Il torrente raccontava oscuramente la storia. Salivo al paese de le regine bionde - finché a un punto le bianche alpi mi sbarrarono il cammino. Una fanciulla nel torrente lavava e cantava - lavava e cantava ne la neve de le bianche alpi - e si volse mi accolse mi Il sogno si era ("fatto") inaspettatamente carne. E ancora sullo sfondo ("de") le Alpi il bianco delicato mistero, ne la purita del mio ricordo s'accese la luce de la lampada stellare la luce de la sera d'amore.

Canti Orfici

Laghi, lassùtra gli scogli chiare gore vegliate dal sorriso del sogno, le chiare gore i laghi estatici dell'oblio che tu Leonardo fingevi.

* * *

No corresponding passage
in the Canti Orfici

* * *

Il torrente mi raccontava oscuramente la storia.

E povero, ignudo, felice di essere povero ignudo, di riflettere un istante il paesaggio quale un ricordo incantevole ed orrido in fondo al mio cuore salivo: e giunsi là fino dove le nevi delle Alpi mi sbarravano il cammino.

Una fanciulla nel torrente lavava, lavava e cantava nelle nevi delle bianche Alpi. Si volse, mi accolse, nella notte mi amò.

E ancora sullo sfondo le Alpi il bianco delicato mistero, nel mio ricordo s'accese la purità della lampada stellare, brillò la luce della sera d'amore.

Paragraph 15

gravava tuttavia

gravava ancora

sulla mia

su tutta la mia

i baci vani

i baci i baci vani

bianche Alpi

("Riudivo"): Crosciava il torrente ancora lontano - ("bagnava") antiche città desolate mura rose lunghe vie silenziose dopo il saccheggio - presente

Riudivo il torrente ancora lontano: crosciava bagnando antiche città desolate, lunghe vie silenziose, deserte come dopo un saccheggio.

Il Più Lungo Giorno

un calore dorato una chioma profusa
 ne l'ombra de la stanza ("piena di sogni
 oscuri, procubo") un corpo
 ("rantolante") ne la notte mistica de
 l'antico animale umano: ("dormiva")
 l'ancella dimentica in sogni oscuri -
 come l'icona bizantina come un mito
 arabesco ("imbiancava") in fondo il
 pallore incerto della tenda.

Canti Orfici

Un calore dorato nell'ombra della
 stanza presente, una chioma profusa,
 un corpo rantolante procubo nella notte
 mistica dell'antico animale umano.
 Dormiva l'ancella dimentica nei suoi
 sogni oscuri: come un'icona bizantina,
 come un mito arabesco imbiancava in
 fondo il pallore incerto della tenda.

Paragraph 16

E allora più lontano ancora figurazioni

davanti al

immagine una sopravvissuta vivente la
 forza misteriosa di un mito barbaro negli
 occhi liquidi - gorgi di luce vivide di
 linfe oscure. Ne la tortura del mio
 sogno scoprire il corpo ("vulcanizzato")
 due chizze due fori di palle di moschetto
 sulle sue mammelle estinte. Laggiù
 negli antri dell'America riudivo fremere
 le chitarre - sui terreni vaghi della città
 nella capanna di assi e di zingo una
 candela schiariva il terreno nudo - della
 forme attorno - una danza indiana. Ne
 le sue malefiche volute il sogno mi
 avvolgeva. Sul tesoro fiorento di una
 fanciulla in sogno - la Vieja la
 sopravvissuta si aggrappava come un
 ragno. Una matrona selvaggia in faccia
 mi fissava con uno sguardo muto - la
 luce era scarsa sul terreno nudo nell'
 alito metalizzato delle chitarre - forse
 la Vieja pronunciava a l'orecchio de la
 fanciulla selvaggia parole che non udivo
 come il vento senza parole della pampa
 che sommerge. A un tratto la fanciulla
 liberata esalò la sua giovinezza
 confusamente languida ne la sua grazia
 selvaggia - i suoi occhi dolci e acuti
 come un gorgo. Sulle spalle della bella
 selvaggia si illanguidì la grazia e l'ombra
 dei capelli fluidi e l'ombra angusta
 dell'albero della vita si tramò nella sosta
 sul terreno nudo invitando le chitarre il
 lontano sonno.

E allora figurazioni

avanti al

immagine, una forma scheletrica
 vivente per la forza misteriosa di un
 mito barbaro, gli occhi gorgi cangianti
 vivide di linfe oscure, nella tortura del
 sogno scoprire il corpo vulcanizzato,
 due chiazze due fori di palle di
 moschetto sulle sue mammelle estinte.
 Credetti di udire fremere le chitarre la
 nella capanna d'assi e di zingo sui
 terrenovaghi della città, mentre una
 candela schiariva il tereno nudo.

* * *
 No corresponding passage
 in the Canti Orfici
 * * *

In faccia a me una matrona selvaggia
 mi fissava senza batter ciglio. La
 luce era scarsa sul terreno nudo nel
 fremere delle chitarre. A lato sul
 tesoro fiorento di una fanciulla in sogno
 la vecchia stava ora aggrappata come
 un ragno mentre pareva sussurrare
 all'orecchio parole che non udivo, dolci
 come il vento della pampa che somm-
 erge. La matrona selvaggia mi aveva
 preso: il mio sangue tiepido era certo
 bevuto dalla terra: ora la luce era più
 scarsa sul terreno nudo nell'alito
 metalizzato delle chitarre. A un tratto
 la fanciulla liberata esalò la sua
 giovinezza, languida nella sua grazia
 selvaggia, gli occhi dolci e acuti come
 un gorgo. Sulle spalle della bella

Il Più Lungo Giorno

Sulla pampa si udì chiaramente
 levarsi lo scalpitare parve perdersi
 sordo nell'infinito. Nel quadro de
 la porta aperta le stelle brillarono
 rosse e calde ne la lontananza -
 l'ombra de le selvagge ne l'ombra.

II - IL VIAGGIO

Sotto i lampioni
 enormi forme bianche de le

delle fiamme

portenti neri mentre

Solitaria troneggiava la notte ora
 accesa
 Rossa come una

delle porte sedevano notturne chimere -
 bianche cariatidi di un cielo artificiale
 sognavano il viso poggiato alla palma.

La pura linea imperiale

era vestita

sulle spalle

La sua finestra scintillava sempre in

affamato di sogno -
 del più dolce del più antico del più
 maligno sogno - per lei

tra gli innumerevoli segni di luci
 fallaci -

chimera

Canti Orfici

selvaggia si illanguidi la grazia
 all'ombra dei capelli fluidi e la chioma
 augusta dell'albero della vita si tramo
 nella sosta sul terreno nudo invitando
 le chitarre il lontano sonno.

Dalla Pampa si udì chiaramente un
 balzare uno scalpitare di cavalli
 selvaggi, il vento si udì chiaramente
 levarsi, lo scalpitare parve perdersi
 sordo nell'infinito. Nel quadro della
 porta aperta le stelle brillarono rosse
 e calde nella lontananza; l'ombra delle
 selvagge nell'ombra.

II IL VIAGGIO E IL RITORNO

All'ombra dei lampioni
 enormi forme delle

della fiamma

portenti neri nel mentre

troneggiava ora la notte accesa

Avanti come una

delle porte, bianche cariatidi di un
 cielo artificiale sognavano il viso
 poggiato alla palma.

Ella aveva la pura linea imperiale

vestita

sulle sue spalle

La sua finestra scintillava in

affamato di sogno, per lei,

tra le innumerevoli luci fallaci,

Chimera

Il Più Lungo GiornoIII - IL RITORNO

Ritorno: Ne la stanza ove le schiuse
sue forme ("bronzine") dai velari de la
luce io cinsi e ancora un alito tardato.
Nel crepuscolo la mia prisina lampada
instella

e ancora ogni volto cui risero gli occhi

sogno - ogni volto tra fragili rime
sparito ghirlande d'amori notturni ("ap")
pare ("una") maschera che fatua brilla
e fluttua e ("già") si cela al mio
sgomento. E ancora tutto ciò che è
arido e dolce sfiorite le rose de la
nostra giovinezza appare sul panorama
scheletrico del mondo.

E si raccoglie la mia anima - e volta
al più lungo giorno^a de l'amore antico
ancora leva ("chiaro") un canto a
l'amore notturno.

Canti Orfici

Ritorno.

Nella stanza ove la schiuse sue forme
dai velari della luce io cinsi, un alito
tardato: e nel crepuscolo la mia
pristina lampada instella

Volti, volti cui risero gli occhi

sogno, voi giovani aurighe per le vie
leggere del sogno che inghirlandai di
fervore: o fragili rime, o ghirlande
d'amori notturni ... Dal giardino una
canzone si rompe in catena fievole di
singhiozzi: la vena è aperta: arido
rosso e dolce è il panorama scheletrico
del mondo.

* * *

No corresponding passage
in the Canti Orfici.

* * *

Paragraph 19

Nel grande specchio ignudo ("io non
vedevo il bello e dolce dono di un
Dio velato dei fumi di viola - velato
dei fumi di viola - baciato in alto di
una sola stella di luce ("Nel cielo
ignudo dello specchio") - tu s'è
leggera ("tu aereo dono") su le mie
ginocchia sedevi ("graziosa")
cariatide notturna di un incantevole
cielo. ("E") le timide mammelle
("furono") gonfie di luce ("e") le
stelle ("furono") assenti - ("e") non
un dio fu ne la sera d'amore di viola.
E tu ("chinavi") gli occhi - tu ("e tu
nella sera d'amore chinavi gli occhi
di viola e tu") ad un ignoto cielo
notturno tu avevi rapito una melodia
di carezze. ("O ricordo: o cara!")
Lievi come le ali di una colomba le
tue membra posasti sulle mie nobili

là nel grande specchio ignudo, nel
grande specchio ignudo velato dai fumi
di viola, in alto baciato di una stella
di luce era il bello e dolce dono di un
dio: e le timide mammelle erano gonfie
di luce, e le stelle erano assenti, e
non un Dio era nella sera d'amore di
viola: ma tu leggera tu sulle mie
ginocchia sedevi, cariatide notturna
di un incantevole cielo. Il tuo corpo
un aereo dono sulle mie ginocchia, e
le stelle assenti, e non un Dio nella
sera d'amore di viola, tu ad un ignoto
cielo notturno che avevi rapito una
melodia di carezze. Ricordo cara:
lievi come l'ali di una colomba tu le
tue membra posasti sulle mie nobili
membra. Alitarono felici, respirarono
la loro bellezza, alitarono a una più
chiara luce le mie membra nella tua

^a my italics.

Il Più Lungo Giorno

membra. Respirarono la loro bellezza - alitarono felici - alitarono ad una più chiara luce le mie membra nella tua docile nuvola dai divini riflessi. ("Bevevano le mie membra le chiara luce de la lampada stellare") O non accenderle non accenderle. Tutto è vano - vano è il sogno. Amore primavera del Sogno sei sola sei sola che appari nel velo dei profumi di viola. Come una nuvola bianca come una nuvola bianca presso al mio cuore o resta o resta ancora. Non rattristarti o sole.

vaganti e la città si componeva in quel sogno cadenzato - le torri le chiese le piazze - come in una melodia invisibile scaturita da quel vagare. Non era dunque il mondo abitato da dolci spettri e nella notte non era il sogno ridesto ne le potenze tutte trionfale?

A quale sogno levammo noi la nostalgia de la nostra bellezza? E la luna sorgeva

(FINALE) IV LA SOSTA
la luce si affonda

passano teste di sfinge il corpo vestito di trine

La portiera veglia ne lo sfarzo smesso di un antico giustacuore verde le rughe del volto

Il nero ("veglia alla porta d'argento")

Tutto ha dell'amore il fascino indefinito.

