





J. W. PECK

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READINGS  
ON  
THE PARADISO OF DANTE



READINGS  
ON THE  
PARADISO OF DANTE

CHIEFLY BASED ON  
THE COMMENTARY OF BENVENUTO  
DA IMOLA

BY THE  
HON<sup>BLE.</sup> WILLIAM WARREN VERNON M.A.  
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With an Introduction  
BY THE  
BISHOP OF RIPON

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I

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Presented by Nellie Colter Gager,  
in honor of her husband, Edwin Dexter Gager,  
B.A. June 1877

To my Honoured Friend

The Rev. EDWARD MOORE, D.D., Hon. D. Litt. Dubl.

PRINCIPAL OF ST. EDMUND HALL,

AND HON. FELLOW OF PEMBROKE COLLEGE, OXFORD,

WHOSE ORIGINAL RESEARCHES IN THE

TEXT AND LITERATURE OF DANTE

HAVE CAUSED HIM TO BE ACKNOWLEDGED AS

THE LEADING AUTHORITY IN ENGLAND,

THESE *READINGS ON THE PARADISO*,

WHICH OWE MUCH TO HIS UNWEARIED ADVICE AND ASSISTANCE,

ARE DEDICATED

AS A SMALL TOKEN OF

GRATEFUL AND AFFECTIONATE RECOGNITION

BY

WILLIAM WARREN VERNON.

*October, 1900.*



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GENERAL VIEW OF PARADISE ACCORDING TO DANTE, <i>coloured plate</i> . . . . .	<i>opposite p. 1</i>
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## PREFACE.

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**I**N the preface to my two volumes on the *Inferno*, published in 1894, I expressed the hope that life and ability might be vouchsafed to me to cope with the mystic beauties of the *Paradiso*, and to complete the attempt made in these *Readings* to make plain to a beginner the difficulties of the three immortal *cantiche*. Life has been spared to me, and with great diffidence I now present the completion of my work.

It has been thoughtlessly said that there is a falling away of human interest in the *Paradiso*, as if humanity were only interested in the weaknesses and vices of our race, but nowhere else, throughout the *Divina Commedia*, can be found such pictures of great and good men made perfect, nowhere can the gentlest, as well as the noblest, of human aspirations be seen in so many and so varied forms. Perfect love, in its highest and purest manifestation, is here pictured by a pencil wielded with exquisite grace and power. But the great and good actions of man are not forgotten. The majestic summary of Roman history, placed in the mouth of Justinian, seems to be spoken to the sound of the marching feet of triumphant legions. Civic life in its

simple primitive condition is represented in Cacciaguida's story of old Florentine days—a gem of description of the unworldly life of olden time. The metaphysics and theology may seem tedious to modern unbelievers, but they were stern realities to Dante, and it is from his point of view that I have regarded those lofty subjects, which take up so large a space in the following pages.

These volumes, like their predecessors, are based upon the famous Latin Commentary of Benvenuto da Imola, first delivered as lectures, at Bologna, in 1375, and follow the same order and plan, which has been to take the text verse by verse, to give a faithful translation, to connect the narrative with a running commentary, to explain all difficulties as they arise, and to supply in numerous footnotes a key to philological, literary, and historical doubts. This, apart from the notes, is very much the system of Benvenuto, although he goes somewhat further and construes the text almost word by word. It is the usual method of oral teaching, and is sufficiently expressed by the title of “Readings.”

I have again adopted Dr. Moore's Oxford text, to which I have added the accentuation of Fraticelli, welcome, I believe, to Italian eyes. I take this opportunity of expressing my great obligations to Dr. Moore for the generous and unwearied assistance he has given me during the last four years. It is with deep gratitude that I have been permitted to dedicate these volumes to our most distinguished English Dantist

Again must I record my heart-felt thanks to my friend Mr. H. R. Tedder, the Secretary and Librarian of the Athenæum, who has revised my work from first to last. It

is impossible for me to find words to thank him adequately for his undeviating kindness and patience.

While the plan, much of the connecting narrative, and some of the notes, are due to Benvenuto, I have taken toll of the labours of many ancient and modern commentators, whose writings are mentioned in the list of authors consulted. I am unable to thank each one, but I cannot avoid expressing my special obligations to some recent publications. I am glad to be able to congratulate Dr. G. A. Scartazzini upon the completion of his learned *Enciclopedia Dantesca*, as well as upon the last edition (1899) of his *Edizione Minore* of the text. The invaluable *Dante Dictionary* of Mr. Paget Toynbee, Mr. E. G. Gardner's charmingly written *Dante's Ten Heavens*, the admirable translations of the *Paradiso* by Mr. Charles Eliot Norton and Mr. Wicksteed have been of great help.

To my Wife is due the ample index, and to her is also due my warm acknowledgment of much help and encouragement.

The Dowager Duchess of Sermoneta has kindly allowed me to adapt from her late husband's *Tavole Dantesche*, a coloured plate of the disposition of the universe.

I put forth no claim to originality, except, perhaps, as regards the form in which this work is presented to English readers. The labours of others make all that is valuable herein, and foremost among those must be ranked the Bishop of Ripon, the third distinguished churchman who has honoured me by writing an Introduction to one of the divisions of the "Readings." In this beautiful contribution lovers of Dante will read a masterly sketch, eloquent yet condensed, of the spirit in which the *Divina Commedia* was

written. My own share is based upon a life-long devotion to the study of Dante's writings, many years of which were passed in his own country, and associated with those who speak his beloved Tuscan. In the words of the translator of the *De Proprietatibus Rerum* of Bartholomæus Anglicus, "I make protestation in the end of this worke, as I did in the beginning, that in all that is in divers matters contained in this worke, right little or naught have I set of mine owne, but I have followed veritie and truth, and also followed the wordes, meaning, and sences, and comments of Holy Saints and Philosophers."

WILLIAM WARREN VERNON.

*The Athenæum, Pall Mall, S.W.*

*October, 1900.*



## INTRODUCTION.

BY THE BISHOP OF RIPON (W. BOYD-CARPENTER).

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**T**HE fortunes of a great work, like those of a great man, are often romantic. The copyright of *Paradise Lost* was sold for £5, and copies of Fitzgerald's *Rubáiyát* of Omar Khayyám were offered in the rubbish box outside a bookseller's shop for a penny each; and there were generations in which there was little or no demand for the *Divina Commedia*. During the whole of the seventeenth century there appear to have been only four editions published. The ninety years which followed were more appreciative, as twenty-one editions appeared; but even this number makes only twenty-five editions in a period of nearly two hundred years. With the age of the Revolution there was a sudden increase of public interest; for, in the last decade of the eighteenth century, no fewer than thirteen editions of the Divine Comedy were brought out. This revival of interest was not confined to Italy; for editions of the Divine Comedy began

to issue from the press in France, Germany, and England. As early as 1768 an edition had been printed in Paris, ten years later one appeared in London, and, of the thirteen editions which appeared between 1790 and 1800, two were printed in Berlin. With the dawn of the nineteenth century this revived interest was sustained, as twelve editions, about half of which were published outside of Italy, made their appearance before 1810. From this year, the popularity of the Poet steadily rose; the number of editions issued between 1810 and 1820 was twenty-six; between 1820 and 1830 the number of editions rose to forty-one; and between 1830 and 1840 to forty-three. The total number of editions which appeared between 1790 and 1845 was 164, or six times as many as there were issued in the 190 years preceding the French Revolution. Such figures strikingly illustrate the declaration of Lamartine: "Dante semble être le poète de notre époque." The verdict is not sustained merely by a comparison of the number of editions. It is even more remarkably established by the changed tone of literary criticism. Four or five generations ago, not only were editions of his works little in demand, but his genius was disparaged, and his great poem was spoken of in terms of doubt and even of derision. Voltaire could only write of him in slighting and scornful terms. The poet whom Italians called Divine was, in his view, a hidden divinity. The Divine Comedy might indeed find a place in the libraries of the great, but it would remain neg-



lected on the shelves. According to his experience people were ready enough to steal a volume of Ariosto, but none ever purloined a volume of Dante. The poet, in Voltaire's judgment, would owe his reputation to the mystery which enveloped a work of which people spoke with respect because they were ignorant of it. "Sa réputation s'affermira toujours, parcequ'on ne le lit guère." To La Harpe, the Divine Comedy was "un poème monstrueux et rempli d'extravagances." In his own country Dante did not fare well. There were indeed Italian scholars who assigned to Dante the first place among Italian poets; but, in the opening of the present century, Alfieri complained that, even among his countrymen, the readers of Dante were few in number.

Three generations have wrought a change. Everywhere Dante is studied, written about, translated and commented upon. The poet's life, times and works, have been submitted to searching investigation, with the result that Dante takes his place unchallenged among the demi-gods. Careful research, minute inquiry and keen criticism, have served to bring his genius into clearer light. He now ranks among the mightiest of poets. It is, perhaps, a weakness to speak in superlatives, and he hazards too much who calls Dante the greatest among poets, for Dante lacks some qualities which the very greatest should possess; but it is less hazardous to speak of the Divine Comedy as a poem which holds a lonely and unchallenged place. He who was not the greatest

of poets is yet the author, perhaps, of the greatest poem of the world.

Dante, in his great work, displays many of the far reaching and varied gifts which belong to the highest order of poet — lofty imagination, quick and clear insight, close and careful observation of men and things, sound judgment, a happy sense of proportion, deep and tender feeling. He may be said with justice to be lacking in humour; but, amid the stern and sublime regions through which he takes us, the lack of a quality whose exercise would be incongruous is little missed. He is the close observer of men and things. He is the Dante who “saw everything.” He is one to whom the flower unfolding at the kiss of sunshine when the frosty night has passed (*Inf.* c. ii), the sight of the cattle going peacefully to their rest at sundown (*Inf.* c. ii), the hoarse voice of the sea when agonized by tempest (*Inf.* v, 29, 30), the close-clinging flight of doves (*Inf.* v, 82-84), were full of ineffable charm. He is one to whom all the changing passions of man’s nature, his doubts and misgivings, the subtle changefulness of his moods, his strange despondency, his remorse, the liberation of his spirit into joy, were worthy of the deepest reflection. Stories of human life, the quiet comedy, the startling tragedy, and the incident of unspeakable pathos, are embedded in his great poem; strange and heart moving tales are told or hinted at in a few unforgettable words. When we study it more deeply, the poem, we find, is full of erudition. Whatever was to be known in the learning



of his times Dante knew ; but, though the poem is full of erudition, it is free from pedantry. Weaker minds than his would have been encumbered by their learning ; vainer minds than his would have debased their art by a vulgar ripple of ostentatious scholarship ; but Dante is master of his learning ; he does not clumsily drag it along with him ; he uses it easily and skilfully as one who has proved it ; he carries it as a warrior carries his weapon. He is saved from the calamitous failure of the pedantic poet, because he possesses a sweet reasonableness. He delights us because, though he dwells upon exalted themes, though he has an eye that pierces heaven, and an ear which can hear celestial melodies and words unspeakable, he maintains a right and level judgment. His robust good sense seldom, if ever, deserts him. He is a standing refutation of the theorists who would have us believe that genius is allied to insanity. Like all those who belong to the first rank of genius — like Shakespeare, Milton, Goëthe, he possesses what Professor Dowden aptly calls a “large and wholesome sanity.” He holds his mind in calm self possession. He seldom lets his judgment go. He has, for example, a zeal for right thinking in matters of belief, but he stands firm upon the ethical basis of faith. He has a reverence for the Church of God, but he opens his eyes wide to real evils. None spoke so clearly or solemnly against the corruptions of his times ; none repudiated so completely the validity of mere official pardons. He can recognize the value

and need of discipline, but he sees clearly that man is incapable of finally judging of man (*Par.* xiii, 130-142; *cf.* iv, 58-62). He dislikes the extravagant and obstinate pride of consistency. Jephtha had better have said "Mal feci" than have kept his rash vow (*Par.* v, 67). He hates the narrowness and nascent injustice of partizanship (*Par.* vi, 101). Thus Dante's sound level sense holds its place in his great work. His greatness is the greatness, not of great imaginative gifts alone, nor of great erudition alone, nor of sound judgment alone, nor of musical expression alone; but of all these mingled together, and made to contribute their share in his matchless work. This means a genius which can handle with a master hand the materials at his command. His art is not baffled by reluctant matter. To Dante "la materia" non "è sorda."

But the gift of genius, which gives coherence to matter and beauty to form, cannot bestow the subtle and immortal quality which reaches the hearts of men. For this there must be the personal human element. This personal element makes itself felt in the poem. For many readers the sweet human element constitutes the charm of the Divine Comedy. St<sup>e</sup>. Beuve acknowledged that the passages which awakened the quickest response in his heart were those which expressed the dear, tender, instinctive affection of Beatrice guiding and watching over the poet-traveller. These touches of simple human feeling appeal to the individual heart. But these alone, sweet and delicate as they are,

would never have given to the Divine Comedy its lasting and far reaching interest. There is a personal element in the poem deeper than a dear human friendship—deeper and more eternal. The poem is the journey of a soul: it is the journey of one not seeking adventure but meeting it in the search for truth. It is the story of the discipline of a much tried and much troubled man. The great 'I' of personal experience gives piquancy, depth and fascination, to the Divine Comedy. In this it is like Bunyan's great allegory that, beneath the form of the narrative, we may read the story of a travailing soul. The great and sombre pilgrimage must be undertaken because for Dante himself there was no other way (*Inf.* i, 91). Over the man Dante the heavenly powers watched in sweet and loving solicitude (*Inf.* ii, 124, 125) into his life had come evils which it was needful he should recognize, and from his former self he must turn completely away (*Inf.* xxxiv, 76-84): in the steep ascent of the Purgatory hill he must learn to gain the mastery over the root faults which had wrought him ill (*Purg.* i, 121-136; and xxvii, 31-59): he must himself win that self control which meant the crowning of his manhood with the crown and mitre of lordship over self (*Purg.* xxvii, 142). He must be quickened with the mysterious and heavenly impulse (*Par.* i, 121-6), which made possible the movement through the realms of Paradise. We meet in the poem a wide range of subjects — historical, philosophical, theological — but the main thread of its purpose is

never lost sight of. The personal element in the story continues to the close. As we move from the *Inferno* to the *Purgatorio*, and pass on to the *Paradiso*, we read the record of the wandering, the awakening, the disciplining, and the emancipation, of a soul. The poem is the Pilgrim's Progress of the middle-ages. Dante had experiences of life and people, and he expresses these with wondrous force and magnificent elaboration, but there are lessons which he wishes to teach. Beyond all else there are some deep truths which he yearns to tell. Compared with these soul truths, all the rest of his poem—to use the comparison which, as Mr. W. Warren Vernon reminds us, Benvenuto da Imola employed—consists of but bushels of sand. The divine gleam of truth is the discovery of the way man may attain to the true knowledge of himself and of God; and it is not till the *Paradiso* is reached that this discovery is fully made.

The *Inferno* is the best known portion of Dante's great poem: the *Paradiso* is the least known. There are attractions around the *Inferno* which cannot be claimed for the *Paradiso*. There is a sense in which evil and its consequences are more interesting to us than good and its fruit. The story of the wicked leaves more opening for dramatic fascination than the story of the final rest and peace of the good. The steeps of the *Purgatorio* are thronged with those who, in their struggles and aspirations, are more akin to ourselves than the quiet saints and stately doctors of the *Paradiso*. But no reader can claim to under-

stand Dante who does not go with him into the *Paradiso*.

In entering upon the study of the *Paradiso*, we enter the Holy of Holies of the Divine Comedy. Here, if anywhere, we need the moral preparedness which is indispensable to the deeper apprehension of the Poet's meaning. Dante himself warns off flippant and worldly-minded readers. Only those sustained by heavenly strength can wisely follow.

Voi altri pochi, che drizzaste il collo  
 Per tempo al pan degli Angeli, del quale  
 Vivesi qui, ma non sen vien satollo,  
 Metter potete ben per l'alto sale  
 Vostro navigio.

*Paradiso*, ii, 10-14.

The visions here disclosed cannot be told in the language of earth (*Par.* i, 4-6), and the earthly soul cannot enjoy them: that gladness is reserved for the childlike in heart (*Par.* xxx, 73-118); those who can enter into this joy forget the heated passions and vulgar interests of the world (*Par.* x, 124-7; xi, 1-12). We are not surprised therefore to find ourselves in the midst of altered conditions. The toil of the *Purgatorio* is left behind: there progress was effort; in the *Paradiso* it is no longer due to human exertion, but to a divine impulse: the traveller has but to surrender himself to the happy conditions around him, and a celestial power carries him on. To move upwards is now as natural to the transfigured pilgrim as the fall of water downward was natural on earth:

Non dei più ammirar, se bene estimo,  
 Lo tuo salir, se non come d' un rivo  
 Se d' alto monte scende giuso ad imo.

*Par. i, 136-8.*

The power thus to enter the new conditions depends upon the change in the pilgrim. The man with the risen soul can rise. The spiritualized being mounts instinctively Godward, drawn by that love to which it bears such sweet and strong affinity :

S' io era sol di me quel che creasti  
 Novellamente, Amor che il ciel governi,  
 Tu il sai, che col tuo lume mi levasti.

*Par. i, 73-5.*

The pilgrim so transfigured can traverse the wonderful realm that is full of light, music and smiles. Light dwells there : and the light of that day is sevenfold : but it is light which displays itself in such sweet changefulness that there is no weariness, no monotony, no "dark from excessive bright." There is movement there, but it is movement so rapid that it does not seem movement. There is rest there, but it is not stagnation : it is the active rest of happily harmonized powers. There is music there : the air thrills with it, but it never bewilders : it steals upon the ear in modulated and well discriminated harmony. Everywhere the heaven seems to smile :

Ciò ch' io vedeva mi sembrava un riso  
 Dell' universo— *Par. xxvii, 4, 5.*

This is not surprising, for it is the realm where love apparels itself in smiles :

O dolce amor, che di riso t' ammantì  
*Par. xx, 13 (cf. ii, 142-144).*



And all things there take on an outward beauty, because filled with the pure love and unalloyed goodness which is at the heart of things.

This is the region into which Mr. W. Warren Vernon seeks to lead his readers: as a help to which he has made this new contribution to the literature of Dante.

Dante literature, in the view of an eminent publisher, is now so voluminous in England that no new book has a reasonable prospect of success, unless it has either a great name or exceptional intrinsic merit to recommend it. The problem to-day is not to find a good book on Dante, but to choose one: selection, not discovery, is the difficulty which confronts the student. In this task Mr. W. Warren Vernon comes to help us. He brings the two conditions of success which the English publisher declares to be necessary. He bears a name long known and revered by Dante students, both for his father's sake and his own. Few men have devoted more time to his self-chosen task: few have laboured more patiently and modestly to guide the footsteps of students. The value of his works is not merely in the careful and loyal devotion which they display: it lies also in the happy art with which he labours. He is a teacher, earnest to make his pupils understand what they are reading. The student is not allowed to be slipshod; difficulties are not ignored: they are faced and discussed, but discussion never degenerates into prolix disquisition; the course and movement of the poem is not forgotten in a desultory excursion into side issues; the reader is being con-

stantly brought back to the mid-stream of the poet's thought. And when some of us, who have long been students of Dante, remember the character and quality of the books which awaited the beginner a quarter of a century ago, we are tempted to be envious of the young student of to-day, who can make his first excursion into the realms which Dante opens, under the well-skilled and enthusiastic guidance of Mr. William Warren Vernon, who in these pages gives us the fruits of the long diligence with which he has studied the Poet's works.

O degli altri poeti onore e lume,  
Vagliami il lungo studio e il grande amore  
Che m' ha fatto cercar lo tuo volume.

*Inf.* i, 82-84.

W. B. RIPON.





## PRELIMINARY CHAPTER.

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- I. THE COSMOGRAPHY OF DANTE.—II. CLASSIFICATION OF THE SPIRITS IN DANTE'S PARADISE.—III. THE IMMEASURABLE EXTENT OF PARADISE.—IV. DATE WHEN THE *PARADISO* WAS WRITTEN.—V. THE BEAUTIES OF THE *PARADISO*.—VI. TIME-REFERENCES IN THE *PARADISO*.—VII. DANTE'S OWN LIFE AND EXPERIENCES, AND TUSCAN ILLUSTRATIONS.

### I. THE COSMOGRAPHY OF DANTE.

THE whole system of cosmography, upon which Dante based his visionary journey through the three regions of departed spirits, is so knit together, that it is not easy to avoid repetition in treating of it as applied to one region only. I find myself, therefore, compelled to repeat pp. xxxiii-xxxvi from the Prolegomena in *Readings on the Inferno*.

Before readers of the *Divina Commedia* can form a just comprehension of the many allusions Dante makes to the structure of the universe, it is necessary for them to have some notion of the system of cosmography that prevailed in his days. This was known as the Ptolemaic System, so called from Ptolemy of Pelusium, the celebrated astronomer, who died A.D. 161.

To this system Dante added certain creations of his own, and we shall find that he has linked the astronomical, or, as they were then called, the astrological, doctrines of the Schoolmen with an allegorical system that is mainly the fruit of his own imagination.

The Earth is supposed to be stationary in the centre of the universe, and the planets to revolve round it, within concentric

spheres, and in the following order: (i) the Moon; (ii) Mercury; (iii) Venus; (iv) the Sun; (v) Mars; (vi) Jupiter; and (vii) Saturn. In addition to these seven spheres, there are three others still more vast, namely, (viii) the Starry Heaven; (ix) the *Primum Mobile* or *Cielo Cristallino*; and last of all (x) the Empyrean, or *Cielo Quieto*. Besides these, there are two spheres supposed to belong to the Earth itself, namely, the Sphere of Air, and the Sphere of Fire.

The Empyrean, or *Cielo Quieto*, is motionless, but the other nine spheres revolve in their respective orbits, their movements being directed by as many choirs of Angels, whom Dante styles *Intelligenze Celesti*, and who are of a greater or less hierarchical order, corresponding to the precedence of that particular sphere of heaven which they set in motion. The First Sphere, that of the Moon, is moved by the Angels; the Second by the Archangels; the Third by the Principalities; the Fourth by the Powers; the Fifth by the Virtues; the Sixth by the Dominations; the Seventh by the Thrones; the Eighth by the Cherubim; the Ninth by the Seraphim (*Par.* xxviii, 98-126).

“ I cerchi primi  
 T' hanno mostrati i Serafi e i Cherubi.  
 . . . . .  
 Quegli altri amor, che intorno a lor vonno,  
 Si chiaman Troni . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 L'altro ternaro, che cosl germoglia  
 . . . . .  
 Prima Dominazioni, e poi Virtudi ;  
 L'ordine terzo di Podestadi ee.  
 Poscia nei due penultimi tripudi.  
 Principati ed Arcangeli si girano ;  
 L'ultimo è tutto d' Angelici ludi.”

To the above order of the heavens and the hierarchies of Angels, Dante adapted an allegorical system of his own, which is shown in the following table. We shall see in it that the sciences of the *Trivium* and the *Quadrivium*, the philosophical and the theological sciences, are severally represented in the ten separate heavens which in their concentric orbits surrounded the earth.

The Cosmical System according to the teaching of the Schoolmen.      The Allegorical System according to the conception of Dante in *Conv.* ii, 14, l. 6 *et seq.*, in which he says that we must reflect upon a comparison between the order of the Heavens and that of the Sciences.

The Earth ... ..	}	The Four Elements.	
The Waters ... ..			
The Sphere of Air ... ..			
The Sphere of Fire ... ..			
1. The Heaven of the Moon	} The Seven Planetary Heavens.	... Grammar	} Sciences of the <i>Trivium.</i>
2.       "      Mercury		... Dialectic	
3.       "      Venus		... Rhetoric	
4.       "      the Sun		... Arithmetic	} Sciences of the <i>Quadrivium.</i>
5.       "      Mars		... Music	
6.       "      Jupiter		... Geometry	
7.       "      Saturn		... Astrology	
8. The Stellar Heaven ...		Natural Science.	
9. The Crystalline Heaven, or <i>Primum Mobile</i>	}	Moral Science.	
10. The Empyrean, the Firm- ament, or Quiet Heaven			Theology.

## II. CLASSIFICATION OF THE SPIRITS IN DANTE'S PARADISE.

The general characteristics of each planetary heaven, and its occupants, are as follow :

*The First Heaven*, moved by Angels (*Angeli*), emblematical of Grammar (*Grammatica*), is that of the waxing and waning Moon, and is tenanted by Spirits, whose wills were imperfect through Instability, and failed to keep their holy vows (*Spiriti Votivi Mancanti*).

*The Second Heaven*, moved by Archangels (*Arcangeli*), emblematical of Logic (*Dialettica*), is that of Mercury, "more veiled from the Sun's rays than is any other star" (*Conv.* ii, 14, ll. 99-100), and is tenanted by Spirits, imperfect through love of fame, who wrought great deeds upon earth, but not without regard to the praise of their fellow-men (*Spiriti Operanti*).

*The Third Heaven*, moved by Principalities (*Principati*), emblematical of Rhetoric (*Rettorica*), is that of Venus, "now before and now behind the Sun" (*Conv.* ii, 14, ll. 114-115), and is tenanted by Spirits imperfect through excess of mere human love (*Spiriti Amanti*).

*The Fourth Heaven*, moved by the Powers (*Potestati*), emblematical of Arithmetic (*Aritmetica*), is that of the Sun, the chief material light, and the middle Planetary Heaven. It is tenanted by the Spirits of those who loved Wisdom, the great spiritual and intellectual lights of Divinity and Philosophy (*Spiriti Sapienti*).

*The Fifth Heaven*, moved by the Virtues (*Virtuti*), emblematical of Music (*Musica*), is that of blood-red Mars, and is tenanted by Spirits of those who warred on behalf of the Faith (*Spiriti Militanti*).

*The Sixth Heaven*, moved by the Dominations (*Dominazioni*), emblematical of Geometry (*Geometria*), is that of Jupiter, brilliantly white, and is tenanted by Spirits of great Rulers who loved Justice, or were Lawgivers (*Spiriti Giudicanti*).

*The Seventh Heaven*, moved by the Thrones (*Troni*), emblematical of Astrology (*Astrologia*), is the cold orbit of Saturn, and is tenanted by the Spirits of Monks and Hermits who lived in the contemplation of holy things (*Spiriti Contemplanti*).

*The Eighth Heaven*, moved by the Cherubim (*Cherubini*), emblematical of Natural Science (*Scienza Naturale*), is that of the Fixed Stars, or Starry Heaven. To it descends the Triumph of Christ, and here we find the Apostles and the Saints of the Old and New Testament.

*The Ninth Heaven*, moved by the Seraphim (*Serafini*), emblematical of Moral Science (*Scienza Morale*), is that of the *Primum Mobile*, or Crystalline Heaven, and in it are seen the nine Hierarchies of Heaven circling in rings of fire round the Atomic Point of surpassing brilliancy, which, we learn, is symbolical of the Unity of God.

*The Tenth Heaven*, emblematical of Divine Science (*Scienza Divina*), is that of the Empyrean, the abode of the Triune God Himself, and of the Spirits of the Blessed. Here all the Elect have a place. None of the nine heavens is the true abode of

any spirit. The spirits may appear in these heavens to meet Dante, but their real abiding place is the Mystical White Rose, and here they are seen in their true forms sitting on thrones which constitute the petals of the glorious flower of Heaven. The Rose includes both a horizontal and a vertical division. The horizontal division is seen half way up; all the blessed below that line are those who died in infancy, all above it they who died in matured life. The vertical division is seen at the two opposite points of the half circumference, the Spirits on the left being those who in life had looked forward to Christ Coming, while the Spirits on the right are they who in life had looked backward to Christ Come. Not all the thrones in this right-hand division are occupied, but the number of places still unoccupied are not many in number. One great throne stands empty awaiting the Spirit of Henry VII.

Up in the farthest heights are manifested the glory of God Himself, the mystery of the Blessed Trinity, and the union of the Divine with the Human Nature of the Son of God.

### III. THE IMMEASURABLE EXTENT OF PARADISE.

Much has been written about the conjectural dimensions of Dante's Hell and Purgatory, but no attempts have ever been made to compute the limits of his Paradise. Immensity is the key-note of all Dante's conceptions, and his Paradise extends into the undefined and boundless expanse of the most distant regions of the universe.

### IV. DATE WHEN THE *PARADISO* WAS WRITTEN.

The probable dates between which Dante began and ended his composition of the *Inferno* and the *Purgatorio* are the subjects of many treatises, but of the *Paradiso* we have had but scant information. In *Readings on the Inferno*, vol. i, pp. 240, 241, I have quoted the opinion of Scartazzini, that Dante had most likely been for years accumulating a mass of materials for the construction of his great poem, in the wonderful symmetry which it eventually attained. He had doubtless arranged a skeleton form, the dry bones of which he may from time to time have



clothed with flesh. Perchance all the episodes and all the similes of the *Commedia* had been collected together like so many rare gems to form a diadem, which he only put together in the last eight years of his life.

Witte (*Forschungen*, vol. i, p. 139) expresses a strong belief that Dante's dedication of the *Paradiso* to Cangrande (*Ep.* x) was a posthumous work, which did not see the light in Dante's life-time. He sees no reason to disbelieve the statement of Boccaccio, that the last thirteen Cantos of the *Paradiso* were only discovered in a secret hiding place after the death of their author. Some portions of the *Paradiso*, beyond a doubt, became known during Dante's life, for Cecho d' Ascoli, a poet who was burnt alive at Florence in 1327, in his poem *L' Acerba*, makes more than one allusion to passages which he must have seen in Dante's Third *Cantica*, *e. g.*

" Del qual (cielo) già ne trattò quel Fiorentino  
Che lì lui si condusse Beatrice."

(*Acerba*, cap. ii).

Whatever be the truth as to when the *Paradiso* was begun, and when ended, I cannot believe that it was only composed and written in the closing days of Dante's life. There is in it no trace of haste, nor is it the work of an author whose best style had passed away, and who wrote in the evening of his life. It displays a vigour which renders such a supposition impossible, and the soaring flights of Dante's lofty conceptions reach in his *Paradiso* a sublimity that seem to carry his readers through the radiant portals of Heaven itself. All in it is Light—glowing, flashing, dazzling Light—Light in the bright regions through which he passes—increasing as he is conveyed higher and higher to one sphere more radiant than another. He says himself that the composition of his great poem had been the labour of many years. We read at the end of the *Vita Nuova* that this poem was to be the great object of his life, that in it he might speak of his Beatrice as never woman was extolled before, and we can hardly believe that that part of the poem in which her Apotheosis is specially mentioned would have been left to the last.

Of course, from the time of the death of Henry VII in 1313

to Dante's own death in 1321, much would have to be filled in or altered, but it seems plain to me that the outline and principal episodes had been written long before, and indeed that they were not altogether unknown to Dante's contemporaries.

The most valuable and thoughtful discussion of this interesting subject, I find in a treatise by Professor Francesco D' Ovidio of Naples entitled *Tre Discussioni Dantesche* (Naples, 1897), one of which is *La data della composizione e divulgazione della Commedia*, and I am glad that Prof. D' Ovidio has emphasized the separation between the composition and the publication. He thinks with Witte that Boccaccio's story is quite credible, and that Dante had been struck down by death before he had made a complete publication of the whole *Commedia*. But (says Prof. D' Ovidio) that does not mean that parts of the poem may not have leaked out, to friends, to admirers, or to patrons of the poet. It cannot be too strongly pointed out that in those days the issue of works did not leave between the published and the unpublished that gulf which printing has introduced in our time. There was not such a considerable difference between the sending to a friend the transcript, or part-transcript, of a book, and the sending out many transcripts together of the complete work at the same time. Let us remember that Boccaccio, in order to bring Petrarch to condescend to read the *Commedia* at all, felt himself obliged to send him a copy written by his own hand. Let us remember that in those days there was no such thing as copy-right, or at all events not copy-right as at present understood; and also that the poor exile would no doubt feel himself obliged every now and then to send to his protectors an occasional specimen of his genius, lest they might think that his mind was a barren soil.

We have learned in the precious correspondence between Dante and Giovanni del Virgilio that the latter was acquainted with the passage in the *Inferno* where Dante describes himself as one of the six poets in *Limbo*; also of the part assigned to Statius, and about the river Lethe, in the *Purgatorio*. Allusion, too, is made to the comic recitations that were being made by street singers of the satirical hits that had become known, and Dante, we read, promises Giovanni del Virgilio to send him ten

Cantos of the *Paradiso*; alluding at the same time to the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio* as works completed and published. Most significant is the following :

“quum mundi circumflua corpora cantu  
Astricolaeque meo, velut infera regna, patebunt,  
Devincire caput hедера lauroque juvabit.”

This Prof. D'Ovidio paraphrases thus: “It will be my delight to crown myself with laurel when in my verses shall have been unveiled the revolving bodies of the universe and the companies of the Saints, as have already been unveiled the realms below, that is, when I shall also have *completed* the *Paradiso*.” The word *patebunt* beyond a doubt indicates that, about 1318-19, the two first *Cantiche* were finished, and it implies that they were more or less known; but Dante was not satisfied without having added to them the third, and only could expect renown when his whole work should have been completed.

Giovanni del Virgilio takes Dante to task for casting such pearls before swine, as to allow the solemn contents of his poem to go forth to the lower orders in the common dialect of the country, instead of retaining it sacred for students in Latin, the language of the cultured literary world. All this indicates that parts of the *Commedia* were so well known at the time, that the very street singers had got hold of them. Petrarch seems to have written very contemptuously to Boccaccio about it, sarcastically compassionating Dante for being read among idiotic people in the taverns and open squares, tossed about by the breezes of popular applause, the delight of washerwomen, of tavern-keepers, and corporals (*sic*).

There are two sonnets of the Venetian poet Giovanni Quirini, in one of which he sends, as a loan to a friend, *li libro di Dante*, begging him to take great care of it; but it is not clear from it whether Dante was still alive. In the other he supplicates some great personage, most probably Cangrande, to come to a decision, and publish to the world Dante's third *Cantica*. The following are the lines:

“Io sono un vostro fedel servidore  
bramoso di veder la gloria santa  
del Paradiso ch'el poeta canta ;



onde vi prego che di cotal pianta  
 mostrar vi piazza i be' fioretti fore,  
 chè e' d'àn fructo degno al suo fattore.  
*Lo qual intese, et so ch' intende ancora,*  
 che di voi prima per lo mondo spanta  
 agli altri fosse questa ovra cotanta."