La vedetta veglia a la porta d'argento

Canti Orfici

docile nuvola dai divini riflessi. O non accenderle! non accenderle! Non accenderle! tutto è vano tutto è sogno: Amore, primavera del sogno sei sola sei sola che appari nel velo dei fumi di viola. Come una nuvola bianca, come una nuvola bianca presso al mio cuore, o resta o resta o resta! Non rattristarti o Sole!

vaganti: vagavano come gli spettri: e la città (le vie le chiese le piazze) si componeva in un sogno cadenzato, come una melodia invisibile scaturita da quel vagare. Non era dunque il mondo abitato da dolci spettri e nella notte non era il sogno ridesto nelle potenze sue tutte trionfale?

A quale sogno levammo la nostalgia della nostra bellezza? La luna sorgeva

III FINE
la luce affonda

sfioriscono bianchezze di trine

La portiera nello sfarzo smesso di un giustacuore verde, le rughe del volto

il nero guarda la porta d'argento.

Dell'amore si sente il fascino indefinito.

Governa una donna matura addolcita da una vita d'amore con un sorriso con un vago bagliore che è negli occhi il ricordo delle lacrime della voluttà.

Il Più Lungo Giorno

Passano ne la veglia ("neltepore de la luce rossa") opime di messi d'amore leggere spole tessenti fantasie multicolori (anime erranti per tutti i cammini posano) ("vanno") polvere luminosa che posa ne l'enigma degli specchi. La vedetta veglia a la porta d'argento. Fuori è la notte chiomata di muti canti pallido amor degli erranti.

Canti Orfici

Passano nella veglia opime di messi d'amore, leggere spole tessenti fantasie multicolori, errano, polvere luminosa che posa nell'enigma degli specchi. La portiera guarda la porta d'argento. Fuori è la notte chiomata di muti canti, pallido amor degli erranti.

Giardino Autunnale^a

<u>Il Più Lungo Giorno</u>	<u>Bandini Manuscript</u>	<u>Canti Orfici</u>
<u>Giardino autunnale</u>	<u>Giardino autunnale (Firenze)</u>	
L.5 All'aride pendici	A l'aride pendici	A l'aride pendici
L.7 Rauchi gai grida la lontana vita:	Rauchi grida la lontana vita:	
L.9 Che insanguina le airole:	Che insanguina le airole.	
L.11 Straziante salire: il fiume spare	Che straziante sale: il fiume sale	
L.12 ("Su") le arene dorate ("nel") silenzio	Ne le arene dorate: nel silenzio	

^a For a comparison of different versions of 'La chimera', see pp. 135 - 144, present thesis.

	<u>Il Più Lungo Giorno</u>	<u>Bandini Manuscript</u>	<u>Canti Orfici</u>
L.13	("Stanno") le bianche sfingi in capo ai ponti	Stanno le bianche statue a capo i ponti	
L.14	Volte: e le cose ("già") non sono più:	Volte: e le cose già non sono più.	
L.17	Sorge ed anela amaro al mio balcone	Sorge ed anela amaro al mio balcone:	
L.19	E in aroma d'alloro acre languente	E in aroma d'alloro acre languente	E in aroma d'alloro acre languente,
L.21	Ella m'appar presente	Ella m'appar, presente.	

Sul torrente notturno. La speranza

	<u>Sul torrente notturno.</u> <u>La speranza</u>	<u>La speranza (sul</u> <u>torrente notturno)</u>	<u>La speranza</u>
L.2	O principessa dei sogni segreti	Principessa dei sogni segreti	
L.3	Nell'ali dei vivi pensieri ancora ripeti: ripeti	Nell'ali dei vivi pensieri ripeti ripeti	
L.4	Principessa i tuoi canti.	Principessa i tuoi canti!	Principessa i tuoi canti:
L.13	China la pallida sorte:	China la pallida Sorte.	China la pallida Sorte
L.14	Per l'amor dei poeti		
L.15	Principessa dei sogni segreti	Per l'amor dei poeti, porte [Principessa dei sogni segreti	
L.16	Dalle taciturne aperte porte Della [morte] ("notte") sull' infinito [Appari col sogno rapito] ("Ritorna: tu quale un sogno rapito")	Per l'amor dei poeti O tu da le taciturne aperte porte De la Morte sull'infinito Fa che sia solo un sogno rapito Ai gorghi della Sorte]	

Sul torrente notturno.
La speranza

("Fa che sia solo un
sogno rapito")

Ai gorghi della sorte

La Speranza (sul
torrente notturno)

Aperte de la morte
Su l'infinito!
Per l'amor dei poeti
Principessa il mio sogno
vanito
Nei gorghi de la Sorte!

La speranza

L'invetriata

Il Più Lungo Giorno

L.3 E mi lascia nel cuore un
suggello ardente

L.4 Sopra un terrazzo sul fiume
sta la
Madonnina del ponte
La [lampada] ("lampana")
è accesa: e ["nella
stanza"] c'è

L.7 Nella stanza un odor di
putredine [ed è] ["e c'è"]
(" , c'è") (: c'è)

[Una] ("Nella stanza una")
piaga rossa languente.

Le stella sono bottoni di
madreperla
La sera si veste di velluto

Bandi Manuscript

E mi lascia nel cuore un
suggello ardente.

[Lassù sul] Là sopra il
terrazzo [alla] ("di la")
[sul] del [sul] fiume [sta]
ha accesa la lampana:
c'è
Nella stanza un odor di
putredine: c'è

Nella stanza una piaga
rossa languente

velluto.

Canti Orfici

Ma chi ha (sul
terrazzo sul
fiume si accende
una lampana) chi
ha

A la Madonnina
del Ponte chi è
chi è che ha
acceso la
lampada? - c'è

	<u>Il Più Lungo Giorno</u>	<u>Bandini Manuscript</u>	<u>Canti Orfici</u>
L.9	E tremola la madreperla è fatua la sera e tremola ma c'è	E tremola la [madreperla] ("sera fatua") [e fatua] ("e fatua") la sera ["e fatua"]) e tremola ma c'è, Nel cuore della Sera c'è, Sempre una piaga rossa languente.	E tremola la sera fatua e fatua la sera e tremola ma c'è

Il canto della tenebra

	<u>Il canto della tenebra</u>	<u>Il canto della tenebra</u> (tono minore)	
L.1	La luce del crepuscolo si attenua	La luce del crepuscolo si attenua:	
L.3	Al cuore che non ama più.	Al cuore che non ama piu'.	
L.4	("Sorgenti") sorgenti a cantare	Sorgenti sorgenti che abbiam da ascoltare?	da ascoltare,
L.5	Sorgenti sorgenti che abbiam da ascoltare? Sorgenti ("sorgenti che state") a cantare? Più Più Più Più! ...	Sorgenti [sorgenti] ("che sanno") [che abbiám da ascoltare?] Sorgenti [sorgenti che state a cantare?] ("che sanno che spiriti stanno") [Più Più Più Più] ("Che spiriti stanno a ascoltare ...")	Sorgenti, sorgenti che sanno Sorgenti che sanno che spiriti stanno a ascoltare ...
L.8	("Ascolta: la luce del crepuscolo attenua Ed agli inquieti spiriti spiriti e dolce la tenebra:")	
	[Ci dicon] ("Ascolta") ti ha vinto la sorte: ...	Ascolta: ti ha vinto la Sorte:	
	Ma per i cuori leggieri ...	Ma per i cuori leggeri ...	
L.13	Più più più	Più Più Più	
	Intendi chi ancora ti culla	Intendi chi ancora ti culla:	

- | | <u>Il canto della tenebra</u> | <u>Il canto della tenebra</u>
(tono minore) | |
|------|--|--|-------------------------------|
| L.16 | Che dice all'orecchio:
più più | Che dice all'orecchio
Più Più | |
| | Ed ecco si leva e scompare
Il vento [o ritorna dal mare] | Ed ecco si leva e scompare
Il vento: ecco torna dal mare | |
| | Il cuore che ci amò di più | Il cuore che ci amò di più | Il cuore che ci
amò di più |
| L.23 | Il fiume va via taciturno-

[E ancora un coglione è
lassù]
("Pum! mamma quell'omo
lassu") | Il fiume va via taciturno...

Pum! mamma quell'omo
lassu! | |

La sera di fiera

- | | <u>La notte di fiera</u> | <u>La sera di fiera</u> | <u>La sera di fiera</u> |
|-----|---|--|---|
| L.1 | Il cuore stasera mi disse:
non sai | Il cuore stasera mi disse:
non sai? | |
| L.3 | Dorata da una chioma
bionda:
Colei che di grazia
imperiale

Incantava la rosea
freschezza de i
mattini | Dorata da una chioma
bionda: colei

Colei degli occhi lucenti
e bruni

Colei che di grazia
imperiale
Incantava la rosea
Freschezza dei mattini: | Dorata da una
chioma bionda:

E dagli occhi
lucenti e bruni
colei che di
grazia imperiale |
| | [Si]che ("E") tu seguivi
nell'aria | | |
| L.8 | La fresca incarnazione di
un mattutino sogno | La fresca incarnazione di
un mattutino sogno. | La fresca
incarnazione di
un mattutino
sogno: |

	<u>La notte di fiera</u>	<u>La sera di fiera</u>	<u>La sera di fiera</u>	
L.11	(E tu amavi guardar dietro i cancelli Le stelle le pallide notturne)	E tu amavi guardar dietro i cancelli Le stelle le pallide notturne):	Che tu amavi guardar dietro i cancelli Le stelle le pallide notturne):	
L.16	Saliva in fumi grotteschi la notte ("di fiera") della perfida Babele verso il cielo affastellato un paradiso di fiamma, in lubrici fischi grotteschi ("tra") il tintinnare d'angeliche campanelle e i turbinosi allori e voci e gridi di prostitute e pantomime d'Ofelia stillate dall'umile pianto de lampade elettriche	Era la notte Di fiera della perfida Babele Salente in fasci verso un cielo affastellato un paradiso di fiamma In lubrici fischi grotteschi E tintinnare d'angeliche campanelle E gridi e voci di prostitute E pantomime d'Ofelia Stillate dall'umile pianto de le lampade elettriche Una canzonetta volgaruccia era morta E mi aveva lasciato il cuore nel dolore E me ne andavo errando senz'amore Lasciando il cuore mio di porta in porta. Con lei che non è nata eppure è morta E mi ha lasciato il cuore senz' amore Eppure il cuore porta nel dolore: Lasciando il cuore mio di porta in porta.		porta: E mi ha lasciato il cuore senz' amore:

Il Più Lungo GiornoBandini ManuscriptCanti OrficiLa petite promenade du poète

- | | | | |
|------|--|---|-------------------------------|
| L.2 | Strette oscure e misteriose | Strette oscure e misteriose. | Strette oscure e misteriose: |
| L.4 | Affacciarsi Gemme e Rose | Affacciarsi Gemme e Rose. | |
| L.6 | C'è chi scende
brancolando | C'è chi scende
brancolando: | |
| L.8 | Stan le ciane
commentando | Stan le ciane
commentando. | Stan le ciane
commentando: |
| L.9 | La stradina è solitaria | La stradina è solitaria: | |
| L.11 | Nella notte sopra i tetti | Nella notte sopra i tetti: | |
| L.14 | Ne la notte fantasiosa | Nella notte fantasiosa, | |
| L.16 | La saliva disgustosa:
Via dal tanfo
Ripugnante per le strade
E cammina e via cammina
Già le case son più rade: | La saliva disgustosa. Via
dal tanfo
Via dal tanfo e per le strade
E cammina e via cammina, | |
| L.21 | Vedo l'erba: mi ci stendo | Trovo l'erba: mi ci stendo | |
| L.24 | Canta amore alle persiane | Canta amore alle persiane. | |

Il Più Lungo Giorno

IL MATTINO: ("IL")
PELLEGRINAGGIO: LE SORGENTI

Canti Orfici

LA VERNA

La Verna (note di viaggio)

14 Settembre (Per la strada di
Campigno)

Due ragazze

che scendono:

la via:

si voltola in terra:

le risa:

montanine:

La Verna (diario)

15 Settembre

Tre ragazze

che scendono.

la via.

si voltola in terra.

le risa.

montanine.

Paragraph 2

- (Le Scalelle) -

Una rupe s'avanza a chiudere la valle.
Sembra la testa crinita di un cavallo
titanico che s'impenna: crinita di
roccie, ("pare") piegarsi in un confuso
frusciare di giovani selve sul torrente
una testa leggendaria. Quà s'impennò
il cavallo del conte Lando sotto la
rovina struggente la selva delle sue
aste: Ma la montagna fu pia al dolore
della madre: che lasciò una croce di
brillanti, testimonia delle sue lacrime
di Regina nella chiesa in faccia a la
riva. Il cuore della Regina, le lacrime
brillanti nella croce, il conte ferito, le
roccie oscure che vivifica il vento sono
ora le voci sempre verdi della leggenda.
Giungo dove la montagna piomba: sul
gorgo del cielo e ancora in alto latteo
azzurrine.

Passage Omitted

Paragraph 3

Castagno - 16 7bre

Castagno, 17 Settembre

Il Più Lungo Giorno

Paesaggio celato. La Falterona avvolta di nebbie. Vedo solo i canali rocciosi che le venano i fianchi e si perdono nel cielo di nebbie che le onde alterne del sole non riescono a diradare. La pioggia ha reso cupo il grigio delle montagne. Davanti alla fonte hanno stazionato a lungo attendendo il sole aduggiati da

una notte di pioggia nelle loro stamberghe allagate. Sento una ragazza a dire rimessamente: un giorno la piena ci porterà tutti: il terrente gonfio nel suo rumore cupo commenta tutta questa miseria.

Nel presbiterio una lapide ad Andrea del Castagno: forse.

nel seno roccioso

taciute nella notte.

tutte le finestre erano accese. Ero solo.

scorgo altri portici: bel principio della Toscana. Sulla costa

con una luce

del camposanto:

Entry 4

Campigna (non Campigno) 18 7bre (foresta della Falterona)

guardavo

scorsi

Canti Orfici

La Falterona è ancora avvolta di nebbie. Vedo sole canali rocciosi che le venano i finchi e si perdono nel cielo di nebbie che le onde alterne del sole non riescono a diradare. La pioggia à reso cupo il grigio delle montagne. Davanti alla fonte hanno stazionato a lungo i Castagnini attendendo il sole, aduggiati da

una notte di pioggia nelle lore stamberghe allagate. Una ragazza in ciabatte passa che dice rimessamente: un giorno la piena ci porterà tutti.

Nel presbiterio trovo una lapide ad Andrea del Castagno. Mi colpisce il tipo della ragazza: viso legnoso, occhi cupi incavati, toni bruni su toni giallognoli: contrasta con una cost semplice antica grazia del profilo e del collo che riesce a renderle piacevoli! forse.

nel seno pietroso

taciute nella notte!^a

tutte le finestre nella valle erano accese. Ero solo.

altri portici. Su una costa

con una fiamma

del camposanto.

Entry 3

Campigna, foresta della Falterona

io guardavo

io scorsi

^a Difference is only one of punctuation but I have included it here since it provides a further example of Campana's deliberate accentuation of a mood or atmosphere here accentuating the spiritual ecstasy experienced.

Il Più Lungo Giorno

andavo ancora

o dolce amica luna

Entry 5

Stia - 19 7mbre

Nella sala d'albergo

una signora dai capelli bianchi dal
viso di bambina

addolcita in toni cupi

quadri antichi: e mi son messo per la

al fine Stia bianca e elegante tra il
verde melodioso di castelli sereni,
vegliata dal castello antico: dopo le
solitudini primo saluto de la vita
felice del paese nuovo: poesia
toscana

nella piazza armoniosa di voci
vegliata dal castello antico: signore
ai balconi

mollemente

70 7bre (Presso la Verna)

nel crepuscolo rinchiuse tutt'intorno

ne la foresta cupa.

Era incantevolmente cristiana

Aggiunsero ("In un ora") arriverete
alla Verna in un'ora se Dio vole

Una ragazzina mi guardava cogli occhi
neri un po' tristi e attonita sotto l'ampio
cappello di paglia: in tutti era un
raccoglimento inconscio ...

Per molto tempo ricorderò la
ragazzina ...

che le coprì

Canti Orfici

andavo intanto

dolce amica luna

Entry 4

Stia, 20 Settembre

Nell'albergo

e dal viso di bambina

addolcita di toni cupi

quadri antichi. Ho sostato

al fine Stia, bianca elegante tra il
verde, melodiosa di castelli sereni:
il primo saluto della vita felice del
paese nuovo: la poesia toscana

nella piazza sonanze di voci tranquille,
vegliata dal castello antico: le
signore ai balconi

languidamente

21 7bre (presso la Verna)

nel crepuscolo, tutt'intorno rinchiuso

dalla foresta cupa.

Incantevolmente cristiana fu

In un'ora arriverete alla Verna, se
Dio vole

Una ragazzina mi guardava cogli occhi
neri un po' tristi, attonita sotto
l'ampio cappello di paglia. In tutti un
raccoglimento inconscio ...

Ricorderò per molto tempo ancora la
ragazzina ...

che le aveva coperte

Il Più Lungo Giorno

la meta pacificatrice degli urti
dell'ideale che avevano fatto strazio,
che chiudeva ancora pure supreme
commozioni della mia vita.

21 7bre (La Verna)

Francesca ... S. Francesco pregate
per me peccatrice 15 luglio 190...

forse mai non lo aveva

ed ora al termine

ed il destino era consumato

nel vivo sasso: e tu apparso nello
scorcio giusto in cui appare il sogno,
angelo, ne

la chiesa purità dolce che il giglio
divide e la Vergine eletta e il cirro
[che] imbianca nel cielo e un'anfora
classica rinchiuse la terra ed i gigli

di sole -

finchè io giunsi

dove

sfumato digradante all'infinito: e
tutto pieno delle

le barbare regine

sbattute nel canto di Dante

alitato del

Canti Orfici

la meta pacificatrice degli urti
dell'ideale che avevano fatto strazio,
a cui erano sacre pure supreme
commozioni della mia vita.

22 Settembre (La Verna)

Francesca B. O divino santo
Francesco pregate per me peccatrice
20 Agosto 189...

forse mai non aveva

ed ora la ritrovavo al termine

così il destino era consumato!

nel vivo sasso: e nella chiesa
l'angiolo, purità dolce che il giglio

divide e la Vergine eletta, e un cirro
azzurreggia nel cielo e un' anfora
classica rinchiude la terra e i gigli:
che appare nello scorcio giusto in cui
appare il sogno, e nella nuvola bianca
della sua bellezza che posa un istante
il ginocchio a terra, lassù così presso
al cielo:

.....

di sole

finchè io la giunsi

indove

sfumato e digradante all'infinito: e
pieno delle

le barbare regine antiche

sbattute nel turbine del

alitato dal

Il Più Lungo Giorno

E come l'ombra di Cristo

più rassegnato

dalla solitudine intona ("il") canto alla natura con fede. Un caro santo italiano: Frate Sole, suor Acqua, frate Lupo. Hanno rivestito la sua cappella scavata nella roccia viva. C'è in fronte una grande terracotta Robbiana: corre sulla roccia della parete un tavolato di noce, intarsio figure di santi monaci

per la vetriata

sul breve paesaggio

Dalla terrazza si guardano lentamente sommergersi le vedette mistiche

guizza ancora sotto le strette della penombra: il Casentino scompare: rivedo le signore gentili dalle bianche braccia che ("laggiù") ai balconi perpetuano un sogno cavalleresco ...

Il piazzale della chiesa è deserto.

Figure di frati vagano: facelle vagano e scompaiono

Un alito leggero e continuo

il suo scorrere

La campana

Ritorno

Salgo.

Mi rivolgo a la tellurica melodia della Falterona

Canti Orfici

Il santo appare come l'ombra di Cristo

rassegnata

dalla sua solitudine intona il canto alla natura con fede: Frate Sole, Suor Acqua, Frate Lupo. Un caro santo italiano. Ora hanno rivestito la sua cappella scavata nella viva roccia. Corre tutt'intorno un tavolato di noce,

intarsiò mezze figure di santi monaci.

dall'invetriata

dal breve paesaggio

Lontano si vedono lentamente sommergersi

guizza sotto le strette della penombra. E corre la memoria ancora alle signore gentili dalle bianche braccia al balconi laggiù: come in un sogno: come in un sogno cavalleresco!

Ecco: il piazzale è deserto.

Figure vagano, facelle vagano e si spengono

Un alito continuo e leggero

il suo fluire

Una campana

II RITORNO

SALGO (nello spazio, fuori del tempo)

(verse-passage, differing only in layout of lines)

La tellurica melodia della Falterona

Il Più Lungo Giorno

Campigno ("a Nord") paese barbarico
notturno paese fuggente mistico incubo
del caos.

Riascolto Dante: o pellegrini che
pensosi andate: il quinto canto.
Tutta la sua poesia è poesia di
movimento. Catrina, bizzarra
creatura della montagna barbarica
della conca rocciosa dei venti come è
dolce il tuo pianto. Era la scena di
dolore della madre a cui era morto
l'ultimo figlio

Una delle pie donne inginocchiata la
consolava: ma lei gettata a terra
voleva piangere tutto il suo pianto.
Figura del Ghirlandaio, ultima figlia
della poesia toscana che fu tu guardavi
allora scesa dal tuo cavallo, tu che
stretta nel tuo giustacuore tra la
profluvie ondosa dei tuoi capelli salivi,
colla tua compagnia, come nelle favole
d'antica poesia: (tu già dimentica
dell'amor del poeta?)

Pomeriggio. Monte Filetto (27 7bre)

batteva ora come

della mia camera

("La") notte sembrava

come una messe di canti sul tronco
lattiginoso rotondo

l'acacia sapeva

Dai balconi mi dimentico a guardare

Oggi il cielo

il pallido ovale in attesa

e sui magazines d'altri tempi

Canti Orfici

Campigno: paese barbarico fuggente,
paese notturno, mistico incubo del
caos

Riposo ora per l'ultima volta nella
solitudine della foresta. Dante la sua
poesia di movimento, mi torna tutta in
memoria. O pellegrino, o pellegrini
che pensosi andate! Catrina, bizzarra
figlia della montagna barbarica della
conca rocciosa dei venti, come è dolce
il tuo pianto: come è dolce quando tu
assistevi alla scena di dolore della
madre, della madre che aveva morto
l'ultimo figlio.

Una delle pie donne a lei dintorno,
inginocchiata cercava di consolarla:
ma lei non voleva essere consolata,
ma lei gettata a terra voleva piangere
tutto il suo pianto. Figura del
Ghirlandaio, ultima figlia della poesia
toscana che fu, tu scesa allora dal tuo
cavallo tu allora guardavi: tu che nella
profluvie ondosa dei tuoi capelli salivi,
salivi con la tua compagnia, come
nelle favole d'antica poesia: e già
dimentica dell'amor del poeta.