This need not necessarily mean that Dante was still alive, otherwise why did not Quirino write direct to him? The words *so ch' intende ancora* rather point to Quirini's friendly presumption of being himself the safe interpreter of Dante now that Dante is dead. The words imply: "He intended when he was alive, and my heart tells me that he still has the same intention up there in heaven, that you should be the publisher of his third *Cantica*." Otherwise the use of the two tenses *intende* and *intese* would be entirely superfluous. In short, one may gather from this episode that, when Quirini wrote his sonnet, perhaps in sorrow for the quite recent death of Dante, and in intense anxiety lest Italy should lose the completion of his great work, the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio* were widely known, if not actually published; so that the anxiety of Quirini, as an admirer of Dante, must have been for the literary fate of the *Paradiso* alone.

Prof. D'Ovidio scouts the idea promulgated by certain learned authorities, that Dante only sat down to write his poem after the death of Henry VII. In that case the many years (*più anni*) of study, devoted to the Sacred Poem, which, in his words (*Par.* xxv) had made him lean (*macro*), would be reduced to six or seven; but it is incredible that he should have deferred, till his forty-eighth year, the commencement of a poem conceived in his early youth, and which was both the aspiration of his heart and the hope of his life.

The work in its entirety certainly did not issue till after Dante's death, but it is evident that he allowed passages here and there, even of the *Paradiso*, to become known; and it is certain that it could only be after the year 1313 that the finishing touches could have been put to either of the three *Cantiche*.

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V. THE BEAUTIES OF THE *PARADISO*.

The *Paradiso* has the name of being, and is, by far the most difficult and obscure of the three parts of the Divine Comedy. Ordinary readers are arrested in their progress by the number of metaphors and allegories; by the arrangement of the Heavenly Spheres according to the now obsolete Ptolemaic system, and more than all, by philosophical and theological expositions. Even Dante's own son Pietro seems to have shrunk from solving some of the intricate problems discussed by his father, for in his own commentary on the *Commedia*, at the end of Canto ii of the *Paradiso*, he remarks: "Alia per te vide, immo omnia, quia nil vidi, nec intellexi."

With the exception of the three Cantos relating to Cacciaguida, and a few other episodes which bring us down again to Earth, the *Paradiso* will be less acceptable to the ordinary reader, than to those who delight in lofty rhythm and supernatural contemplations. For these latter, as Dante himself tells us (*Par.* ii, 1-15) was this, his third *Cantica*, written, and they specially will find in it a treasure of the most exalted and soothing consolations, harbingers of those of the future Paradise.

But these are not the only excellences of the *Paradiso*, and the non-philosophical reader will find in it passages of rare and matchless beauty. Among others we may mention, what Mr. Gardner (*Dante Primer*, p. 124) terms the superb prologue of stately music, in which the poet sings of the glory of the First Mover, and prays for light and inspiration to complete this third and most arduous portion of his divine poem (Canto i); Dante's interview with Piccarda de' Donati, a passage as replete with pathos and tenderness as anything he ever wrote (Canto iii); the beautiful simile of the spirits in the Sphere of Mercury thronging round Dante like fish round food thrown into their pond (Canto v); the interview with Justinian and the magnificent description of the progress of the Roman Eagle (Cantos v and vi); the history of Roméo, the upright and great statesman ill-requited by the Count of Provence (Canto vi); the noble words of Dante's friend Charles Martel, once the titular King of Hungary, in which he alludes to the Sicilian Vespers (Canto

viii); Dante's interview with Cunizza da Romano when she foretells the sorrows that will befall her native land (Canto ix); the regulated movement and chanting of the great Theologians compared to the movement and chimes of a clock (Canto x); the seraphic fervour of St. Francis compared to the cherubic light of St. Dominic, and the beautiful description of the life of the former (Canto xi); Dante's ascent into the Heaven of Mars, and the Warrior Spirits in the form of a Heavenly Cross (Canto xiv); the noble Canto of Cacciaguida and the description of ancient Florence (Canto xv); the old families (Canto xvi); Cacciaguida's prediction of the sorrows of Dante's future life (Canto xvii); the evil rulers of Europe rephended by the mouth of the Eagle (Canto xix); Pier Damiano's description of his Monastery on Monte Catria (Canto xxi); Beatrice compared to a bird watching for the dawn, the glorious Vision of the Triumph of Christ, and the Apotheosis of the Virgin (Canto xxiii); the lines of infinite pathos and beauty in which Dante expresses his supreme hope that the recognition of his great poem may some day earn for him a recall from banishment (Canto xxv); the exquisite hymn sung by the Heavenly Host in the Stellar Heaven, and St. Peter's denunciation of his unworthy successors (Canto xxvii); the reprehension by Beatrice of the preachers of Dante's time and of the sale of Indulgences (Canto xxix); the Empyrean, the River of Light, the Heavenly Rose, and the empty throne awaiting Henry VII (Canto xxx); Beatrice's return to her seat in the Rose, and the glory of the Blessed Virgin (Canto xxxi); and finally St. Bernard's beautiful prayer to the Virgin, and Dante's sublime vision of the Holy Trinity.

#### VI. TIME REFERENCES IN THE *PARADISO*.

There is little reference to time in Dante's third *Cantica* which can be spoken of with any certainty. We believe that he returned from Eunoe at noon on Wednesday in Easter week, and that he and Beatrice began to ascend from the Earthly Paradise into Heaven at that same hour. There are two references to time, but rather of a doubtful nature, in *Par.* xxii, 151-153; and xxvii, 77-87; which are discussed with great erudition by Dr. Moore in the Italian version of his *Time References (Gli Accenni al*

*Tempo nella Divina Commedia*, Florence, 1900), pp. 144-156. Dante is thought by some to have taken twenty-four hours to ascend through the Spheres into the Empyrean, and to have awoke from his vision on the morning of Easter week in our world, thereby taking seven days for the time supposed to have been occupied by him in making his mystical journey through the three Realms of the unseen world.

#### VII. DANTE'S OWN LIFE AND EXPERIENCES, AND TUSCAN ILLUSTRATIONS.

In reading the *Divina Commedia*, one is constantly met with references to the life and feelings of the Poet himself, which merit respectful attention. These references have many illustrations in the traditional stories relating to Dante, which enlist our sympathy and approval. There are two classes of writers on Dante, different in their mode of dealing with the recorded events of his life. My own preference is with those who display a tender regret in abandoning any long-cherished tradition or episode, where close and impartial investigation has failed to convince them of its authenticity. Their gentle handling of the subject contrasts pleasantly with what one may be tempted to call the note of brutal exultation with which the other class of writers, both English and foreign, are apt to trumpet their success, if able to throw doubts upon some hitherto well-established belief, when following Dante through the hidden paths of his exiled life.

How much posterity owes to Dante's sorrows! Had Beatrice not died during his early life, had he not been visited with that cruel injustice which made him a wanderer over the face of the earth—which made him to eat of other men's bread, and to ascend and descend other men's stairs\*—the world of letters would have been the poorer by some of its choicest treasures.

"È *si consolante!*" was once remarked to me about Dante by Sir James Lacaïta. The man, who had so sorrowed himself,

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\* "Tu proverai sì come sa di sale  
Lo pane altrui, e com'è duro calle  
Lo scendere e il salir per l' altrui scale."

(*Par.* xvii, 58-60).

has left in his writings comfort and consolation to many a sorrowing heart, among those who read him in modern times. Though his sorrow may have embittered his life—though his unmerited wrongs may have armed his pen with shafts of satire that will for all time wound the fame of the unworthy perpetrators of those wrongs, yet who can doubt that that very sorrow, crushing as it did all the brightness and happiness of his life, brought out all that was sweetest and best in his noble character?

And while our feelings of wrathful indignation are on the one hand aroused against that unnatural Florence, which dealt so hardly with the greatest of her sons ; yet, on the other hand, we find that Dante's own eager yearnings after the city of his birth, to which, up to the moment of his latest breath, he still hoped to return, have made us love that Florence for his sake.

As I often remarked in these volumes, one leading fact too often lost sight of, should always be kept in view, namely, that Dante was a Florentine, and wrote for Tuscans. Their beautiful language, with its boundless wealth of idioms and matchless grace of pronunciation, was that of his divine Comedy. Every *word* of his great poem had a set purpose, and must be investigated from the Tuscan point of view, rather than from that of the poorer language of Piedmont and Lombardy. The most homely utensils of domestic furniture in Tuscany were brought in to serve the purpose of his simile. Take one instance—the familiar *conca*, the earthenware pan for containing lye, so well known in every Tuscan household, the almost conical shape of which serves him to describe the shape of Hell (*Inf.* ix, 16). Take the *rosta*, the wattle-screen on the Pistojan hills, which guards the chestnut crop in the woods from being swept away by a sudden mountain flood, but which in the Forest of Woe (*Inf.* xiii, 117) is represented as unable to stand up against the frenzied flight of the unhappy shades of the *Brigata Spender-eccia*, the wanton squanderers of their own substance. These are but two instances taken at hazard, the one from the domestic life of the townspeople, the other from that of the peasantry of Dante's ever remembered, ever regretted country.

In *Inf.* xxix, 74, he compares the fever-stricken shades of the Falsifiers of Metals, propping themselves one against the other,



to a group of stewpans standing close together over the fire. This simile is not borrowed from the kitchens of great people. Dante did not write for such as Lucullus and Apicius only, and his comparisons had to be taken from the most common objects.

Again, when describing the grievous torment these shades were undergoing from the irritation of skin disease, he likens their frantic efforts to get relief, to the curry-combing of a horse by a groom, or to the scaling of a fish by a cook. The familiar aspect, existing to this day in Italy, of blind beggars sitting on the ground outside the doors of the Churches, leaning against each other, comes back to his mind when in *Purg.* xiii, 61-63, he depicts the blinded spirits of the Envious sitting in that very attitude. The *malaria* of the Tuscan Maremma, and the futile attempts (of those days) to cure it by drainage, are cited; as is in another place the insalubrious valley of the Chiana, whose sluggish course formed marshes so pestiferous that, in Dante's time, not only had branch hospitals to be established all over the district, but we are told that these became so overcrowded, between July and September, that the sick used to be laid along the sides of the roads.

In *Purg.* xxii, 49, the word *rimbeccare*, a term in Italian Tennis (*Pallone*) for "to return the ball" (Fr. *riposter*), may suggest to Dante's readers that he was familiar with the ancient Tuscan game of *Pallone*, from which Tennis was derived.

In *Inf.* xxvi (opening lines) the fire-flies in a summer night are described with such accuracy as well-nigh to make one believe oneself on a Tuscan hill-side.

It has been remarked, of the Personality of Dante, by a French writer,\* that in most works of travel, apart from an occasional romantic incident or some reminiscence of sufferings heroically borne, our imagination is stirred most by the discoveries that have been made, the populations that have been encountered, etc., and, thanks to the habitual modesty of our great explorers, their own personalities are either minified or effaced before the vast pictures which they unroll before our eyes.

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\* *La Personne de Dante dans la Divine Comédie*, par Max. Durand Fardel, Paris, 1896.

But the Divine Comedy is *Dante himself*. If there exists a work from which it is impossible to separate for one instant the presence of its author, it is indeed this one. Dante is unceasingly present—he is indeed scarcely absent in a single line—he is at the same time the hero and the chief actor in its scenes. He compels us to feel the full force of his wonderments and of his terrors, of his emotions of pity, as well as his moments of indignation and wrath. It is with him that we undergo the glare of the flames of Hell, with him that we shiver in the icy blasts of Cocytus. Were once his presence removed, in an instant the illusive image, which had kept our hearts and minds in subjection, would vanish likewise. It is among the torments of Hell and the penances of Purgatory that we see Dante in all his humanity. His flight from the wild beasts; his horror on first witnessing the sufferings of the damned, which caused him twice, during his single night in Hell, to swoon away; his outbursts of rage against some of the most vile and contemptible characters; the rousing of his family pride on hearing his ancestors disparaged; his tender, gentle compassion for the renowned Imperial Chancellor, Pier delle Vigne (like himself victim of Envy and Calumny); his sympathetic treatment of his old master in science, Brunetto Latini,\* as well as of his companions in guilt, the three great Florentines.

In Purgatory, too, we see Dante's humanity even more strongly exhibited. His sense of shame at being compelled to exchange his slow dignified walk for a quick run; his breathlessness when climbing up the lower slopes of the Mountain; his drowsiness on the approach of each successive night of the three days he spent on the mountain of Purgatory; his self-consciousness of his sin of Pride; his swoon on being rebuked by Beatrice on the banks of the river Lethe—all reveal him to us as the Man, with all his emotions, all his impulses and all his failings.

There is one quality that he exhibits in himself, which is a

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\* Brunetto Latini "is commonly supposed (from a misunderstanding of *Inf.* xv, 82-85) to have been Dante's master, which in the ordinary sense of the word he cannot have been, since he was about 55 when Dante was born" (*Dictionary of Works of Dante*, by Paget Toynbee, Oxford, 1898, s. v. Brunetto).

singular contrast to the character tradition gives him of having fought as a brave soldier at the battle of Campaldino, and that is, his pusillanimity (if the expression is not too strong) whilst journeying through Hell and Purgatory. He is always afraid; he is continually relating his fears. He clutches hold of Virgil in frantic terror, he hides himself behind his shoulders.

Two curious pictures he gives us of the barbarous punishments of his times. The one, where he minutely describes the custom then prevalent of binding a robber to a stake, and afterwards planting him head downwards in a hole dug for the purpose; and how the friar bent down to hear the confession of the inverted malefactor, before the moment when the hole would be filled up and the victim choked.

The other picture is when Virgil, in obedience to the call of the Angel, urges Dante to walk through the zone of fire which alone separates him from the stairway to the Earthly Paradise where he is to meet Beatrice. All Dante's horror-struck feelings are aroused to the highest degree, and his highly-wrought imagination recalls the ghastly and sickening details he has witnessed of criminals being burned at the stake; nor must we forget that his mind would have good cause to dwell upon this, seeing that he had himself been condemned (*in contumaciam*) to die that same horrible death, should he ever again fall into the hands of those relentless foes, who were making his beloved Florence a Hell upon earth. It is a beautiful and touching incident of his life, that when he had already attained to the first rank as a man of letters; when his learning and science had earned for him a world-wide reputation, he could yet, in those lines of infinite pathos and beauty (*Par.* xxv, 1-9) exclaim that the dearest thing he could hope for on earth would be, that the recognition of his great poem might earn for him a recall from banishment, in order that, returning home, and kneeling humbly in the beautiful place of his baptism, which he elsewhere calls *il mio bel San Giovanni* (*Inf.* xix), he might there, and there only, receive the laurel crown of a poet. In comparison with the joy of being re-admitted into his native city—but re-admitted without dishonour—all earthly distinctions in his eyes were valueless.



He had apparently travelled in foreign countries, without however contracting any love for foreign nations, *i.e.* where he speaks of them collectively as nations. Germans, Frisons, Spaniards, are mentioned with more or less indifference, but the French he evidently regarded as the real enemies of his country, on account of whom the matrons of Florence lay deserted in their beds,\* France having drawn away their husbands, either for commerce or for war; and to the French he makes allusion, sometimes in derision of their vanity, but far oftener as to their being the true disturbers of the peace of his beloved Italy.

His world is Italy—his State is Tuscany—his city is Florence.

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\* *Par.* xv, 118-120.

## DANTE'S ITINERARY THROUGH PARADISE.

### *Canto I.*

Easter Wednes-  
day, at noon.

1. Immediately after Dante's return from the holy water of Eunoë (*Purg.* xxxiii, 142), he observes that it is bright day in the Southern Hemisphere, and black night in the Northern Hemisphere.

“Tutto era là bianco  
Quello emisperio, e l'altra parte nera.”

2. Dante, like Beatrice, is able to gaze upon the Sun's rays.

“Così dell'atto suo, per gli occhi infuso  
Nell' imagine mia, il mio si fece,  
E fissi gli occhi al sole oltre a nostr' uso.”

3. Dante, awe-struck at the extraordinary increase of sunlight around him, is informed by Beatrice that he is being carried up from earth into heaven.

“Tu non se' in terra, sì come tu credi;  
Ma folgore, fuggendo il proprio sito,  
Non corse come tu ch' ad esso riedi.”

### *Canto II.*

1. Dante finds himself in a pale shimmering light.

“Giunto mi vidi ove mirabil cosa  
Mi torse il viso a sè.”

2. He has reached the first planet, the Heaven of the Moon.

“Drizza la mente in Dio grata, mi disse,  
'Che n' ha congiunti con la prima stella.’”

### *Canto III.*

1. Dante discerns the faces of certain beings before him, but so dimly, that he thinks they are but reflections of real images behind him.

“Tali vid' io più facce a parlar pronte,  
Perch' io dentro all' error contrario corsi  
A quel ch' accese amor tra l'uomo e il fonte.”

2. Beatrice tells him that they are real spirits of those who have failed to keep holy vows.  
 “Vere sustanzie son ciò che tu vedi,  
 Qui rilegate per manco di voto.”
3. Dante addresses the spirit of his kinswoman, Piccarda de' Donati.  
 “Ed io all'ombra, che pareva più vaga  
 Di ragionar, drizza' mi, e cominciai,  
 Quasi com' uom cui troppa voglia ismaga.”
4. Piccarda tells Dante who she was.  
 “Ma riconoscerai ch' io son Piccarda!”
5. And why she and her fellow spirits have been relegated so low down in heaven.  
 “E questa sorte, che par giù cotanto,  
 Però n'è data, perchè fur negletti  
 Li nostri voti, e vòti in alcun canto.”
6. But that they are perfectly resigned to the will of God.  
 “Frate, la nostra volontà quíeta  
 Virtù di carità, che fa volerne  
 Sol quel ch' avemo, e d'altro non ci asseta.”
7. One of her companions is the spirit of the Empress Constance.  
 “Quest'è la luce della gran Costanza.”

*Canto IV.*

1. Two doubts are perplexing Dante: Beatrice tells him what they are.  
 “Io veggio ben come ti tira  
 Uno ed altro disio.”
2. Her words have emanated from the Spirit of God, the Fountain of all Truth.  
 “Cotal fu l'ondeggiar del santo rio,  
 Ch'uscì del fonte ond'ogni ver deriva;  
 Tal pose in pace uno ed altro disio.”
3. Dante tells Beatrice of a further doubt.  
 “Questo m'invita, questo m'assicura,  
 Con riverenza, donna, a domandarvi  
 D'un'altra verità che m'è oscura.”

*Canto V.*

1. Having removed Dante's further doubt concerning the binding force of vows, Beatrice subsides into silence, and Dante also remains speechless.



7. The qualifications of the spirits in the sphere of Mercury.  
 “Questa picciola stella si correda  
 Dei buoni spirti, che son stati attivi  
 Perchè onore e fama li succeda.”
8. Romeo, the great minister of Raymond Bérenger, Count of Provence, whose four daughters Romeo married to Kings.  
 “Quattro figlie ebbe, e ciascuna regina,  
 Ramondo Beringhieri, e ciò gli fece  
 Romeo persona umile e peregrina.”

## Canto VII.

1. Justinian breaks forth into a hymn celebrating the Church both before and after Christ.  
 “*Osanna sanctus Deus Sabaoth,  
 Superillustrans claritate tua  
 Felices ignes horum malachoth!*”
2. The spirits of Justinian and his companions fade away.  
 “Ed essa e l’altre  
 . . . . quasi velocissime faville,  
 Mi si velar di subita distanza.”
3. Beatrice will clear away certain doubts which are perplexing Dante’s mind.  
 “Ma io ti solverò tosto la mente:  
 E tu ascolta, chè le mie parole  
 Di gran sentenza ti faran presente.”

## Canto VIII.

1. Dante becomes aware of his transition into the Planet Venus by perceiving the increasing loveliness of Beatrice.  
 “Io non m’accorsi del salire in ella;  
 Ma d’esservi entro mi fece assai fede  
 La Donna mia, ch’io vidi far più bella.”
2. He discerns bright spirits that shine as sparks in a flame. These are the souls of lovers who loved with a pure love.  
 “E come in fiamma favilla si vede,  
 E come in voce voce si discerne,  
 Quando una è ferma e l’altra va e riede;  
 Vid’io in essa luce altre lucerne.”
3. The spirit of Charles Martel, of Hungary, approaches.  
 “Indi si fece l’un più presso a noi.”
4. He does not name himself, but he tells Dante that, had he lived, he would have let him taste of the *fruit* of his

love, and not alone to gaze upon the blossoms and foliage which precede that fruit.

“Assai m’amasti, ed avesti bene onde ;  
Chè, s’io fossi giù stato, io ti mostrava  
Di mio amor più oltre che le fronde.”

5. His younger brother Robert was the niggardly son of a munificent father.

“La sua natura, che di larga parca discese,” etc.

6. He blames men in the world who, ignoring the disposition inspired by heavenly influences, continually turn the greatest intellects to mistaken ends.

“Ma voi torcetè alla religione  
Tal che fia nato a cingersi la spada,  
E fate re di tal ch’è da sermone ;  
Onde la traccia vostra è fuor di strada.”

*Canto IX.*

1. Dante names Charles and “his Clemence,” whom I take to be his wife, daughter of Rudolph of Hapsburg. He says that the spirit of Charles quitted him and turned back to the All-Sufficing God.

“E già la vita di quel lume santo  
Rivolta s’era al sol che la riempie,  
Come quel ben ch’ad ogni cosa è tanto.”

2. The spirit of Cunizza da Romano accosts Dante.

“Ed ecco un altro di quegli splendori  
Ver me si fece.”

3. Because during her life-time she yielded to the influence of love, she is now relegated to the Sphere of Venus.

“Cunizza fui chiamata, e qui refulgo,  
Perchè mi vinse il lume d’esta stella.”

4. She speaks of the spirit nearest to her, Folco of Marseilles.

“Di questa luculenta e cara gioia  
Del nostro cielo, che più m’è propinqua,  
Grande fama rimase.”

5. After predicting the misfortunes that would befall her native land, the massacres in Padua, the violent death of Riccardo da Cammino, and the cruel treachery of the Bishop of Feltre, she ceased to speak.

“Qui si tacette, e fecemi sembante  
Che fosse ad altro vòlta.”

6. Dante having asked Folco who he is, that spirit gives a description of the Mediterranean Sea, and tells Dante that he was born on that coast.  
 “‘Di quella valle fu’ io littorano.’”
7. The spirit names himself and avows that in life he followed the influence of the planet Venus.  
 “‘Folco mi disse quella gente a cui  
 Fu noto il nome mio, e questo cielo  
 Di me s’imprenta, com’ io fei di lui.’”
8. Folco names Rahab, and her merits.  
 “‘Or sappi che là entro si tranquilla  
 Raab, ed a nostr’ordine congiunta,  
 Perch’ ella favorò la prima gloria  
 Di Josuè in sulla Terra Santa.’”
9. Folco says that the Pope’s neglect of the Holy Land is due to the avaricious love of the whole priesthood for the accursed flower, meaning the Lily stamped on the florin, and that for this greed religious study has been thrust aside.  
 “‘Per questo l’Evangelio e i Dottor magni  
 Son derelitti, e solo ai Decretali  
 Si studia sì che pare ai lor vivagni.’”

*Canto X.*

1. Dante ascends to the Fourth Sphere of Heaven, the Sun, so instantaneously that he is not aware of it.  
 “. . . . . ma del salire  
 Non m’accors’ io, se non com’ uom s’accorge,  
 Anzi il primo pensier, del suo venire.”
2. Dante says that in vain would he attempt to describe the splendour of the souls in this Fourth Sphere.  
 “‘Quel ch’ era dentro al sol dov’ io entra’ mi  
 Non per color ma per lume parvente,  
 Perch’ io lo ingegno, l’arte e l’uso chiami,  
 Sì nol direi che mai s’immaginasse . . .  
 Tal era quivi la quarta famiglia  
 Dell’ alto padre.’”
3. Dante is encircled by the spirits of the twelve great Theologians.  
 “‘Io vidi più fulgor vivi e vincenti  
 Far di noi centro e di sè far corona,  
 Più dolci in voce che in vista lucenti.’”



4. He is addressed by St. Thomas Aquinas, who names his master Albertus Magnus, and himself, as Dominicans.  
 “Io fui degli agni della santa greggia  
 Che Domenico mena per cammino,  
 Questi chè m'è a destra più vicino,  
 Frate e maestro fummi, ed esso Alberto  
 È di Colonia, ed io Thomas d' Aquino.’”
5. After naming the Benedictine monk and legist, Gratian, St. Thomas points out Peter Lombard.  
 “L' altro ch' appresso adorna il nostro coro  
 Quel Pietro fu, che con la poverella  
 Offerse a Santa Chiesa suo tesoro.’”
6. Solomon, so wise, that no one else even equalled him.  
 “A veder tanto non surse il secondo.’”
7. Dionysius, the Areopagite, who wrote about the Celestial Hierarchy.  
 “Che giuso in carne più addentro vide  
 L' angelica natura e il ministero.’”
8. After alluding to Orosius, and Boëthius, St. Thomas groups together St. Isidore, the Venerable Bede, and Richard de St. Victor, as the Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Spirits.  
 “Vedi oltre fiammeggiar, l' ardente spiro  
 D' Isidoro, di Beda, e di Riccardo  
 Che a considerar fu più che viro.’”
9. The twelfth of the Sacred Ring is Sigier, who taught Logic in the Street of Straw at Paris.  
 “Essa è la luce eterna di Sigieri,  
 Che, leggendo nel vico degli strami,  
 Sillogizzò invidiosi veri.’”

*Canto XI.*

1. St. Thomas, a Dominican, sings the praises of St. Francis of Assisi. Providence ordained two Princes, St. Francis and St. Dominic, to be the especial guides of the Church the Bride of Christ, the former of Seraphic fervency, the latter Cherubic in his light of learning.  
 “La provvidenza . . . . .  
 Due Principi ordinò . . . . .  
 L' un fu tutto serafico in ardore,  
 L' altro per sapienza in terra fue  
 Di cherubica luce uno splendore.’”

2. The piety of St. Francis in early life.  
 "Non era ancor molto lontan dall' orto,  
 Ch'ei cominciò a far sentir la terra  
 Della sua gran virtute alcun conforto.'"
3. Poverty was the Bride of St. Francis, whom St. Thomas now names for the first time.  
 "Ma perch'io non proceda troppo chiuso,  
 Francesco e Povertà per questi amanti  
 Prendi oramai nel mio parlar diffuso.'"
4. He mentions Bernardo of Quintavalle, Egidio, and Silvestro, who followed Francis in becoming bare-footed friars.  
 ". . . . il venerabile Bernardo  
 Si scalzò prima, e dietro a tanta pace  
 Corse . . . .  
 Scalzasi Egidio, scalzasi Silvestro.'"
5. The foundation of the Order of St. Francis and its provisional approval by Pope Innocent III.  
 ". . . . regalmente sua dura intenzione  
 Ad Innocenzio aperse, e da lui ebbe  
 Primo sigillo a sua religione.'"
6. St. Thomas tells Dante that when St. Francis retired to Alvernia, he received in his hands and feet the stigmata of Christ, and then died in the bosom of Poverty.  
 "Da Cristo prese l' ultimo sigillo,  
 Che le sue membra due anni portarno. . . .  
 E del suo grembo l' anima preclara  
 Mover si volle, tornando al suo regno.'"
7. St. Dominic, a worthy colleague of St. Francis, and the head of the Order to which he, St. Thomas belongs.  
 "E questi fu il nostro patriarca.'"
8. St. Dominic's flock in Dante's time seek for honours and dignities instead of keeping to their original vow.  
 "Ma il suo peculio di nuova vivanda  
 È fatto ghiotto.'"

*Canto XII.*

1. The garland of Dominican spirits revolving round Dante, but is suddenly enclosed by a similar garland of Franciscan spirits.  
 "E nel suo giro tutta non si volse  
 Prima ch' un'altra di cerchio la chiuse,  
 E moto a moto, e canto a canto colse."
2. One of the Franciscan spirits, St. Bonaventura, from the outer garland commences to praise St. Dominic.

“ . . . . . ‘L’ amor che mi fa bella  
 Mi tragge a ragionar dell’ altro duca,  
 Per cui del mio sì ben ci si favella.’”

3. Calaroga in Spain, the birthplace of St. Dominic, the ardent lover of the Christian Faith.

“ . . . . . la fortunata Calaroga,

Dentro vi nacque l’ amoroso drudo  
 Della fede cristiana . . . . .

Domenico fu detto.’”

4. St. Dominic sold all he had and gave to the poor, following the counsel of Our Lord.

“ ‘Ben parve mezzo e famigliar di CRISTO ;  
 Chè il primo amor che in lui fu manifesto  
 Fu al primo consiglio che diè CRISTO.’”

5. St. Dominic made a fierce onslaught against heresy.

“ . . . . . si mosse,  
 Quasi torrente ch’ alta vena preme,  
 E negli stirpi eretici percosse  
 L’ impeto suo.’”

6. Bonaventura names the twelve spirits of the outer garland, beginning with himself and two obscure but holy friars.

“ ‘Io son la vita di Bonaventura  
 Da Bagnoreggio . . . . .  
 Illuminato ed Augustin son quici,  
 Che fur dei primi scalzi poverelli.’”

7. Then follow Hugh de St. Victor, the mystic ; Petrus Comestor, the historian ; Peter of Spain, the logician ; Nathan, the prophet ; Chrysostom, the preacher ; Anselm, the statesman ; Donatus, the grammarian ; Rabanus, the theologian ; and Joachim, the seer.

“ ‘Ugo da san Vittore è qui con elli,  
 E Pietro Mangiadore, e Pietro Ispano,  
 . . . . .  
 Natan profeta, e il metropolitano  
 Crisostomo, ed Anselmo, e quel Donato  
 Ch’ alla prim’ arte degnò por la mano ;  
 Rabano è qui, e lucemi da lato  
 Il Calabrese abate Gioacchino,  
 Di spirito profetico dotato.’”

*Canto XIII.*

1. St. Thomas Aquinas speaking again, explains to Dante that he is right in thinking the wisdom of Solomon inferior to that of Adam and of Christ. Solomon’s

supremacy is only compared with that of other mortal kings.

“ . . . se al *Surse* drizzi gli occhi chiari,  
 Vedrai aver solamente rispetto  
 Ai regi, che son molti, e i buon son rari.  
 Con questa distinzion prendi il mio detto,  
 E così puote star con quel che credi  
 Del primo padre e del nostro diletto.”

*Canto XIV.*

1. Solomon speaks of the glorious appearance of the Blessed after the resurrection of the Body.

“Come la carne gloriosa e santa  
 Fia rivestita, la nostra persona  
 Più grata fia per esser tutta e quanta.”

2. Dante finds that he has been transported with Beatrice into the Fifth Sphere.

“ . . . . . vidimi translato  
 Sol con mia Donna in più alta salute.”

3. They have reached the fiery tinted Sphere of Mars.

“Ben m'accors'io ch'io era più levato,  
 Per l'affocato riso della stella,  
 Che mi pareo più roggio che l'usato.”

4. Dante sees the spirits of the saintly warriors who fought for Christ. These, shining in different degrees, formed the sign of the Cross.

“Sì costellati facean nel profondo  
 Marte quei rai il venerabil segno,  
 Che fan giunture di quadranti in tondo.”

5. They flit rapidly along the two lines of the Cross, both perpendicularly and horizontally.

“Di corno in corno, e tra la cima e il basso,  
 Si movean lumi.”

6. The hymn of praise “*Risurgi e vinci*” sung by the spirits bind him with fetters of love.

“Io m'innamorava tanto quinci,  
 Che infino a lì non fu alcuna cosa  
 Che mi legasse con sì dolci vinci.”

*Canto XV.*

1. The warrior spirits pause in their melody, in order that Dante might speak.

“Benigna voluntade . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .

Silenzio pose a quella dolce lira,  
E fece quietar le sante corde

Quelle sustanzie . . . per darmi voglia  
Ch' io le pregassi, a tacer fur concorde."

2. Cacciaguida, an ancestor of Dante, detaches himself from the Cross of the Holy Warriors, and darts across the Sapphire Heaven.  
"Quale per li seren tranquilli e puri  
Discorre ad ora ad or subito foco,  
Tale, dal corno che in destro si stende,  
Al piè di quella croce corse un astro  
Della costellazion che lì risplende."
3. The spirit addresses Dante in Latin as his kinsman.  
"O sanguis meus!"
4. He tells Dante that, although he can read the wish in Dante's heart, Dante must unfold his desire.  
"La voce tua sicura, balda e lieta  
Suoni la volontà, suoni il disio,  
A che la mia risposta e già decreta."
5. Dante entreats the spirit to accept his mute expression of thanks, and to reveal his name, addressing him as a living topaz.  
"Ben supplico io a te, vivo topazio,  
Che questa gioia preziosa ingemmi,  
Perchè mi facci del tuo nome sazio."
6. The spirit replies: "Thou art my descendant, I was thy ancestor. Thy great-grandfather was my son. He is still enduring penance for Pride in Purgatory. Pray for him."  
"O fronda mia . . . . . io fui la tua radice . . . . .  
. . . . . Quel da cui si dice  
Tua cognazion, e che cent'anni e piùè  
Girato ha il monte in la prima cornice,  
Mio figlio fu, e tuo bisavo fue."
7. Cacciaguida sketches in outline the simple and peaceful life of Florence in his own days.  
"Fiorenza dentro dalla cerchia antica . . . .  
Si stava in pace, sobria e pudica."
8. His birth, his baptism in San Giovanni, his kinsmen, and his marriage.

- . . . “nell’ antico vostro Batisteo  
 Insieme fui cristiano e Cacciaguیدا.  
 Moronto fu mio frate ed Eliseo ;  
 Mia donna venne a me di val di Pado.’”
9. He became a Crusader and a knight, was killed by the  
 Saracens, and came to Heaven.  
 “Poi seguitai lo imperador Corrado,  
 Ed ei mi cinse della sua milizia
- Quivi fu’ io da quella gente turpa  
 Disviluppato dal mondo fallace . . . .
- E venni dal martiro a questa pace.’”