Monte Filetto, 25 Settembre

batteva come

della mia stanza

Di notte sembra

come una messe di canti sul tronco
rotondo lattiginoso

l'acacia sa

Mi piace dai balconi guardare

Oggi che il cielo

l'ovale pallido in attesa

e sulle stampe

Il Più Lungo Giorno

Vado via e guardo

Campigno 28 7bre

essa è qui la

Valdervè è una costa alpina

che scende al fiume e getta

Ecco le roccie le costruzioni
colossali, strati uomini:

mi sembra

al piede delle roccie favolose

nostalgia: il figliol

il canto docile dell'acqua

sotto le roccie. Come è dolce
l'elemento

e in faccia il cavaliere della morte,

meriggio torrido, o fantasmi della
pietra. Ascolto

Son volto:

Sono avanti alla roccia del conto
Lando. ("E il crepuscolo. Laggiù")
la pianura di Romagna.

il profilo nobilitato da

le linee dolci e potenti, dorata
dell'enigma delle sfingi: testa nobile
e mitica ("occhi crepuscolari") ("in
un") paesaggio di torri là ("segnati")
sulla guerreggiata pianura,

Canti Orfici

Vado via. Guardo

Presso Campigno (26 Settembre)

essa è qui veramente la

Valdervè è una costa interamente
alpina

che scende a tratti a dirupi e getta

Ecco le rocce, strati su strati,
uomini.

mi è sembrato

sotto le nude roccie,

nostalgia: e il figliol

il canto dell'acqua

sotto le rocce: così come

E in contro l'altra tua faccia, il
cavaliere della morte,

meriggio torrido fantasmi della pietra...

..
Ascolto.

Ecco son volto

.....
Laggiù nel crepuscolo la pianura di
Romagna.

il profilo nobilitato di

in linee dolci e potenti testa nobile e
mitica dorata dell'enigma delle sfingi:
occhi crepuscolari in paesaggio di
torri là sognati sulle rive della
guerreggiata pianura,

Il Più Lungo Giorno

terra avida ("là") dove

una voce grave di preghiera

("non") tu da

Rivedo ancora un fanciullo lo stesso
fanciullo steso sull'erba ("laggiù")

Quanto tempo è trascorso: ricordo una
sera che

volta dell'infinità delle morti: il tempo
si è addensato è scorso come l'acqua
scorre per quel fanciullo lasciando
dietro a sé il silenzio,

* * *

No Corresponding Passage

* * *

("8bre") E la fine del pellegrinaggio
Sono capitato
buona gente

il figlio povero uccellino

La serva

e l'aiuta la

Marradi:

Canti Orfici

terra avida dove

voce liturgica risuonava in preghiera

e tu da

Rivedo un fanciullo, lo stesso
fanciullo, laggiù steso sull'erba.

quanto tempo e trascorso da quando

volta dell'infinità delle morti! ...
il tempo è scorso, si è addensato, è
scorso: così come l'acqua scorre,
immobile per quel fanciullo: lasciando
dietro a sé il silenzio

Marradi (Antica volta. Specchio velato)

Il mattino arride sulle cime dei monti.;
In alto sulle cuspidi di un triangolo
desolato si illumina il castello, piu
alto e piu lontano. Venere passa in
baroccio accoccolata per la strada
conventuale. Il fiume si snoda per la
valle: rotto e muggente a tratti canta
e riposa in larghi specchi d'azzurro:
e piu veloce trascorre le mura nere
(una cupola rossa ride lontana con il
suo leone) e i campanili si affollano e
nel nereggiare inquieto dei tetti al sole
una lunga veranda che ha messo un
commento variopinto di archi!

Presso Marradi (ottobre)
Son capitato
buona gente

e il figlio, povero uccellino

La padrona

aiutata dalla

Fine del pellegrinaggio.

Il Più Lungo GiornoAlba

Ombre d'eroi veleggiavamo: eran
 colonne d'azzurro
 I puri pensieri dell'alba, o cuore
 ricorda: ricorda, e ("rico") piangendo
 Giurammo ancor fede all'azzurro

2nd verse

L'aria ride: la tromba a valle i monti
 Squilla e la massa degli scorridori
 Si scioglie in vivi lanci: e i nostri cuori
 Balzano: e grida ed oltrevarca i ponti
 E dalle altezze agli infiniti albori
 Vigili, calan trepidi pei monti,
 Tremuli.e vaghi ne le vive fonti,
 Gli echi dei nostri due sommessi cubri.
 ("Hanno varcato") in lunga teoria:
 Nell'aria non so qual bacchico canto
 Salgono e dietro a loro il monte introna
 E si distingue il loro verde canto

3rd verse

Pallida e disfatta una donna pure agile
 ancora
 Siede sull'erta ultima presso la casa
 antica
 Avanti a lei incerte
 Verso le solitudini
 Alte degli orizzonti
 E la gentile canuta
 Il cuculo sente a cantare -

Sorte e di torpidi gorghi la chiostra di
 rocce

Nel silenzio azzurrino.

Canti OrficiImmagine del viaggio e della montagna

De l'alba non ombre nei puri silenzi
 De l'alba
 Nei puri pensieri
 Non ombre:
 Piangendo: giurammo noi fede all'azzurro

.....

3rd verse

Si scioglie: ha vivi lanci

Salgono: e dietro a loro il monte introna

 E si distingue il loro verde canto.

2nd verse

Pare la donna che siede pallida giovine
 ancora
 Sopra dell'erta ultima presso la casa
 antica
 Avanti a lei incerte si snodano le valli
 Verso le solitudini alte degli orizzonti:

La gentile canuta il cuculo sente a
 cantare

Sorte ed in torpidi gorghi la chiostra di
 rocce

Nel silenzio azzurrino

.....

Il Più Lungo Giorno

* * *

No corresponding passage

* * *

Andar per valli fin che in azzurrina

Sopra l'arido sogno serenato.

Tender potessi, in una pace eguale

Serenità perduta o mia immortale

Anima!

Splendono nell'estate i frutti: il coro

E incantato: il suo murmure canoro

E vivo per miriadi di faville! ...

La notte scende: pare vigilarmi
 Delle sue luci: son lontano e solo:
 La messe muove verso l'infinito:
 Spirito ascolto: s'odon muti carmi
 Nella notte: nel cuore s'alza Solo
 Il sogno "Torna ch'eri dipartito! "

Giro d'Italia in bicicletta (1^{mo}
 arrivato al traguardo di Marradi)

Canti Orfici

Andar, de l'acque ai gorgi, per la china
 Valle, nel sordo mormorar sfiorato:^a
 Seguire un'ala stanca per la china
 Valle che batte e volge: desolato

Andar per valli, in fin che in azzurrina

Sopra l'arido sogno, serenato!

Tender potessi, in una pace eguale,

Serenità perduta o tu immortale

Anima! o Tu!

Splendono nell'estate i frutti! un coro

Ch'è incantato, e al suo murmure,
 canoro

che vive per miriadi di faville! ...

Ecco la notte: ed ecco vigilarmi
 E luci e luci: ed io lontano e solo:
 Quiete e la messe, verso l'infinito
 (Quieto e lo spirto) vanno muti carmi
 A la notte: a la notte: intendo: Solo
 Ombra che torna, ch'era dipartito ...

Viaggio a MontevideoNo title

Poem begins half way down page; no
 corresponding passage to the opening
 17 lines of the Canti Orfici text.

Viaggio a Montevideo

Io vidi dal ponte della nave
 I colli di Spagna
 Svanire, nel verde
 Dentro il crepuscolo d'oro la bruna
 terra celando
 Come una melodia
 Blu, su la riva dei colli ancora tremare
 una viola ...
 Illanguidiva la sera celeste sul mare:
 Pure i dorati silenzi ad ora ad ora
 dell'ale
 Varcaron lentamente in un
 azzurreggiare: ...

^a Italicized in text.

Il Più Lungo Giorno

Dai seni gravidi di vertigine:
 ("In una") baia profonda

Vidi sorgere ne la luce incantata

Ai piedi dei picchi altissimi dei
 vulcani solenni

Lasciammo la città addormentata

Andavamo andavamo vedevamo le navi

No corresponding passage.
 Remainder of this page is blank.

Quando il paese nuovo arriderà
 selvaggio su la sconfinata marina?

E via fuggirono le dune
 Ne la vertigine del loro sogno ed
 apparve del fiume
 Vivo fresco ed elettrico era il lume
 De la sera
 Là sovra il mar dal pirata
 Come di una città abbandonata
 Tra il mare giallo e le dune ...

Canti Orfici

Lontani tinti dei varii colori
 Dai più lontani silenzi
 Ne la celeste sera varcaron gli uccelli
 d'oro: la nave
 Già cieca varcando battendo la tenebra
 Coi nostri naufraghi cuori
 Battendo la tenebra l'ale celeste sul
 mare
 Da gli occhi

Dai seni gravidi di vertigine. Quando
 In una baia profonda

Noi vedemmo sorgere nella luce
 incantata

Ai piedi dei picchi altissimi dei
 vulcani spenti

Noi lasciammo la città equatoriale

Andavamo andavamo, per giorni e per
 giorni: le navi

Gravi di vele molli di caldi soffi
 incontro passavano lente:
 Si presso di sul cassero a noi ne
 appariva bronzina
 Una fanciulla della razza nuova
 Occhi lucenti e le vesti al vento! ed
 ecco: selvaggia a la fine di un
 giorno che apparve

La riva selvaggia la giù sopra la
 sconfinata marina:

E noi volgemmo fuggendo le dune che
 apparve del fiume,
 Limpido fresco ed elettrico era il lume
 Della sera e là le case parevan deserte
 Laggiù sul mar del pirata
 Come di una città abbandonata
 Tra il mare giallo e le dune

Il Più Lungo GiornoPasseggiata in tram fino
in America e ritorno

Inseguo il tuo preludio o sinfonia
Genovese - sordo tremante violino
corda elettrizzata che porta grave di
rombo rotante in una linea nel cielo
striato di fili mentre la mole bianca
della città torreggia come in un sogno
moltiplicato - miraggio di eccelsi
palazzi regali e barbari coi loro
elettrici diademi spenti. ("Corro")
col tuo preludio che tremola si
assorda riprende si afforza e libero
sgorga ("Su la piazza affollata
davanti") alla ("città sparpagliata
sul") molo curvo ("s'arresta davanti
alle") navi - ("e mentre scendo") il
("golfo m'appare pieno di ricchezze
golfo grandissimo e tutto") ("sparso")
di dadi luce striati d'azzurro. ("Mi
siedo e guardo") il mare tra la
tenaglia del molo ("corre") come un
fiume che fugge - tacito ("che pare")
pieno di singhiozzi taciuti corre veloce

mentre il mare

Fuggiva la città quasi improvvisamente
davanti a me. Ero sulla poppa
balzante portato lontano dalla città e
dal suo mare nel turbinare

Sentivo l'odore mostruoso del mare
del mostruoso mare

il gorgoglio dell'acqua annegava tutto
irremissibilmente. Persino il dolore.
Sembrava che il bastimento avesse un
cuore nuovo che volesse svegliare in
me un cuore nuovo. Sentivo un dolore
vago attorno al cuore come stesse per
aprirsi un bubbone.

poi tutto ricadeva in un rombo sordo e
la terra

e la luce mi era strappata

Amavo ("ricordo") il

Canti OrficiPasseggiata in tram in America
e ritorno

Aspro preludio di sinfonia sorda,
tremante violino corda elettrizzata,
tram che corre in una linea nel cielo
ferreo di fili curvi mentre la mole
bianca della città torreggia come un
sogno, moltiplicato miraggio di enormi
palazzi regali e barbari, i diademi
elettrici spenti. Corro col preludio
che tremola si assorda riprende si
afforza e libero sgorga davanti al molo
alla piazza densa di navi e di carri.
Gli alti cubi della città si sparpagliano
tutti pel gorgo in dadi infiniti di luce
striati d'azzurro: nel mentre il mare
tra le tenaglie del molo come un fiume
che fugge tacito pieno di singhiozzi
taciuti corre veloce

mentre che il mare

Sulla poppa balzante io già ero
portato lontano nel turbinare

Cresceva l'odore mostruoso del mare

il gorgoglio dell'acqua tutto annegava.
Il battito forte nei finchi del bastimento
confondeva il battito del mio cuore e ne
svegliava un vago dolore intorno come
se stesse per aprirsi un bubbone

poi tutto ricadeva in un rombo e la
terra

erano strappate

Come amavo, ricordo, il

Il Più Lungo Giorno

la rigetta in alto leggera mentre

fa un ultimo sforzo

coi suoi alberi

Leggera, siamo della leggera: ...
Genova. Che importava

e il mare rideva sornione.

("Ma") non so se fosse il mal di mare o il disgusto che il mio riso mi dava ...: ("certo") era la bestialità ("irritante") del mare, quel grosso bestione che rideva così bestialmente che svegliava il mio riso: ("poi") il mio riso e il mio stomaco si ("erano calmati"): i giorni passavano: cielo e acqua: guardavo il giorno dal mio rifugio tra i sacchi di patate. ("Più tardi sdraiato in coperta stanco vedevo l'albero che dondolava verso le stelle nella notte tiepida in mezzo al rumore dell'acqua: ("e") a volte al finestrino cui salivano spesso le onde ("avevo seguito") il tramonto equatoriale sul mare:

Volavano uccelli lontano dal nido ed io pure ma senza gioia. Costeggiavamo: ("ricordo") il tramonto illuminava "el campo" deserto cogli ultimi raggi rossi e il sole tramontava dietro la costa deserta

("Ritorno il tram")

delle sue rozze

delle lente file formiche umane

Canti Orfici

la rigetta in alto leggera nel mentre

fa un secondo sforzo

con i suoi alberi

"Leggera, siamo della leggera: ...
Genova" Eh! che importava

e il mare se la rideva sornione!

Non so se fosse la bestialità irritante del mare, il disgusto che quel grosso bestione col suo riso mi dava ... basta: i giorni passavano. Tra i sacchi di patate avevo scoperto un rifugio. Gli ultimi raggi rossi del tramonto che illuminavano la costa deserta! Costeggiavano da un giorno. Bellezza semplice di tristezza maschia. Oppure a volte quando l'acqua saliva ai finestrini io seguivo il tramonto equatoriale sul mare.

Volavano uccelli lontano dal nido ed io pure: ma senza gioia. Poi sdraiato in coperta restavo a guardare gli alberi dondolare nella notte tiepida in mezzo al rumore dell'acqua ...

delle rozze

delle lente file umane, formiche

Il Più Lungo Giorno

Mentre ("il mare rabbrivisce tra")
 le tenaglie del molo ("il mare")
 ("corre ancora corre") come un fiume
 che ("fugge") tacito pieno di
 singhiozzi taciuti corre veloce verso
 l'eternità del mare che si balocca e
 complotta laggiù per rompere la linea
 dell'orizzonte. ("E") Rabbrivisce
 nella sua fuga veloce e svanisce

Canti Orfici

Nel mentre tra le tenaglie del molo
 rabbrivisce un fiume che fugge,
 tacito pieno di singhiozzi taciuti fugge
 veloce verso l'eternità del mare, che
 si balocca e complotta laggiù per
 rompere la linea dell'orizzonte

Pampa

il silenzio profondissimo

da dove noi seduti

ci faceva fluire col refrigerio di una
 fresca vena con voluttà misteriosa
 nel silenzio

Eri gettato sull'erba

In faccia alle costellazioni mi
 andavo abbandonando

fluttuavano, i miei ricordi si
 sommergevano deliziosamente

Gradatamente lentamente assurgevo

all'illusione universale e dalle
 profondità del mio essere

ribattevo

attraverso i secoli

I drammi più meravigliosi

il profondo silenzio

da dove noi seduti

ci faceva fluire con refrigerio di
 fresca vena nelle vene: - che noi
 assaporavamo con voluttà misteriosa
 - come nella coppa del silenzio

Gettato sull'erba

In faccia alle strane costellazioni
 io mi andavo abbandonando

fluttuavano: si susseguivano i miei
 ricordi: che deliziosamente sembravano
 sommergersi

Lentamente gradatamente io assurgevo

all'illusione universale: dalle
 profondità del mio essere

io ribattevo

a traverso i secoli

Drammi meravigliosi, i più
 meravigliosi

Il Più Lungo Giorno

Una stella fluente in corsa magnifica
segnava la fine gloriosa

("Su le bilancie del tempo")

e lo spazio invisibili immanenti
alternavano immutabilmente i destini
eterni.

colle lance in resta acutissime
lucenti: erano gli indiani morti e
vivi che si lanciavano alla
riconquista

Le erbe piegavano in gemito leggero
[al]^a vento

Cosa fuggiva sulla mia testa?

Canti Orfici

Una stella fluente in corsa magnifica
segnava in linea gloriosa la fine

Sgravata la bilancia del tempo

sembrava risollevarsi lentamente
oscillando: - per un meraviglioso
attimo immutabilmente nel tempo e
nello spazio alternandosi destini
eterni

colle lance in resta, acutissime
lucenti: gli indiani morti e vivi si
lanciavano alla riconquista

Le erbe piegavano in gemito leggero
al vento

Che cosa fuggiva sulla mia testa?

^a Unclear but seems to have been deleted.

Il Più Lungo Giorno

Intorno a me non vedevo più alcuno: ("ero") solo ne la notte nel deserto: chi ero? E a un tratto la malinconia profonda dell'eterno errante mi strinse. Le stelle e le nuvole fuggivano per trascinarci al deserto nero. La pampa, tutta la pampa selvaggia e nera corsa dai venti pareva corrermi incontro per prendermi nel suo mistero. Le erbe scosse avevano un rumore lugubre. I miei occhi si chiusero ("Mi") assopii - ("di nuovo ero") indifferente al avvenire. Nel mio assopimento, più fievole udivo un fragore ferreo. Sopra un vagone scoperto correvo alla ventura. Sulla mia testa fuggivano le stelle e i soffii del deserto: incontro mi si lanciavano le ondulazioni della Pampa come dorsi di belve in agguato. Correvo tra le tribù indiane? Il sole mi avrebbe ancora guardato al mattino? La corsa aveva assunto la velocità di un cataclisma. Io preso come un atomo ("nella rivoluzione di un cosmo in vano volevo gettarmi fuori di") quel turbine assordante verso il riposo verso il nulla. Mi arrestai dunque ("invano") in mezzo al lugubre fracasso, fatalmente trasportato dalla corrente irresistibile. E allora mi inebriai del mistero della pampa selvaggia e nera corsa dai venti che mi velava incontro come per prendermi nel suo mistero. Era la morte? Era la vita? Mi parve che quel treno non dovesse mai arrestarsi mentre il rumore lugubre delle ferramenta ne commentava incomprendibilmente il destino: fin che nella stanchezza e nel gelo della notte la calma sopravvenuta, steso sul piano di ferro

Canti Orfici

Mentre che dalla Pampa nera scossa che sfuggiva a tratti nella selvaggia nera corsa del vento ora più forte ora più fievole ora come un lontano fragore ferreo: a tratti alla malinconia più profonda dell'errante un richiamo: ... dalle criniere dell'erba scosse come alla malinconia più profonda dell'eterno errante per la Pampa riscossa come un richiamo che fuggiva lugubre.

Ero sul treno in corsa: disteso sul vagone sulla mia testa fuggivano le stelle e i soffii del deserto in un fragore ferreo: incontro le ondulazioni come di dorsi di belve in agguato: selvaggia, nera, corsa dai venti la Pampa che mi correva incontro per prendermi nel suo mistero: che la corsa penetrava, penetrava con la velocità di un cataclisma: dove un atomo lottava nel turbine assordante nel lugubre fracasso della corrente irresistibile.

.....

Dov'ero? Io ero in piedi: Io ero in piedi: sulla pampa che mi volava incontro: Un nuovo sole mi avrebbe salutato al mattino! Io correvo tra le tribù indiane? Od era la morte? Od era la vita? E mai, mi parve che mai quel treno non avrebbe dovuto arrestarsi: nel mentre che il rumore lugubre delle ferramenta ne commentava incomprendibilmente il destino. Poi la stanchezza nel gelo della notte, la calma. Lo stendersi sul piatto di ferro,

Il Più Lungo Giorno

veli argenti e ancora tutta la mia vita
 quella corsa cieca fantastica
 infrenabile che mi risaliva alla mente
 in flutti amari e veementi
 Assopito ("ora") io^a
 E allora fu che dal mio intorpidimento
 dalla sua tenda l'uomo libero ("Allora")
 tendeva le braccia

Canti Orfici

veli argenti: e tutta la mia vita
 quella corsa cieca fantastica
 infrenabile che mi ritornava alla mente
 in flutti amari e veementi
 Ora assopito io
 E allora fu che nel mio intorpidimento
 dalla sua tenda l'uomo libero tendeva
 le braccia^b

^a Previously "ora assopito". "Ora" now appears deleted and placed after the verb; as elsewhere, Campana reverts to his original intention in the Canti Orfici text.

^b For a comparison of the two versions of 'Genova', see pp. 145 - 172, present thesis.

(1.2)

apparato per torrefazione
Solidi uscenti, come un foglio

Primo nell'aria e sopra il mare

immensi, diversi sopra il mare

immensi dal mare

Parvero i bruciatori fatti dai mattoni

come un ignoto turbine di ferro

lontani di legnami incontinere fu

come un
dentro un ignoto turbine di ferro

Regina incontinere col
torrefazione

dentro un ignoto turbine di ferro

Ugello

Regina velificante incontinere fu

che era il sole di

Ugello

Q & Q

come un ignoto turbine di ferro

Regina torreficante incontinere

colli te torreficante

mentre

Regina torreficante incontinere

dentro il sole di

Ugello

Q dall'ignoto turbine di ferro

primo

In la vela di gomma il sole
giaceo nell'aria abba...

to frame incontinere in turbine di ferro
torrefazione
Ugello
Q & Q
dentro il sole di
Ugello

ndii

413)

l'oro, l'argento, il ferro, la bronza, terra fuggente
 trovare nel suo istante, con tremore, con
 Angeli africani dei ceti amari
 H

Odeali: uscendo: aereo in torreficare &
 Per i durarsi, immenso del mare
 fogna: fogna di fogna dei mattoni
 torrefatti di legnati
 Per i durarsi: immenso del mare

Tutti i torrefatti di fogna dei mattoni
 E tu in ignoto torreficare di fumo
 a Regina segnare
 Tutti i torrefatti di mattoni

Odeali: uscendo: aereo in torreficare
 Bianco: già tutti i fogna dei mattoni
 torrefatti di legnati / per durarsi immenso del mare

Odeali: in un aereo torreficare
 segna in aerei

aereo in
 uscendo: tutti in torreficare
 ora bianco: già tutti i fogna dei mattoni
 torrefatti di legnati
 Per i durarsi: immenso del mare: ed a polsi
 del torreficare di fumo torreficare & segna

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DINO CAMPANA'S RETURN FROM BELGIUM: FOUR UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

The circumstances of Campana's life, his Bohemian attitudes, his travels to foreign countries, the loss of the manuscript of *Canti Orfici*, and the tragedy of his final years have tended to focus critical attention on the poet as *poète maudit*. The attempts made by his biographers to establish a firm and detailed chronology of his life have been largely frustrated by the scarcity of original documentation. Much information is of course contained in Dr Pariani's transcript of his conversations with the poet in Castel Pulci, and additional information has come from Enrico Falqui, whose acquaintance with friends and relatives of the poet provided him with a ready source of 'second-hand' material.¹ Original documentation, however, has not been forthcoming, and the silence has been particularly regrettable in the period between the end of Campana's university years in Bologna (1907) and his registration at the University of Genova in 1912.