*Canto XVI.*

1. Cacciaguیدا’s words arouse a feeling in Dante of pride of lineage, quickly suppressed.  
 “O poca nostra nobiltà di sangue!”
2. Dante asks Cacciaguیدا who were his ancestors, in what year was he born, what was the population of Florence in his time, and who were its chief citizens.  
 “Quai fûr li vostri antichi, e quai fûr gli anni  
 Che si segnaro in vostra puerizia.  
 Ditemi dell’ ovil di San Giovanni  
 Quanto era allora, e chi eran le genti  
 Tra esso degne di più alti scanni.’”
3. Cacciaguیدا was born in 1091, his ancestors lived in the district of Porta San Piero ; the population of Florence was small, but were all of pure descent.  
 “Ma la cittadinanza, ch’ è or mista  
 Di Campi di Certaldo e di Fighine,  
 Pura vedeasi nell’ ultimo artista.’”
4. Some great Florentine families are extinct, and their names forgotten.  
 “Perchè non dee parer mirabil cosa  
 Ciò ch’ io dirò degli alti Fiorentini,  
 Onde la fama nel tempo è nascosa.’”
5. He recalls the peaceable condition of Florence.  
 “Con queste genti, e con altre con esse,  
 Vid’ io Fiorenza in sì fatto riposo.’”
6. In his time a victorious State had never dishonoured the standard of its adversary, nor had the Lily of Florence been changed from white to red.  
 “il giglio  
 Non era ad asta mai posto a ritroso,  
 Nè per division fatto vermiglio.’”



*Canto XVII.*

1. Dante enquires if Cacciaguida can interpret certain predictions made to him in Hell and Purgatory as to his destiny.  
 "Per che la voglia mia saria contenta  
 D' intender qual fortuna mi s' appressa.'"
2. Cacciaguida tells him that he will be driven by calumny from Florence, even as Hippolytus was driven from Athens.  
 "Qual si partì Ippolito d' Atene  
 Per la spietata e perfida noverca  
 Tal di Fiorenza partir ti conviene.'"
3. Dante's future sufferings and humiliations.  
 "Tu lascerai ogni cosa diletta  
 Più caramente . . . . .  
 Tu proverai sì come sa di sale  
 Lo pane altrui, e com' è duro calle  
 Lo scendere e il salir per l' altrui scale.'"
4. Dante will separate himself from his unworthy fellow-exiles.  
 "E quel che più ti graverà le spalle  
 Sarà la compagnia malvagia e scempia  
 Con la qual tu cadrai in questa valle,  
 . . . . . sì che a te fia bello  
 Averti fatta parte per te stesso.'"
5. At the Court of Bartolommeo della Scala Dante will meet his brother Can Grande, too young at present to be known.  
 "Non se ne son le genti ancora accorte  
 Per la novella età . . . . .  
 Le sue magnificenze conosciute  
 Saranno ancora sì, che i suoi nemici  
 Non ne potran tener le lingue mute.'"
6. Dante shall still be alive when his sinful fellow-citizens, and their punishment, shall be things of the past.  
 "Non vo' però ch' a tuoi vicini invidie,  
 Poscia che s' infutura la tua vita  
 Vie più là che il punir di lor perfidie.'"
7. Cacciaguida charges Dante to speak out the whole truth about his contemporaries.  
 ". . . . . rimossa ogni menzogna,  
 Tutta tua vision fa manifesta,  
 E lascia pur grattar dov' è la rognà.'"



8. Dante has only been shown the spirits of the great, whether good or bad, and that his poem will, like the wind, only attack the highest summits.

“Questo tuo grido farà come vento,  
Che le più alte cime più percote ;

Però ti son mostrate in queste rote,  
Nel monte, e nella valle dolorosa,  
Pur l' anime che son di fama note.”

Canto XVIII.

1. Cacciaguida points out Joshua ; Judas Maccabeus ; Charlemagne ; Orlando ; William of Orange ; Renouard ; Godfrey de Bouillon ; and Robert Guiscard.

“Indi tra l' altre luci mota e mista,  
Mostrommi l' alma che m' avea parlato,  
Qual era trai cantor del cielo artista.”

2. Dante, passing from the red planet Mars into the Sixth Sphere, the Heaven of Jupiter, saw that the light had become white instead of red.

“Tal fu negli occhi miei, quando fui vòlto,  
Per lo candor della temprata stella  
Sesta, che dentro a sè m' avea ricolto.”

3. The spirits of those who rightly administered justice on earth form in luminous letters the words *Diligite iustitiam qui iudicatis terram*.

“Mostrârsi dunque in cinque volte sette  
Vocali e consonanti . . . . .  
*Diligite iustitiam*, primai  
Fûr verbo e nome di tutto il dipinto ;  
*Qui iudicatis terram*, fur sezzai.”

4. The letter “M” of this celestial inscription undergoes various changes, and finally its summit shapes itself into the head and neck of an Eagle.

“Risurger parver quindi più di mille  
Luci, . . . . .  
E quïetata ciascuna in suo loco,  
La testa e il collo d' un' aquila vidi  
Rappresentare a quel distinto foco.”

5. Dante implores the spirits who form the Eagle, the Emblem of Empire, to entreat God that the Princes of the Earth may not err after the evil example of the Popes.

“O milizia del ciel . . . . .  
 Adora per color che sono in terra  
 Tutti sviati dietro al malo esemplo.  
 Già si solea con le spade far guerra ;  
 Ma or si fa togliendo or qui or quivi  
 Lo pan che il pio padre a nessun serra.’”

*Canto XIX.*

1. The spirits transform themselves into the figure of a complete Eagle with outspread wings.  
 “Parea dinanzi a me con l’ali aperte  
 La bella image.”
2. Dante entreats them to solve a doubt.  
 “Solvetemi spirando il gran digiuno  
 Che lungamente m’ha tenuto in fame.’”
3. The doubt is as to whether a virtuous heathen, dying unbaptized and without the Faith, can be with justice condemned.  
 “Ov’è questa giustizia che il condanna?  
 Ov’è la colpa sua, se ei non crede?’”
4. The Eagle censures the presumption of those who venture to sit in judgment on the Justice of God.  
 “Or tu chi sei, che vuoi sedere a scranna,  
 Per giudicar da lungi mille miglia,  
 Con la veduta corta d’una spanna?’”
5. If Dante could not understand certain strains of the Eagle, how could he expect to comprehend the Justice of God?  
 “. . . . . Quali  
 Son le mie note a te, che non le intendi,  
 Tal è il giudizio eterno a voi mortali.’”
6. Many professing Christians will be found among the reprobate, and many who knew not Christ among the elect.  
 “Ma vedi, molti gridan CRISTO, CRISTO,  
 Che saranno in giudizio assai men *prope*  
 A lui, che tal che non conosce CRISTO.’”
7. The Eagle unfolds a terrible page of the book of Eternity.  
 “Che potran dir li Persi ai vostri regi,  
 Come vedranno quel volume aperto,  
 Nel qual si scrivon tutti i suoi dispregi?’”

*Canto XX.*

1. The Eagle tells Dante that six spirits of surpassing excellence, among the Princes who governed their realms most justly, form the arc of its eye.

“La parte in me che vede, e pate il sole  
Nell' aquile mortali  
Or fisamente riguardar si vuole.”

2. David forms the pupil of the eye.

“Colui che luce in mezzo per pupilla,  
Fu il cantor dello Spirito Santo,  
Che l'arca traslatò di villa in villa.”

3. Of the five who form the eye-lid, Trajan comes first.

“Colui che più al becco mi s' accosta,  
La vedovella consolò del figlio.”

4. Then Hezekiah.

“E quel che segue . . . . .  
Morte indugiò per vera penitenza.”

5. Next Constantine who wrought evil to the Church by the *Donatio Constantini*, though with good intentions.

“L'altro che segue, con le leggi e meco,  
Sotto buona intenzion che fe' mal frutto,  
Per cedere al pastor, si fece Greco.”

6. William II, King of Sicily, whose good reign is regretted by his subjects now under the rule of his unworthy sons.

“Guglielmo fu, cui quella terra plora  
Che piange Carlo e Federico vivo.”

7. Ripheus, the Trojan, a character in Virgil's *Æneid*, is the fifth of the spirits forming the arc of the Eagle's eye.

“Chi crederebbe giù nel mondo errante,  
Che Rifeo Troiano in questo tondo  
Fosse la quinta delle luci sante?”

8. Dante, astonished at finding in heaven two pagans, Ripheus, born before Christ, and Trajan, born after, who had died without believing in Him, learns from the Eagle that they both died Christians in spirit.

“La prima vita del ciglio e la quinta  
Ti fa maravigliar, perchè ne vedi  
La region degli Angeli dipinta.  
Dei corpi suoi non uscir, come credi,  
Gentili, ma Cristiani, in ferma fede,  
Quel dei passuri, e quel dei passi piedi.”

### Canto XXI.

1. Beatrice informs Dante that they have reached the Sphere of Saturn, the abode of the contemplative spirits.

“Noi sem levati al settimo splendore.”

2. Dante sees a ladder of pure gold extending further up than the eye can reach, and numberless shining ones ascending and descending.  
 “Di color d’oro in che raggio traluce,  
 Vid’io uno scaleo eretto in suso  
 Tanto che nol seguiva la mia luce.  
 Vidi anco per li gradi scender giuso  
 Tanti splendor.”
3. The spirit of San Pier Damiano draws near, and Dante asks him why he has approached, and why, in this heaven only, there is a cessation of the sweet melodies heard in the other Spheres.  
 “. . . . . fammi nota  
 La cagion che sì presso mi t’ha posta ;  
 E di’ perchè sì tace in questa rota  
 La dolce sinfonia di Paradiso  
 Che giù per l’altre suona sì devota.”
4. Pier Damiano tells him that mortal hearing could not endure the excess of sweetness of their singing, any more than mortal sight could endure Beatrice’s smile.  
 “Tu hai l’udir mortal sì come il viso,  
 . . . . . onde qui non si canta  
 Per quel che Beatrice non ha riso.”
5. He has descended the stairway to greet Dante, not because he has greater love than his fellow-spirits, but to fulfil his duty.  
 “Giù per li gradi della scala santa  
 Discesi tanto, sol per farti festa,  
 Nè più amor mi fece esser più presta,  
 Chè più e tanto amor quinci su ferve.”
6. Pier Damiano describes his retreat on Monte Catria, and tells his name.  
 “In quel loco fu’io Pier Damiano.”
7. He denounces the luxury of the Cardinals, whose furred cloaks are so long that their steeds were nearly invisible.  
 “Or voglion quinci e quindi chi rinalzi  
 Li moderni pastori, e chi li meni,  
 Tanto son gravi, e chi dietro gli alzi.  
 Copron dei manti loro i palafreni,  
 Sì che due bestie van sott’una pelle !”
8. The other spirits flock down the holy stair at Damiano’s words, and utter a shout of indignation.  
 “. . . fèro un grido di sì alto suono,  
 Che non potrebbe qui assigliarsi.”

## Canto XXII.

1. Dante sees a hundred of the contemplative spirits upon the heavenly stair. The most radiant one among them, St. Benedict, addresses him.  
 "E la maggiore e la più luculenta  
 Di quelle margarite innanzi fessi,  
 Per far di sè la mia voglia contenta."
2. St. Benedict speaks of himself as the founder of the Benedictine Order of Monte Cassino.  
 "Quel monte a cui Cassino è nella costa . . .  
 E quel son io che su vi portai prima  
 Lo nome di Colui."
3. Other bright spirits of his Order.  
 "Qui è Maccario, qui è Romualdo,  
 Qui son li frati miei che dentro ai chiostri  
 Fermar li piedi e tennero il cor saldo."
4. St. Benedict tells Dante that his request to see his face is inopportune, but shall be granted when he reaches the Empyrean.  
 ". . . . . 'Frate, il tuo alto disio  
 S'adempierà in sull' ultima spera.'"
5. He upbraids the monks of Dante's time; the Rule of his Order has become mere waste paper.  
 ". . . . . la regola mia  
 Rimasa è per danno delle carte."
6. St. Benedict and his fellow spirits are swept away up the heavenly stair.  
 ". . . . . indi si ricolse  
 Al suo collegio, e il collegio si strinse;  
 Poi come turbo tutto in su s'accolse."
7. Beatrice, by a mere sign, impels Dante to ascend the Holy Stair. He finds himself in the Eighth Sphere, the Heaven of the Fixed Stars.  
 "La dolce Donna dietro a lor mi pinse  
 Con un sol cenno su per quella scala  
 . . . . . io vidi il segno  
 Che segue il Tauro, e fui dentro da esso."
8. Dante in *Gemini*, to whose influence he ascribes his poetic genius.  
 "O gloriose stelle, o lume pregno  
 Di gran virtù, dal quale io riconosco  
 Tutto, qual che sia, lo mio ingegno  
 Quand' io senti' da prima l'aer Tosco."

9. Dante can see below him the whole of the inhabited earth, so insignificant, that he compares it to a mere threshing floor.

“L' aiuola che ci fa tanto feroci, . . .  
Tutta m' apparve dai colli alle foci.”

*Canto XXIII.*

1. Dante sees Beatrice gazing towards the South, like a bird on its nest watching for the dawn.

“Così la Donna mia si stava eretta  
Ed attenta, rivolta invèr la plaga  
Sotto la quale il sol mostra men fretta.”

2. The heavens become more resplendent, and Beatrice proclaims the approach of the Triumph of Christ.

“E Beatrice disse: ‘Ecco le schiere  
Del trionfo di CRISTO, e tutto il frutto  
Ricolto nel girar di queste spere.’”

3. Dante sees thousands of lights, and one Divine Sun giving lustre to them.

“Vid' io, sopra migliaia di lucerne,  
Un Sol che tutte quante l' accendea.”

4. In the fiery light of that Sun he discerns the Essence or Personality (*lucente sustanzia*) of Christ, and finds he is in the Presence of God Himself.

“E per la viva luce trasparente  
La lucente sustanzia tanto chiara  
Nel viso mio, che non la sostenea.”

5. Dante passes over many of the things he saw in Heaven as too ineffable for man to utter.

“. . . . . figurando il Paradiso,  
Convien saltar lo sacrato poema, . . .

Non è pilleggio da picciola barca  
Quel che fendendo va l'ardita prora,  
Nè da nocchier ch' a sè medesimo parca.”

6. Beatrice reproves Dante for contemplating her, and bids him rather gaze upon the garden in which are the Rose (the Virgin Mary), and the Lilies (the Apostles).

“Quivi è la rosa in che il Verbo Divino  
Carne si fece; quivi son li gigli,  
Al cui odor si prese il buon cammino.’”

7. The Apotheosis of the Blessed Virgin.

“Così la circolata melodia  
Si sigillava, e tutti gli altri lumi  
Facean sonar lo nome di Maria.”



8. The Virgin follows her Blessed Son into the Empyrean.  
     "la coronata fiamma,  
     . . . si levò appresso la sua semenza."
9. The Saints sing the Easter Hymn to the Virgin.  
     "Indi rimaser lì nel mio cospetto,  
     *Regina cœli* cantando sì dolce."

*Canto XXIV.*

1. Beatrice entreats the assembled Saints to shed some dew upon Dante from their Fountain of Knowledge.  
     ". . . roratelo alquanto: voi bevete  
     Sempre del fonte onde vien quel ch'ei pensa."
2. St. Peter addresses Beatrice as "Sister!"  
     "Vid' io uscire un foco sì felice,  
     Che nulla vi lasciò di più chiarezza ;  
     E tre fiata intorno di Beatrice  
     Si volse . . .  
     'O santa suora mia, che sì ne pèghe  
     Devota.'"
3. Beatrice entreats St. Peter to examine Dante concerning his Faith.  
     ". . . 'O luce eterna del gran viro,  
     A cui nostro Signor lasciò le chiavi, . . .  
     Tenta costui dei punti lievi e gravi,  
     Come ti piace, intorno della fede.'"
4. St. Peter's first question is: "What is Faith?" Dante replies:  
     " 'Fede è sustanzia di cose sperate,  
     Ed argomento delle non parventi ;  
     E questa pare a me sua quiditate.'"
5. St. Peter is satisfied with Dante's answer as to his Faith, but does Dante possess this Faith?  
     " 'Assai bene è trascorsa  
     D' esta moneta già la lega e il peso ;  
     Ma dimmi se tu l' hai nella tua borsa.'  
     Ond' io : ' Sì, ho sì lucida e sì tonda,  
     Che nel suo conio nulla mi s' inforsa.'"
6. Dante obtained his Faith from the rain of the Holy Spirit, poured forth in the Scriptures.  
     " 'Onde ti venne?' Ed io : ' La larga ploia  
     Dello Spirito Santo, ch' è diffusa  
     In sulle vecchie e in sulle nuove cuoia,  
     È sillogismo che la m' ha conchiusa.'"
7. Dante's belief in inspiration of Scripture, the credibility of miracles, and the crowning miracle of all, the spread



of Christianity. The assembled Saints intone a *Te Deum* for joy at the Triumph of Christ's religion.

“ Finito questo, l'alta Corte santa  
Risonò per le spere un : ‘ Dio laudamo,  
Nella melode che lassù si canta.”

8. Dante answers the final question: ‘*What dost thou believe?*’ The Holy Trinity can be named both in the plural and in the singular.

“ Credo una essenza sì una e sì trina,  
Che soffera congiunto *sono ed este.*”

9. St. Peter, rejoicing at Dante's recitation of his Faith, encircles him three times as though embracing him, and in his holy chant pronounces a blessing.

“ Così, benedicendomi cantando,  
Tre volte cinse me, sì com' io tacqui  
L'apostolico lume.”

### Canto XXV.

1. St. James approaches Dante. Beatrice indicates him as the Baron for whom pilgrimages are made into Galicia.

“ Indi si mosse un lume verso noi . . .

E la mia Donna piena di letizia  
Mi disse : ‘ Mira, mira, ecco il Barone,  
Per cui laggiù si visita Galizia.’”

2. Beatrice entreats him to examine Dante on Hope.

“ Inclita vita, per cui la larghezza  
Della nostra basilica si scrisse,  
Fa risonar la speme in questa altezza.”

3. St. James asks Dante what Hope is, and whether he (Dante) possesses it.

“ Di' quel che ell'è, e come se ne infiora  
La mente tua, e di' onde a te venne.”

4. Beatrice tells St. James that no son of the Church possesses this Hope more soundly than does Dante.

“ La Chiesa militante alcun figliuolo  
Non ha con più speranza.”

5. Dante replies to the questions “What is Hope?” and “Whence came it to thee?”

“ Speme, diss' io, ‘ è uno attender certo  
Della gloria futura, il qual produce  
Grazia divina e precedente merto.”

Da molte stelle [*many sacred writers*] mi vien questa  
 Ma quei la distillò nel mio cor pria, [luce;  
 Che fu sommo cantor del sommo duce. . .

Tu mi stillasti con lo stillar suo  
 Nell' epistola poi."

6. "What promise (asks St. James) does thy Hope hold out to thee?" Dante replies: "the promise of perfect bliss."

"Dell' anime che Dio s' ha fatte amiche

Dice Isaia, che ciascuna vestita  
 Nella sua terra fia di doppia vesta,  
 E la sua terra è questa dolce vita."

7. St. John, invested with dazzling radiance, comes forward.

"Poscia tra esse un lume si schiarì,  
 Sì che, se il Cancro avesse un tal cristallo,  
 L' inverno avrebbe un mese d' un sol dì."

8. It is he who lay in our Lord's bosom, and stood at the foot of His Cross.

"Questi è colui che giacque sopra il petto  
 Del nostro Pellicano, e questi fue  
 D' in sulla croce al grande officio eletto."

9. Dante is dazzled by looking at St. John. St. John tells him that his body is buried on Earth.

"Perchè t' abbagli  
 Per veder cosa che qui non ha loco?  
 In terra è terra il mio corpo."

### Canto XXVI.

1. Beatrice's glance can revive Dante's sight, as Ananias did that of St. Paul.

" . . . . . fa ragion che sia  
 La vista in te smarrita e non defunta;  
 Perchè la Donna tua . . . . .

. . . . . ha nello sguardo  
 La virtù ch' ebbe la man d' Anania."

2. Dante assures St. John that God is the beginning and end of his affection.

"Lo ben che fa contenta questa corte,  
 Alfa ed O è di quanta scrittura  
 Mi legge amore, o lievemente o forte."

3. St. John asking what first led Dante to aim at attaining Divine Love, Dante answers, "Philosophy and Revealed Authority."

"Ed io: ' Per filosofici argomenti  
 E per autorità che quinci scende,  
 Cotale amore convien che mi s' imprenti.'"

4. After commending Dante's reply, which included a confession of his Faith, St. John puts another question respecting Love.  
 "Ma di' ancor, se tu senti altre corde  
 Tirarti verso lui, sì che tu suone  
 Con quanti denti questo amor ti morde."
5. Dante replies that all the motives, that could combine to make a man love God, combined in him, and withdrew him from perverted love to the Love of the Chiefest Good.  
 ". . . . . 'Tutti quei morsi  
 Alla mia caritate son concorsi . . .  
 Tratto m' hanno del mar dell' amor tôrto,  
 E del diritto m' han posto alla riva."
6. The Spirits of the Blessed break forth into a hymn of praise on hearing the successful issue of Dante's examination in the three Theological Virtues.  
 "Sì com' io tacqui, un dolcissimo canto  
 Risonò per lo cielo, e la mia Donna  
 Dicea con gli altri: 'Santo, Santo, Santo.'"
7. Beatrice turns her eyes on Dante, who is at once re-endowed with sight.  
 "Così degli occhi miei ogni quisquilia  
 Fugò Beatrice col raggio de' suoi."
8. A fourth radiant spirit joins those of the three Apostles. It is Adam.  
 "E la mia Donna: 'Dentro da que' rai  
 Vagheggia il suo fattor l' anima prima,  
 Che la prima virtù creasse mai.'"
9. Adam anticipates and answers several questions unuttered by Dante, and adds that he was only in the Garden of Paradise for seven hours after his creation.  
 "Nel monte che si leva più dall' onda,  
 Fu' io con vita pura e disonesta  
 Dalla prim' ora a quella che seconda,  
 Come il sol muta quadra, l' ora sesta."

## Canto XXVII.

1. Before quitting the Eighth Sphere, Dante hears the Heavenly Host intone the *Gloria Patri*.  
 "Al Padre, al Figlio, allo Spirito Santo'  
 Cominciò 'Gloria' tutto il Paradiso,  
 Sì che m' inebbriava il dolce canto."

2. The radiance of St. Peter takes a red tint, and he explains that Dante will see the whole Heaven blush with indignation against the occupiers of his former throne.

“ . . . . . ‘Se io mi trascoloro,  
Non ti maravigliar ; chè, dicend’io  
Vedrai trascolorar tutti costoro.

Quegli ch’usurpa in terra il loco mio,  
Il loco mio, il loco mio, che vaca  
Nella presenza del Figliuol di Dio,  
Fatto ha del cimitero mio cloaca.’”

3. He sees, throughout the Church, avarice and greed of gain, in all its chief Pastors.

“In vesta di pastor lupi rapaci  
Si veggion di quassù per tutti i paschi.’”

4. St. Peter and his fellow-spirits having been swept away into the Empyrean, Beatrice invites Dante to turn his eyes again down to earth, and to note that in six hours his position has changed a quarter of a sphere.

“Dall’ora ch’io avea guardato prima,  
Io vidi mosso me per tutto l’arco  
Che fa dal mezzo al fine il primo clima.’”

5. Dante is elevated into the Ninth Sphere, or Crystalline Heaven.

“E la virtù che lo sguardo m’indulse,  
Del bel nido di Leda mi divelse,  
E nel ciel velocissimo m’impulse.’”

6. Beatrice reiterates St. Peter’s indignant condemnation of avarice in the world.

“O cupidigia, . . . . .  
Ben fiorisce negli uomini il volere ;  
Ma la pioggia continua converte  
In bozzacchioni le susine vere.’”

7. She attributes this avarice to evil government of Church and Empire.

“Pensa che in terra non è chi governi ;  
Onde si svia l’umana famiglia.’”

### *Canto XXVIII.*

1. Dante discerns an infinitesimal point of light of exceeding brilliancy, round which are revolving nine concentric circles of fire. The point is God, the nine circles the nine Angelic Hierarchies.

“Un punto vidi che raggiava lume  
Acuto sì, che il viso ch’egli affoca

Chiuder conviensi per lo forte acume

. . . intorno al punto un cèrchio d'igne  
Si girava."

2. Beatrice explains that the revolving heavens (*cerchi corporai*) are larger or smaller according as they have more or less power to influence the Spheres below them.  
"Li cerchi corporai sono ampi ed arti,  
Secondo il più e il men della virtute,  
Che si distende per tutte lor parti."
3. And each heaven is united with that Order of Angels which is most fitted to it. The smallest circles of Angels, being the chiefest, sway the largest and chiefest circles of the heavens; and similarly the largest circles of the Angels sway the smallest circles of the heavens.  
"Tu vederai mirabil conseguenza,  
Di maggio a più, e di minore a meno,  
In ciascun cielo a sua intelligenza."
4. Each of the nine Hierarchies of Angels influences a Sphere of Heaven.  
"Questi ordini di su tutti rimirano,  
E di giù vincon sì che verso Dio  
Tutti tirati sono e tutti tirano."
5. Beatrice prefers the classification of the Celestial Hierarchies ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite, which corresponds with her own, to that of Gregory the Great.  
"E Dionisio con tanto disio  
A contemplar questi ordini si mise,  
Che li nomò e distinse com'io.  
Ma Gregorio da lui poi si divise."
6. Dionysius was taught by St. Paul, who had seen these things when he was caught up to the Third Heaven.  
"E se tanto segreto ver proferse  
Mortale in terra, non voglio che ammiri;  
Chè chi il vide quassù gliel discoperse  
Con altro assai del ver di questi giri."

### Canto XXIX.

1. Beatrice replies to certain questions which she supposes Dante to be tacitly asking. The first is: "Why did God create the Angels?" She answers: "That He might manifest His Glory to others."  
"Non per avere a sè di bene acquisto,  
Ch'esser non può, ma perchè suo splendore  
Potesse risplendendo dir: *Subsisto.*"

2. "When did God create the Angels?" When time first was, that is, on the first day of the Creation.  
 "In sua eternità di tempo fuore,  
 Fuor d'ogni altro comprender, come i piacque,  
 S'aperse in nuovi amor l'eterno amore."
3. Though we are not told *where* they were created, we are to infer that it was in the Empyrean, nor are we told *how*, but we are also to infer that it was as beings of perfect goodness. Beatrice recapitulates the *where*, the *when*, and the *how*.  
 "Or sai tu dove e quando questi amori  
 Furon creati, e come; sì che spenti  
 Nel tuo disio già son tre ardori."
4. The rebellious Angels sinned the instant they were created.  
 "Nè giugneriesi numerando al venti  
 Sì tosto, come degli Angeli parte  
 Turbò il soggetto dei vostri elementi."
5. The circulating movements of the heavens are controlled by the Angels who remained faithful to God.  
 "L'altra rimase, e cominciò quest' arte  
 Che tu discerni, con tanto diletto  
 Che mai da circuir non si diparte."
6. Beatrice censures the preachers of the time.  
 "Per apparer ciascun s'ingegna, e face  
 Sue invenzioni, e quelle son trascorse  
 Dai predicanti, e il Vangelo si tace."
7. She upbraids their levity and irreverence.  
 "Ora si va con motti e con iscede  
 A predicare, e pur che ben si rida,  
 Gonfia il cappuccio, e più non si richiede."

## Canto XXX.

1. The choirs of Angels circling round the Point fade from Dante's view.  
 ". . . . il trionfo, che lude  
 Sempre dintorno al punto che mi vinse,  
 Parendo inchiuso da quel ch'egl' inchiude,  
 A poco a poco al mio veder si estinse."
2. Beatrice's superadded loveliness.  
 "La bellezza ch'io vidi si trasmoda  
 Non pur di là da noi, ma certo io credo  
 Che solo il suo fattor tutta la goda."
3. She draws Dante's attention to the Empyrean into which they are ascending.



- “ . . . . ‘Noi semo usciti fuore  
Del maggior corpo al ciel ch’è pura luce;  
Luce intellettual piena d’amore.’”
4. The glorious radiance of the Empyrean.  
“ . . . mi circonfulse luce viva,  
E lasciommi fasciato di tal velo  
Del suo fulgor, che nulla m’ appariva.”
5. Dante finds himself endowed with a new power enabling him to see the Divine light in the form of a river flowing between two flowery banks.  
“ . . . . . io compresi  
Me sormontar di sopra a mia virtute;  
E di novella vista mi raccesi . . .  
E vidi lume in forma di riviera  
Fulvido di fulgore, intra due rive  
Dipinte di mirabil primavera.”
6. The River of Light is transformed into a circular sea of radiance of immense size.  
“ . . . . . mi parve  
Di sua lunghezza divenuta tonda . . .  
E si distende in circular figura  
In tanto, che la sua circonferenza  
Sarebbe al sol troppo larga cintura.”
7. Dante sees the circular sea of Light take the semblance of a vast white Rose, whose petals are thousands upon thousands of degrees of thrones.  
“Vidi specchiarsi in più di mille soglie,  
Quanto di noi lassù fatto ha ritorno,  
E se l’ infimo grado in sè raccoglie  
Sì grande lume, quant’ è la larghezza  
Di questa rosa nell’ estreme foglie?”
8. Beatrice conducts Dante into the centre of the Heavenly Rose, showing him the Saints in white robes seated on the thrones, like the petals of the flower.  
“Nel giallo della rosa sempiterna . . .  
Mi trasse Beatrice, e disse ‘Mira  
Quanto è il convento delle bianche stole!’”
9. The throne reserved for the Emperor Henry VII of Luxembourg.  
“In quel gran seggio, a che tu gli occhi tieni  
Per la corona che già v’ è su posta,  
Prima che tu a queste nozze ceni,  
Sederà l’ alma, che fia giù agosta,  
Dell’ alto Enrico, ch’ a drizzare Italia  
Verrà in prima che ella sia disposta.’”

## Canto XXXI.

1. Dante, while gazing at the Saints (*milizia santa*) collected into the form of the snow-white Rose of Heaven, sees a second host, which are the Angels, fly down to them, as bees to flowers, and back to God, as bees to their hive.

“In forma dunque di candida rosa

Mi sì mostrava la milizia santa . . . .

Ma l'altra . . . . .

Sì come schiera d'api . . . . .

Nel gran fior discendeva che s'adorna

Di tante foglie, e quindi risaliva

Là dove il suo amor sempre soggiorna.”

2. The faces of the Angels are in flames, their wings of gold, their raiment white as snow.

“Le facce tutte avean di fiamma viva,

E l'ali d'oro, e l'altro tanto bianco,

Che nulla neve a quel termine arriva.”

3. Dante conjures the Holy Trinity to shine upon those who are tossed about on the tempestuous sea of life.

“O trina luce, che in un'ica stella

Scintillando a lor vista sì gli appaga,

Guarda quaggiù alla nostra procella.”

4. Dante's eyes wander over the countless tiers of thrones. All the countenances he sees seem to breathe Peace, Love, and Good-Will derived from the Light of God.

“Menava io gli occhi per li gradi,

Mo su, mo giù, e mo ricircolando.

Vedea di carità visi suadi;

D'altrui lume fregiati e del suo riso,

Ed atti ornati di tutte onestadi.”

5. He turns round, and in place of Beatrice, finds that an old man clothed in white is standing by him.

“Credea veder Beatrice, e vidi un Sene

Vestito con le genti gloriose.”

6. The new-comer, who is St. Bernard, points out Beatrice seated in glory upon her throne in the third rank, counting from the uppermost.

“E se tu riguardi su nel terzo giro

Del sommo grado, tu la rivedrai

Nel trono che i suoi merti le sortiro.”

7. Dante having addressed a farewell prayer and thanksgiving to Beatrice, she beams a smile of last farewell

from her far distant throne, and then turns her face to God.

“Così orai ; ed ella sì lontana,  
Come pareva, sorrise e riguardommi ;  
Poi si tornò all’ eterna fontana.”

- 8<sup>1</sup> St. Bernard names himself, and directs Dante to look at the radiance of the Saints in the Rose, that he may be prepared to gaze upon the glory of the Blessed Virgin.

“Vola con gli occhi per questo giardino ;  
Chè veder lui t’acconcerà lo sguardo  
Più al montar per lo raggio divino.  
E la Regina del cielo, ond’i’ ardo  
Tutto d’amor, ne farà ogni grazia,  
Perocch’io sono il suo fedel Bernardo.”

9. Dante sees the Virgin Mary among the adoring Angels.

“Vidi quivi ai lor giochi ed ai lor canti  
Ridere una bellezza, che letizia  
Era negli occhi a tutti gli altri Santi.”

#### Canto XXXII.

1. After pointing out Eve sitting at Mary’s feet, and Rachel at the side of Beatrice, St. Bernard names Saul, Rebecca, Judith, and Ruth, the great-grandmother of the Psalmist.

“Sara, Rebecca, Judit, e colei  
Che fu bisava al cantor che per doglia  
Del fallo disse: *Miserere mei.*”

2. The holy women divide the Saints of the Old Testament from those of the new. The seats of the former are full, but there are still some vacant places among the latter.

“ . . . . . queste sono il muro  
A che si parton le sacre scalee.  
Da questa parte onde il fior è maturo  
Di tutte le sue foglie, sono assisi  
Quei che credettero in CRISTO venturo.  
Dall’ altra parte, onde sono intercisi  
Di vòti i semicircoli, si stanno  
Quei ch’ a CRISTO venuto ebbero li visi.”

3. St. Bernard shows Dante St. John the Baptist, and beneath him the founders of religious Orders, and others below, corresponding in their tiers to the tiers on which are seated the Mothers of Israel.

“E sotto lui così cerner sortiro  
Francesco, Benedetto ed Augustino,  
Ed altri sin quaggiù di giro in giro.”

4. The Rose is not only intersected by a perpendicular, but also by a horizontal line. Below the latter are seated the spirits of infants who died before they had attained the practice of Free Will.

“ . . . tutti questi son spiriti assolti

Prima ch' avesser vere elezioni.

Ben te ne puoi accorger per li volti,

Ed anco per le voci puerili.”

5. If these babes enjoy bliss in different degrees, they do so because God so willed it.

““Dentro all'ampiezza di questo reame

Casual punto non puote aver sito . . . . .

E però questa festinata gente

A vera vita non è *sine causa*

Intra sè qui più e meno eccellente.”

6. Dante must gaze upon the radiant countenance of the Blessed Virgin, which alone can fit his eyesight to behold the glory of her Divine Son.

““Riguarda omai nella faccia ch' a CRISTO

Più si somiglia, chè la sua chiarezza

Sola ti può disporre a veder CRISTO.

7. Dante sees the Archangel Gabriel poised on his wings in front of Mary.

“E quell'amor che primo l' discese,

Cantando: *Ave Maria, gratia plena,*

Dinanzi a lei le sue ali distese.”

8. St. Bernard points out Adam, St. Peter, St. John, Moses, Anna, and Lucia, and then signifies to Dante that he must employ the time remaining to him of his vision in the contemplation of the Triune God.

““Ma perchè il tempo fugge che t' assonna,

Qui farem punto . . . . .

E drizzeremo gli occhi al primo amore,

Sì che, guardando verso lui, penetri,

Quant' è possibil, per lo suo fulgore.”

### Canto XXXIII.

1. St. Bernard makes his prayer to the Virgin on Dante's behalf, imploring grace of her for Dante to rise to the vision of the Divine Essence.

““Or questi . . . . .

. . . . .

- Supplica a te per grazia di virtute  
Tanto che possa con gli occhi levarsi  
Più alto verso l'ultima salute."
2. The Virgin Mary's eyes signify her appreciation of St. Bernard's prayer.  
"Gli occhi da Dio dilette e venerati,  
Fissi nell'orator, ne dimostraro  
Quanto i devoti preghi le son grati."
3. Dante, encouraged by St. Bernard, with purified eye-sight gazes on high into the Supreme Light, and sees things such as human power of speech is unable to recount.  
". . . la mia vista, venendo sincera,  
E più e più entrava per lo raggio  
Dell'alta luce, che da sè è vera.  
Da quinci innanzi il mio veder fu maggio  
Che il parlar nostro, ch'a tal vista cede,  
E cede la memoria a tanto oltraggio."
4. Dante invokes the Supreme Light to enable him to record even a fragment of what he has seen.  
"O somma luce, . . . .  
. . . fa la lingua mia tanto possente,  
Ch'una favilla sol della tua gloria  
Possa lasciare alla futura gente."
5. He attempts to describe in what threefold shape he saw the Blessed Trinity.  
"Nella profonda e chiara sussistenza  
Dell'alto lume parvemi tre giri  
Di tre colori e d'una continenza;  
E l'un dall'altro, come Iri da Iri,  
Parea riflesso, e il terzo parea foco  
Che quinci e quindi egualmente si spiri."
6. He concludes the Poem by showing that God had taken possession of his every desire and his whole will, and was moving them with that same Love with which He directs and governs the Heavenly bodies.  
"All'alta fantasia qui mancò possa;  
Ma già volgeva il mio disiro e il *velle*,  
Sì come rota ch'egualmente è mossa,  
L'amor che move il sole e l'altre stelle."

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- III. The *Inferno*: Texts, with Italian and English Commentaries and Translations.
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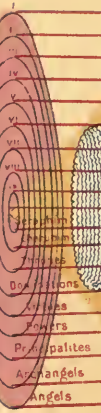
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CHERUBIM

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DOMINATIONS

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Philosophy

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 (Adam, St. Peter, St. John, Moses, St. Anna, Lucia,  
 Judith, Ruth, St. John the Baptist, St. Augustine, St. Michael, St. Gabriel,  
 The Virgin, St. Peter, St. Bernard, St. Augustin, St. Rochet, Sarah,  
 The two Courts of Heaven.)

XXX. The IX Orders of Heaven.

XXVIII. The IX Orders of the Three Hierarchies.

XXVII. Adam.

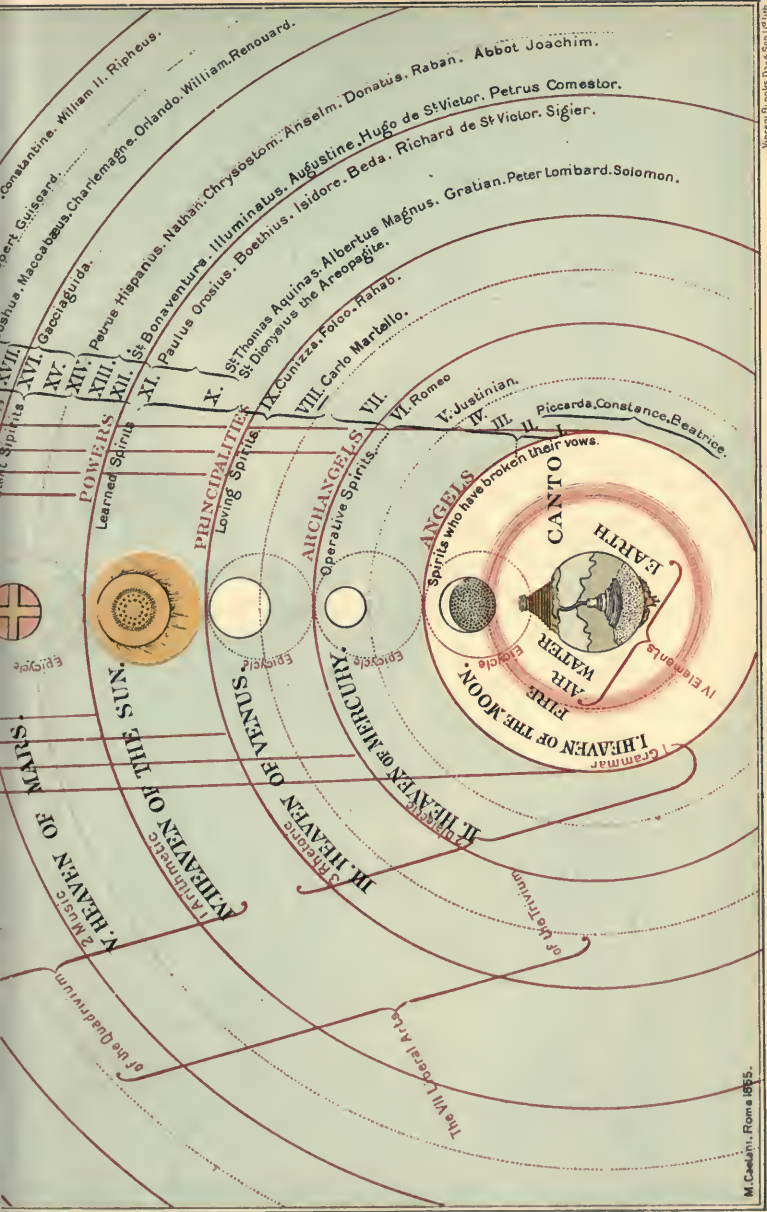
XXV. St. James, St. John, St. Peter.

XXIII. The Angel Gabriel, The Blessed, The Triumph of Christ, The B. Virgin, St. Benedict, Misaerius-Romualdas.

XXI. San Pier Damiano.

David, Trajan.





GENERAL VIEW OF PARADISE ACCORDING TO DANTE.

Adapted from the Tavole Dantesche of the Duke of Sermoneta.







# THE PARADISO.

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## VOL. I.

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### CANTO I.

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PROEMIIUM TO THE *PARADISO*.—DANTE'S ENTRANCE AND INVOCATION.—ASCENT INTO THE SPHERE OF FIRE.—BEATRICE EXPLAINS THE MODE OF THEIR TRANSIT.—THE ORDER OF THE UNIVERSE.



SAYING of Averrhoës, remarks Benvenuto,\* reminds us that it is good to sift out a bushel measure of sand, as one may haply find a pearl in it. That very curious investigator, the Poet Dante, is known to have done this in his divine poem, in a most elegant manner (*quod elegantissime fecisse dignoscitur curiosissimus indagator poeta Dantes in divino poemate suo*). He sifted first a bushel of sand, but in it he only discovered the disposition of mind to escape from the Valley of utter darkness, the centre of all woes, as we have read in his first book (*the Inferno*), in which he hunted out all kinds of vices, and their appropriate punishments. He

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\* Benvenuto de Rambaldis de Imola, *Comentum supra Dantis Aldigherii Comediam, nunc primum integre in lucem editum*. Sumptibus Guilielmi Warren Vernon curante Jacobo Philippo Lacaita, *Florentiæ*, 1857, 5 vols., large 8vo.

then sifted a second bushel of sand ; in this however he only discovered the way to discover the desired pearl, as we read in his second book (*the Purgatorio*), in which with lesser toil he went all over an exceedingly high mountain in search after all kinds of virtues, which form the path that leads up to Beatitude. Now in a third bushel of sand Dante discovers the real pearl, the most precious reward of all his labours, namely Eternal Glory. Therefore, setting out upon his ascent into Heaven, in which this Eternal Glory is especially brilliant and vivid, he describes it to us in noble and magnificent language.

Dante dedicated the *Paradiso*, the work of the closing years of his troubled life, to Can Grande della Scala, the Lord of Verona. He does so in one of the most important of his epistles (*Ep.* xi), addressed to Can Grande himself. "I have carefully looked over (Dante writes) the little things that I could give you, and separated and examined them each by each, seeking the most worthy and pleasing for you. Nor did I find anything more suitable even for your pre-eminence than the sublime Canticle of the Comedy which is graced with the title of *Paradiso*: and with that the present letter, as dedicated with a proper inscription, I inscribe, offer, and, in fine commend to you." (*A translation of Dante's Eleven Letters, with explanatory notes and historical comments*, by Charles Sterrett Latham, Boston, 1892, *Ep.* xi, p. 190).\*

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\* Dr. Moore in his edition (*Tutte le Opere di Dante Alighieri nuovamente rivedute nel testo da Dr. E. Moore*, Oxford, 1894) omits the letter to Guido da Polenta, and therefore *Epist.* xi in Mr. Latham's Translation is *Epist.* x in Dr. Moore's text.

Dante then goes on to give Can Grande some conception of the *Divina Commedia* as a whole, of which the *Paradiso* is only a part. There are special meanings ; "there is one meaning that is derived from *the letter*, and another that is derived from the things indicated by the letter (*alius sensus est qui habetur per literam, alius est qui habetur per significata per literam*). The first is called *literal*, but the second *allegorical* or *mystical*." (*ibid.* p. 193). Working on this basis Dante (pp. 197, 198) gives a precise definition of the proposition he is laying down. "For if the subject of *the whole work*, taken according to the letter, is the state of souls after death considered not in a special but in a general sense, it is manifest that *in this part* the subject is the same state treated in a special sense, namely ; the state of the souls of the Blessed after death. And if the subject of the whole work, *allegorically considered*, is Man, liable to the reward or punishment of Justice, according as through the freedom of the will he is deserving or undeserving, it is manifest that the subject *in this part* is restricted, and is Man, liable to the reward of Justice, according as he is deserving."

Benvenuto says that the *Paradiso* may be divided into two principal parts : in the first of which Dante describes seven species, or classes of spirits in glory that appear to him in seven spheres that are under the influence of seven planets. This part extends to the Twenty-third Canto. In the second of the two principal parts, Dante describes three Orbs of the Heavens, namely, the Eighth Sphere, which is called the Firmament or Heaven of the Fixed Stars ; the Ninth which is called the *Primum Mobile* ; and the

Empyrean Heaven, which is Paradise proper. In these three greatest spheres Dante gives a description of the most glorious City of God (*i.e.* the Church Triumphant) both in its figurative, and in its moral sense. This occupies the remainder of the poem.

Canto I, which contains the *Proœmium* to the *Cantica* may be divided into four parts.

*In the First Division*, from v. 1 to v. 12, Dante simply makes a statement of the matter to be treated.

*In the Second Division*, from v. 13 to v. 36, he makes his Invocation.

*In the Third Division*, from v. 37 to v. 81, he shows how, by the operation of Beatrice, he was endued with the power to ascend to Heaven.

*In the Fourth Division*, from v. 82 to v. 142, Beatrice explains to Dante that they are already rising with great velocity, although he is not aware of it. She clears up his difficulties respecting the Transit, by an exposition of the natural law and order of the Universe.

*Division I.* The *Cantica* of the *Paradiso* opens, as did those of the *Inferno* and the *Purgatorio*, with a statement of the argument; and in the solemnity of this exordium is shown at once the greatness of Dante's concepts, as well as the literary skill which he has brought to bear in developing this his last great work. Benvenuto says that Dante, wishing to describe the super-excellence of the celestial realms, which he is now preparing to set forth in poetry, lays down first as his exordium a preliminary maxim, a concept that all minds have in common, and in which



every man of sound intellect acquiesces, namely, that the Heavens and the Earth are full of the majesty of the Eternal King, Who rules all things with Power, with Wisdom, and with Good Will towards his creatures.

La gloria\* di colui che tutto move †  
 Per l' universo penetra, ‡ e risplende  
 In una parte più, e meno § altrove.

\* *La gloria*: Compare *Ezek.* xliii, 5: "So the spirit took me up, and brought me into the inner court; and, behold, the glory of the Lord filled the house." And *Wisdom* i, 7: "The Spirit of the Lord filleth the world." And Lucan, *Pharsal.* ix, 580:

"Juppiter est quodcumque vides, quocumque moveris."

† *colui che tutto move*: St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. cv, art. 2) says: "Deus est movens non motum . . . movet igitur Deus sicut desideratum et apprehensum." In *Convito*, iii, 15, ll. 157-160, Dante writes: "Con Lei [*Sapienza*] Iddio cominciò il mondo e specialmente il movimento del cielo, il quale tutte le cose genera, e dal quale ogni movimento è principiato e mosso." Compare also Boëthius, *Philos. Consol.* iii, *Metr.* ix:

"O qui perpetua mundum ratione gubernas  
 Terrarum cœlique sator, qui tempus ab œvo  
 Ire jubes, stabilisque manens das cuncta moveri."

Casini (*La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri con il Commento di Tommaso Casini*, 4th edit., Florence, 1895) says that the idea of God, the Prime Mover of all things, penetrating with the light of his Grace and Wisdom throughout the Universe, and shining with varying brilliancy upon things according to their greater or less susceptibility to comprehend Him, is an idea very frequently expressed in the Bible, in the writings of the Fathers of the Church, and also in many passages of Dante's works.

‡ *penetra*: Dante in his letter to Can Grande della Scala (*Ep.* x, cap. 23, ll. 427-431) comments himself on this passage: "Bene ergo dictum est, cum dicit quod divinus radius, seu divina gloria, per universum *penetrat et resplendet*. *Penetrat*, quantum ad essentiam; *resplendet*, quantum ad esse." From *cap.* 20 to the end of the epistle is a closely reasoned commentary by Dante of these opening lines of the *Cantica*.

§ *più, e meno*: Benvenuto invites particular attention to a passage in Boëthius (*De Unitate et De Uno*) as illustrating Dante's meaning. "If (he says) three or more window panes



The glory of Him Who moveth all things penetrates throughout the universe, and shines in one part more, and in another less.

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are set up in regular order, one after the other, opposite to a ray of the Sun, it follows that the second receives less light than the first, the third less than the second, and so on until the last, there is a diminishing intensity of light, not from any defect in the light itself, but on account of the increasing distances of the window panes from the light ; in like manner the glory of the Eternal Sun is more radiant in the nine Orders of Angels, less in the nine Spheres of the heavens, still less in the spheres of the elements, and so on with the rest. Although the primal cause exists in all things in accordance with one well-regulated order, yet each several thing receives it according to the measure of its power ; for some things receive it with a single, and others with a multiplied receptivity ; some receive it with a spiritual, others with a corporal receptivity ; and yet the diversity of each recipient does not arise from the primal cause, but because the recipient is so different from his fellow. All things therefore are not in the primal cause found to be of the same fashion ; and therefore Dante has well said, that the glory of God is of greater radiance in one part and of less in another." Dante states this principle very clearly in *De Vulg. Eloq.* i, cap. 16, ll. 48-52 : "Simplicissima substantiarum, quæ Deus est, qui in homine magis redolet, quam in bruto ; in animali quam in planta : in hac quam in minera : in hac, quam in igne : in igne, quam in terra." Giuliani (*Metodo di commentare la Commedia di Dante Alighieri, proposto da Giambattista Giuliani*, Firenze, 1861, sm. 8vo, p. 420), after comparing the above quotation with the passage in the text, asks who could possibly fail to see the hand of one single author in such a similarity, such an identity of sentiments. Who could possibly deny to Dante the authorship of works in which he comments on himself? But as no one has hitherto been daring enough to throw a doubt on Dante's authorship of the *Convito*, let them read the whole of Tr. iii, cap. 7, and see for themselves how the above quoted passage is confirmed, and that in the text made clear. Giuliani then quotes from cap. 7, l. 11, et seq. : "È da sapere che la divina bontà in tutte le cose discende ; e altrimenti essere non potrebbe ; ma avvegnachè questa bontà si muova da semplicissimo principio, diversamente si riceve, secondo più o meno, dalle cose riceventi. Onde è scritto nel libro *delle Cagioni* : 'La prima Bontà manda le sue bontadi sopra le cose con un discorrimento.' Veramente ciascuna cosa riceve da questo discorrimento, secondo il modo della sua virtù e del suo essere. E di ciò sensible

There are three leading ideas of which Dante has availed himself in the *Paradiso*. These are (1) *Light*; (2) *Sound*; and (3) *Motion*. Of these *Light* unquestionably holds the first and foremost place, and Dante's opening lines show the prominent position he wishes to give to it. In his *Prooemium* to the *Paradiso* Cesari\* (*Bellezze*, vol. III, pp. 2, 3) remarks that Dante's subject, which wholly turns on the contemplation and the Love of God, had debarred him from using all those fantastic images, for which the first two portions of his work had afforded him such opportunities. But his genius was able to form and idealize his subject in such a way, as actually to create anew the imagination of his reader. Nay, the better to demonstrate in this very poverty of the subject the wealth of his genius, he chose to gather up the general subject matter of his work into one single form; and that form is *Light*. From this alone he has drawn an endless and ever-varying series of the most beautiful pictures, each giving a different idea of the various movements and degrees of glory of the Saints of God. He represents this *Light*, now by its changes of colour, now by its variety of movements, now by its gyrations, he makes it to intertwine itself, to take various tints, which he at one moment divides off, at another masses up together; he makes them take

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esempio avere potemo dal sole. Noi vedemo la luce del sole, la quale è una, da uno fonte derivata, diversamente dalle corpora essere ricevuta . . . . Così la bontà di Dio è ricevuta altrimenti dalle Sustanze separate, cioè dagli Angeli . . . ed altrimenti dall'anima umana." et seq.

\* Cesari (Antonio). *Bellezze della Commedia di Dante Alighieri; Dialoghi*, Verona, 1824-1826, 4 vols. in 3, 8vo.

varying forms of figures that are wholly unexpected, of constellations one more beautiful than the other, and which hold the reader up to the end of the poem in an enraptured state of suspense.

Having thus laid down a general preliminary maxim, Dante commences his subject matter, openly declaring that, while yet in the flesh, he entered into Heaven, and beheld things not possible for him to recount to men.

Nel ciel che più della sua luce prende\*

Fu' io, e vidi cose che ridire

5

Nè sa, nè può † chi di lassù discende ;

\* *Nel ciel che più della sua luce prende*: This refers to the Empyrean Heaven, the Heaven which is more especially the abode of God. Dean Plumptre observes that, as indicated in the last line of the *Purgatorio*, the pilgrimage through Paradise is a journey through the starry heavens, conceived after the Ptolemaic system. Beyond all these, in what may be termed the Christian addition to Ptolemy's astronomy, is the Empyrean Heaven, the dwelling-place of God, and the real abode of the blessed ones, who yet manifest themselves, according to their degree of bliss, in the lower spheres. The poem opens with what is, in fact, a reminiscence of its close. Dante had been in that Empyrean, and, like St. Paul in Paradise (2 *Cor.* xii, 2-4 ; and 2 *Cor.* ii, 9), had seen what surpassed human speech. All that he can do is to retrace his journey thither, as far as his powers allow him. Compare also *Convito*, ii, 4 ; also the Epistle to Can Grande, cap. 24, ll. 443-452 : " Illud cœlum est cœlum supremum, continens corpora universa, et a nullo contentum, intra quod omnia corpora moventur (ipso in sempiterna quiete permanente), a nulla corporali substantia virtutem recipiens. Et dicitur *empyreum*, quod est idem quod cœlum igne sive ardore flagrans : non quod in eo sit ignis vel ardor materialis, sed spiritualis, qui est amor sanctus, sive caritas."

† *Nè sa, nè può*: We have Dante's own explanation in the Epistle to Can Grande, cap. 29, ll. 571-577 : " Diligenter quippe notandum est quod dicit, *nescit et nequit*. *Nescit* quia oblitus, *nequit* quia, si recordatur et contentum tenet sermo tamen deficit. Multa namque per intellectum videmus quibus signa vocalia desunt."

Perchè, appressando sè al suo disire,\*  
 Nostro intelletto sì profonda tanto,†  
 Che retro la memoria non può ire.

Within that heaven (the Empyrean) which receives the most of His light have I been, and saw things, which one who descends from there, neither knows nor can relate again ; because, as it draws near to its desire (*i.e.* God), our understanding attains to such a depth, that memory is unable to follow in its wake.

Gioberti observes that, in these three lines, there is contained an interpretation that is profoundly philosophical. Sense is unable to keep pace with intellect, and the soul, seeing that it is in such a condition as to be compelled to avail itself of the bodily senses, is unable to arrive at a clear perception of truth.

Having shown the extreme difficulty of the great task he has undertaken, Dante ends his exordium by saying that he will endeavour to perform it to the best of his powers, though what he will be able to remember will be but a fragment of all that he saw.

Veramente ‡ quant' io del regno santo 10

\* *Appressando sè al suo disire* : Compare *Par.* xxxiii, 46-48 :

“ Ed io ch' al fine di tutti i disii  
 M' appropinquava, sì com' io dovea,  
 L' ardor del desiderio in me finii.”

and *Purg.* xxxi, 22-24 :

“ Per entro i miei disiri,  
 Che ti menavano ad amar lo bene  
 Di là dal qual non è a che si aspiri.”

† *si profonda tanto*, et seq. : “ Sciendum est, quod intellectus humanus in hac vita, propter connaturalitatem et affinitatem quam habet ad substantiam intellectualem separatam, quando elevatur, in tantum elevatur ut memoria post reditum deficiat, propter transcendisse humanum modum.” (*Ep. Kani*, cap. 28, 531-538).

‡ *Veramente* : The *Gran Dizionario (Dizionario della Lingua Italiana, nuovamente compilata dai Signori Nicolò Tommaséo e*

Nella mia mente potei far tesoro,\*  
Sarà ora materia del mio canto.

Howbeit, so much of the sacred realm as I was able to treasure up in my mind, shall now be the subject of my song.

*Division II.* Dante now, with great solemnity, makes his Invocation. On previous occasions, both in the *Inferno*, and the *Purgatorio*, he has invoked the aid of one or more of the Muses, but, now that he is entering upon a subject so far more arduous, he addresses himself to Apollo, their king and leader. It is thought in the lines that follow, of which more anon, that he not only invokes Apollo, but with him associates either the Muses or Bacchus.

O buono Apollo,† all' ultimo lavoro  
Fammi del tuo valor sì fatto vaso,  
Come domandi a dar l' amato alloro.

15

Cav. Prof. Bernardo Bellini, Torino, s. d. 4 vols. in 8 parts, 4to) expressly quotes the present passage as one in which Dante had used *veramente* in the sense of *nondimeno*; Latin *tamen*. Compare *Purg.* vi, 43, 44 :

“Veramente a così alto sospetto  
Non ti fermar.”

and *Par.* vii, 58-63

“Questo decreto, frate, sta sepulto  
Agli occhi di ciascuno, il cui ingegno  
Nella fiamma d' amor non è adulto.  
Veramente, [*nondimeno*] però ch' a questo segno  
Molto si mira, e poco si discerne,  
Dirò perchè tal modo fu più degno.”

\* *far tesoro* : “Dicit se fuisse in primo cœlo ; et quod dicere vult de regno cœlesti quidquid in mente sua, quasi thesaurum, potuit retinere.” (*Ep. Kani*, cap. 19, ll. 343-346).

† *Apollo* : On this, Scartazzini points out that it must be remembered that not only was Apollo always considered synonymous with “the Sun,” but from a number of passages in Dante's writings we have abundant evidence that he considered



Infino a qui l'un giogo di Parnaso\*

the Sun to be a kind of synonym for the name of God. See *Convito*, iii, 12, ll. 48, et seq.: "Siccome nella litterale sposizione si parla cominciando dal sole corporale e *sensibile*; così ora è da ragionare per lo Sole spirituale e *intelligibile*, ch'è Iddio. Nullo sensible in tutto 'l mondo è più degno di farsi esemplo di Dio che 'l sole," etc. Compare also *Purg.* vii, 25, 26:

"Non per far, ma per non far, ho i' perduto

Di veder l'alto Sol che tu disiri."

and *Par.* x, 53: "Ringrazia il Sol degli Angeli."

and *Par.* xiv, 96: "O Elios che sì gli addobbi."

\* *l'un giogo di Parnaso*: Ovid (*Metam.* i, 316, 317) mentions the two peaks of Parnassus:

"Mons ibi verticibus petit arduus astra duobus,

Nomine Parnassus;" and Lucan (*Phars.* v. 72, 73) says:

". . . Parnassus gemino petit æthera colle,

Mons Phœbo Bromioque sacer."

From this we must conclude that one peak was dedicated to Phœbus, and the other to Bacchus. Probus, in his commentary on Virgil (*Georg.* iii, 43) couples Bacchus with the Muses: "*Vocat ingenti clamore Cithæron—Cithæron, mons est Bœotix: ibi arcana Liberi patris sacra celebrantur tertio quoque anno, quæ Trieterica dicuntur. Existimatur autem Liber esse cum Musis: et ideo ex hedera, fronde ejus, corona Poëtis datur.*" Whence we may infer that Dante very probably under one peak of Parnassus referred to Apollo, and under the other to the Muses, whom he had invoked in both the other *Cantiche*. Metaphorically we may understand by the one peak, the higher and more divine poetic art, and the science of Theology, and by the other peak the lower poetic art and Earthly Philosophy. *Philalethes* thinks that Dante appears to use the word *giogo* here as a double metaphor and in a double sense, like the Latin *jugum*, either as a mountain-chain, when referring to Parnassus, or as the "yoke" of horses in the race-course, when he refers to the arena (*aringo*) to which he compares his work. Very probably too, as Mr. Butler suggests, he confused (as did Landino after him) the "biceps Parnassus" with Helicon and Cithæron. C. B. Cayley (*Dante's Divine Comedy*, London, 1854, 4 vols. sm. 8vo, vol. 4, p. 270) invites comparison of this passage with Dante's *Eclogue I* to Johannes de Virgilio, in which Dante poetically claims the ivy-crown, the gift of Bacchus (ll. 48-50):

". . . Quum mundi circumflua corpora cantu  
Astricolæque meo, velut infera regna, patebunt,  
Devincire caput hedera, lauroque juvabit."



Assai mi fu, ma or con ambo e due  
M'è uopo entrar nell' aringo rimaso.

O good Apollo, for this (my) last undertaking make me such a vessel of thy power as thou requirest for the gift of the laurel beloved (by thee). Thus far has one summit of Parnassus (Nyssa) sufficed for me, but now with both (*i.e.* with Cyrrha as well as with Nyssa) it is needful that I enter into the arena that remains.

It is very evident that Dante, in the words *l'ungio di Parnaso*, intends to refer to his former invocations to the Muses. That he probably fell into an error in doing so, is shown before.

Dante entreats Apollo to inspire him to sing with the same excellent art that Apollo did himself in his contest with Marsyas.

Entra nel petto mio, e spira tue\*

Sì come quando Marsia† traesti

20

Della vagina delle membra sue.

\* *tue*: This is an early form of *tu*, frequently found among the prose writers of Dante's time. See the *Novellino, ossia Libro di bel parlare gentile*, Firenze, 1889, Nov. 71: "Or, figliuolo mio, perchè ti rammarichi tue? perch'io mi parta da te?" And *ibid.* Nov. 100: "Io voglio che tue vi vadi, e meni teco mogliata, e tuo piccolo figlio, e il cane." One may still hear *tue* in Tuscany in the language of the people. *Tue*, for *tu*; and *Noe* for *No* are quite common expressions at Florence.

† *Marsia*: The story of Marsyas is told by Ovid, *Metam.* vi, 382-400. According to heathen mythology, he was a Satyr in Phrygia, who, having gained possession of a flute upon which Minerva had played, had the audacity to challenge Apollo to a trial of skill, with the condition that the person of the vanquished should be at the disposal of the victor. The Muses, who were the judges of the contest, adjudged the prize of victory to Apollo, who while playing with the lyre had further accompanied it by song. To punish Marsyas for his overweening presumption, Apollo tied him to a tree, and flayed him alive, which is what Dante means by saying that Apollo drew Marsyas forth

Enter into my breast, and do thou breathe into me  
(such power) as when thou drewest forth Marsyas  
from the sheath of his limbs.

Lubin thinks that this allusion to Marsyas is an admonition on Dante's part to envious and foolish critics, who had pretended to pass adverse judgment upon the *Inferno* and the *Purgatorio* without the learning necessary for doing so. His mind was in all probability on them, when in his Epistle to Can Grande (cap. 28, ll. 553-557), he wrote: "Et ubi ista invidis non sufficient, legant Ricardum de sancto Victore in libro *de Contemplatione*; legant Bernardum in libro *de Consideratione*; legant Augustinum in libro *de Quantitate Animæ*, et non inuidebunt."

Dante seeks to propitiate Apollo in his favour, by promising, if his petition is granted, to restore to the laurel, the tree sacred to Apollo, that fame which it used to possess.

O divina virtù, se mi ti presti\*  
Tanto che l'ombra del beato regno  
Segnata † nel mio capo io manifesti,  
Venir vedra' mi al tuo diletto legno,

25

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from the sheath of his limbs. The commentators all compare the fate of Marsyas referred to here, with that of the Picæ, whom Dante mentions at the end of his invocation to the Muses in *Purg.* i, 11.

\* *mi ti presti*: Compare Ovid, *Fasti*, i, 17:

"Da mihi te placidum; dederis in carmina vires."

† *Segnata*: Compare *Purg.* xxxiii, 79-81:

"... Sì come cera da suggello,  
Che la figura impressa non trasmuta,  
Segnato è or da voi lo mio cervello."

and *Ep. Kani*: 19, ll. 338-341: "promittit se tam ardua tam sublimia dicere, scilicet conditiones regni cœlestis: possibilitatem ostendit, quum dicit se dicturum ea quæ mente retinere potuit."

E coronarmi allor di quelle foglie  
 Che la materia e tu mi farai degno.\*

O power Divine, if thou vouchsafe thyself to me so much that I may but make manifest that (mere) shadow of the realm of bliss that remains impressed upon my brain, thou shalt see me come to thy cherished tree (the laurel), and crown me then with those leaves, of which the (lofty) theme and thou will render me worthy.

Dante takes the opportunity to utter a protest against the neglect into which all the princes, emperors, and poets of his day allowed the laurel to fall; there being at the time no leader sufficiently distinguished in war, or poet sublime enough in poesy to merit a laurel crown; nor indeed were there any who even aspired to put forth their hand to take it. Benvenuto remarks that usually a triumph is an honour conferred on a victorious general for deeds done in war; but that in his time the hierarchy of the priesthood hold triumphs in public without any war to justify them; and he himself saw, but a short time before, a number of Cardinals make a triumphal entry into Bologna.

Sì rade volte, padre, se ne coglie,  
 Per trionfare o Cesare o Poeta,†  
 (Colpa e vergogna delle umane voglie)

30

\* *mi farai degno*: Scartazzini paraphrases this: "Che: delle quali sarò fatto degno e per l'intrinseca eccellenza della materia, e per l'aiuto che tu mi presterai a trattarla degnamente secondo le esigenze dell'arte."

† *o Cesare o Poeta*: Compare Petrarch, part i, son. 205 (in some editions 225):

"Arbor vittoriosa trionfale,  
 Onor d'imperadori e di poeti."

and Frezzi, *Quadriregio*, lib. iii, cap. 14:

"..... alloro  
 Che Imperatori e Poeti corona."

Che partorir letizia in sulla lieta  
 Delfica deità dovria la fronda  
 Peneia,\* quando alcun di sè asseta.

So rarely (now), O Sire (of Poesy), are any of them gathered for the triumphing of Cæsar or poet,—(the more the) fault and disgrace of the wills of men—that the leaf of (the laurel, the daughter of) Peneus, ought to bring forth gladness upon the gladsome shrine of Delphi, whenever it makes any to thirst for it (*i.e.* when it kindles in any one the desire of poetizing).

After uttering the above lamentation, Dante, to some extent, consoles himself by the reflection that perchance after his time there may arise some poet more eloquent than himself, one who will appeal more effectually to Apollo, who had his temple on Cyrrha.

Poca favilla gran fiamma seconda : †  
 Forse retro da me ‡ con miglior voci 35  
 Si pregherà perchè Cirra risponda.

A great flame follows a trifling spark ; after me perchance some one will pray with better words for Cyrrha to respond.

Benvenuto observes that Dante's remarks are not wholly devoid of truth ; for, at the time that Dante principally flourished, Petrarch was rising into fame as a quite new poet, and he doubtless delivered himself of a far more copious flow of words than did Dante ; though Dante, by his divine power, shows himself as much superior to Petrarch as a poet, as Petrarch exceeded Dante in fecundity.

\* *Peneia* : An epithet applied to Daphne, the story of whose change into a laurel is told by Ovid (*Metam.* i, 452 *et seq.*)

† *seconda* : Compare *Purg.* xvi, 33 :  
 "Maraviglia udirai se mi secondi."

‡ *retro da me* : Other readings are "*dietro a me*"; and *di dietro a me*."

*Division III.* In the next forty lines Dante shows how, by the operation of Beatrice, he was endued with the power to ascend up to Heaven. We left Dante, at the close of the *Purgatorio*, still standing with Beatrice on the summit of the mountain, in the Earthly Paradise. The question, when did they leave Purgatory and enter into Paradise, is one that has aroused much controversy. Dr. Moore is strongly of opinion that it was at noon, and tells me he is "entirely converted to this view," notwithstanding his having expressed a contrary opinion in *Time References* (pp. 10-54). Scartazzini also, who in his Leipzig Commentary (1882) had opposed the theory that Dante had entered into Paradise at noon, in the two subsequent editions of his *Edizione Minore* (Milan, 1893, and Milan, 1896) shows that his views on this matter have changed: "As regards the time of the ascent, the majority are of opinion that it was in the morning of the day that followed after that one, at the noon of which Dante drank of the water of Eunoë, but they are quite unable to account for how the intervening eighteen hours were spent. It is far better to understand that Dante and Beatrice commenced ascending as soon as ever he returned from the most holy water, and therefore at noon on that same day."