The hitherto accepted account of the years in question, 1907–1912, has been as follows. After his fourth year at university (Bologna) in 1907, Campana made a brief trip to Paris but had returned to Marradi by the end of the same year. In 1908, he was accompanied by his uncle Torquato to Genova. There he boarded a ship for South America (Buenos Aires) where he spent the next eight months. By the end of 1908 he had arrived back in Europe, disembarking in Antwerp. There is no evidence of his whereabouts during the following months but it has been generally agreed that the six months which Campana said he had spent in a Belgian prison and mental hospital must lie in this period.²

Biographers generally agree that Campana spent 'diciotto giorni . . . in una clinica fiorentina' shortly after his return to Italy in April 1909 (Falqui, p. 34), although no further information regarding that internment has come to light. Covering the following three and a half years, however, we have had only the vaguest information.³ I have recently had the good fortune to discover four unpublished documents — transcribed below — in the Town Hall of Marradi, and these throw interesting new light on this crucial period.

The first of them (a) is a police report dated 8 April 1909 and issued in Marradi. It gives a first-hand account of events leading up to Campana's arrest on that day, and it substantiates stories of his violence and aggression, a trait which was to become increasingly prominent. Even the terms of his abuse ('spie, vigliacchi') reflect those delusions which recurred with increasing frequency in later life.⁴ Such details, together with the references to Campana's behaviour ('matto furioso', 'segni di pazzia') confirm the evidence we already have that, even at this early stage,

¹ C. Pariani, *Vita non romanzata di Dino Campana*, second edition (Milan, 1978); E. Falqui, *Per una cronistoria dei Canti Orfici* (Florence, 1960) and republished in *Opere e contributi*, 1 (Florence, 1973). All page references are to the later edition.

² 'Mi tennero nella cella, per due mesi di una prigione: Saint Gilles'; 'Nel Belgio, dopo Imola, al manicomio di Tournay altri quattro mesi' (Pariani, pp. 59, 46).

³ '1910: Pellegrinaggio, a piedi, da Marradi alla Falterona e alla Verna. 1911–1912: Termina le esercitazioni del *Quaderno* e le accantona. Frequenta le lezioni universitarie del professor Alfredo Galletti, a Bologna' (Falqui, p. 134).

⁴ For example, letter to Emilio Cecchi, 13 March 1916, 'Posso provare che Papini e Solfici sono *ladri spie venduti e vigliacchi* soprattutto', *Le mie lettere sono fatte per essere bruciate* a cura di G. C. Millet.

Campana was no 'eccentric Bohemian' — a view some critics have preferred to adopt⁵ — but a sick man. This is reinforced by the second of these documents.

This is the Medical Admissions Report (b) ('per l'Ammissione dei Mentecatti') to the hospital of San Salvi in Florence. It is dated 9 April 1909 and was declared 'irretrievable' by Dr Pariani (p. 23). It is particularly important since other such reports — those from Imola, from Tournai and even from Castel Pulci — have all been lost or destroyed.⁶ Apart from its historical significance it provides new insights into his family background and illness: neglect at home, the possibility of an inherited mental illness, the detrimental effect of alcohol. It also confirms rumours concerning Campana's relationship with his mother.⁷

The third and fourth of these documents are important because they challenge the by now accepted chronology of Campana's travels. Both of them are official letters which discuss Campana's repatriation from Belgium, hitherto thought to precede the events documented above. The first letter (c) is dated 25 March 1910. It was sent by the Prefect of Florence to the Mayor of Marradi and evidently follows a request from Belgium for Campana's repatriation. It emerges that the Belgian Medical Authorities do not consider Campana capable of taking responsibility for himself. They apparently refer to him as 'demented' and are unwilling to send him home without assurance of his receiving continued care.

The second letter (d) is dated 22 April (the year is partially obscured) and was sent by the Mayor of Marradi to the Prefect of Florence. It appears to be a reply to the above and to a further enquiry of 7 April. It refers to the unwillingness of Campana's father to take his son back home. This reluctance may appear strange when it is remembered that just four years earlier he had signed an 'Atto di Responsabilità' to secure his son's early release from Imola, but it is perhaps less surprising in the light of intervening events outlined above, and of the Belgian psychiatrist's report of which we see a fragment in this letter.

This new evidence that Campana was interned just one year later than previously thought invites a revision of the received chronology. Reconstruction from what Campana had told Dr Pariani: 'Sbarcai in Anversa, andai a Parigi e da Parigi venni al mio paese' (p. 42) suggests that he would have returned to Europe from South America probably towards the end of 1908, stopping some time in Paris on his way back to Italy, and arriving in Marradi some time before 8 April 1909. After his arrest and imprisonment he would have left Marradi again for Belgium a few months later,

⁵ For example, G. Gerola, 'Reazioni da squilibrato? Senza dubbio, qualche grano di quello che si usa chiamare pazzia esiste, ma io penso che si debba parlare soprattutto di disperazione, di solitudine, di mancanza di affetto e di corrispondenza con gli altri', *Toscana Qui*, Editoriale Qui, Anno 1 no. 9, September 1981.

⁶ I quote from three personal letters: (a) From Dr Edelweiss Cotti of the *Unità Sanitaria Locale* of Imola, 11 November 1982: 'Sono dispiaciuto di doverle comunicare che non è stato possibile rintracciare la cartella clinica di Dino Campana'; (b) From Dr Cnapkens, Médecin en chef, Hôpital Psychiatrique de l'État *Les Marronniers*, Tournai, 12 January 1982: 'J'ai l'honneur de vous informer qu'il nous est impossible de vous fournir des renseignements sur . . . toutes les années précédant 1940 . . . En effet, l'hôpital psychiatrique de l'État à Tournai a été bombardé par les Allemands lors de l'invasion en mai 1940, et toutes les archives ont entièrement brûlé'; (c) From Professor Mario Nistri, Director of the *Ospedale Neuropsichiatrico*, Florence, 'Purtroppo non posso fornir Le particolari su Dino Campana perché i suoi documenti clinici non sono più agli atti di questo archivio. Tale smarrimento può essere avvenuto in occasione dell'alluvione di Firenze . . . oppure può essere accaduto che il materiale di cui trattasi sia stato preso in esame da studiosi precedenti omettendo poi la restituzione.'

⁷ R. Jacobbi, *Invito alla lettura di Campana* (Milan, 1976), p. 19; G. Gerola, *Dino Campana* (Florence, 1955), p. 9.

and been arrested in Brussels. Then, early in 1910, he would have been transferred to the mental hospital at Tournai. It was there that the above correspondence originated.

This interpretation, however, leaves several unanswered questions. Campana also says: 'Nel viaggio di ritorno in Italia, passando nel Belgio, mi arrestarono e mi tennero nella cella, per due mesi, di una prigione: Saint Gilles. . . Poi fui rinchiuso a Tournay' (p. 59). It is certainly surprising that neither Campana's brother nor he himself ever mentions a second visit to Belgium. Again, it appears strange that neither the Police Report nor the Medical Admissions Report should refer to Campana's South American voyage had it taken place prior to his arrest and internment (April 1909). Finally, although Campana's assessment of time is not always accurate,⁸ his memories of hospitalization and imprisonment clearly follow his return from South America. If his recollections *are* accurate, we must conclude that Campana's trip to South America took place *after* his release from San Salvi, in April 1909, that is, one year later than previously accepted, and that the chronology of events was as follows: 8 April 1909, arrest in Marradi; 9–26 April, internment in the hospital of San Salvi, Florence. Later that Spring, Campana left for Genova, accompanied by his uncle Torquato and boarded a ship for Buenos Aires where he would spend approximately eight months. Back in Europe (Antwerp) by January 1910, he was arrested and spent two months in prison (St Gilles) before being transferred to the mental hospital *Les Marronniers* in Tournai. Belgian authorities then began enquiries concerning Campana's repatriation. This second interpretation seems to me the more probable.

By providing further information on this period of Campana's life, these documents may help to dispel something of the 'legend' which has grown up around Campana, and contribute to a more informed approach to the man and his work.

BEDFORD COLLEGE, LONDON

CAROLINE MEZEY

⁸ He recalls spending four months in Imola instead of eight weeks and he recalls five years in Argentina (Pariani, pp. 46, 42).

DOCUMENT (a)

N. 284 Protocollo

All' Illmo. Signor Sindaco

LEGIONE TERRITORIALE DEI CARABINIERI REALI

di Firenze

n. 19 del verbale

stazione di Marradi

PROCESSO VERBALE di Arresto del matto furioso Campana Dino per misure di Sicurezza Sua**COMUNE DI MARRADI***Prot. n. 30 tit 14 Cat. 8*

reg. 9 Aprile 1909

*L'anno millenovecentonove addi 8 Aprile
in Marradi*

Noi sottoscritti Capitani Cesare Maresciallo d'alloggio a piedi comandante la suddetta stazione, Albacoli Carlo appuntato e Carabiniere aggiunto Guadagnoli Francesco dalla medesima stazione rapportiamo alla competente Autorità che verso le ore 20 d'oggi 8 andante, il Capo guardia forestale Ignesti Alessandro ci riferiva che poco prima nella frazione Biforco, Campana Dino, di Giovanni, d'anni 23, da Marradi, emesso dal manicomio di Imola da pochi mesi, dava in detta frazione segni di pazzia furiosa tanto che senza alcun motivo percuoteva e minacciava chiunque lo avvicinava.

Noi suddetti militari in seguito a tale denuncia in compagnia del Capo guardia stesso ci mettemmo [*sic*] sulle ricerche del Campana, che già dalla frazione Biforco era ritornato in Marradi, e percorrendo le vie del paese continuava minacciare i pacifici cittadini tanto da incutere timore nella popolazione. Rinvenutolo in via Fabroni lo conducemmo, con buoni modi in caserma; egli non oppose resistenza, ma appena entrato cominciò tirare pugni e calci e gridare vigliacchi spie sputando nel viso all'indirizzo di noi tutti ma in particolar modo del Capo guardia Ignesti e del maresciallo Capitani. A viva forza lo rinchiudemmo in caserma di sicurezza per essere col presente verbale presentato al locale Sig. Sindaco onde possa provvedere per l'immediato invio in un manicomio essendo il Campana riconosciuto per matto furioso dal Dottor condotto del luogo; copia simile rassegnamo al comando della nostra Tenenza di Borgo S. Lorenzo, Significando che perquesitolo sulla persona non gli si rinvenne alcun arma. Fatto, letto e chiuso in data e luogo di cui sopra ci siamo sottoscritti

Guadagnoli Francesco carabinieri [*sic*] agg. to
Albacoli Carlo appuntato a piedi
Capitani Cesare maresciallo

DOCUMENT (b)

Comune di Marradi

**MODULA INFORMATIVA
PER L'AMMISSIONE DEI MENTECATTI
nel Manicomio di Firenze**

Campana Dino

Ammess

Partit

Mort

*Epoca e modo di sviluppo della pazzia, se
intermittente o continua.*

*Manifestazioni sintomatiche attuali tanto
fisiche che psichiche della pazzia*

Cura pratica

*Diagnosi della forma della pazzia e, se è
possibile, della natura di essa.*

*Dichiarazione delle ragioni per le quali il
medico sottoscritto ritiene necessaria la custodia e
cura del mentecatto in Manicomio*

Dall'epoca in cui è uscito dal
Manicomio di Imola ad intervalli ha
dato ripetutamente segni de pazzia

Il malato è oltremodo trascurato in
famiglia ed in Società, tanto da attrarre
[sic] l'attenzione dei ragazzi che
l'incontrano per le strade.