Dr. Moore, in advocating the view that it was noon, remarked to me on the completeness of the symbolism that would thus be attained. Dante enters into (1) Hell, at night; (2) into Purgatory and again into the Earthly Paradise at daybreak; and (3) into Paradise at noon, symbolizing (1) Despair; (2) Hope; and (3) Fruition or Perfection.



We have it in Dante's own words that at this point commences the second of the two principal parts into which Paradise was divided by him: "Dividitur ergo ista pars, seu tertia Cantica quæ *Paradisus* dicitur, principaliter in duas partes, scilicet in *prologum* et *partem executivam*. Pars secunda incipit ibi: *Surgit mortalibus per diversas fauces.*" (*Ep. Kani*, cap. 17, ll. 287-292). We are now therefore commencing what Dante himself considered the second or principal part of the *Cantica*.

Surge ai mortali per diverse foci\*

La lucerna del mondo ; † ma da quella ‡

\* *per diverse foci*: The sun rising in the world takes place at different points on the horizon, *i.e.* in the different signs of the Zodiac according to the season of the year.

† *lucerna del mondo*: This expression for the sun Dante has borrowed from Lucretius, v, 402-403:

"Solque, cadenti

Obvius, æternam suscepit lampada mundi."

"È indicato il punto cardinale di levante; ma siccome per tal foce sorge il Sole due volte l'anno ai mortali, il Poeta toglie l'ambiguo notando la circostanza *del miglior corso* del Sole stesso e della sua congiunzione con stella migliore, circostanza che addita la primavera, nella quale il grande luminare è con le stelle d'Ariete, favorisce le nostre regioni di maggior luce e calore, è in via di recarci l'estate, e con questa la maturazione delle biade e dei frutti. Insomma il Poeta ha voluto significare come al gran volo che imprende a narrarci concorrevano le migliori condizioni che la natura potesse offrirgli; e per tal modo riconfermasi la speranza da lui concepita allorchè gli fu dato uscire dalla selva oscura." (Antonelli).

‡ *ma da quella*: Cary quotes the following from an unnamed authority: "*Through that: i.e.* where the four circles, the horizon, the Zodiac, the Equator, and the Equinoctial Colure join; the last three intersecting each other, so as to form three crosses, as may be seen in the armillary sphere." Scartazzini explains it: "*da quella* (foce) che è il punto dell'orizzonte, ove lo zodiaco, l'equatore e il coluro equinoziale intersecandosi coll'orizzonte medesimo formano tre croci. Intende dell'equinozio di primavera."



Che quattro cerchi giunge con tre croci,  
 Con miglior corso e con migliore stella 40  
 Esce congiunta, e la mondana cera  
 Più a suo modo tempera e suggella.

Through divers passages arises to mortals the lamp of the world (*i.e.* the Sun); but from that one (the spring Equinox) which unites four circles with three crosses it issues forth with a better course (*i.e.* rises under more favourable conditions), and conjoined with a more propitious constellation (*i.e.* Aries), and more after its own fashion it moulds and stamps the wax (*i.e.* the matter, the substance) of the world.

By this we are to understand that the season was the Vernal Equinox, *or thereabouts, (quasi)*. It was in reality about three weeks after it.

Some of the old Commentators, among whom are Lana, the *Ottimo*, the *Postillatore Cassinese*, and Benvenuto, think that these circles allegorically indicate the four Cardinal Virtues, and the three crosses the three Theological Virtues. Scartazzini says that in that case the allegorical sense of the passage would be that God, the Spiritual Sun, shines more propitiously where the seven Virtues are found in harmonious conjunction.

In the preceding verses Dante has defined the particular period of the year; he now defines the hour, and be it remarked beforehand that the whole sentence that follows turns upon the word *quasi*, which must be taken in conjunction with *tal foce*, which words are qualified by it: the meaning being that that passage—*i.e.* the point indicated in the heavens, was only Aries, speaking approximately, as the sun did not precisely on that day rise in Aries, having already made a Boreal declination of several

degrees. Aries being the Cardinal Point of the East, Dante also observes that Beatrice is gazing very fixedly at the Sun.

Fatto avea di là mane e di qua sera\*  
 Tal foce quasi ; † e tutto era là bianco ‡  
 Quello emisferio, e l'altra parte nera, 45  
 Quando Beatrice in sul sinistro fianco §  
 Vidi rivolta, e riguardar nel sole :  
 Aquila sì non gli s'affisse unquanco.

\* *di là mane e di qua sera* : In a letter to me Dr. Moore says : " *Mane* and *sera* are rather puzzling, but I suppose morning and evening must be used vaguely for 6-12 a.m., and 6-12 p.m., as Agnelli suggests ; and Scartazzini in note on i, 43 . . . It occurs to me that *sera* in Dante's use corresponds to the notion of Agnelli that it is *after 6 p.m.* See *Inf.* xv, 18 (during moonlight) ; *Purg.* xxvii, 61 (after sunset) ; *Par.* xiv, 70 (in the gloaming). Also it is clearly after "Vespro," and this is shown by *Conv.* iv, 23, ll. 127-133 to be 3-6 p.m."

† *Tal foce quasi* : " Questa dizione quasi è posta per mancare, e vuole dare ad intendere che non era a punto quando il Sole entra in Ariete, ma un poco più oltra." (Buti). The more general reading is to put a comma after *foce*, and to put the *e* before *quasi*, so that the line reads :

" Tal foce, e quasi tutto era là bianco," etc.

This gives quite a different sense to the words, and Dr. Moore's reading, which I have adopted, seems far preferable.

‡ *tutto era là bianco*, etc. : On this Agnelli (*Topo-cronografia*, p. 128), speaks very clearly : " Un emisfero per essere *tutto* bianco, cioè, secondo l'intenzione del Poeta, *tutto illuminato*, è necessario assolutamente che il sole batta i suoi raggi direttamente sul meridiano che divide in due parti eguali quell' emisfero stesso ; vale a dire : è *assolutamente necessario* che sia *mezzogiorno*, o quanto meno imminente." Dr. Moore remarked to me that the two half spheres could not be "*tutto bianco*," and "*tutto nero*," unless it were on the meridian of the central points in longitude, namely the Mountain of Purgatory and Jerusalem.

§ *sul sinistro fianco* : " Ben dice in sul sinistro fianco ; imperò che a chi sta nell' altro emisferio verso l' oriente volto, la sfera del Sole li viene da sinistra, come a noi nel nostro emisferio da destra." (Buti). Dr. Moore writes to me on this : " In the Earthly Paradise they advance *Eastwards* ; see *Purg.* xxix, 12. Beatrice and the Mystic Procession meet them coming *from* the

(I am obliged to paraphrase this first line a little).

Somewhere about (*quasi*) in that radiant passage of the Sun through Aries had the day broken on that side (the Southern Hemisphere), while on this side (the Northern Hemisphere) it was evening; and there (where we stood) the whole of that hemisphere was white, and the other part (our hemisphere) black, when I saw Beatrice turned round towards the left side, and gazing upon the Sun: never did eagle so fix himself upon it (*i.e.* look at it so steadfastly).

The *Ottimo* says that the Sun had made it morning in the Southern Hemisphere, or rather day; and in the other Hemisphere it was evening, that is, night occupied the hemisphere opposite to the one that Dante was in, as Dante so frequently describes in the *Purgatorio*. But Dante has an inner meaning in these words, namely, that the Grace of God had made him bright and clear. The heart is entirely illuminated by the wish to see and investigate divine things; and the contrary is the case in the part of the world which we inhabit, and to which Dante had already returned when he wrote his Poem.

Dante now describes how, by the innate virtue in the eyes of Beatrice, his eye received the power to gaze upon the Sun's rays, and Benvenuto says that he became as one of the eaglets of that Great Eagle on high. St. Augustine (*Tract. in Joan. xxxvi*) remarks that it is the habit of the parent eagle to take her young up into the air in her talons and turn

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East. In *Purg.* xxxii, 16, Beatrice and the others all turn round and *face the East*. Consequently, *now* in *Par.* i, 46, when Beatrice turns to her left and so *faces the Sun*, it must be *North, i. e.* its *midday* position in the southern hemisphere."

their eyes towards the Sun. The eaglet that can sustain its rays is recognized as the true brood, but that one whose eye quivers is allowed to drop from on high and perish. Dante's eye derives strength from Beatrice's eyes, as a ray is reflected back from a looking-glass, and the further meaning is that the human being who seeks to rise to Heaven must do so by the contemplations and speculations of Theology.

E sì come 'l secondo raggio \* suole  
 Uscir del primo, e risalire in suso, 50  
 Pur come peregrin che tornar vuole ;  
 Così dell' atto suo, per gli occhi infuso  
 Nell' imagine mia, il mio si fece,  
 E fissi gli occhi al sole oltre a nostr' uso.  
 Molto è licito là, † che qui non lece 55  
 Alle nostre virtù, mercè del loco  
 Fatto per proprio ‡ dell' umana spece.

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\* *secondo raggio*, et seq. : Brunone Bianchi explains this very clearly : "And as the ray of reflection is generated by the ray of incidence, which ray of reflection comes back, like the traveller, who, when he arrives at his destination wishes to return to the place he started from ; so Dante's action of turning himself to the Sun was generated by the action of Beatrice, which entering into Dante's eyes passed on into his imaginative faculties."

† *Molto è licito là, che qui non lece alle nostre virtù* : The allegorical signification, remarks Scartazzini, is that Dante, having not only been made acquainted with his sins, but having also been purged from them, had now reached that state of innocence in which he could contemplate eternal blessedness ; which is not possible for those who have not yet attained to such a degree of purification that they can by the study of Holy Writ, and following in the steps of the Saints of old, fix their eyes upon the Sun, that is, venture upon the contemplation of God.

‡ *proprio* : See *Gran Dizionario* on *proprio*, subst. § 4 : "*Proprio*, talora vale *Soggiorno proprio*, *Abitazione propria*," and the passage in the text is specially quoted.

And as a second ray is wont to issue from the first (by reflection) and re-ascend even as a traveller who wishes to return ; so out of her action (of gazing at the Sun), through the eyes infused into my imagination, mine was formed, and I (too) fixed my eyes upon the Sun beyond our (mortal) wont. There (in the Terrestrial Paradise) many things are possible, which here (in the world) are not possible to our faculties, by virtue of the place (*mercè del loco*) created for the special abode of the human race.

Benvenuto warns his readers against translating *mercè del loco* as applying to Paradise, for Dante was not yet there, but is straightway about to ascend thereto, as they will now read. The effect of the increase of power in his vision becomes evident to him almost immediately, for he is now able to discern an intensity of radiance in the Sun, that aforesaid he would not be able to gaze upon for a single instant.

Io nol sofferarsi molto, nè sì poco,

Ch'io nol vedessi sfavillar dintorno,

Qual ferro che bogliente esce del foco.\*

60

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\* *foco*: Antonelli (in Tommaséo's commentary) observes that it is a very singular thing that Dante, in describing to us the radiant phenomena that might be discerned in the Sun, if we were able to look at it just as we pleased with the naked eye, should come to suppose that upon the surface of the great luminary there should be a continual combustion ; like one in accordance with our experience here on earth ; and this conception of his is in complete harmony with the opinions of all the most distinguished modern astronomers, who in their turn founded their beliefs upon the authority of discoveries made in olden time which confirmed the probability of such an hypothesis. This, which in the case of Dante cannot be a matter of chance, seems to confirm the extraordinary power and wealth of his learning, as well as the minuteness of the observations of our forefathers, all the more marvellous because so little aided by the admirable resources which are now at the disposal of our scientists. Tommaséo, however, thinks that Dante has just entered into the



E di subito parve giorno a giorno  
 Essere aggiunto,\* come quei che puote  
 Avesse il ciel d'un altro sole adorno.

Not long I bore it (the radiance of the Sun), nor yet so short a while, but that I saw it emitting showers of sparks around, like iron that comes glowing out of the fire. And on a sudden daylight seemed added to daylight, as though He Who has the power had with another Sun bedecked the Heaven.

Although the space of time that Dante had been gazing upon the Sun was very brief, yet the distance of the Sun from the Earth is so vast, that, notwithstanding the velocity with which they had begun to ascend, still it was necessary that a perceptible interval of time should elapse before Dante could discern the changed appearance of the Sun, as he drew nearer to it. The allegorical meaning of this passage (according to Buti) is that though the human intellect is wholly unable of itself to concentrate itself in the meditation of divine matters, yet if it be so strengthened as to continue such meditation, it sees the great light of truth suddenly shine forth, and showering upon it (the human intellect) abundant sparks of

Sphere of Fire, in his passage to the Sphere of the Moon. Benvenuto strongly dissents from such a view, which had also been promulgated in his time.

\* *giorno a giorno Essere aggiunto*: Compare Chaucer, *The House of Fame*, Book i:

“But if the Heaven had ywonne  
 All new of God another sonne,” etc.

and Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* x, st. 109:

“E par ch'aggiunga un altro sole al cielo.”

and Milton, *Par. Lost*, Book v, 310, 311:

“seems another morn  
 Risen on mid-noon.”



revelations and colourings which sparkle in the soul as the spark does in the human eye.

Dante now describes how, by Beatrice intently gazing upon the Sun, and he on her, his whole being seemed to become transformed within him, as did that of Glaucus after he had eaten of the herb which changed him into a demi-god.

Beatrice tutta nell' eterne rote\*

Fissa con gli occhi stava, ed io in lei

65

Le luci fissi, di lassù remote;

Nel suo aspetto tal dentro mi fei,†

Qual si fe' Glauco ‡ nel gustar dell' erba,

Che il fe' consorte in mar degli altri Dei.

Beatrice was standing with her eyes steadfastly fixed upon the Eternal Spheres, and I fixed upon her my eyes now withdrawn from (gazing) on high; (then) in the contemplation of her I became within me such as Glaucus became from tasting of the herb, which made him the compeer of the other gods in the sea.

Dante goes on to say that human language is wholly insufficient to describe this act.

\* *eterne rote* : Compare *Purg.* viii, 18 :

“Avendo gli occhi alle superne rote.”

and *Purg.* xxx, 92, 93 :

“Anzi il cantar di quei che notan sempre  
Dietro alle note degli eterni giri.”

† *Nel suo aspetto tal dentro mi fei*, etc. : Compare *Par.* xxxi, 37, 38 :

“Io, che al divino dall' umano,  
All' eterno dal tempo era venuto,” etc.

‡ *Glauco* : Glaucus was, according to ancient Mythology, a fisherman of Eubœa, who, having seen certain fish that he had caught become suddenly revived on being cast upon the grass by the sea-shore, tasted this grass himself, and was forthwith impelled to throw himself into the sea, and thereupon become a maritime divinity. The story is told by Ovid, *Metam.* xiii, 898-968.

Trasumanar significar *per verba* 70

Non si poria ; però l' esemplo basti

A cui esperienza grazia serba.

To express the act of transhumanization in words were impossible ; let the example then (of Glaucus) suffice him for whom Grace reserves the experience.

A miracle such as befell Glaucus can only be accomplished in that man, who, giving himself up wholly to the contemplation of things divine, almost issues from his human nature.

In the lines that follow, and as to the right meaning of which even the old Commentators disagreed, it would seem that Dante wishes to convey to the reader that he ascended into Heaven with his natural body, but from motives of humility he uses the words of St. Paul (2 *Cor.* xii, 3), "whether in the body, or out of the body, I cannot tell : God knoweth." Fearing lest he should seem over presumptuous in defining the question precisely, Dante has recourse to a conditional or dubitative assertion.

S' io era sol di me quel che creasti \*

\* *quel che creasti Novellamente* : This *quel* the *Postillatore Cassinese* explains : "scilicet anima ;" and it is remarked by several commentators that, according to the doctrines professed by Dante in *Purg.* xxv, 61-71, God breathes the soul into the human body last of all (*novellamente*), when the body has been already formed, and the soul is endued with vegetative life. See the following comment by Cornoldi on this passage (*La Div. Com. di D. Al. col commento di Giovanni Maria Cornoldi*, Roma, 1887, 1 vol. 8vo) : "Dante qui mostra di dubitare se questa ascensione al cielo sia stata fatta o colla sola anima che fu (*novellamente*) da Dio creata nell' ultimo tempo della generazione di ciascun uomo, il qual tempo dicesi animazione ; od anche col corpo, il quale sebbene sia stato nel seno materno organato, tuttavia la materia, ond' è composto, fu al principio delle cose terrene creata."

Novellamente, Amor \* che il ciel governi,  
 Tu il sai, che col tuo lume mi levasti.

75

If I were merely that part of me which Thou didst most recently create (*i.e.* the soul), O Love that rulest the heaven (*i.e.* God) Thou knowest, Who didst raise me by Thy Light (reflected in the eyes Beatrice).

Up to this point Dante had been gazing upon Beatrice, but when he looks around him, he finds himself in the Sphere of Fire, which seems like a great lake of flame. He now explains how the desire for God is the moving principle of the Celestial Spheres.

Quando la rota, che tu sempiterni  
 Desiderato, † a sè mi fece atteso,

\* *Amor*: Scartazzini says that by this Dante means God, of Whom in the last line of the *Paradiso* (xxxiii, 145) he speaks as "L' amor che move il sole e l' altre stelle."

Scartazzini disputes the view of *Philalethes*, who sees in *Amor* only the Third Person of the Trinity. Nearly all Commentators agree that the Triune God is signified, and it is considered that Dante borrowed the term from Boëthius, who (*Philos. Cons.* ii, Metr. viii) refers to God as "cælo imperitans amor."

† *Desiderato*: Daniello says that Plato held that "i cieli si muovono sempre cercando l' anima del mondo, che essi tanto di ritruovare desiano, perchè non è in luogo determinato, ma sparsa per tutto." In *Convito*, ii, cap. 4, ll. 14-27, Dante explains the passage in the text: "Lo cielo Empireo . . . chè per lo ferventissimo appetito che ha ciascuna parte di quello nono cielo, ch'è immediato a quello, d'esser congiunta con ciascuna parte di quello decimo cielo divinissimo e quieto, in quello si rivolge con tanto desiderio, che la sua velocità è quasi incomprendibile." See also *Ep. Kani*, § 26, ll. 472-482 (*Latham's Translation*): "Everything that moveth doth move on account of something it hath not, and which is the god of its motion. Even as the Heaven of the Moon is moved on account of some part of it which hath not that whereto it is moved, and because any part of it whatsoever, when its place hath not been gained (which is impossible) is moved by another, hence it is that this heaven doth always move and is never at rest, as it desires to be. And what I say of the Heaven of the Moon is to be understood of all the heavens, save the first."

Con l'armonia \* che temperi e discerni,†

\* *l'armonia*: The doctrine of the harmonious sounds which the Celestial Spheres make in their revolutions was first taught by Pythagoras, disputed by Aristotle, and finally revived by Plato and Cicero, from whose *Vision of Scipio* Dante seems to have taken it. Biagioli quotes the following lines from M. Terentius Varro :

“Vidit et ætherio mundum torquerior axe,  
Et septem æternis sonitum dare vocibus orbes  
Nitentes aliis aliis, quæ maxima divis  
Lætitia stat ; tunc longe gratissima Phœbi  
Dextera consimiles meditatur reddere voces.”

Our own three great poets have also celebrated this theory. Compare Chaucer, *The Parlement of Foules*, ll. 60-63 :

“And after that the melodye herde he  
That cometh of thilke speres thryes three,  
That welle is of musyke and melodye  
In this world heer, and cause of armonye.”

and Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*, act v, sc. 1 :

“Sit Jessica. Look how the floor of heaven  
Is thick inlaid with patines of bright gold :  
There's not the smallest orb which thou beholdest  
But in his motion like an angel sings,  
Still quiring to the young-eyed cherubims :  
Such harmony is in immortal souls :  
But whilst this muddy vesture of decay  
Doth grossly close it in, we cannot hear it.”

and Milton, *Par. Lost*, v, 625-627 :

“And in their motions harmony divine  
So smooths her charming tones, that God's own ear  
Listens delighted.”

See also Milton, *Hymn to Christ's Nativity*, st. xiii :

“Ring out, ye crystal spheres  
Once bless our human ears.”

† *temperi e discerni* : Casini remarks that the Commentators on the *Paradiso* have, for the most part, been very inexact in their explanation of these two verbs, which were manifestly suggested to Dante in the above-mentioned *Somnium Scipionis*, in the Sixth Book of Cicero's *De Republica* (cap. xviii, § 18) in which Masinissa is supposed to explain to Scipio the origin of sound : “Hic [*dulcis sonus*] est, qui intervallis conjunctus imparibus, sed tamen pro rata parte ratione *distinctis*, impulsu et motu ipsorum orbium conficitur, et, acuta cum gravibus *temperans*, varios æquabiliter concertus efficit.” Hence we may infer that *temperare* signifies “to regulate, to accord :” and *dis-*

Parvemi tanto allor del cielo acceso  
 Dalla fiamma del sol, che pioggia o fiume 80  
 Lago non fece mai tanto disteso.

When the Sphere (*i.e.* the Empyrean) which Thou, (eternally) desired, makest eternal, had drawn my attention to it by the harmony (of the Spheres) which Thou dost modulate and distribute, then there seemed to me so wide an expanse of heaven enkindled by the flame of the Sun, that neither rain nor river ever formed a lake of such wide extent.

Only as recently as l. 61 Dante had almost fancied he saw the light of the Sun doubled in power, now even *that* much increased radiance seems to him to be immeasurably augmented in volume.

*Division IV.* Not being aware of the extreme rapidity with which he has ascended, Dante is wholly unable to account for the sweet sounds he hears, as well as for the extraordinary increase of sunlight. Beatrice reads his thoughts, and thereupon tells him somewhat reprovngly that he is no longer upon Earth, but that he has been carried upwards with the velocity of a flash of lightning, and is now in Heaven.

La novità del suono e il grande lume  
 Di lor cagion \* m' accesero un disio  
 Mai non sentito di cotanto acume.

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*cernere*, "to distinguish, to distribute;" since God distributes the sounds through the different spheres, and attunes them to form the eternal harmony.

\* *Di lor cagion*: Compare *De Mon.* ii, 1, ll. 7, 8: "Ad faciem causæ non pertingentes, novum effectum communiter admiramur." And *Conv.* iv, 25, ll. 49-54: "Grandi e maravigliose cose . . . in quanto paiono grandi, fanno *reverente* a sè quello che le sente; in quanto paiono mirabili, fanno *voglioso di sapere*



Ond' ella, che vedea me sì com' io, 85  
 A quietarmi l' animo commosso,  
 Pria ch' io a domandar, la bocca aprìo,  
 E cominciò :—" Tu stesso ti fai grosso \*  
 Col falso immaginar, sì che non vedi  
 Ciò che vedresti, se l' avesti scosso. 90  
 Tu non se' in terra, sì come tu credi ;  
 Ma folgore, fuggendo il proprio sito, †  
 Non corse come tu ch' ad esso riedi."—

The novelty of the sound and the great light kindled in me a desire, never before felt with such keenness, of (knowing) the cause of them. Whereupon she, who saw me just as I (see) myself, to quiet my troubled mind, opened her mouth before I (opened mine) to ask, and began : "Thou makest thyself so densely ignorant with false imaginations, that thou dost not perceive that which thou wouldst have perceived, hadst thou shaken them off. Thou art not on the Earth, as thou dost suppose ; but lightning,

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di quelle quello che le sente." Scartazzini says that there were two causes for the perturbation of Dante's soul. The first was the vivid radiance and the mysterious sweet harmony ; the second the not knowing their cause. In his agitation he was not realizing that he had left the Earth, and had entered into Paradise.

\* *grosso* : See this word in the *Gran Dizionario della Lingua Italiana* di Tommaséo e Bellini [which will in future be simply referred to as the *Gran Dizionario*] Torino, s. d., § 56: "*Grosso*. Per rozzo, semplice, soro, ignorante : contrario a acuto, sagace, ingegnoso, o accorto." The present passage is quoted under this heading, and *Inf.* xxxiv, 91-93, as illustrating it :

"E s' io divenni allora travagliato,  
 La gente grossa il pensi, che non vede  
 Qual è quel punto ch' io avea passato."

The word is used in the same sense by Boccaccio, *Decam.* Giorn. iii, nov. 8 : "Essendosi molto con lo abate dimesticato [*become acquainted*] un ricchissimo villano, il quale avea nome Ferondo, uomo materiale e grosso, senza modo, nè per altro la sua dimestichezza piaceva allo abate."

† *il proprio sito* : For the lightning (according to the Ptolemaic Cosmography) is the Sphere of Fire.



flying from its own proper place, never ran as thou who art returning to it."

Beatrice means "to Heaven," whence Dante's soul issued from out of the hand of God at his birth. Benvenuto observes that Heaven is the natural abode of spirits, as is the Earth of bodies. We saw Dante dragged downwards by ignorance and sin when he sought to ascend the mountain of Purgatory; now by the power of virtue and knowledge he is enabled to wing his flight up to Heaven.

On hearing from Beatrice that he is no longer on the Earth, Dante is nearly struck dumb with astonishment, being wholly unable to understand how the body of him, a mortal man, should have been able to ascend through such light substances as the Region of Air, and the Sphere of Fire. To clear up these doubts, Beatrice unfolds to him the entire wonderful order of the Universe; and although (as Casini says in his commentary) the subject of her discourse is purely scholastic and theological, besides being in great measure deduced from the *Summa* of St. Thomas Aquinas, still we may well notice the mode in which Dante has known how to render the words of Beatrice intelligible, and to clothe the description of them in an elegant form.

Dante mentions his further doubt.

S'io fui del primo dubbio disvestito

Per le sorrise parolette brevi,

Dentro ad un nuovo più fui irretito ;\*

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\* *irretito*: The verb *irretire* primarily means "to ensnare in a net," and hence "to entangle, to embroil." On the passage in the text Buti writes: "Più fui irretito, cioè preso ed impacciato, io Dante, come è impacciata la fiera o l'uccello dentro alla rete."

E dissi :—“ Già contento requievi\*  
 Di grande ammirazion ; ma ora ammiro  
 Com' io trascenda questi corpi lievi.”†

If I was released from my first doubt by these few smiling words, I was inwardly more enmeshed in a new one, and said : “ Already was I resting content from my great amazement ; but now I am wondering how I can ascend through these light bodies (*i.e.* the Spheres of Air and of Fire).”

Benvenuto remarks that, in answering Dante's first doubt (ll. 85-93), Beatrice has shown a certain amount of displeasure at his want of perception ; but that now, in giving a reply to his second doubt, she in pity for his ignorance does so with the tenderness of a mother watching a sick son whose reason is wandering.

\* *requievi* : Scartazzini says that *requiescere* is much more emphatic and expressive than *cessare*. The *Gran Dizionario* gives more than one instance of the use of the verb *requiescere* in prose, the most notable of which is from the Italian translation of the *Civitas Dei* of St. Augustine (II, 8) : “ Ma la requie di Dio significa la requie di coloro che requiescono in Dio.” Of the Latin form of the perfect tense we find examples in *Inf.* xxvi, 78 : “ lui parlare audivi ” ; and *Purg.* xii, 69 : “ fin che chinato givi.”

† *corpi lievi* : Andreoli observes that Dante had half persuaded himself at first that he was ascending in the body, but that he then doubted about it. And well might he doubt, seeing that he had no bodily perception of any contact with the Fire, through the Sphere of which he was passing. Scartazzini suggests some such self-questioning of himself as this : “ Am I still body and soul, or spirit only ? If I *am* body and soul, how comes it that I can rise up on high ? If spirit only, how and when did my transformation take place ? ” Both Scartazzini and Giuliani quote the following from the translation by Bono Giamboni of the *Tresor* of Brunetto Latini, lib. ii, cap. 25 : “ l'aria e il fuoco . . . (dai quali) resta intorniata la terra, che essendo il più grave elemento e la più salda sostanza, conviene che la si tragga nel mezzo o nel fondo dell'altre che intorno di lei sono.” See also *Convito*, iii, 3, ll. 5-14 ; and ll. 36-44.

Ond' ella, appresso d'un pio sospiro, 100  
 Gli occhi drizzò ver me con quel sembiente \*  
 Che madre fa sopra figliuol deliro ; †  
 E cominciò:—" Le cose ‡ tutte e quante  
 Hann'ordine tra loro ; e questo è forma  
 Che l'universo a Dio fa simigliante. 105

\* *quel sembiente* : Compare Petrarch, part ii, Son. 17 (in some editions Son. 244) :

"Nè mai pietosa madre al caro figlio,  
 Nè donna accesa al suo sposo diletto  
 Diè con tanti sospir, con tal sospetto  
 In dubbio stato sì fedel consiglio."

† *deliro* : Venturi (*Simil. Dant.*, p. 126, Sim. 204) says of *deliro*, that it comes from the Latin *lira* a furrow made by ploughing ; and that a *persona delira* is one who, as it were, issues forth from the furrow (*de lira*) of truth. Compare *Par.* xxii, 4-6 :

"E quella, come madre che soccorre  
 Subito al figlio pallido ed anelo  
 Con la sua voce che il suol ben disporre."

Compare also *Conv.* i, 4, ll. 17-25.

‡ *Le cose*, et seq. : All things created have a regular order among themselves, the one in relation to the other, and this order (says Casini) is the principal which gives unity of form to them all, and makes them similar to God Who is One. Compare St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. xv, art. 1 : "Quia mundus non est casu factus, sed est factus a Deo per intellectum agente, ut infra patebit, necesse est quod in mente divina sit *forma*, ad similitudinem cujus mundus est factus." And *Ibid.*, art. 2 : "In quolibet effectu illud quod est ultimus finis, proprie est intentum a principali agente ; sicut ordo exercitûs a duce. Illud autem, quod est optimum in rebus existens, est bonum ordinis universi . . . Ordo igitur universi est proprie a Deo intentus, et non per accidens proveniens secundum successionem agentium." Compare also *Ibid.*, qu. xxi, art. 1 : "Est autem duplex ordo considerandus in rebus. Unus, quo aliquid creatum ordinatur ad aliud creatum ; sicut partes ordinantur ad totum, et accidentia ad substantias, et unaquæque res ad suum finem. Alius ordo, quo omnia creata ordinantur in Deum." In *De Monarchia*, i, 6 (in some editions 8) Dante has evidently taken his cue from the above quotation. It will be well to read Mr. Butler's supplemental note on ll. 103 et seq. at the end of this Canto in his translation of the *Paradiso*. He says that this passage, though it is introduced merely as an explanation of the process by which Dante is enabled to rise

Qui veggion l' alte creature l' orma  
 Dell' eterno valore, il quale è fine  
 Al quale è fatta la toccata norma.

Whereupon she, after a compassionate sigh, bent her eyes towards me with that expression which a mother wears towards her child in delirium; and began: "All things whatsoever have an order among themselves; and this is that form which makes the Universe like unto God. In this (order of the Universe) the higher created Beings (*i.e.* the Angels, the spirits of the Blessed, and the race of men) behold the traces of that Eternal Worth, which is the end for which the aforesaid ordinance has been decreed.

Beatrice goes on to show that things natural, too, observe their certain laws. On this Benvenuto remarks, that so precise are the laws of Nature, that what is poisonous and unsuitable for one being, is wholesome and convenient for another. Thus the herb "Jusquiamus"\* (*hyoscyamus?*) which is the

through a medium lighter than his body, contains in a few lines a perfect specimen of the method by which the Aristotelian philosophy was fitted to Christian doctrine. The Final Cause (*τὸ οὐδ' ἕνεκα*) of created things is eternal happiness, which consists in the sight of God. Now God being one—likeness to Him can only be obtained in unity which "pertains to the essence of goodness." But this unity, and therefore likeness with God, is found in the order of creation. That order, then, is the Formal Cause, and it is by virtue of it that all things animate and inanimate have their natural propension, acting more or less strongly according as they are nearer to or further from their Efficient Cause. But God is the beginning of all movement (*ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως*); and therefore the same power which makes the heavens move faster as they are nearer to the Empyrean, makes the soul in whom will is rightly directed fly to God with more speed as it draws nearer to Him.

\* Professor Norton wrote a paper in which the extraordinary inaccuracy of the translation of Benvenuto by Tamburini (published at Imola in 1856) was exposed. It would hardly be possible to find a more flagrant instance of mistranslation than

food of the sparrow, is poisonous to men; and the herb "Napellus" (aconite?) which would kill a man merely to carry about him, can, says Galen, be eaten without harm by a pregnant woman; and a mouse that is fed upon Napellus becomes an antidote against that poison. In like manner, such is the order established by Divine Providence, that there is no evil so great, but what some good may be elicited from it. Hence St. Augustine in his book *Enchiridion* says: "God Almighty would not allow evils to happen, either naturally, or from sins, or as punishments, were it not that His power is so great, that, from whatsoever evil, He can elicit the greatest good."

Nell' ordine ch' io dico sono accline

Tutte nature, per diverse sorti,\*

110

Più al principio loro e men vicine;

the one I have just rendered. I quote a few lines of the original, with Tamburini's version set opposite to it.

*Benvenuto.*

"Et hic nota quod tantus est ordo naturæ, ut quod est venenosum et inconveniens uni est utile et conveniens alteri; sicut jusquamusquiest *cibus passeris* licet homini sit venenosus; et sicut napellus interficit hominem solum portatus, et *mulierem prægnantem non læsit manducatus*, teste Galieno; et mus qui pascitur napello est tiriaca contra napellum."

*Tamburini.*

"E quest' ordine è così universale che quanto è velenoso ad uno è salubre ad un altro, come il *jusquiamo cibo de' pastori* (!), sebbene ad altri velenoso, e come il napello *che uccide il feto e la donna prægnante, ma non è ad altri nocivo.*" The simile of the mouse Tamburini omits altogether.

\* *accline . . . per diverse sorti*: Compare with these lines a passage of St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. lix, art. 1): "Quum omnia procedant ex voluntate divina, omnia suo modo per appetitum inclinantur in bonum, sed diversimodè. Quædam enim inclinantur in bonum per solam naturalem habitudinem, absque cognitione, sicut plantæ et corpora inanimata: et talis inclinatio ad bonum vocatur *appetitus naturalis*. Quædam vero ad bonum inclinantur cum aliqua cognitione; non quidem



Onde si movono a diversi porti  
 Per lo gran mar dell' essere,\* e ciascuna  
 Con istinto a lei dato che la porti.

Within that order that I mention have all natures their inclinations, according to their different destinies, some more, some less, near unto their Primal Source; from it they proceed to different havens over the vast ocean of existence, and each one (does so) with the instinct given to it to bear it on.

Beatrice next gives some instances of this wonderful order as seen in various phenomena of nature.

Questi † ne porta il foco inver la luna, 115

sic quod cognoscant ipsam rationem boni, sed cognoscunt aliquod bonum particulare, sicut sensus, qui cognoscit dulce et album, et aliquid hujusmodi. Inclinatio autem hanc cognitionem sequens dicitur *appetitus sensitivus*. Quædam vero inclinatur ad bonum cum cognitione qua cognoscunt ipsam boni rationem, quod est proprium intellectûs. Et hæc perfectissime inclinatur in bonum; non quidem quasi ab alio solummodo directa in bonum; sicut ea quæ cognitione carent; neque in bonum particulare tantum, sicut ea in quibus est sola sensitiva cognitio; sed quasi inclinata in ipsum universale bonum; et hæc inclinatio dicitur voluntas." And *Ibid.*, art. 2: "Sed inclinatio ad aliquid extrinsecum est per aliquid essentiæ superadditum; sicut inclinatio ad locum est per gravitatem vel levitatem."

\* *gran mar dell' essere*: The following extract from Benedetto Varchi (*Lezioni sul Dante, e prose varie*; ed. G. Aiazzi e L. Arbib, Firenze, 1841, 2 vols. 8vo, vol. i, p. 357) is quoted by Scartazzini and other Commentators: "Non poteva Dante come poeta usare locuzione topica più appropriata di questa, perciocchè l'essere è comune a tutte le cose che sono, e però lo chiama *gran mare*; ma perche poi tutte le cose . . . hanno diverse virtù, e le virtù diverse arguiscono diverse forme, e diverse forme hanno diversi fini, però disse *si muovono a diversi porti*, stando in sulla traslazione del *mare*."

† *Questi* refers to the instinct: Brunetto Latini, from whom Dante learned so much, writes thus on this subject. See *Li Livres don Tresor*, livre i, pt. iii, ch. 108: (Paris, 1863, p. 123) "Après l'avironement de l'air est assis li quars elemenz, ce est un orbes de feu sans nul moistour, qui s'estent jusqu'à la lune, et avirone cestui air où nous sommes; et sachiés que deseure le feu



Questi nei cor mortali è permotore,\*  
 Questi la terra in sè stringe ed aduna.†

est la lune premierement, et les autres estoiles, qui toutes sont de nature de feu." Compare also *Purg.* xviii, 28-30 :

"Poi come il foco movesi in altura,  
 Per la sua forma ch'è nata a salire  
 Là dove più in sua materia dura," etc.

On the subject of instinct, compare *Purg.* xvii, 91-139. And *Conv.* iii, 3, ll. 6-13 : "Ciascuna cosa . . . ha il suo speciale amore, come le corpora *semplici* hanno amore naturato in sè al loro loco proprio, e però la terra sempre discende al centro ; il fuoco alla circonferenza di sopra lungo 'l cielo della luna, e però sempre sale a quello."

\* *permotore* : Others read *promotore* which reading is adopted by the old Commentators, on which see Scartazzini's remarks in his Leipzig Commentary (1882), wherein he explains that the difference of reading probably arose from the difference in which the abbreviated form of the word was interpreted. Scartazzini, as also Casini, thinks that by *cor mortali* we are not to understand men, but irrational animals, brute beasts. This *terzina* evidently refers to them, and the one following (ll. 118-120) to men, for it begins by saying : "Not only creatures void of intelligence . . .", showing thereby that the *terzina* 115-117 has been speaking of creatures void of intelligence. Varchi (*op. cit.* vol. i, pp. 358, 359) lays this down very clearly : "A me pare che si debba intendere non degli uomini, ma degli animali irrazionali, onde gli chiamò *cuori* cioè anime *mortali*, a differenza di quelle degli uomini che sono immortali. E che questo sia il vero e certo sentimento lo dimostra assai chiaro il terzetto che seguita, il quale sarebbe vano e superfluo se intendesse quì degli uomini ; non significa dunque questo verso se non che l'istinto ed inclinazione naturale è quella che muove, indirizza e guida gli animali irrazionali." Giuliani (*Metodo di commentare la Commedia di Dante Alighieri*, Firenze, 1861, p. 476) gives the following reasons for preferring the reading *permotore* : "In vece di *promotore*, mi risolvo ad accettare per la miglior lezione *permotore*, che sembrami più confacevole a significare lo *stimolo*, l'*impulso interiore* dell'istinto, ed è poi men dissimile dall'*instinctor* dei Latini. I quali usavano appunto indicare la *movizione* o *cagione motiva* di una cosa col *permotio* ; e il Buti adopera *permovente* quasi all'uopo istesso che al presente s'attiene : *Dio dispone le cose, secondo le ragioni permoventi nel fine.*"

† *aduna* : The Earth is held compact together within itself by this instinct, by means of the forces of attraction and cohesion, and all its several parts gravitate towards the centre (*Al qual si*

Nè pur le creature che son fuore  
 D'intelligenza quest'arco saetta,\*  
 Ma quelle ch'hanno intelletto e amore.

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This (instinct) carries away the fire towards the Moon, this is the motive power in the hearts of mortal beings, this binds up the earth and holds it together. And not only is it the creatures void of intelligence that are struck by the arrows of this bow (*i.e.* natural instinct), but those also who are endowed with intelligence and love (*i.e.* angels, saints and men).

Benvenuto says that Dante now, from the foregoing arguments, brings out the following conclusion, up to which he has been leading all along. Divine Providence, when instituting a wonderful order for everything in nature, at the same time appointed for Man a reward of merit, namely, eternal happiness in Paradise, as a fitting recompense for God's elect. And Divine Providence in an instant of time communicates its radiance to *the Empyrean*. In that quiet heaven revolves the *Primum Mobile*, swifter in its revolutions than all the other heavens.

La provvidenza che cotanto assetta,  
 Del suo lume fa il ciel sempre quièto,†  
 Nel qual si volge quel ch' ha maggior fretta :

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*traggon d' ogni parte i pesi. Inf. xxxiv, 111). The Postillatore Cassinese, almost anticipating (says Andreoli) the Newtonian theories, writes : " Conglutinat in globum et pendulo sustinet."*

\* *quest' arco saetta*: Compare St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.*, pars i, qu. ii, art. 3): "Ea autem quæ non habent cognitionem, non tendunt in finem, nisi directa ab aliquo cognoscente et intelligente, sicut sagitta a sagittante. Ergo est aliquid intelligens, a quo omnes res naturales ordinantur ad finem; et hoc dicimus Deum."

† *fa il ciel sempre quièto*: Compare *Convito* ii, 4, ll. 14-30: "Li Cattolici pongono lo cielo Empireo . . . essere immobile, per avere in sè, secondo ciascuna parte, ciò che la sua materia

Ed ora lì, com' a sito decreto,  
 Cen porta la virtù di quella corda, 125  
 Che ciò che scocca drizza in segno lieto.\*

The Providence which regulates all this, with its own light, keeps ever tranquil that heaven (the *Empyrean*) within which is revolving that (other heaven, the *Primum Mobile*) which has the greatest rapidity. And thither now (to the *Empyrean*), as to a predestined site, is bearing us along the power of that bow-string, which aims all that it shoots at a joyous mark.

Beatrice at this point, says Benvenuto, answers a tacit question, which Dante might be supposed to put to her. "If the human race are irresistibly drawn by natural inclination to this blessed end, as you say, how then is it that so few men attain to blessedness in Heaven?" Beatrice replies that it is due to accidental exception, not in accordance with Nature's intent. This she demonstrates by the simile of a blacksmith, who, although having the intention of

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vuole . . . E quieto e pacifico è (*l' Empireo*) lo luogo di quella somma Deità che Sè sola compiutamente vede . . . (Nel qual cielo si volge quel cielo, *i. e.* il *Primo Mobile*) il quale per lo suo ferventissimo appetito . . . d'esser congiunto col divinissimo cielo e quieto, in quello si rivolge con tanto desiderio, che la sua velocità e quasi incomprendibile." (I have transposed the order of the sentences in the above quotation, following somewhat the example of Biagioli). Compare Boëthius, *Philos. Consol.* iii, Metr. ix, 6-9 :

" tu cuncta superno  
 Ducis ab exemplo : pulchrum pulcherrimus ipse  
 Mundum mente gerens similique in imagine formans  
 Perfectasque jubens perfectum absolvere partes."

and ll. 27, 28 :

" Tu requies tranquilla piis te cernere finis  
 Principium vector dux sémita terminus idem."

\* *drizza in segno lieto* : The bow-string is that instinct which directs the creature to an ever blessed end, because its destination is God, and never misses its mark.

reproducing the form of a knife in iron, is unable to do so unless the substance of the metal is sufficiently malleable. Plumptre observes that "the thought is almost a commonplace of the Schools. Art requires (1) the mind of the artist; (2) an idea conceived by him as an end; (3) material to work upon. Defects in either lead to incompleteness. So in the moral and material universe there are exceptions to the law. The creature's freedom may deviate from the path which leads to its final good; the fire may fall from the cloud, contrary to its nature. The error of the free agent is explained, as in *Purg.* xxx, 131, by his being misled by false shows of good. But of the soul in its true state it may be said, as Milton's rebel angels say, 'Descent and fall to us is adverse.' 'You don't wonder,' says Beatrice, 'when a river flows down; why should it seem strange that man should rise?' The wonder and the pity of it is that men are so often willing that it should be otherwise and live like Milton's Mammon, with 'looks downward bent.'"

Ver'è che, come forma\* non s'accorda

Molte fiata alla intenzion dell' arte,

Perch' a risponder la materia è sorda;

Così da questo corso si diparte

130

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\* *come forma*, etc. : Dante touches upon this subject in very similar language in *Conv.* ii, cap. 1, ll. 83-86 : "Impossibile è la forma . . . venire, se la materia, cioè il suo soggetto, non è prima digesta ed apparecchiata." Dante in the above passage in the *Convito* seems to have imitated St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. iv, art. 4) : "Finis autem comparatur ad id quod ordinatur ad finem, sicut forma ad materiam. Sicut materia non potest consequi formam, nisi sit debito modo disposita ad ipsam, ita nihil consequitur, finem, nisi sit debito modo ordinatum ad ipsum." Compare also *De Monarch.* ii, 2, ll. 20-32 ; and Venturi, *Simil. Dant.* p. 197, *Sim.* 339.

Talor la creatura,\* ch' ha potere  
 Di piegar, così pinta, in altra parte,  
 (E sì come veder si può cadere  
 Foco di nube) se l' impeto primo  
 L' atterra, torto † da falso piacere. ‡

135

True it is, that as oftentimes the form will not accord

\* *creatura*, etc. : "l' uomo dotato di libero arbitrio, del quale abusando si lascia trarre al piacere falso, e piega a terra contro l' istinto della propria natura." (Scartazzini.) See also the remarks of Tommaséo : "Il libero arbitrio non toglie la Grazia, nè questa quello. Siccome per la insufficienza della materia, l' opera dell' artista non corrisponde all' idea ; così all' ideale del bene, che è, nella coscienza dell' uomo, l' opera di lui non s' agguaglia ; anzi se ne torce, per l' abuso del libero arbitrio, che, lasciandosi trarre al piacere falso, piega a terra, contro l' istinto della propria natura : così come il fuoco, che pur sempre sale, nel fulmine piomba giù. In quest' imagine la passione è dipinta come impeto che la forza a natura, e insieme come impeto distruggitore."

† *L' atterra, torto da*, etc. : This reading is adopted by Dr. Moore, Witte, the Mantua edition, and has an overwhelming MS. support. Nearly all the printed editions have the reading supported by Scartazzini *A terra è torto*. Buti reads *dal falso piacere*, but *da* again has an overwhelming MS. support. Dr. Moore's able and learned discussion of these readings (*Textual Criticism*, pp. 436-439) should be studied at length ; and on p. 439 he surmises as to how the other came to be adopted . . . "probable, I venture to think, would it be that *L' atterra*, or as it would generally be written, *Latterra* was mistaken for *La terra*, and that the obvious deficiency of a verb (as in other cases, e. g. *Inf.* ix, 125) caused "è" to be supplied, thus giving *La terra è torta*, *torto* being changed to *torta*, if the latter did not happen (as in *Purg.* xix, 132, and many similar cases) to be there before . . . Dante uses the word *atterrare* four or five times, and on one occasion (*Par.* xxiii, 40-42) in a passage so remarkably like this, that it seems to strengthen the probability of the word occurring here."

‡ *da falso piacere* : Compare *Purg.* xxxi, 34, 35 :

"Piangendo dissi : 'Le presenti cose

Col falso lor piacer volser miei passi,'" etc.

Compare Boëthius, *Philos. Consol.* iii, pros. 2, ll. 13-15 : "Est enim mentibus hominum veri boni naturaliter inserta cupiditas, sed ad falsa devius error abducit."



with the artistic design, because the material is deaf to answer (*i.e.* is irreceptive, *non arrendevole*), so from this course (designed by natural instinct) will the creature at times diverge, who although thus impelled (towards the highest Heaven), has power to deviate in another direction,—even as from a cloud fire may be seen to fall (which is contrary to the nature of fire)—if the first impulse (*i.e.* natural instinct) turned aside by false pleasure drives it to Earth.

Beatrice then sums up her arguments by saying that it is as natural for the man purged from every sin to ascend to Heaven, as it is for a stream to fall downwards from a mountain height into the valley below.

Non dêi più ammirar,\* se bene estimo,  
 Lo tuo salir, se non come d' un rivo  
 Se d' alto monte scende giuso ad imo.  
 Maraviglia sarebbe in te, se privo  
 D' impedimento giù ti fossi assiso,† 140  
 Come a terra quïete in foco vivo."—‡  
 Quinci rivolse inver lo cielo il viso.

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\* *Non dêi più ammirar*, etc. : Dante had just emerged from his purification by being immersed in the waters of Eunoë, "Puro e disposto a salire alle stelle" (*Purg.* xxxiii, 145). His ascent to Heaven thereafter was to be taken as a matter of course.

† *giù ti fossi assiso* : Casini says that the verb *assidersi* expresses the idea of preparing oneself to remain perfectly at one's ease in any given spot ; and that Beatrice in the words *se . . . giù ti fossi assiso* almost might be saying to Dante "if thou hadst failed to quit the place in which thy renewal and perfection was completed."

‡ *Come a terra quïete in foco vivo* : The number of variants here is legion. The most important is that adopted by Scartazzini, *Come a terra quïeto fuoco vivo*, and that is the one adopted by the vast majority of the Commentators, though the one I have followed is that of Moore, of Witte, *Soc. Crusca*, Caetani, and an immense superiority of MS. authority. Dr. Moore (*Textual Criticism*, pp. 440-442) says : "Amidst the very great



Thou oughtest no more to marvel, if I rightly judge, at thine ascent, than as at a rill, if from a lofty mountain it falls into the valley below (*lit.* to the bottom). It would be a marvel in thee, if freed from (earthly) impediment thou hadst remained with thine abode below, as much as (would be strange) all absence of motion in a living flame on earth." Thereafter she turned back her face towards Heaven.

Benvenuto says that in truth it was not a cause of wonder, since Beatrice practically said, that Dante was now with a rapid and easy motion being rapidly borne up to Heaven, the throne of God. He had

variety of readings here—most of them obviously mere blunders, and more or less unintelligible—the following would seem to emerge as most probably the original reading :—

‘Come a terra quiete in foco vivo.’

*Come a terra* is preferable to *Come in terra*, because it accounts for the origin of *Come matera*, *Con matera*, *Come terra*, etc., some of which (with minor variations) appear in a great number of MSS. These may be set aside as blundering reproductions of *Comaterra* or *Comatēra*. I think too that it means not ‘on the ground,’ but ‘on earth,’ in contrast with ‘in heaven,’ where Dante now was (see l. 91), and where a different set of laws operate, or rather perhaps the same laws freed from all earthly impediments (ll. 139, 140): so that, if he did not rise towards God, it would be as strange as absence of motion (*quiete*) would be in a living flame on earth." After quoting the different readings of the Commentators in the choice between *quiete in foco* and *quieto foco*, Dr. Moore sums up by saying: "The reading ‘*quiete in foco vivo*’ seems to me to have the advantage of giving a natural antithesis with *in te* in l. 139, and it is also the reading of the vast majority of MSS. Further it avoids the inelegance of the double epithets *quieto* and *vivo* in the reading *Come a terra quieto fuoco vivo* . . . . The illustration itself, which is obviously suggested by Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, ii, 1, § 2; *Phys.* ii, 1, and similar passages, is rather a favourite one with Dante. See another passage very like this in *Purg.* xviii, 28. *Par.* iv, 77, 78, is a more direct imitation of the *Ethics l.c.* See also *Conv.* iii, 3 (which however is best illustrated by *Par.* i, 115), and *De Mon.* i, 15, ll. 27 and 31. Once more, see *Par.* xxiii, 40-42 :

‘Come foco . . . . .

. . fuor di sua natura in giù s’atterra.’”

trodden down his sins, and, having been purged from them all, had made his way up the mountain, the top of which touched the sky ; here he had been bathed in twofold waters, whereof the one had washed away the memory of former sins, the other had fixed the memory of all good into his soul. He had been freed from Pride and Concupiscence, which two sins are the root of all others, he had been invested with the Seven Virtues ; and these in their turn were making him to take his flight up to his heavenly home, where, as the conqueror of the most formidable enemies, he had a right to hope for the glorious triumph predestined for his good deeds. What wonder then that the Divine Poet was in all haste speeding his way upwards to receive his promised reward ?

END OF CANTO I.

## CANTO II.

THE FIRST SPHERE: THE HEAVEN OF THE MOON.  
—SPIRITS WHO HAD FAILED IN THEIR VOWS  
OF CHASTITY.

INTRODUCTION.—ARRIVAL IN THE HEAVEN OF  
THE MOON.—THE SPOTS OF TWO KINDS UPON  
THE FACE OF THE MOON.—INFLUENCES OF  
THE HEAVENS.

IN the last Canto Dante related in a general way his ascent to Heaven proper. In the present Canto he tells of his mounting to the first of its Spheres, namely to the Heaven of the Moon.

I follow Benvenuto's divisions of the Canto, except that I begin the Third Division three lines before he does.

*In the First Division*, from v. 1 to v. 18, Dante gives his readers his advice to follow certain rules in studying his doctrine.

*In the Second Division*, from v. 19 to v. 45, he relates his entrance into the Sphere of the Moon, and describes the substance of the Moon.

*In the Third Division*, from v. 46 to v. 105, he touches on certain doubts that entered his mind respecting the shadow that appears on the face of the Moon, and he disputes the commonly received opinion (formerly indeed held by himself) on this subject.

*In the Fourth Division*, from v. 106 to v. 148, he gives what he believes to be the true explanation of the phenomenon.

*Division I.* Scartazzini points out the difference between Dante's opening of the *Purgatorio*, and this his opening of the *Paradiso*. In the first his comparison is to a little bark (*navicella*), and is modest. Now however he compares his poetic journey to a great ship (*navigio*), and the whole Introduction is far more pretentious (*pomposo*). His opening of the *Convito* contains the same ideas; but they are far more diffidently expressed. This Introduction recalls that of Lucretius, which Tasso has translated word for word, but which Dante only follows in idea.

Dante's first words in the *Paradiso* are meant to warn off readers of limited intelligence from venturing to penetrate into its subtle and perplexing mysteries. Let such as they, if they have read his *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*, return to their study of those *Cantiche*. The *Paradiso* is only for those of a higher order of intellect.

O voi che siete in piccioletta barca,\*

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\* *in piccioletta barca*: Compare Pulci, *Morgante Maggiore*, Canto xxviii, st. 2:

“Ch'io me n'andrò con l'una e l'altra volta  
Con la barchetta mia, cantando in rima,  
In porto.”

and *Ibid.* st. 140:

“Io me n'andrò colla barchetta mia,  
Quanto l'acqua comporta un picciol legno.”

See also Pope's *Essay on Man*, epistle iv (near the end):

“Say, shall my little bark attendant sail,  
Pursue the triumph, and partake the gale?”

Haselfoot happily remarks on this metaphor, that what was in

Desiderosi d'ascoltar, seguiti  
 Retro al mio legno che cantando varca,\*  
 Tornate a riveder li vostri liti,  
 Non vi mettete in pelago ; chè forse 5  
 Perdendo me rimarreste smarriti.

O ye that are in a little bark eager to listen, having followed behind my ship that singing cuts her way, turn back again to revisit your own shores, do not put out into the open sea ; for perchance losing me (*i.e.* for want of power to follow in my wake) ye might be left astray.

Scartazzini, referring to the above admonition, says that there are but too many who obey it, and do return to revisit their own shores. Goethe was not the only man who found the *Paradiso* very wearisome. I translate the following very appropriate remarks by Count Cesare Balbo, in his *Vita di Dante*, Florence, 1853, p. 398 *et seq.* : "This last *Cantica*, which Dante completed about 1320, is of the three parts of the *Commedia*, all difficult and often obscure, the one that is by common agreement the most difficult and the most obscure. Nor is this consensus of opinion at fault ; for no one could possibly succeed in awakening in the ordinary class of readers that attention to the *Paradiso* which Dante himself failed to obtain. The ordinary reader is, and always must be, held back by the obstacles and the allegories that abound more and more ; by the series of the heavens in accordance with the now forgotten Ptolemaic system ; and, more than all, by the disquisitions on phi-

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Purgatory "the little vessel" of Dante's genius, is in Paradise developed into a strong sea-going ship, leaving behind it a deep furrow (l. 14) ; and it is Dante's hearers who are now in the little bark.

\* *varca* : According to Giuliani *varca* = s'apre un varco, trapassa, ad altre acque.



losophy and theology, which seem often like scholastic theses. With the exception of the three Cantos containing the interview with Cacciaguida, and a few other episodes, in which we are brought back to Earth, and the frequent though brief passages in which Love and Beatrice beam forth, the *Paradiso* must always be less a pleasant reading to the generality of men, than an especial recreation to those who like to discover, expressed in sublime poetry, those supernatural contemplations which have been the object of their studies in philosophy and theology. But those students of philosophy and theology who never can be numerous, besides especially the still less numerous body of those who in these two sciences only see one single one viewed from two different standpoints; these, unless I am much deceived, will find in Dante's *Paradiso* a treasure, which I was wrong in classing under the head of recreations, but which rather should be spoken of under the head of the most noble and sweet consolations, harbingers of those of the real Paradise itself. And they, more than all, will take delight in it most, who, as they read, will find themselves in a frame of mind similar to that of Dante when he was writing it, (a most desirable state, if truth be spoken, for well understanding any author); those, I mean, who after having in their youth had experience of the world in which they had in vain attempted to live happily, and having at last arrived at maturity, old age, satiety, or disappointment, seek by means of those studies to know how it is possible to succeed in that other world on which they thenceforth place their new hopes."



Dante goes on to say that never before had the subject matter of which he is about to sing been treated in poesy.

On this Benvenuto observes that no one before Dante had ever attempted to give a description of Paradise, or even of Purgatory, and thus in two parts at least of his poem he had no predecessor whom he could imitate. Homer indeed in Greek, and Virgil in Latin, had given some sort of descriptions of Hell, very short, bald and confused; but Dante's marvellous ingenuity devised an entirely new Hell, wherein nine separate kinds of sin had their various and regular classifications. Dante adds that he undertakes his mighty task with the aid of Minerva inspiring him with divine knowledge, as the wind that wafts him forward; of Apollo the god of poetry as the helmsman of the good ship; and the nine (or according to some "new") Muses, *i.e.* the Arts, as the magnetic needle\* [*habeo magnetem et acum*] to guide him to the Bears, *i.e.* to the Pole.

L'acqua ch'io prendo giammai non si corse:  
 Minerva spira, e conducemi Apollo,  
 E nove Muse mi dimostran l'Orse.†

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\* Pietro di Dante uses similar words: "Item dicit quod conductor et nauta ejus est Apollo, idest intellectiva scientia et speculativa circa metaphysica et theologica; ac novem Musæ, de quibus dixi supra in Purgatorio, cap. i, *sunt sibi* [to Dante] *calamita et acus*, ad demonstrandum sibi tramontanam, quæ ducit et dirigit navigantes ad portum."

† *nove Muse*: Cesari (*Bellezze della Commedia di Dante Alighieri*, Verona, 1826, vol. iii and iv, p. 26) explains *nove Muse* as "new Muses," and interprets: "questo Apollo con le nuove Muse, vuol dire: che non questi usati e favolosi personaggi lo scorgono, ma d'altra fatta; cioè l'ajuto celeste. Minerva sarà la Sapienza divina." Biagioli writes: "*Nuove muse*, non

The sea that I take to was never traversed before :  
 Minerva breathes (into my sails), and Apollo pilots  
 me, and nine Muses point me out the Bears (*i.e.* the  
 Pole by which to steer).

Having in the above lines warned off, as it were, the more superficial readers, who are unable to study the final *cantica* without the moving episodes constantly occurring in the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*, Dante now addresses himself to those few of a more meditative turn of mind, for whom he says that this part of his poem is distinctly intended.

Voi altri pochi,\* che drizzaste il collo

10

quelle che di caduchi allori circondano la fronte in Elicona, ma altre divine, eterne." It is not easy to decide as to the best interpretation, but all Commentators previous to Daniello read *nove* and interpreted it "nine." Brunone Bianchi so understands it, and suggests that the nine Muses may be intended to correspond to the nine Heavens, and to the nine sciences. *mi dimostran l'Orse* : "Seguita meravigliosamente la presa metafora, perciocchè come ciascuna nave ha bisogno di tre cose a salvamente giungere in porto, dei venti favorevoli che la spingano, d' un piloto pratico che la regga e governi, e di chi ne dimostri l'Orse, cioè il Polo, mediante il quale si naviga oggi : così ciascun poeta ha bisogno di tre cose principalmente, della invenzione ovvero subbietto, della disposizione ovvero ordine, dell' elocuzione ovvero ornato parlare." (Varchi, *op. cit.* vol. i, p. 424).

\* *Voi altri pochi*, et seq. : In *Convito*, i, 1, ll. 51-54, Dante speaks of the blessedness of those few that feed upon the bread of angels, that is, who acquire knowledge : "O beati que' pochi che seggono a quella mensa ove il pane degli Angeli si mangia, e miseri quelli che colle pecore hanno comune cibo !" Scartazzini gives a reference here to St. Thomas Aquinas's *Summa contra Gentiles*, another of the Angelic Doctor's great works, which deals chiefly with the principles of natural religion (i, 4). Compare *Psalm lxxviii*, 25 : "Man did eat angels' food : he sent them meat to the full." And *Wisdom*, xvi, 20 : "Thou feddest thy own people with angels' food, and didst send them from heaven bread prepared without their labour." This bread of angels (says Dean Plumptre) is with Dante a favourite symbol of the higher wisdom. On earth men live by it, but are never

Per tempo al pan degli Angeli, del quale  
 Vivesi qui, ma non sen vien satollo,\*  
 Metter potete ben per l'alto sale †  
 Vostro navigio, servando mio solco  
 Dinanzi all'acqua che ritorna equale. ‡

15

Ye few others, who betimes have outstretched the neck to the bread of Angels (*i.e.* knowledge), upon which one may live here, but with which one never becomes surfeited, ye can well put out your ship through the briny deep, keeping in my furrow (*i.e.*

fully satisfied, for we "know in part." Those who have eaten of the bread betimes, and they only, can follow him, and they must take care to keep in his wake.

\* *non sen vien satollo*: Compare *Purg.* xxxi, 128, 129:

"quel cibo,  
 Che saziando di sè, di sè asseta."

† *alto sale* = the deep sea: Casini remarks that *sale* in this sense is a Latinism which is by no means common. Compare Horace, *Epod.* xvii, 54, 55:

"Non saxa nudis surdiora navitis  
 Neptunus alto tundit hibernus salo."

‡ *servando mio solco Dinanzi all'acqua che ritorna equale*: Cesari (*Bellezze*) explains this well: "Bello questo servare il solco! egli è il mantenere o continuare il solco, che la nave di Dante si lascia dietro nell'acqua: il qual solco sarebbe richiuso, e 'l piano del mar ragguagliato, se il legno che le vien dietro entrandovi nol conservasse. E ciò fa, che tenendosi bene stretto dietro alla guida sua, non la perda di vista. Questa metafora è molto bene continuata dal principio fino alla fine, e sostenuta con vaghe [*graceful*] e proprie locuzioni da Dante, secondo suo usato." The precise meaning, which Cary alone of all the translators seems to make clear, is that they who purpose to follow Dante's ship out into the deep ocean must do so so closely that their vessel shall sail in the very foam behind it that it has ploughed up *in front of* the water that is again becoming smooth. I do not like the interpretation of Tommaséo and Scartazzini who render *dinanzi* "before that," and interpret the sentence as though it were "avanti che l'acqua ritorni eguale." The passage of course is meant to imply that the intricacies of the *Cantica* of the *Paradiso* are so perplexing, that they who would keep their hold on Dante's meaning must follow him with an undeviating and resolute attention.

wake) before you, on that water which returns smooth again.

Dante tells his readers that they will not marvel more to see such things than did the Argonauts when they saw Jason tame the fiery bulls of Æetes, and with them plough the soil of Colchis, which, when sown by Jason with dragon's teeth, brought forth a crop of armed men.

Quei gloriosi\* che passaro a Colco,  
 Non s' ammiraron, † come voi farete,  
 Quando Jason vider fatto bifolco.

Those glorious heroes (the Argonauts) who passed over to Colchis, were not so amazed, as ye shall be, when they saw Jason made a ploughman.

*Division II.* Dante now describes his ascent into the heaven of the Moon. This was effected by Beatrice simply looking up to Heaven, and by Dante fixing his eyes upon her. They at once, automatically as it were, find themselves at their destination in the first sphere of heaven, without Dante being conscious of any movement, and yet, according to the calculations of Antonelli, quoted by Tommaséo, and compared with the astronomical knowledge available in Dante's time, their impulse to ascend must have carried them up more than 84,000 miles in a single

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\* *Quei gloriosi*: The story of the expedition of the Argonauts to Colchis in quest of the Golden Fleece, and the special exploits of Jason there, are related by Ovid in *Metam.* vii, 1-158.

† *non s' ammiraron*: Lines 120, 121, of the above cited quotation describe the wonder excited on Jason being seen ploughing the lands with the hitherto untamed bulls:

“Mirantur Colchi: Minyæ clamoribus implent,  
 Adjiciuntque animos.”

second ; nearly the same speed, says Dante, at which moves the heaven that can be seen by man, *i.e.* the Starry Heaven (*ciel stellato*), which, early astronomers believed, made the complete circuit of the Earth in the twenty-four hours.

La concreata e perpetua sete\*  
 Del deiforme regno † cen portava 20  
 Veloci, quasi come il ciel ‡ vedete.  
 Beatrice in suso, ed io in lei guardava :  
 E forse in tanto, in quanto un quadrel § posa,  
 E vola, e dalla noce si dischiava,

\* *sete* : *i.e.* ardent longing : Compare *Purg.* xxi, 1, 4 :

“La sete natural che mai non sazia.”

Both passages are thought to refer to the natural aspiration of the soul to higher things. Dante in *Convito* iv, 12, ll. 118, 119, says : “La scienza, nell’acquisto della quale cresce sempre il desiderio di quella.” In *Ecclesiasticus*, xxiv, 21, Wisdom is supposed to say : “They that eat me shall yet be hungry, and they that drink me shall yet be thirsty.”

† *deiforme regno* : Compare *Par.* i, 104, 105 :

“e questo è forma

Che l’universo a Dio fa simigliante.”

In *Convito*, ii, 4, ll. 27-39, Dante says of the *Empireo* : “Quieto e pacifico è lo luogo di quella somma Deità che Sè sola compiutamente vede. Questo è lo luogo degli spiriti beati . . . Questo è il sovrano edificio del mondo, nel quale tutto il mondo s’inchiude, e di fuori del quale nulla è : ed esso non è in luogo, ma formato fu solo nella prima Mente.”

‡ *quasi come il ciel* : Vellutello, followed by Varchi, attempts to prove that Dante means that he and Beatrice had entered into, and were being borne along in, the rapid circulation of the heavens, which opinion is strongly combated by Scartazzini. Compare Ovid, *Metam.* ii, 70, 71 :

“Adde, quod assidua rapitur vertigine cœlum ;

Sideraque alta trahit, celerique volumine torquet.”

§ *quadrel* : L. Venturi (*Simil. Dant.* p. 298, *Sim.* 487), says that we have just been discussing the rapidity of the ascent of Beatrice and Dante, compared with the incalculable speed of the *Primum Mobile*. Dante now uses another simile no less ingenious than the last. In indicating the two actions of letting the shaft fly, and of its lighting in the mark, he inverts the



Giunto mi vidi ove mirabil cosa *	25
Mi torse il viso a sè ; e però quella,	
Cui non potea mia opra † essere ascosa,	
Volta ver me ‡ sì lieta come bella :	
—“ Drizza la mente in Dio grata, ”—mi disse,	
—“ Che n' ha congiunti con la prima stella. ”—	30

order ; and he first describes the quarrel coming to a standstill (*posa*) in the mark, then he mentions its flight, and last of all its discharge from the crossbow. These may seem mere inadvertencies, but they are, on the contrary, proofs of great skill and of a most exalted genius. Venturi gives the following illustrations of speed compared to an arrow's flight : Virgil (*Æn.* xii, 855-859) so describes one of the Furies :

“ Illa volat, celerique ad terram turbine fertur :  
Non secus, ac nervo per nubem impulsa sagitta,  
Armatam sævi Parthus quam felle veneni,  
Parthus sive Cydon telum immedicabile torsit ;  
Stridens et celeres incognita transilit umbras. ”

and Pulci, *Morgante Maggiore*, xxvi, st. 75 :

“ Ma così tosto non fugge uno strale  
Che si diparta da corda di noce,  
Come quel presto il portò via veloce. ”

and Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* ix, st. 79 :

“ Ma gli fu dietro Orlando con più fretta,  
Che non esce dall' arco una saetta. ”

\* *mirabil cosa* : The special marvel that now greets Dante's astonished gaze is the pale shimmering light of the Moon. We saw in Canto i, l. 79, et seq., that he had found himself in the burning radiance of the Sphere of Fire, so intense, that the whole firmament seemed to him like a lake of flame. Another unperceived ascent has now brought him into the sphere, or heaven, of the Moon, where the soft pearl-like atmosphere, in its complete contrast to the one he has just left, completes Dante's bewilderment.

† *mia opra* : Some read *ovra*, others *cura*. Varchi (*op. cit.* p. 435) says that the word here signifies the desire or thought which is the effect of the workings of the mind (*operazione della cogitativa*).