Ha un odio speciale colla sua
mamma, che è dovuto andar via di casa.
È pericoloso specialmente dopo
eccessive libazioni. Ripetutamente ha
minacciato varie persone sia in luoghi
pubblici, sia sulla pubblica via

Demenza precoce ??

È pericoloso per le persone di famiglia e
per gli altri.

Marradi li 9 Aprile 1909

Firma del Medico

Copia: Dott. Augusto Pellegrini Per
copia conforme, per uso amministrativo

IL SINDACO

[signature illegible]

(DOCUMENT (b) — *Continued*)**NOTIZIE PERSONALI**

COGNOME E NOME DEL MALATO	Dino Campana
ETÀ PROFESSIONE SE POVERO O BENESTANTE	anni 23 — studente — benestante
LUOGO DI NASCITA	MARRADI
COGNOME, NOME, PROFESSIONE E DOMICILIO DEL PADRE	Giovanni — maestro elementare
<i>Cognome e Nome, Professione e Domicilio della Madre prima del Matrimonio</i>	Luti Francesca — atta a casa
<i>Se celibe, coniugato o Vedovo</i>	Celibe
COGNOME E NOME DEL CONIUGE VIVENTE O DEFUNTO	_____

Firma (*per l'oggetto di contro* indicato)
**dell'autorità che invia il mentecatto
 al manicomio**

Il Sindaco [signature illegible]*

NOTIZIE STORICHE

<i>Carattere morale prima dello sviluppo della pazzia, abitudini ed occupazioni consuete</i>	Il malato è molto studioso; conosce varie lingue ed è iscritto al 3° anno di Chimica. Ha ingegno pronto e vivace.
<i>Se fra i parenti del malato vi sono o vi furono alienati, e quali</i>	Uno zio del malato è morto in Manicomio.
<i>Se l'individuo sia stato altre volte affetto da pazzia o qualunque altra infermità</i>	Il paziente è stato altra volta ricoverato nel manicomio di Imola
<i>Cause fisiche e morali.</i>	Eredità — Alcoolismo

* Official stamp on signature: Comune di Marradi

DOCUMENT (d)

22 Aprile

O

Appena ricevuta la pregiata della S.V. a ma(r)gine distinta, mi son dato premura di interpell(a)re al riguardo il padre dell'alienato Dino Campana il quale mi ha formalmente dichiarato di non potere assumersi la responsabilità di custodire presso di sè il proprio figlio nelle condizioni di salute in cui si trova. Egli quindi fa vive premure alla S.V. perché in base al Certificato del Sanitorio del Manicomio di Tournai, in base al Certificato del nostro Ufficiale Sanitario che fu trasmesso per visione alla S.V. ed in vista della circostanza che per ben due volte per 'motivi di ordine pubblico' è stato necessario inviare il giovane in Manicomio, poiché infine lo psichiatra di Tournai dichiara '(indispensabile' 'tout dans l'intérêt de sa santé que de la *Sécurité publique*' collocare il Campana stesso in una Casa di Salute, non venga il medesimo inviato a Marradi ma trattenuto nel Manicomio di S. Salvi a Firenze o in quell'altro qualsiasi stabilimento che alla S.V. piacerà di indicare.

Sembra, infatti a questo Ufficio che non sia applicabile al caso in esame il disposto della Legge 14 Febbraio 1904 N° 36 perchè non si tratta di ammettere un alienato in Manicomio; ma cosa assai differente, trasportare un alienato d(a) una Casa di Salute straniera in una Italiana.

E l'ammissione nella prima fu fatta regolarmen(te.) In attesa, con ossequi,

IL SINDACO
(signature illegible)

47
14

7 Aprile O
P.S. 9273

RIMPATRIO DI CAMPANA DINO

PREFETTO DI
FIRENZE

THE TRAVELS OF DINO CAMPANA:
SOME UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

by
C. MEZEY

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THE TRAVELS OF DINO CAMPANA: SOME UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

Our knowledge of the life of Dino Campana remains fragmentary. His restless wanderings in Italy and abroad, the lack of recognition he received in his lifetime, and a life overshadowed by mental illness, are factors which help explain the scarcity of documentation. This has made the task of successive biographers a difficult one. Much of what we know is based on unsubstantiated evidence and on Campana's own unreliable recollections from the mental hospital of Castel Pulci.¹

In the course of my research on Campana, I was recently able to discover in the Town Hall at Marradi a number of documents containing new information on the poet's life between 1905 and 1913. Some, like two registers of conscription for army service,² applications for work both in Florence and abroad³ and a 'Passaporto per l'interno' (Appendix, document 1), issued to the poet in 1916, are of only anecdotal interest. Others, like the Medical Admissions Reports to Imola Hospital (Appendix, document 2), and a Medical Report from the Psychiatrist in Tournai⁴ shed further light on his illness. Further information regarding the poet's internment in Belgium is contained in newly-found correspondence which also enables us to establish

¹ E. Falqui, *Per una cronista [sic, but read cronistoria] dei Canti orfici, Opere e contributi*, Vol. 1 (Florence, 1973), 133–37. Almost no documentary evidence is given by the author to substantiate his chronology of events. C. Pariani, *Vita non romanzata di Dino Campana* (Milan, 1978), records his dialogues with the poet in the mental hospital of Castel Pulci.

² Document dated 23 May 1905: 'Leva della classe 1885' ('Avvisi per l'estrazione a sorte dell'11 Aprile 1905 e per l'esame definitivo ed arruolamento del 23 maggio 1905'). Campana is 'dichiarato abile' and 'arruolato in 1^{ma} cat'. A subsequent document dated 20 February 1907 certifies that 'all'estrazione gli toccò in sorte n. 132 e fu dal Consiglio di leva in occasione dell'esame definitivo dichiarato abile, assegnato alla 1^{ma} categoria e successivamente riformato al Corpo'.

³ A letter dated 13 March 1911 from the Comune of Florence ('Uffizio di Polizia Comunale') to the Mayor of Marradi states that Campana 'mi ha richiesto il nulla osta per ottenere il passaporto onde recarsi in Germania a scopo di lavoro'. A subsequent letter dated 8 November 1911 from the Prefect of Florence to the Mayor of Marradi concerns Campana's application for the post of 'Segretario Comunale': 'ma mancano la domanda e la quietanza della prescritta tassa d'ammissione'. A further letter, dated 4 December 1911, from the Florentine Prefect notifies the Mayor as follows: 'Si prega la S.V. di partecipare al Sig. Campana Dino, che la sua domanda diretta ad ottenere l'ammissione agli esami di concorso per la carriera di alunno delegato di P.S. non ha potuto essere dal Ministero dell'Interno accolta perchè non trovasi in possesso di tutti i requisiti richiesti dall'avviso di concorso'.

⁴ Partially quoted in a letter of 22 April 1910 (see my article 'Dino Campana's Return from Belgium: Four Unpublished Documents', *Modern Language Review*, 78 (1983), 830–37). The newly-found report from the psychiatrist in Tournai is dated 10 February 1910.

the date of his return to Italy.⁵ Further contributions to the chronology of events are provided by documents relating to Campana's travels, many of which have hitherto been undocumented or unknown.

The earliest of these documents is a letter dated 7 August 1906 from the Florentine Police to the Mayor of Marradi (Appendix, document 3). It emerges that Campana has been arrested in France and ordered to return to Marradi. It places his first voyage abroad one year earlier than previously believed⁶ and substantiates rumours⁷ concerning the circumstances of his life abroad.

The second document⁸ shows that, on 7 September 1907, Campana requested and was granted a passport for Buenos Aires. Previous attempts to provide documentation concerning this voyage have been unsuccessful.⁹ Additional information regarding this journey is supplied by two further documents. These are letters, dated 2 and 5 September respectively. The first of these, sent by the authorities in Florence, states that it is not possible to grant Campana's request for a passport without assurance that his mental illness will not recur.¹⁰ The reply from Marradi comes with surprising haste, an indication perhaps that Campana's family was far from reluctant to let him leave.¹¹

Whether or not the above may be regarded as conclusive evidence of Campana's departure for South America, further new documents eliminate the possibility of it having occurred one year later.¹² The first of these is a letter dated 9 September from the *Ospedali Riuniti* in Livorno (Appendix,

⁵ Letter dated 17 June 1910 from the Florentine Police to the Mayor of Marradi: 'In relazione a precedente corrispondenza faccio accompagnare di due agenti in codesto ufficio il controscritto individuo proveniente dal Manicomio di Tournai (Belgio) cagione avvertendo che per dichiarazione scritta di questo medico Sign. Barzellotti attualmente nel Campana Dino non si riscontra verun segno di alienazione mentale nè altri sintomi che possano giustificare la sua ammissione d'urgenza al manicomio'.

⁶ Falqui, p. 134; G. Gerola, *Dino Campana* (Florence, 1955), p. 128.

⁷ For example, 'Dopo il 1907 . . . taglia i ponti con tutto e con tutti per farsi autentico bohemien, una specie di zingaro raffinato . . . , un giramondo in piena, spericolatissima libertà': Gerola, p. 23.

⁸ A page from the Official Register of Passports. Campana is listed here as 'Scrivano', his destination is Buenos Ayres, and the date of issue of the passport is 7 September. It was given to his father two days later, on 9 September.

⁹ For example, G. C. Millet, 'L'altro Campana', *Prospettive Settanta*, Anno III (January–March 1977), 93–109.

¹⁰ 2 September 1907: 'occorrerà che produca un regolare Certificato medico, col quale si attesta che egli è perfettamente guarito dall'accennata malattia, e nè v'è pericolo che possa ricadere'. The Mayor's reply is dated 5 September, enclosing the necessary medical certificate, signed by Dr Pellegrini.

¹¹ G. Diletti Campana, *Ricordi su Dino Campana* (unpublished manuscript, which relatives of the poet in Bologna permitted me to consult): 'Quando decise di andare in America, suo padre non si fidò di dargli i denari del viaggio e pregò lo zio Torquato di andare con Dino ed accompagnarlo fino a Genova'.

¹² See Mezey, 'Campana's Return from Belgium', pp. 830–32.

document 4). It certifies that Campana was at this time undergoing treatment there for an injury to his right foot and that he has given his profession as a painter. This appears strange, but perhaps not surprising in the light of other fanciful ways in which he will describe himself in later years.¹³ The length of Campana's stay in hospital is established in a subsequent letter:¹⁴ 9–13 September 1909. Documents like these show Campana's acquaintance with Livorno long before his known associations with that town and provide a background to some important events which will occur there.¹⁵

Further documents provide evidence of Campana's acquaintance with another port — Genoa — from a much earlier time than hitherto believed. Biographers of the poet¹⁶ have dated his first visit to the town in 1913 when he transferred to the university there; it had previously been believed that in 1908 he had departed from Genoa for his supposed South American trip. This late date of 1913 appears surprising in view of the prominence of Genoa in Campana's poetry. Furthermore, two of his poems, first published by Enrico Falqui, bear a Genoese address and are dated February 1912.¹⁷ Falqui, however, makes no attempt to explain this discrepancy.

Among these newly-found documents relating to Genoa, a letter dated 10 March 1906 shows that Campana has been sent under escort from Genoa to Florence (Appendix, document 5). The Prefect of Florence describes him as 'squilibrato di mente' and further escort is organized to accompany him back to Marradi, together with the warning that his family should keep him under close watch. Further documents — *Fogli di via* dated 24 July 1911, 14 February 1912¹⁸ and 29 February (the year is not visible) — deal with his expulsion from Genoa and his enforced return to Marradi. Finally, a telegram, dated 23 March 1913, gives notice of his arrest. It is sent by the Mayor of Marradi to the Genoese authorities and it emerges that Campana is in

¹³ For example, 'Il Papiro' (Bologna) 8 December 1912. He published 'Montagna — la Chimera' under the pseudonym Campanone, and 'Le Cafard (Nostalgia di viaggio)' under the pseudonym Campanula; in a subsequent letter he signs himself 'L'homme des bois' (letter published by G. C. Millet in *Le mie lettere sono fatte per essere bruciate* (Milan, 1978), p. 110). Elsewhere, he gives his profession as interpreter.

¹⁴ Letter dated 16 January 1910 from 'R.R. Spedali Riuniti di Livorno' to the Mayor of Marradi, requesting payment of Campana's hospital fees.

¹⁵ For example, his challenge to a duel with A. Takeda, June 1916; correspondence with a Scottish woman, Ellen Key, in June of this same year, published by F. Mattacotta in *Il Mondo*, 25 March 1950. At this time, Campana is given hospitality by Bianca Minucci, at her villa close by in Antignano. (See Millet, *Le mie lettere*, pp. 205–14.)

¹⁶ For example, Falqui, p. 134.

¹⁷ Falqui, p. 225: 'Vico Vegetti 27 interno 2 — Genova febbraio 1912 si legge in calce alla poesia Sulle montagne'. On the reverse side of this manuscript is another composition, 'La messa a S. Maria della Fortuna'.

¹⁸ A further letter is dated 17 February. It was sent by the Police in Florence to the Mayor of Marradi, enquiring whether Campana has now arrived back home.

the prison of Marassi, Genoa. These new documents indicate the powerful appeal of Genoa for the poet and the troubled nature of his experiences there.

Another journey, nearer to home this time — to the sanctuary of La Verna — has previously been thought to have taken place in 1910.¹⁹ The discovery of a letter (Appendix, document 6) from the Prefect of Arezzo dated 11 September 1913, describing the arrest of the ‘squilibrato di mente’ Dino Campana at Bibbiena, and ordering his return to Marradi, invites an alternative view: that this pilgrimage took place three years later. The evident instability of Campana’s mental state referred to here invites possible parallels with some of the most exalted passages of the La Verna poem, whilst the date — 11 September — is compatible with that of 15 September which is when the ‘diario’ of the *Canti orfici* poem begins. The discrepancy of four days may be explained if one regards the dates recorded in the poem as corresponding to the writing-up of the experience rather than to the experience itself. Campana was certainly not meticulous in such matters, as other discrepancies of this nature show.²⁰

In providing new information on Campana’s behaviour, both at home and abroad, and on the extent and timing of his travels, these documents place us in a better position to understand and to appreciate the relationship between his life and his work.

London

CAROLINE MEZEY

APPENDIX: DOCUMENTS

1. *Passaporto per l’Interno*

Comune di Marradi
Provincia di Firenze
Passaporto per l’Interno

	Connotati
Vale per un anno	Età anni 31
Il Sindaco del Comune di Marradi, Circondario di Firenze, Provincia di Firenze, rilascia il	Statura regolare Capelli biondi

¹⁹ Falqui, see note 16; Gerola, p. 32.

²⁰ For example, the version of this episode in *Il più lungo giorno* begins on 14 September, one day earlier. A subsequent episode is described as having taken place there two days later (28 September in *Il più lungo giorno*, 26 September in *Canti orfici*).

presente passaporto valevole per l'interno del Regno a	Fronte alta
Campana Dino	Sopracciglia bionde
figlio di Giovanni	Ciglia id.
nativo di Marradi	Occhi castani
Provincia di Firenze	Bocca regolare
Circondario di Firenze	Naso id.
di anni trentuno	Mento tondo
di professione scrittore	Viso ovale
i cui contrassegni personali sono contro indicati	Colorito rosso
Dato a Marradi l'8 Settembre 1916	Corporatura complessa [sic]
Il Sindaco	
21	Firma del titolare Dino Campana

2. *Medical Admissions Report to Imola Hospital*

NOTIZIE PERSONALI

COGNOME E NOME DEL MALATO	Campana Dino
ETÀ PROFESSIONE SE POVERO O BENESTANTE	Studente, Benestante, di anni 21
LUOGO DI NASCITA	Marradi
DOMICILIO, COMUNITÀ CIRCONDARIO E PROVINCIA	Marradi, Circondario e Provincia di Firenze
COGNOME, NOME, PROFESSIONE E DOMICILIO DEL PADRE	Campana Giovanni, Maestro elementare, domiciliato in Marradi.
Cognome e Nome, Professione e Domicilio della Madre prima del matrimonio	Luti Francesca, Benestante, domiciliato in Marradi
Se celibe, coniugato o vedovo	Celibe
COGNOME E NOME DEL CONIUGE VIVENTE O DEFUNTO	—
	Firma (per l'oggetto di contro indicato) dell'autorità che invia il mentecatto in Manicomio
22	Il Sindaco
	A. Bandini

²¹ Official stamp of Marradi Town Hall.²² Avvertenza (typescript).

NOTIZIE STORICHE

Carattere morale prima dello sviluppo della pazzia, abitudini ed occupazioni consuete	Carattere mite — Fino ai diciotto anni vita di collegio.
Se fra i parenti del malato vi sono o vi furono alienati, e quali	Uno zio paterno (Mario Campana) ²³ ricoverato prima in Manicomio d'Imola e poscia in quello di Firenze
Se l'individuo sia stato altre volte affetto da pazzia o qualunque altra infermità	Mai affetto da pazzia o da altra malattia.
Cause fisiche e morali	Dedito al caffè del quale è avidissimo e ne fa un abuso eccezionalissimo.
Epoca e modo di sviluppo della pazzia, se intermittente o continua	Cominciata circa ai quindici anni alternata da periodi di eccitabilità e misantropia quasi continua ed in forma non grave tanto da permettergli il proseguimento degli studi
Manifestazioni sintomatiche attuali tanto fisiche che psichiche della pazzia	Esaltazione psichica — Impulsività e vita errabonda.
Cura pratica	Nessuna cura praticata
Diagnosi della forma della pazzia e, se possibile, della natura di essa	Demenza precoce?
Dichiarazione delle ragioni per le quali il medico sottoscritto ritiene necessaria la custodia e cura del mentecatto in Manicomio	Per toglierlo da pericoli del suo stato impulsivamente irritabile e per la sua vita errabonda che lo potrebbe esporre a gravi pericoli e per le cure necessarie in Manicomio.

24

Marradi 5 Settembre 1906²⁵
 Firma del Medico
 Copia a D.V. Mercatali
 Per copia conforme, per uso ammin.^{vo}
 Il Sindaco
 A. Bandini

²³ Mario Campana, youngest brother of Giovanni, who died in the Mental Hospital of Imola Hospital on 30 May 1902 at the age of thirty-one.

²⁴ Declaration with official stamp of Marradi Town Hall.

²⁵ The date of Campana's internment in Imola Hospital has hitherto been stated as 4 September (Falqui; Gerola).

3.

QUESTURA DI FIRENZE
DIVISIONE I I
PROTOCOLLO N. 22617

Firenze VII Agosto 1906

Oggetto
Campana Dino
di Giovanni d'anni 21
da Marradi, scrivano

Partecipo alla S.V. che il controscritto individuo proveniente dalla Francia, trovandosi affatto privo di mezzi, il 30 Luglio dal Delegato di Bardonecchia, venne per misure di P.S. munito di richiesta ferroviaria e di foglio di via con obbligo di presentarsi in cotesto ufficio entro tre giorni. La prego informarmi qualora il medesimo non attemperasse alla (fat)tagli ingiunzione.

Il Questore²⁶

4.

RR SPEDALI RIUNITI
DI
LIVORNO

Li 15 Settembre 1909

27

Prot.n.91 tit.14 Cat.3

Addi 17 Sett 1909

No 8092

38

*Spedalità dell'indigente*²⁸

CAMPANA DINO

*di Giovanni
e di Francesca Luti
nato a Marradi
il 20 Agosto 1885
coniugato con Celibe
Professione Pittore
affetto da Ascenso piede destro-
ricoverato il 13 Settembre 1909
alla retta giornaliera di L. 2, 80
Domicilio di soccorso in codesto
Comune per nascita*

Informo la S.V. Illma che, in seguito ad un'ordinanza emessa dall'Illmo Sig. Sindaco di Livorno, in ordine all'art. 79 della legge 17 Luglio 1890, è stato ammesso d'urgenza in questo Spedale l'infermo di contro citato, il quale possiede il domicilio di Soccorso in codesto Comune a forma di quanto dispongono gli articoli 72 e 73 della legge citata.

Qualunque deduzione in contrario, dovrà dalla S.V. Illma essere notificata a quest'amministrazione, entro 10 giorni dalla data della presente, trascorso il qual termine tale spedalità sarà definitivamente posta a carico di codesto Comune.

Con ossequio

Il Presidente²⁸Il Direttore Amministrativo²⁸²⁶ Signature illegible.²⁷ Official stamp showing date of receipt at Marradi.²⁸ Signature illegible.

Illmo Sig. Sindaco
del Comune di
MARRADI

5.
R.a QUESTURA DI FIRENZE
Div. 2a
No. 7877

Firenze, li 10 marzo 1906
29
58 17 Cat. 4
Addì 17 Marzo 1906

Risposta a nota
N. Sez.

OGGETTO

Campana Dino, di
Giovanni, di anni 20
da Marradi studente.

Proveniente da Genova e qui giunto accom-
pagnato l'individuo controscritto.

Risultandomi essere alquanto squilibrato di
mente, lo faccio a mia volta accompagnare in
codesto ufficio, con preghiera a V.S. di volerne
curare la consegna ai parenti con diffida ai
medesimi di aver cura e vigilare attentamente
il Campana Dino.

Sig.
Sindaco
Marradi

Il Questore³⁰

6.
PREFETTURA
DELLA
PROVINCIA DI AREZZO

Arezzo, li 10 settembre 1912
COMUNE DI MARRADI³¹
Prot. 38 tit. 17 Cat 4
Addì 11 Set 1913

Div. P.S. N. 1182
Risposta a Nota
Div. Sez. N.

Oggetto

Campana Dino di Giovanni di
anni 28 da Marradi
Rimpatrio

Allegati N.

A mezzo d'un agente in borghese faccio
costà accompagnare uno Cam-
pana Dino, squilibrato di mente,
arrestato a Bibbiena per misure di
P.S. —

Prego la S.V. di curare la consegna
di detto individuo alla famiglia
favorendomi indicazione.

Sig. Delegato di P.S.
Marradi

Il Prefetto³²

²⁹ Official stamp showing date of receipt at Marradi.

³⁰ Signature illegible.

³¹ Official stamp showing date of receipt at Marradi.

³² Signature illegible.