‡ *Volta ver me* : Up to this moment Beatrice had been looking up to Heaven ; see l. 22 :

“ Beatrice in suso, ed io in lei guardava. ”

she now turns her eyes down to Dante, full of joy that he is thought worthy to behold the kingdom of heaven. “ De sua natura pulcherrima erat, et gratulabatur super felicitate autoris, qui incipiebat intrare regnum desideratum. ” (Benvenuto.)



That thirst for the realm formed in (the image of) God, which is concreated (with Man) and is everlasting, was bearing us away as swift almost as ye see the heavens. Beatrice was gazing on high, and I on her; and in such a space of time, may be, as a quarrel lights (in the mark), and flies, and is unloosed from the notch, I saw myself arrived where a wondrous thing turned my sight to itself; and thereupon she from whom the working of my mind could not be concealed, turning towards me as blithe as (she was) fair: "Direct thy mind with gratitude to God," said she, "Who has made us to reach the first star."

This is the Moon, the nearest of the planets. In the system of Astronomy followed by Dante, the Moon was considered to be a star.

Beatrice and Dante now enter into the substance of the Moon, which Dante first likens to a diamond and then to a pearl.

Pareva a me che nube ne coprisse  
 Lucida,\* spessa, solida e polita,  
 Quasi adamante che lo sol ferisse.  
 Per entro sè l'eterna † margarita

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\* *Lucida, spessa*, etc. : Venturi (*Simil. Dant.* p. 92, *Simil.* 147) says that this is a very rare instance of Dante using four epithets, but that they are most skilfully employed, partly to explain the nature of the Moon, and partly to show what was his first sudden impression of what he saw there. For *lucida* see *Ezek.* i, 22 : "And the likeness of the firmament upon the heads of the living creature was as the colour of the terrible crystal, stretched forth over their heads above." For *solida* see (in the *Vulgate*) *Job* xxxvii, 18 : "Tu forsitan cum eo fabricatus es coelos, qui solidissimi quasi æere fusi sunt." On *polita* Venturi draws attention to Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* xxxiv, st. 70 :

"Tutta la sfera varcano del fuoco,  
 Et indi vanno al regno della luna,  
 Veggon per la più parte esser loco  
 Come un acciar che non ha macchia alcuna."

† *eterna* : "Corpora . . . cœlestia secundum sui naturam in-

Ne ricevette, com'acqua recepe\* 35  
 Raggio di luce, permanendo unita.

It seemed to me that a cloud was covering us, brilliant, dense, solid, and smooth, as though it had been a diamond that the Sun had smitten. The everlasting pearl received us within itself, just as water receives a ray of light, remaining united.

Antonelli (in Tommaséo's commentary) says that Dante, who had no telescopes to examine the surface of the planets, necessarily followed the common beliefs of his time. The first three attributes that he uses (*brilliant, dense, and solid*) are appropriate; not so the fourth (*smooth*), seeing that that face of the Moon which is turned to the Earth is exceedingly rugged and uneven.

As we have already seen in Canto i (ll. 73-75), Dante is in total ignorance as to whether he is up in Heaven in spirit only, or with both his body and soul. He goes on to say that if he *was* there with both—and to us mortals it is incomprehensible that one body should be able to penetrate into another, and to unite with it in such wise that the component parts of the recipient body shall not be dislodged, a

corruptibilia sunt et secundum totum et secundum partes." (St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summ. Theol.* pars iii, suppl. qu. xci, art. 5).

\* *com'acqua recepe*: *recepe*, a Latinism for *riceve*. "L' imagine, poi, del raggio di luce che penetra una massa d'acqua senza disunirla, è felicissima, e l'unica che la Fisica ci somministri per vedere come sensibilmente possa venire un' eccezione ad una delle leggi della natura, la impenetrabilità de' corpi. Con quella imagine viene a ritrarsi, meglio che con lunga dissertazione filosofica, la felice trasformazione avvenuta nel corpo suo. E da questa specie di miracolo, del penetrare la sostanza di quel pianeta senza disunirla, si fa strada a contemplazione di più alti misteri, e al desiderio di conoscere quel che concerne l' ineffabile incarnazione del Verbo divino." (Antonelli *op. Tommaséo*).

phenomenon that in good sooth is quite beyond our human comprehension — then we mortals ought to become far more desirous of beholding that Essence in which it is seen how the human and the Divine natures are united ; and therefore we ought to make all our care and study to be in conformity with such desire.

S' io era corpo, e qui non si concepe \*.  
 Com' una dimension altra patïo,  
 Ch' esser convien se corpo in corpo repe,†  
 Accender ne dovria più il disio 40  
 Di veder quella essenza,‡ in che si vede  
 Come nostra natura e Dio § s' unfo.  
 Lì si vedrà ciò che tenem per fede,

\* *qui non si concepe*: Scartazzini warns us not to understand *qui* as meaning "our world" in this passage, but "in such a case," "in that case." St. Thomas Aquinas treats this question (which was considered of high importance in the Scholastic philosophy) at great length in *Summ. Theol.* pars iii, suppl. qu. lxxxiii, under articles 2, 3 and 4, especially the following passage in art. 3: "Virtute divinâ fieri potest, ut eâ solâ, quòd corpori remaneat *esse* distinctum ab alio corpore, quamvis ejus materia non sit distincta in situ ab alterius corporis materiâ; et sic miraculosè fieri potest quòd duo corpora sint simul in eodem loco."

† *repe*: This verb is Italianized from the Latin *repere* "to creep along," and Dante uses it in the sense as Buti explains of "to glide slowly into anything:" "*Se corpo in corpo repe*, cioè se corpo alcuno entra lentamente in altro corpo."

‡ *quella essenza*, *i.e.* Christ, in Whom is seen how both the human and the divine natures were united.

§ *e Dio*: Moore (*Textual Criticism*, pp. 442, 443), says of this reading, and the two most supported variants *in Dio*, and *a Dio*, that *e Dio*, besides having an immense preponderance of MS. authority, is the *difficilior lectio*, and will account for the origin of the other readings, which were probably intended to remove the grammatical anomaly of a singular verb with two nominatives. Compare the changes due to a similar anomaly in *Inf.* xx, 69, and Moore upon it, *op. cit.* pp. 327-329.

Non dimostrato, ma fia per sè noto,

A guisa del ver primo\* che l'uom crede.

45

If I was body,—and in that case one cannot conceive how one dimension could endure another, which needs must be if (one) body insinuate itself into (another) body—then a greater longing should inflame us to behold that Essence, in which is seen how our nature and God become one. There (in the Life Eternal) will be seen that which we hold by faith, not demonstrated (by proof), but it will be made manifest in itself after the fashion of the primary truth which Man believes (that is to say, without any further proof).

Benvenuto remarks that Dante is careful to remove a

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\* *ver primo*: Scartazzini says that *Primo ver* often expresses God, but is here intended to denote these notions which Man receives from Nature herself, without ever having learned them either from others, or intuitively, and which Aristotle, and after him St. Thomas Aquinas, call *principles of demonstration*. Others call them *axioms*, *apodyctics*, etc. The passage is as though Dante would say: "As in our world the first principles of the Sciences are taken for granted and believed as generally known in themselves without disputation or doubt; so all things concerning the Faith which we know, simply by belief in them, will in that realm of bliss be made perfectly certain and manifest to us." Cary's note here seems so valuable, that I copy it: "Like a truth that does not need demonstration, but is self-evident.' Thus Plato, at the conclusion of the Sixth Book of the Republic, lays down four principles of information for the human mind: (1) Intuition of self-evident truth, *νοήσις*; (2) Demonstration by reasoning, *διάνοια*; (3) Belief on testimony, *πίστις*; (4) Probability, or conjecture, *εἰκασία*. Compare Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, book ii, § 7: "The truth is, that the mind of man desireth evermore to know the truth, according to the most infallible certainty which the nature of things can yield. The greatest assurance generally with all men, is that which we have by plain aspect and intuitive beholding. Where we cannot attain unto this, there what appeareth to be true, by strong and invincible demonstration, such as wherein it is not by any way possible to be deceived, thereunto the mind doth necessarily assent, neither is it in the choice thereof to do otherwise. And in case these both do fail, then which way greatest probability leadeth, thither the mind doth evermore incline."

possible tacit doubt that might occur, and make some persons ask: "How could you enter into the body or substance of the Moon, when one solid body cannot enter into another solid body without corruption?" To which Dante in effect answers thus "Admitted that I was corporeally there, one must then take for granted that my body was not only temporarily endowed with the immaterialism of such bodies as those of the Saints in Heaven, but that I was also governed by some special dispensation of Divine Grace, without which a body, however immaterial, could not possibly be in combination with that of another body, such as that of the Moon."

*Division III.* We read in ll. 29, 30, that Beatrice had said to Dante: *Drizza la mente in Dio grata.* He now hastens to obey her injunctions, and having done so, asks her for an explanation of the dark spots that are seen upon the face of the Moon, which popular ignorance supposed to be Cain carrying a bundle of thorns.

Io risposi:—"Madonna, sì devoto  
 Com'esser posso più, ringrazio lui  
 Lo qual del mortal mondo\* m'ha remoto.  
 Ma ditemi, che son li segni bui

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\* *mortal mondo*: Compare *Par.* xxv, 35, 36:

" . . . ciò che vien quassù dal mortal mondo,  
 Convien ch' ai nostri raggi si maturi."

and *Conv.* iii, 5, ll. 21-28: "Prima dico, che per lo *mondo* io non intendo qui tutto il corpo dell' Universo, ma solamente questa parte del mare e della terra, seguendo la volgare voce, che così s'usa chiamare. Onde dice alcuno: 'quegli ha tutto il mondo veduto;' dicendo parte del mare e della terra."



Di questo corpo, che laggioso in terra 50  
 Fan di Cain\* favoleggiare altrui?—

I answered: "Lady, as devoutly as most I can, I render thanks to Him Who has removed me from the mortal world. But tell me, what are the dark spots upon this body (the Moon), which down there on Earth make people fable about Cain?"

Beatrice's answer (says Gioberti) is to the effect that if men's judgment is at fault where they have the senses to guide them, Dante must not be astonished if they are still more at fault in the investigation of those matters which transcend the senses. Not only do the common people err in believing such foolish tales as that of the Man in the Moon, but even great thinkers do so in their philosophical discussions on the same subject.

Ella sorrise† alquanto, e poi :—" S' egli erra

\* *Cain*: In *Inferno* xx, 124-6, Dante speaks of Cain and the thorns as meaning the Moon;

". . . già tiene il confine  
 D'amendue gli emisperi, e tocca l'onda  
 Sotto Sibia, Caino e le spine."

A passage in Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, in act v. sc. i, refers to the popular superstition that Cain was by God relegated both in body and soul into the Moon for ever condemned to bear a bundle of thorns on his back. Casini, in his commentary, refers to St. Prato, *Caino e le spine secondo Dante e la tradizione popolare*, Ancona, 1881, in which work there is a quotation from an ancient Tuscan *novella*, which relates that, after having murdered Abel, "Caino cercò di scusarsi, ma allora Iddio li rispose: 'Abele sarà con me in Paradiso, e tu in pena della tu' colpa sarai confinato nella luna, e condannato a portare eternamente addosso un fascio di spine.' Appena dette queste parole da Dio, si levò un fortissimo vento e trasportò Caino in corpo e anima nella luna, e d' allora in poi si vede sempre la su' faccia maledetta, e il fardello di spine che è obbligato a reggere insino alla fin del mondo, indizio della vita disperata che li tocca trascinare."

† *Ella sorrise*: Benvenuto thinks Beatrice's smile had a good



L' opinion,"—mi disse,—“ dei mortali,  
 Dove chiave di senso non disserra,  
 Certo non ti dovrien punger gli strali 55  
 D' ammirazione omai ; poi retro ai sensi  
 Vedi che la ragione ha corte l' ali.

She smiled slightly, and then said to me: “If the opinion of mortals errs where the keys of sense do not unlock, surely the shafts of wonder ought not to pierce thee now; inasmuch as thou canst perceive that in following the senses Reason has its wings shortened.

In effect Beatrice says to Dante: “In matters open to such doubt as this one, of which you cannot obtain evidence by the sense of sight or by that of touch; to get clear knowledge of the meaning of these marks in the Moon, you should not wonder very much, if, without the help of the senses, your reason is unable to investigate the difficulty by itself alone.”

Observe, that Beatrice has evaded giving Dante an immediate reply to his question, and she now asks him his own opinion on the subject. And note here particularly, that Dante, in his answer to her, expresses an opinion which had once been his own, but had ceased to be so at the time he wrote the *Paradiso*, and is only supposed to be uttered by him now, in order to be refuted by Beatrice, into whose mouth he puts his latest views on the subject.

Ma dimmi quel che tu da te ne pensi?—

Ed io :—“Ciò che n' appar quassù diverso,  
 Credo che il fanno i corpi rari e densi.” 60

But tell me what thou thyself thinkest about it?”

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deal of double meaning in it (*quasi volens dicere tacite, non solum vulgares errant fabulando de eo quod nunc petis, sed etiam magni sapientes philosophando de hoc errant*).

And I: "That which seems to us different up here,  
is caused, I believe, by bodies rare and dense."

Dante now supposes Beatrice, in her reply, to refute this theory which he had himself expressed in *Convito* ii,\* in which he contended that the spots in the Moon were caused by the rarity or density of its substance: that the shadows were due to the passage, without reflection, of the Sun's rays through the rare or thin portions of its substance; and that the light upon it was occasioned by the reflection of those rays from its dense parts. This opinion, which he had formerly held, but no longer holds, he makes Beatrice confute, and the long dissertation, which she continues to the end of the Canto, may be taken to record Dante's recantation, a recantation which he repeats in *Par.* xxii, 139 *et seq.* *Philalethes* says that these two refutations in the *Paradiso*, of the theories held by Dante in the *Convito*, prove that the *Convito*, or a part at least of it, must have been written before the *Paradiso*.

Beatrice first shows that Dante's theory is not capable of being sustained, because, *in the first place*, the various degrees of brightness in the fixed stars are

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\* I give this passage (*Conv.* ii, 14, *ll.* 66-79) from Miss Hillard's Translation: "I say that the Heaven of the Moon resembles Grammar, because it may be compared with it. For, if we look closely at the Moon, we see two things peculiar to it which we cannot see in the other stars; one is the shadow in it, which is no other than the rarity of its body, in which the rays of the Sun cannot terminate and be reflected as in the other parts; the other is the variation in its brightness, which now shines from one side and now from the other, according as the sun looks upon it." These opinions, which were those of Averrhöes, were in Dante's time commonly believed to be also those of Aristotle.

known to be due to the variety of formal principles by which they are governed, and *not* to the varying density or rarity of their composition (ll. 61-72); and *secondly*, if the body of the Moon consisted of strata partly rare and partly dense, then, *either* the rare portions ought to extend all through the thickness of the Sphere of the Moon—and, were that so, then the light of the Sun would pass right through the body of the Moon during an eclipse of the Sun—*or*, they (the rare portions) ought to be arranged in alternate layers with the denser portions, in which case the light in the darkest parts would be reflected diversely according to the greater or lesser depression of the Moon's surface (ll. 73-93); but an experiment made with mirrors shows us that the intrinsic radiance of light is not affected by distance, though the amount of it may seem less in proportion to its distance from the reflecting surface (ll. 94-105). Having thus disposed of Dante's earlier theory, Beatrice proceeds to show that *the real cause of the phenomenon they are discussing* is to be sought in the "virtue" which has its origin in the Ninth Heaven, the *Primum Mobile*, and from thence is distributed throughout the whole universe by means of the varying influences of the *Fixed Stars* in the Eighth Heaven, which bears that name (ll. 112-138). For the above remarks I am indebted to *Philalethes*, who notes that most of the arguments put by Dante into the mouth of Beatrice are in great measure based upon the *De cælo et mundo* of Albertus Magnus. Dante made large use of Albertus Magnus, though it was but rarely that he acknowledged all he owed to his teaching.

Ed ella :—“ Certo assai vedrai sommerso  
 Nel falso\* il creder tuo, se bene ascolti  
 L'argomentar ch' io gli farò avverso.  
 La spera ottava vi dimostra molti  
 Lumi, li quali nel quale e nel quanto 65  
 Notar si posson di diversi volti.  
 Se raro e denso † ciò facesser tanto,  
 Una sola virtù sarebbe in tutti,  
 Più e men distributa, ed altrettanto.  
 Virtù diverse esser convengon ‡ frutti 70  
 Di principii formali § e quei, fuor ch' uno,

\* *sommerso Nel falso*: In *Convito*, iv, 2, ll. 135-140, Dante lays down, as a definite principle of argument, that erroneous opinions must be combated and the fallacy of them proved, before one proceeds to state the true argument: “Prima si riprova lo falso, acciocchè, fuggate le male opinioni, la verità poi più liberamente sia ricevuta. E questo modo tenne il Maestro della umana ragione, Aristotile, che sempre prima combattéo cogli avversari della verità, e poi, quelli convinti, la verità mostrò.”

† *Se raro e denso*, et seq.: Gioberti explains that there are touches in these lines in which we might always think to discover the doctrine of Kant, “un po' di Kantismo, poichè Beatrice deduce la diversità de' corpi lunari da quello che noi ci vediamo, ragionando, che il mezzo uniforme (*la forma*) per cui li vediamo non può dar ragione della diversità delle apparenze.”

‡ *esser convengon* for *convien che siano* is a somewhat peculiar use of *convenire*. The *Voc. della Crusca* under that word, § 15 writes: “S'accorda talora col numero della cosa, o persona, contro quello che sembra portar sua natura.” Compare *Boccaccio, Decam.* Giorn. v, Nov. 4: “I tempi si convengono pur sofferire fatti come le stagioni gli danno.” And Giorn. vii, Nov. 7: “Per certo io il convengo vedere.” A footnote on the latter passage discusses that and the former as well: “ed altri tali assai; ove considera il modo di ordinar questo verbo, che si concorda col primo caso, ed anco col terzo; che il medesimo si diria qui: *A me convien vederlo*, e così degli altri tutti, o impersonalmente *convien sofferire i tempi*.” I am surprised to find no reference to this use of *convenire*, corresponding to § 18 of the *Voc. della Crusca*, in the *Gran Dizionario* di Torino, although Tommaséo, one of the authors, explains it in his commentary.

§ *principii formali*: Scartazzini explains that Scholastic Philosophy used to distinguish two principles in all bodies: the

Seguiterieno\* a tua ragion distrutti.

And she: "Thou wilt assuredly perceive that thy belief is steeped in fallacy, if thou give good heed to the arguments I shall bring against it. The Eighth Sphere (*i.e.* the Heaven of the Fixed Stars) displays to you many lights (*i.e.* Stars) which in their amount of brilliancy and in their magnitude may be remarked (to be) of different aspects. If (therefore) rarity and density were the exclusive cause of this (diversity of the stars), then there would be but one single power more or less equally distributed among them, and in just proportions. Diverse influences must perforce be the effects of (several) formal principles (not of one alone), and according to thy (process of) reasoning it would follow as a *sequitur* that all these would be destroyed except one.

In point of fact there are different natures in the stars, as in the world there are different effects, which effects must needs be derived from different causes, which causes are the *formal principles* of the things they produce, and if Dante's argument held good, the spots on the Moon would be derived only from the one single *formal principle* of density and rarity.

Beatrice now disproves Dante's theory with another argument, namely, by showing that this rarity does not exist in the substance of the Moon at all.

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*material principle, i.e.* primary matter, in all bodies the same; and the *formal principle* that is, the substantial form which constitutes the various species and the potentialities (*virtù*) of bodies. Compare St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. ix, art. 1): "Objectum movet determinando actum ad modum principii formalis, a quo in rebus naturalibus actio specificatur, sicut calefactio a calore. Primum autem principium formale est ens, et verum universale, quod est objectum intellectus."

\* *Seguiterieno*, according to Tommaséo, is, as used here, merely the rendering of the scholastic "*sequeretur*."



Ancor,\* se raro fosse di quel bruno  
     Cagion che tu domandi, od oltre in parte  
     Fora di sua materia sì digiuno                      75  
 Esto pianeta, o sì come comparte  
     Lo grasso e il magro un corpo, così questo  
     Nel suo volume cangerebbe carte.†

Besides, if rarity were the cause of that opaqueness (about) which thou enquirest, either this planet would be to that extent lacking of its substance through and through, or else just as a body apportions its fat and its lean, so this (planet, the Moon) would have to alternate the leaves of its volume.

This is a metaphor taken from a book, in which the sheets being placed together in form of *strata*, constitute the entire volume.

Beatrice now argues that if the Moon were so perforated through and through in some of its parts, or so wanting in its matter that there should be rarity in those parts, then in solar eclipses the light would either pass through the holes, or through the rarefied parts, and would be seen by us.

\* *Ancor*, et seq. : "Moreover if rarity were the cause of the spots, then, either must the Moon be perforated right through, or it must have some strata dense, and some strata rare, laid on just like fat and lean in meat." (Tommaséo).

† *cangerebbe carte* : Tommaséo does not think this metaphor is peculiarly happy as used here, but Dante has frequently employed it elsewhere. Compare *Par.* xii, 121-123 :

"Ben dico, chi cercasse a foglio a foglio  
 Nostro volume, ancor troveria carta  
 U'leggerebbe : 'Io mi son quel ch'io soglio.'"

In the above passage St. Buonaventura is comparing his Order, the Franciscans, to a volume, and the Friars to the leaves in it, and while deploring the way the Order has deteriorated, he says that yet there is still some page (*i.e.* Friar) that can say of itself "I am still as faithful and true as when I was first set in the book, *i.e.* admitted into the Order."



Se il primo fosse, fora manifesto  
 Nell' eclissi del sol, per trasparere\* 80  
 Lo lume, come in altro raro ingesto.  
 Questo non è ; però è da vedere  
 Dell' altro, e s' egli avvien ch' io l' altro cassi,†  
 Falsificato fia lo tuo parere.

If the first condition were the case, it would become apparent in the eclipse of the Sun, by its light shining through (the Moon), as when it is made to pass through other rarefied matter. This is not so; therefore we have to consider the other (hypothesis), and if it comes about that I am able to confute that other, then thy theory will be proved fallacious.

This second hypothesis was to suppose that the rare and the dense are laid in strata in the body of the Moon; and this proposition Beatrice, in accordance with what she has just said, proceeds to demolish.

S' egli è che questo raro non trapassi, 85  
 Esser conviene un termine, da onde  
 Lo suo contrario più passar non lassi ;  
 Ed indi l' altrui raggio si rifonde‡  
 Così, come color torna per vetro §  
 Lo qual diretto a sè piombo nasconde. 90

\* *trasparere* for *trasparire*. Compare *Inf.* xxxiv, 12 :

"E trasparente come festuca in vetro."

And *Par.* xxiii, 31, 32 :

"E per la viva luce trasparente  
 La lucente sustanzia."

† *cassi*: *cassare* is primarily to erase, or scratch out words or letters of any writing; hence to annul any part of a decree, deed or act; hence again were one Minister to reverse all the operations of his predecessor, he would be said to *cassare* them. Here it is used in the sense of to annul, confute, demolish. The word is commonly used at the present day in the Italian telegraph offices. "One word erased" is "Una parola cassata."

‡ *si rifonde*: "idest, reflectitur ibi, et per consequens luceret in ipso raro in superficie." (Benvenuto).

§ *vetro*, etc.: Compare *Inf.* xxiii, 25-27 :

". . . S' io fossi d' impiombato vetro,

If it be the case that this rarity does not pass right through (the substance of the Moon), then there must needs be a limit (*i.e.* some dense part), beyond which it (the dense) does not allow its contrary (the rare) to pass further; and thence (that is, from this point of separation between the rare and the dense) the ray of another (body, the Sun) is poured back (*i.e.* is reflected) in such wise as colour returns from glass which conceals lead behind it (*i.e.* a mirror).

In translating as above, I am following Benvenuto, Buti, *Philalethes*, Daniello, Scartazzini, and Casini, in taking *lo contrario* as the accusative case after *lassi*. Benvenuto comments: "*S'egli è che questo raro non trapassi, tunc, conviene essere un termine, idest, una pars densa, da onde, idest, a quo termino densitatis, non lassi più passar lo suo contrario, scilicet, rarum.*"\* Daniello's comment is equally positive in this sense: "Se questo raro non trapassa da una parta all'altra, ci conviene essere un termine, dal quale il denso non

L' imagine di fuor tua non trarrei  
Più tosto a me."

Also *Conv.* iii, 9, ll. 76-82: "Specchio . . . è vetro terminato con piombo; sicchè passar più oltre non può [la forma degli oggetti nell'occhio paragonato allo specchio] ma quivi, a modo d'una palla percossa, si ferma; . . . e questo è quello per che nel vetro piombato la imagine appare, e non in altro."

\* Here is a case in point of the extraordinary inaccuracy of the translation of Benvenuto by Tamburini. He renders the original of Benvenuto with the precise converse of its sense: "*s'egli è che questo raro non trapassi, non trapassi l'intera sostanza o corpo lunare da banda a banda conviene essere un termine vi sarà un limite da onde dal quale non lassi più passar lo suo contrario un punto, oltre il quale il suo contrario, cioè il denso, non lasci passare il raggio luminoso, etc.*" I am indeed thankful to have been the humble means of enabling the late Sir James Lacaïta's careful edition of the original text of Benvenuto's great work to be given to the world.

lo lassi passar più oltre, ma che rifletti i raggi nella guisa che fa il piombo dopo il vetro dello specchio.” By far the larger number of commentators and translators, however, take *lo contrario* as the nominative of the verb *lassi*, which is strongly condemned both by Scartazzini and Casini. Scartazzini mentions *first* the interpretation of the many, and *secondly* the one he considers the true one, and, after citing *Philalethes's* translation as agreeing with him, he adds: “Ci pare che già al primo sguardo ognuno resterà convinto, quest'ultima interpretazione essere la giusta, assolutamente falsa invece quella dei più.” Casini is no less decided: “*lo suo contrario*, etc. La densità maggiore non lasci passar oltre la densità minore. Questa è la giusta interpretazione, data già dal Daniello, ed accolta da parecchi moderni; i più dei commentatori intendono invece: la densità maggiore non lasci passar oltre il raggio luminoso; che sarebbe erronea anticipazione d'un'idea estranea per ora al ragionamento di Dante.”

Beatrice\* now forestalls and condemns an objection that might be made to her argument; for Dante might contend with some truth (says Benvenuto) that the ray of the Sun penetrates so far in some places into the substance of the Moon, that from its excessive prolongation, and consequently its greater distance, it appears fainter or more cloudy on the Moon's surface. She meets this objection by saying:

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\* Mr. Haselfoot says that Beatrice supposes Dante to shift his ground, and now to attribute the dark marks to the fact that the Sun's rays are reflected, not from the Moon's surface, but from dense strata at some distance beneath it.

Or dirai tu ch' ei sì dimostra tetro  
 Quivi lo raggio più che in altre parti,  
 Per esser lì rifratto\* più a retro.  
 Da questa istanzia† può diliberarti  
 Esperienza, se giammai la provi,  
 Ch' esser suol fonte ai rivi di vostr' arti.‡

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Now (perchance) thou wilt say that it, the (reflected) ray shows itself more obscured there (where the spot is) than in other parts, from being reflected there from a point further back. From this objection experiment—which is wont to be the fountain to the rivers of your arts (*i.e.* the sources of your science)—can set thee free if ever thou give it a trial.

Dante is here distinctly asserting that learning must begin with facts and experiments, by which one traces causes from their effects.

Beatrice now, in order to prove what she had been saying, proposes that Dante shall put it to the test of

\* *rifratto*: Compare *Purg.* xv, 22-24, where the intense radiance of the Angel, reflected upwards from the ground, so dazzles Dante that he has to screen his eyes with his hand:

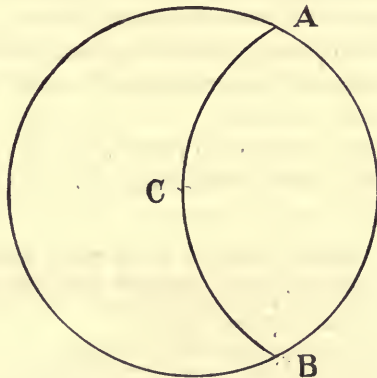
“Così mi parve da luce rifratta  
 Ivi dinanzi a me esser percosso,  
 Perchè a fuggir la mia vista fu ratta.”

Scartazzini remarks that, although modern Physical Science distinguishes between *reflection* and *refraction* of light, such a distinction was unknown in Dante's time.

† *istanzia* (says Mr. Butler) is the scholastic rendering of the Greek *ἐνστάσις* “an objection,” as in Aristotle, *Rhet.* ii, 25. See Grote, Aristotle, chap. vi.

‡ *Esperienza . . . fonte . . . di vostr' arti*: Gioberti in one of his very few notes exclaims on these two lines: “Ecco il metodo sperimentale conosciuto e mitriato [*crowned*] da Dante come l'unico valevole in filosofia, e *il fonte* delle arti umane. Scienze, lettere, arti fondate sulla storia.” Mr. Butler thinks *vostr' arti* means rather our “science,” as in *Purg.* iv, 80, etc., where it represents the Greek *τεχνη*. Compare Arist. *Metaph.* i: “ἀποβαίνει δ'ἐπιστήμη καὶ τέχνη διὰ τῆς ἐμπειρίας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.”

an experiment. Her object is to prove that distance will not affect the intrinsic quality of light, though it may give the appearance of greater or less quantity, and therefore it is not possible that, on account of distance, light could take the appearance of shadow. And her meaning is to show that the Sun's ray, reflected on the outer surface of the body of the Moon, would not differ in brilliancy from another ray that shall have been reflected from within the body of the Moon near the centre. This is demonstrated in the



annexed figure, which I find in the *Anonimo Fiorentino*.\* We will suppose the circle A B to be the body of the Moon, and the letters A B to be situated on its surface; and let us suppose A C in the centre of the said body, and the two lines A C and A B to touch that rarity (*contingere quella raritate*) that there may be in the Moon. And she now argues that the rays of the Sun, that are reflected at the points A and B, will be of equal brilliancy with those that are reflected

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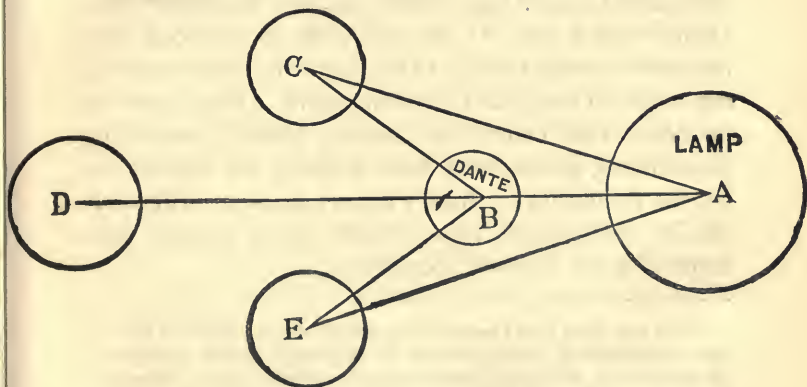
\* The description is the same in Lana.



at the point C ; so that the distance that exists from the surface to the centre will make no difference in the quality of the light, as she has already stated, and she goes on to prove this by the following experiment.\*

Tre specchi prenderai, e due rimovi  
 Da te d' un modo, e l' altro, più rimosso,  
 Tr' ambo li primi gli occhi tuoi ritrovi.  
 Rivolto ad essi fa che dopo il dosso 100  
 Ti stea† un lume che i tre specchi accenda,‡

\* I have copied the subjoined figure from the *Anon. Fiorentino*:  
 B is the person making the experiment, *e. g.* Dante ;  
 A the lamp or torch placed behind his back—figuring the Sun ;  
 C and E the two equi-distant mirrors at a shorter distance from his eye, and figuring the outer surface of the Moon ;  
 D the more distant mirror—figuring the centre of the Moon's substance.



† *stea* for *stia* : For the ancient forms of the verb *stare* see Nannucci, *Analisa Critica*, pp. 686-704, and for *stea* p. 697, where the present passage is cited. Also from the *Novellino*, Nov. xx, in *Manuale della Letteratura Italiana*, vol. ii ; but Nov. xvi, in Barbera's edition of the *Novellino*, Florence, 1889: "Non piaccia a Dio che l'anima di così valente uomo *stea* in pregione per moneta."

‡ *accenda* : For this word in the sense of, as here, "to illuminate, light up," we have the equivalent in Latin in Virgil, *Georg.* i, 251 : "Illic sera rubens accendit lumina Vesper."

E torni a te da tutti ripercosso.  
 Benchè nel quanto tanto non si stenda  
 La vista più lontana, lì vedrai  
 Come convien ch'egualmente risplenda. 105

Thou shalt take three mirrors, and two (of them) thou shalt remove from thee to an equal distance (*lit.* in one manner), and let the other, further removed, meet thine eyes between the first two. Turning towards them, contrive that behind thy back be placed a lamp which shall light up the three mirrors, and return to thee reflected back by them all. (Then) although that seen furthest off (*i.e.* the middle-placed mirror) does not extend over so ample a space (*i.e.* does not seem so great in its *quantity* of light), thou wilt note of it, that it must needs be equally resplendent (with the other two).

Scartazzini (*Com. Lips.*) after quoting Mossotti\* and Della Valle,† says "I do not wish to overload my note with quotations, for the verses do not seem to me to be so very hard to understand. There can be no doubt that Dante had already himself made the experiment, which he is here inviting his readers to try for themselves. And whoever does so, will very readily understand these verses, even without the learned notes of their expositors."

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\* "A me pare che Dante coll'esempio dei tre specchi ha voluto segnalare il principio che le superficie piane luminose, od illuminate in egual grado appaiono della stessa chiarezza a qualunque distanza siano poste, perchè la grandezza dell'immagine e la quantità di luce che riceve la pupilla da ciascun punto diminuendo l'una e l'altra nella ragione inversa del quadrato della distanza, vi è un compenso, ed ogni elemento d'egual estensione dell'immagine apparente è sempre rappresentato da una stessa quantità di luce nell'occhio a qualunque distanza si osservi la superficie." (Mossotti, *Lettera a B. Boncompagni intorno ad un passo della D. R.*, Roma, 1865, p. 3.)

† Della Valle, *Nuove Illustrazioni sulla D. C.*, p. 120 et seq.

*Division IV.* Beatrice, having confuted Dante's theory about the spots on the Moon, proceeds to demonstrate the truth about them; and her statement must be taken as representing Dante's own altered opinion. I extract the following from the work of my valued friend, the late Sir Frederick Pollock, as a most useful statement of Beatrice's disproofs of what we have studied up to this point, and of her proofs of what is advanced in the remainder of the Canto.

" Beatrice proves, I. That *rare* and *dense* are not the reason of the different size and light of the stars.

" II. That the lunar spots are not caused by an alternation of *rare* and *dense* strata; whether supposed to traverse the Moon in its depth or breadth: for in the first case the Sun would shine through it in an eclipse: and in the second its light would be uniformly reflected from the first stratum as from a looking-glass, and there would be no variety of light and dark.

" III. That the spots are not occasioned by the different brightness of the reflection of the Sun from the surface of the Moon, and from the deep cavities in the Moon.

" Then she shows, I. That the Empyrean sheds its Virtue on the *Primum Mobile*, the *Primum Mobile* its Virtue on the sphere of the Fixed Stars, and so on.

" II. That this Virtue and the motion of each sphere are directed by a special presiding Intelligence in each.

" III. That this Virtue, although it descends from

one source, is not the same Virtue more or less communicated, but different; that is, differently adapted to the nature and end of the heavenly bodies, and hence productive of different effects also in their external appearance. Hence the dark and light in the Moon do not depend upon any difference of density in its substance, but on the special virtue communicated to that planet which operates as a Formal Principle, or intrinsic cause, to determine its special mode of existence."

Beatrice begins her elucidation by comparing the error which encumbered Dante's mind to the snow which encumbers the ground, and her own argument she compares to the Sun, which melts and disperses the snow and leaves the ground free to receive the new seed.

Or come ai colpi delli caldi rai\*  
 Della neve riman nudo il soggetto†  
 E dal colore e dal freddo primai;  
 Così‡ rimasto te nello intelletto

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\* *ai colpi delli caldi rai*: L. Venturi (*Similitudini Dantesche*, p. 71, *Sim.* 115) gives numerous illustrations of this much used simile.

† *soggetto*: I follow Buti, Landino, Vellutello, Daniello, Blanc, Witte, Scartazzini and Casini, in taking *soggetto* as "il terreno sottostante sul quale giace la neve." Lombardi, L. Venturi, Tommaséo, Brunone, Bianchi, Fraticelli and most of the modern commentators, take it to be "la sostanza della neve," but, as Casini remarks, this scholastic terminology, applied to a simile deduced from a natural phenomenon with such a keen sentiment of reality, would be wholly inappropriate.

‡ *Così*: "libero dall' errore che prima aveva, come il suolo liberato dalla sua bianca e fredda coperta." (Scartazzini). Compare Boëthius, *Philos. Consol.* i, Pros. vi: "Sed quoniam firmioribus remediis nondum tempus est et eam mentium constat esse naturam, ut quotiens abjecerint veras, falsis opinionibus induantur, ex quibus orta perturbationum caligo verum illum

Voglio informar di luce sì vivace,\*  
Che ti tremolerà † nel suo aspetto. 110

Now as beneath the strokes of the warm rays, that which underlies the snow (namely, the soil) is left bare both of the hue and of the cold which it had at first; in like manner thee, left (bare) in thine intellect (*i.e.* freed from the error that covered it), I want to animate with light so brilliant that it will twinkle upon thee (like a star) as it is presented before thee.

By comparing the light with which she wishes to flood his intellect to a star, she means that, as a star is a light from Heaven, so is the elucidation she is about to give Dante inspired with the light of Heavenly truth.

Benvenuto says that, to explain briefly the long speech which follows, Beatrice seems to assert that the highest heaven is in celestial things what the heart is to the members, and the influence of the primal cause is in celestial matters like the influence of the heart in corporeal matters.

Dentro dal ciel della divina pace ‡

confundit intuitum, hanc paulisper lenibus mediocribusque fomentis attenuare temptabo, ut dimotis fallacium affectionum tenebris splendorem veræ lucis possis agnoscere."

\* *luce sì vivace*, *i.e.* with truth so striking "cioè, di chiarezza sì viva, cioè di verità sì viva: niuna cosa è più viva che la verità: imperò ch'ella mai non muore, la verità è eterna, sempre fu e sempre sarà vero quello che ora è vero, e però promette Beatrice a Dante che la sua dottrina sarà dottrina viva, che mai non verrà meno sopra la detta dubitazione, anco sempre refulgerà." (Buti).

† *ti tremolerà*: "Ti scintillerà nel presentarsi davanti. Ma il verbo dantesco esprime quel brillare tremulo e guizzante che è proprio delle stelle; e così allo splendore della promessa verità congiunge l'idea di cosa celeste." (L. Venturi, *Simil. Dant.* p. 71, *Sim.* 115).

‡ *ciel della divina pace*: The Empyrean. "Illud cœlum est cœlum supremum, continens corpora universa, et a nullo conten-



Si gira un corpo,\* nella cui virtute  
 L'esser di tutto suo contento † giace.  
 Lo ciel seguente, ‡ ch'ha tante vedute,  
 Quell'esser parte per diverse essenze  
 Da lui distinte § e da lui contenute.

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tum, intra quod omnia corpora moventur (ipso in sempiterna quiete permanente), a nulla corporali substantia virtutem recipiens. Et dicitur *empyreum* quod est idem quod cœlum igne sive ardore flagrans; non quod in eo sit ignis vel ardor materialis, sed spiritualis, qui est amor sanctus, sive caritas." (*Ep. Kani*, § 24).

\* *Si gira un corpo*: i.e. the *Primum Mobile*, or as Dante calls it (*Convito* ii, 15, ll. 122-157), the Crystalline heaven: "Lo cielo *cristallino*, che per Primo Mobile dinanzi è contato, ordina col suo movimento la cotidiana revoluzione di tutti gli altri; per la quale ogni dì tutti quelli ricevono quaggiù la virtù di tutte le loro parti. Che se la revoluzione di questo non ordinasse ciò, poco di loro virtù quaggiù verrebbe o di loro vista. Onde ponemo che possibile fosse questo nono cielo non muovere, la terza parte del cielo sarebbe ancora non veduta in ciascuno luogo della terra . . . . Di vero non sarebbe quaggiù generazione, nè vita d'animale e di piante: notte non sarebbe, nè dì, nè settimana, nè mese, nè anno; ma tutto l'universo sarebbe disordinato, e'l movimento degli altri sarebbe indarno." See also St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. cxv, art. 3; and *Ibid.* pars ii, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. xcvi, art. 2.

† *contento*: for *contenuto*. Compare *Inf.* ii, 77, 78:

"L'umana spezie eccede ogni contento

Da quel ciel che ha minor li cerchi sui."

‡ *ciel seguente*: The Eighth heaven, that of the Fixed Stars, which Stars Dante here terms *vedute*. There is difference of opinion as to why this term is used for them. I follow Benvenuto, Buti, Biagioli, Andreoli and others, in interpreting the word as "things that are seen," "visible stars," "visible lights." Daniello, followed by others, takes *vedute* to be "things that see, i.e. the eyes of heaven; but I much prefer the interpretation I have followed. Compare *Par.* xxx, 8, 9:

"così il ciel si chiude

Di vista in vista infino alla più bella."

§ *distinte*: The stars (explains Poletto) are, it is true, in the Eighth Sphere or heaven, but are essentially distinct from it: therefore we must say of these stars, in respect to the heaven they are in, what Dante has written about the Epicycle of Venus, in *Convito* ii, 4, ll. 91-98: "Questo . . . cioè l'epiciclo, nel quale

Within the heaven of the Divine Peace (*i.e.* the Empyrean) there circles a body (*i.e.* the Crystalline heaven, or *Primum Mobile*), within whose influence lies the existence of all that is contained within it (both in Heaven and Earth). The heaven that comes next (*i.e.* of the Fixed Stars), which has so many visible lights, distributes that being (namely, the influence it receives from the Empyrean) among divers essences (*i.e.* among the spheres of the planets and the stars) distinct from it, and (yet) contained within it.

Beatrice next describes the seven spheres that are contained within the Eighth.

Gli altri giron\* per varie differenze

Le distinzion che dentro da sè hanno

Dispongono a lor fini e lor semenze.

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The other (seven) spheres in different degrees dispose to their own ends the distinctive features they contain within themselves, as well as their causative Virtues.

This is very clearly explained by Landino: "The other seven heavens of the seven planets impel round the distinctive features that they have within themselves; which means, that these seven planets are distinct, from having many diversities both in their

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è fissa la stella, è uno cielo per sè, ovvero spera; e non ha una essenza con quello che 'l porta, avvegnachè più sia connaturale ad esso che agli altri, e con esso è chiamata uno cielo, e dinominansi l'uno e l'altro una stella." In *Par.* viii, 2, 3, Dante says that the world, at the time of its perilous pagan creed, used to believe:

"Che la bella Ciprigna il folle amore  
Raggiasse, volta nel terzo epiciclo."

\* *giron*: This is the only place in which this word is used to express the Spheres of Paradise. It is used several times for the Cornices of Purgatory, and in Hell to describe the three subdivisions or rounds of the Seventh Circle in which certain varieties of Violence are punished. In *Convito* ii, 7, ll. 90-92, Dante says that the rays of every heaven are the way by which its influence descends upon the world below them.

position and in their courses, and because they are also very different in their natures, as to which we shall hear more in the special description of each planetary sphere. And their *semenze*, i.e. their causative Virtues, which are the causes of inferior effects, these they dispose to their due ends. For instance, the seed of corn produces its due effect, which is grain, and that in its turn is the seed of some subsequent grain; in like manner the celestial bodies, which are the causes of inferior effects, are also themselves the effects of causes superior to themselves. Thus we see that the *Primum Mobile* has a Virtue infused into it by God and by His motive forces; which Virtue has got to preserve its being, as well as that of all the heavens and the elements that it encloses within itself. This is motive and effective Virtue, which sets in motion all the other heavens and elements, and is the cause of various effects in them, according to their different potencies. And in such manner the superior Virtue is ever infusing itself into all the inferior Virtues, and is causing diverse effects, in proportion to the diversity of the inferior bodies, but most efficaciously in that inferior one which is the nearest to it, and it changes in proportion to the difference existing between one inferior body and another. So that the Ninth heaven infuses its essential motive and preservative Virtue more efficaciously into the Eighth heaven than into the others, and the Eighth in its turn transmits the Virtue that has undergone change in it more efficaciously into the Seventh heaven than into the others." This also explains what follows next.

Questi organi \* del mondo così vanno,  
 Come tu vedi omai, di grado in grado,  
 Che di su prendono, e di sotto fanno.

In such wise do these organs of the Universe proceed, as thou canst now see (for thyself) from grade to grade, in that they draw from above, and act below.

Each receives the influence of the heaven immediately above it, and exercises that influence upon the heavens immediately below it, so that the influence of the Empyrean is transmitted from Sphere to Sphere in consecutive order.

She now tells Dante that, as from her process of reasoning, he must have understood the fundamental principle to which to have recourse in order to get an explanation of the phenomenon of the spots upon the Moon, therefore must he in future give his best consideration to the method by which she now proceeds to work out the true explanation of the phenomenon (the true explanation, be it understood, according to the theories of the Schoolmen, which had become Dante's belief when he wrote the *Paradiso*).

Riguarda bene a me † sì com' io vado

\* *Questi organi*: The following passage from the *De Mon.* ii, 2, ll. 14-20 illustrates that in the text: "Naturam in triplici gradu possumus intueri. Est enim natura in mente primi motoris, qui Deus est, deinde in cœlo tanquam in organo, quo mediante similitudo bonitatis æternæ in fluitantem materiam explicatur." Mr. Butler (*Paradise*, p. 25) quotes Aristotle, *Metaph.* 8, 2: "ὅσα δὴ κινήσαντος ἄλλου μεταξύ γίνεται τοῦ τέλους . . . διαφέρει ἀλλήλων ὡς ὄντα τὰ μὲν ὄργανα τὰ δ' ἔργα." Compare also St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. cvi, art. 4: "Dionysius dicit quod unaquæque cœlestis essentia intelligentiam sibi a superiori datam inferiori communicat."

† *Riguarda bene a me*, etc.: This is, undoubtedly, the correct reading, but the variant *Riguarda bene omai* has many advocates,

Per questo loco al ver che tu disiri, 125  
 Sì che poi sappi sol tener lo guado.\*

Regard me well, how I pass on by this process of reasoning to the truth which thou desirest, so that thenceforth thou mayest know how by thyself to keep the ford.

What Beatrice next says, is to the effect that, as the workman's hammer does not operate of itself, but receives from the workman the motive power to do so, in like manner the Spheres of heaven which are but instruments (*Organi*) do not move or exert influence by any innate power of their own, but receive it from blessed Movers, *i.e.* the Angels, or the Intelligences, and hence it is that the Heaven of the Fixed Stars receives in itself, as a seal, the impress of its Moving Angel or Intelligence, and this impress it subsequently imparts to the multitudes of stars within its special limits.

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including Buti and Witte. Benvenuto reads *a me*, but his miserable translator, Tamburini, as usual misrepresents him, and quotes him as using *omai*, which must have misled Scartazzini in his earlier commentary into including Benvenuto among the advocates of *omai*. Moore (*Textual Criticism*, pp. 444, 445), after stating that *a me* has the support of by far the larger number of MSS., writes: "In favour of *a me* I would suggest (with Scartazzini) that *omai* might very well have arisen from the occurrence of the word in precisely the same position two lines above, so that it may have caught the copyist's eye, while its repetition here would be *pro tanto* a blemish in style." The *Codice Cassinese* combines the two readings into one: "*Riguarda omai a me.*" The Foligno and Naples editions and a few *Codices* of small importance read *per questo lago* instead of *loco* in the next line.

\* *guado*: This word, meaning a ford, is used in only one other passage in the *D. C.*, *viz.*, *Purg.* viii, 68, 69:

"colui, che si nasconde

Lo suo primo perchè, che non gli è guado,"

meaning that the purposes of God are so profound in their mystery, that no ford can enable man to wade through them.



Lo moto e la virtù dei santi giri,\*  
 Come dal fabbro † l' arte del martello,  
 Dai beati motor ‡ convien che spiri ;  
 E il ciel, § cui tanti lumi fanno bello 130  
 Dalla mente profonda che lui volve  
 Prende l' image, || e fassene suggello.

The motion and the influence of the holy orbs, as by

\* *santi giri* : The holy spheres of heaven are called eternal spheres by Beatrice in *Purg.* xxx. 93 :

“Dietro alle note degli eterni giri.”

Compare, too, *Par.* iii, 76, where Piccarda de' Donati says to Dante :

“Che vedrai non capere in questi giri.”

In *Inf.* x, 4, 5, Dante uses the word for the circles of hell :

“O virtù somma, che per gli empi giri  
 Mi volvi.”

† *fabbro* : Dante uses the same simile in *Conv.* i, 13, ll. 27-30 : “Il fuoco e 'l martello sono cagioni efficienti del coltello avvegnachè massimamente è il fabbro.” And in *Convito* iv, 4, ll. 122-125 : “Sono i colpi del martello cagione del coltello e l'anima del fabbro è cagione efficiente e movente.” See also in *De Mon.* iii, 6, ll. 33-37 : “Nuncius autem non potest, in quantam nuncius ; sed quemadmodum malleus in sola virtute fabri operatur, sic et nuncius in solo arbitrio ejus, qui mittit illum.”

‡ *beati motor* : “Li movitori di quello (*cielo*) sono sustanze separate da materia, cioè Intelligenze, le quali la volgare gente chiama Angeli.” (*Conv.* ii, 5, ll. 5-8.)

§ *il ciel* (stellato) : Most of the Commentators cite the following lines from Boëthius (*Philos. Consol.* iii, Metr. 9, 13-17), and think Dante must have had them in his mind, containing as they do the most sublime Platonic philosophy :

“Tu triplicis mediam naturæ cuncta moventem  
 Connectens animam per consona membra resolvis.  
 Quæ cunc secta duos motum glomeravit in orbis,  
 In semet reditura meat mentemque profundam  
 Circuit et simili convertit imagine cælum.”

|| *Prende l' image*, et seq. : On the influence that is communicated from one Angel to another, the superior one illuminating, and the inferior one receiving the impress of the one above, see St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. cvi, art. 1-3.

the craftsman the art of the hammer, needs must be inspired by blessed Movers (*i.e.* the Angels or Intelligences). And that heaven, which so many lights make beauteous from the deep mind (of the Moving Angel or Intelligence) that makes it revolve, receives the image and becomes a seal.

She next shows that just in the same way as the rational soul, so long as it is conjoined to the mortal body, puts its innate power into operation by means of different organs and members, such as the senses of touch, of sight, of hearing, etc., so does the Intelligence put its innate power into operation by different organs existing in the spheres and in the stars.

E come l' alma\* dentro a vostra polve  
 Per differenti membra, e conformate  
 A diverse potenze, † si risolve ;  
 Così l' intelligenza ‡ sua bontate

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\* *come l' alma*, et seq. : Plumptre thinks this comparison comes from the *Timæus* of Plato (p. 29), probably through *Æn.* vi, 726, 727 :

“ Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus  
 Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.”

† *diverse potenze* : “ La varietà nell'unità è nell'anima umana, come in Dio.” (Gioberti.)

‡ *Così l' intelligenza*, et seq. : Gioberti remarks upon these two lines : “ Notisi questo sentimento : ‘ che l' intelligenza spiega la sua bontà moltiplicata per le stelle : ’ chi conosce come in Dante, emulo della Bibbia, più sono i pensieri che le parole, potrebbe conjetturare che egli alludesse con questa frase al sistema, che fa degli astri opachi (*pianeti*) tanti mondi abitati da menti, come la terra.” See also “ *Quaestio De Aqua et Terra* (one of the works attributed to Dante), § xxi, ll. 7-17 : “ Cum igitur non sunt plura corpora mobilia, praeter cælum stellatum, quod est octava sphaera, necesse est hunc effectum ad ipsum reduci. Ad cuius evidentiam sciendum, quod licet cælum stellatum habeat unitatem in substantia, habet tamen multipliciter in virtute ; propter quod oportuit habere diversitatem illam in partibus quam videmus, ut per organa diversa virtutes diversas influeret.”

Multiplicata per le stelle spiega,  
Girando sè sopra sua unitate.\*

And as the soul within your dust spreads itself through the members different, and accommodated to diverse functions; so does the (angelic) Intelligence (that governs the heaven of the Fixed Stars) diffuse its excellence multiplied among the (many) stars, itself revolving upon its own Unity (*i.e.* without losing its single nature).

Up to this point Beatrice has been confining herself to a description of the specially distinctive features of the Heaven of the Fixed Stars, the Eighth Sphere of Paradise. She now passes on to describe the heavens below it, and consequently that of the Moon, as to the spots on which (Andreoli thinks) Dante has only raised the question for the purpose of giving

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\* *sopra sua unitate*: Compare *Purg.* xv, 40-75, where Dante asks Virgil the meaning of the words *consorto divieto*, that had been used by Guido del Duca in Canto xiv, and, not quite understanding Virgil's first explanation, he asks how it can be that one good distributed among many recipients should not be doled out in smaller shares than if the recipients were few in number. Virgil tells Dante to understand that God pours the light of His grace into the human mind, just as the Sun pours its rays into a mirror, but more so, or less, in proportion to the receptiveness of the individual, and God beatifies the souls of them that love Him in proportion to the ardour of their love; and the love from one blessed soul is reflected on to another just as light from one mirror to another; or as one lamp can kindle either a thousand or a hundred thousand lamps without losing its own flame. Benvenuto illustrates this (vol. iii, p. 411) in an interesting allusion to his public lectures as a professor at Bologna. "But that one and the same good thing is not diminished, by participation in it of many persons, is clear, for my single voice penetrates into the voice of many scholars, and any doctrine of mine is diffused through the minds of many listeners, and *only is it so in different ways*, according to the quality of the minds who receive it; and yet in me my voice is not diminished, but rather gains in power, as I can remember I was always accustomed to say, when I was delivering these lectures at Bologna."

his readers a general view of the scene of this third part of his Comedy. Beatrice briefly touches upon the Virtues of the Intelligence, Spheres, Planets, etc., and apparently speaks in accordance with the teaching of Plato, who held that the stars were animate.

Virtù diversa fa diversa lega

Col prezioso corpo ch' ell' avviva,

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Nel qual, sì come vita in voi, si lega.\*

\* *in voi*: Buti and Vellutello alone among the early Commentators read *in lui*. Lana, *Ottimo*, *Anon. Fior.*, Benvenuto, Landino and Daniello, have *voi*. On this read the whole of Dr. Moore's able discussion in *Textual Criticism*, pp. 445-447, who says that the reading *in voi*, though having but slender MS. support, reigns supreme in nearly all the printed Editions, with the remarkable exception of the "First Four Editions," which read *in lui*. Dr. Moore adds: "The reading *voi* seems to me to be required from a consideration of the whole context from ll. 124 to 144. First of all, Beatrice bids Dante mark well the method of her procedure, ll. 124-6 . . . There seems to be a special reason why she should call emphatic attention to the course she herself adopts (*a me, sì com' io vado*) in enlightening Dante's understanding, that he may be able to walk without assistance in the same path afterwards; that method being to appeal to the experience and analogies of human life . . . She enlightens him on four points . . . (1) The movement and 'virtue' of the celestial spheres is due to the angelic powers that move them. So the artistic work of the hammer comes from the artist's mind (ll. 127-132). (2) The One Supreme Mind is reflected in all the different stars. So the undivided soul of man works in his various members (ll. 133-8). (3) Different angelic influences form, in union with the various celestial bodies to which they give life, different resulting compounds (*lit.* 'alloy,' *lega*). Even so does life in man (form and constitute different beings) (*sì come vita in voi*), ll. 139-141. (4) The brightness of the stars comes from the inward joy that radiates through them. So does gladness beam in the pupil of the eye (ll. 142-144). Thus in each case the instruction is conveyed by an illustration or analogy from human experience. If we were to read *lui* for *voi*, this uniformity of illustration would be lost. Again, *sì come vita in lui* would be a feeble and tautological repetition of what is already expressed in the words *ch' ell' avviva*. Once more, the



Diverse Virtue produces diverse alloy with the precious body which it quickens, in which it is bound up, even as is life in you (mortals).

As in each sphere of heaven the Intelligence or Angel is endowed with different distinctive features of motive power, therefore, in the same way that an alloy is bound up in a precious metal, so is this Intelligence bound up in that sphere or celestial body, even as the life is bound up in a human body.

Beatrice in the next three lines explains that this distinctive motive power, which is a mixture of the Divine and the Angelic, glitters in the celestial body into which it is transfused with all the brightness of the realm of joy from which it emanates.

Per la natura lieta\* onde deriva,  
La virtù mista† per lo corpo luce,  
Come letizia per pupilla viva.

words 'si come vita in voi' have a suitable emphasis—'even as, or just as life in you'; but 'sì come vita in lui' would surely be more naturally expressed by 'come vita in lui,' i.e. 'as life in it' (i.e. the *prezioso corpo ch'ell' avviva*). We do not require 'even as' in that case, the effect of which would only be to emphasize an otiose repetition." *si lega*: Compare a very similar expression occurring in *Purg.* xviii, 27:

"Che per piacer di nuovo in voi si lega."

\* *natura lieta*: Compare *Inf.* vii, 94-96:

"Ma ella s'è beata, e ciò non ode:  
Con l'altre prime creature lieta  
Volve sua spera, e beata si gode."

and *Purg.* xvi, 88-90:

"L'anima semplicetta, che sa nulla,  
Salvo che, mosso da lieto fattore,  
Volentier torna a ciò che la trastulla."

In the *De Vulg. Eloq.* i, 4, ll. 38-41, Dante writes:

"Quod nullum gaudium sit extra Deum sed totum in Deo, et ipse Deus totus sit gaudium."

† *virtù mista*: Benvenuto supplies a good interpretation:

"virtus motoris juncta cum planeta suo."



Through that gladsome nature (of God) from whence it has its source, the mingled Virtue (*i.e.* the Angelic Virtue infused into the body of the star) shines through the (celestial) body, as (does) joy through the sparkling eye.

In conclusion, Beatrice now sums up the original proposition.

Da essa vien ciò che da luce a luce 145  
 Par differente, non da denso e raro :  
 Essa è formal principio che produce,  
 Conforme a sua bontà, lo turbo e il chiaro."

From this (Virtue or Intelligence) comes that which appears different (in the planets) between light and light, not from dense and rare: this (Virtue or Intelligence) is the formal principle (*i.e.* the intrinsic and substantial cause) which produces, in conformity with its excellence, the dark and the light."

From the varying degrees of power in the moving Intelligences arises the difference of light between one planet and another, or even between the different parts of the same planet, as we are considering in the case of the Moon, where the Intelligence is the Formal Principle or intrinsic cause of the difference of its bright surface and its dark spots. Besides which, as we have already read, a lessening degree of perfection runs through all the Spheres, and the heaven of the Moon, being the Sphere farthest removed from the Empyrean, is the one that receives the least of its excellence, and the very parts of it differ the one from the other in perfection, receiving the light of the Sun in an unequal manner, which causes some of them to appear darker than others.

It is interesting, and indeed amusing, to notice the sigh of relief that Pietro di Dante, the Poet's son,

gives as he concludes his commentary of this difficult and most arid Canto, telling his readers that, if they require further explanation, they must work it out for themselves, for that he, for his part, has understood little or nothing it. (*Sic igitur talia ab ipsa mente extra nostram scientiam ad processum universi procedunt. Alia per te vide, imo omnia, quia nil vidi, nec intellixi*).

END OF CANTO II.

## CANTO III.

THE FIRST SPHERE.—THE HEAVEN OF THE MOON.  
 —THE SOULS OF THOSE WHO HAVE FAILED TO  
 KEEP HOLY VOWS.—PICCARDA DE' DONATI.—  
 ALL THE BLESSED CONTENTED WITH THEIR  
 PLACE IN HEAVEN.—THE EMPRESS CONSTANCE.

THIS beautiful Canto, throughout which runs a strain of sweet harmony, only exceeded by its elevated saintliness, has been justly estimated as one of the finest in the whole Poem. Scartazzini observes that, in this Canto, an abundant vein of poetry succeeds to the long and arid scholastic discussion of the last one. In the First Canto we learnt how Love is the chosen Instrument in the doctrine of Order. In the Second Canto this Order is applied to the movements of the heavens, and to the Intelligences which, by Love, set them in motion. In this Third Canto is shown Love as the binding link in the Communion of Saints, and as the form which their bliss takes.

Benvenuto divides it into four parts.

*In the First Division*, from v. 1 to v. 33, Dante describes the faint indistinct appearance, in the Moon's pale atmosphere, of the spirits of those who had failed to keep their vows.

*In the Second Division*, from v. 34 to v. 63, Dante records his conversation with the spirit of Piccarda de' Donati, his wife's kinswoman.

*In the Third Division*, from v. 64 to v. 90, Piccarda, in answer to a question from Dante, assures him that she and her fellow spirits are wholly content with their humble position in the lowest place in Heaven, and aspire no higher.

*In the Fourth Division*, from v. 91 to v. 130, Piccarda explains to Dante what vow it was that she was forcibly prevented from fulfilling; and, before vanishing from his sight, points out to him the spirit of the Empress Constance.

*Division I.* Dante begins by stating that he had received the explanation of Beatrice respecting the spots upon the Moon with reverential conviction, and was just about to make an outspoken avowal, when his attention was suddenly attracted to another sight.

Quel sol,\* che pria† d'amor mi scaldò il petto,  
Di bella verità m'avea scoperto,  
Provando e riprovando,‡ il dolce aspetto;

\* *Quel sol*: In *Par.* xxx, 75, Dante calls Beatrice the sunlight of his eyes:

"Così mi disse il sol degli occhi miei."

Casini says that Dante terms his Lady *sole*, here and in other places, to signify how she united in herself the gifts of wisdom and virtue, and diffused upon him the most radiant light of truth and excellence. Scartazzini observes that Dante attributes to Beatrice the two special qualities of the Sun, to warm and to illuminate. (Compare *Conv.* iv. 1, ll. 92-97.)

† *pria*: "In early days," "in former times." Dante says in *Purg.* xxx, 42, that Beatrice's excellence had smitten his heart while he was yet but a boy:

"Prima ch'io fuor di puerizia fosse."

‡ *Provando e riprovando*: By proving the alleged true cause of the spots on the Moon, and by disproving Dante's former belief, which he had held when he wrote the *Convito*, and which he represents himself as having put forward, in the last Canto, for the express purpose of putting into Beatrice's mouth the confutation of it.

Ed io, per confessar corretto e certo  
 Me stesso, tanto quanto si convenne,\* 5  
 Levai lo capo a proferer più erto.  
 Ma vision m' apparve, che ritenne  
 A sè me tanto stretto per vedersi,  
 Che di mia confession non mi sovvenne.†

That Sun (Beatrice), which in former days had warmed my heart (with Love), had by proof and by disproof revealed to me the sweet aspect of beautiful truth; and I, to own myself corrected and convinced, lifted my head up more erect (though only) just so far as was needful for utterance. But there appeared to me a vision, which held me so fast to gaze upon it, that my confession I remembered not.

Through the pallid haze around him, he becomes conscious of the presence of a number of beings, whose features he can hardly trace; only that their readiness to converse becomes manifest to him. So

\* *quanto si convenne*: There are two ways of interpreting this *terzina*, of which the words in question form the key note. According to Giuliani, they refer to *confessare*, and would mean that Dante wished to own himself corrected and convinced as far as was needful. "But," says Casini, "in that case Dante would not have said *quanto si convenne*, but *quanto si conveniva*, for the preterite indicative *convenne* must of necessity be in logical agreement with the analogous term *levai lo capo*. What Dante *does* mean is that, in lifting up his head for the purpose of inclining it afterwards as a sign of affirmation, he did not perform an action that could wear the least semblance of pride, but an action that was modest and prudent; and which, as Buti says, did not exceed the bounds of moderation."

† *non mi sovvenne*: Observe, Dante had raised his head to confess himself in error, and to give a respectful acquiescence in Beatrice's arguments. But the startling phenomenon that met his eyes completely drove out of his head all recollection of the act he was about to perform. Compare *Purg.* xv, 82-84, where a similar act of his forgetfulness is recorded by him:

"Com'io voleva dicer: 'Tu m'appaghe:'  
 Vidimi giunto in sull'altro girone,  
 Sì che tacer mi fer le luci vaghe."



indistinct are they, that he compares them to the reflection of one's own face as seen imperfectly upon a plate of glass, which is not a mirror, or, as one sees it on looking down on a dark still pool, or, to change the simile, as one dimly discerns an object upon a background of the same colour, such as a pearl against an alabaster complexion. Not satisfied with these similes, he goes on to give an anti-simile, contrasting the impression made upon himself with the exact reverse of what happened to Narcissus.

Quali per vetri trasparenti e tersi, 10  
 O ver per acque nitide e tranquille,  
 Non sì profonde che i fondi sien persi,\*  
 Tornan dei nostri visi le postille†

\* *persi*: Nearly all the Commentators, including Pietro di Dante, Benvenuto and Buti, give the interpretation that I adopt, namely, "lost to sight." A few, however, and among them Lana and Landino, understand "dark, obscure," in the sense that it is used in *Inf.* v, 89, "*per l' aer perso*." The use of the form *perso* for *perduto* is exceedingly common in Tuscany. "Secondo me, l' è perso," (*In my opinion it is lost*), is so ordinary an expression at Florence, that I only give it here, because some English translators seem to see a difficulty in this signification. The *Gran Dizionario*, after quoting a number of instances of the use of *perso* for *perduto*, quotes the following from the letters of Redi (the poet): "Non ho dubbio alcuno che non sia miglior partito valersi del *perduto* che del *perso*: nondimeno, *perso*, essendo voce usata dagli antichi scrittori, ed oggi avvalorata dal comune uso, si può misericordiosamente concedere, per cagion della rima, ad un uomo povero come son io."

† *postille*: "Postilla (says the *Ottimo*) è quella imagine nostra che si rappresenta in acqua o in ispecchio o altro corpo trapassante, o vuoi l' imagine della cosa specchiata della materia." Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) says the word is from the mediæval Latin; and primarily means a marginal note that serves to expound the text of a book and especially of the Bible. Referring to the present passage, Blanc adds: "Dante usa questa voce con ardita metafora per quella debole e imperfetta imagine d' un oggetto che si riflette in un vetro o in acqua limpida ma poco

Debili sì, che perla in bianca fronte\*

Non vien men tosto† alle nostre pupille ;

15

profonda ; e probabilmente vuol dire che quelle deboli imagini sono all' imagine perfetta riflessa in uno specchio ciò che le note succinte sono al testo d' un libro." Dante is careful to say that the water must not be too deep, because the reflection of one's face upon deep water is seen with great distinctness, but in shallow water the image is far less distinguishable, because it is surrounded by luminous rays that traverse the body of the water.

\* *perla in bianca fronte*: L. Venturi (*Simil. Dant.* p. 104, Sim. 164) says that this is a graceful simile to express white upon white, and that it reminds one of a no less beautiful simile in Ariosto (xxiv, st. 66), where it is said by the Poet that the whiteness of his lady's hand would be indistinguishable from the silver tissue of her sleeve, were it not for the purple ribbon tied round her wrist :

"Così talora un bel purpureo nastro

Ho veduto partir tela d' argento,

Da quella bianca man più ch' alabastro,

Da cui partire il cor spesso mi sento."

In the *Tancia* of Michelangelo Buonarroti (the younger), act ii, sc. 4, Cecco exclaims that a piece of coral laid upon Tancia's ruby lips would be indistinguishable :

"Ell' ha quella boccuzza rubinosa,

Ch' a porvi su un coral non si vedrebbe."

† *men tosto*: This reading Dr. Moore, who adopts it, finds in 53 MSS., whereas the variant *men forte* he has verified in 157, besides being the reading adopted by most of the old Commentators. In his *Textual Criticism*, pp. 447, 448, Dr. Moore observes: "This passage illustrates very well the application of the principle *difficilior lectio* in combination with the scarcely less fruitful and important principle that that reading is to be preferred whose prior existence would not account for it. If we suppose Dante to have written *forte*, it is impossible to understand how *tosto* can have arisen either by accident or design. If he wrote *tosto*, the seemingly incomplete antithesis to *debili* would make the substitution of *forte* almost inevitable. Biagioli very well explains the relation between *tosto* and *forte* as cause and effect: 'Le postille dei nostri visi vengono all'occhio per quei mezzi che ha detto *poco tosto*, e siccome *la celerità è proporzionata alla forza*, egli paragona la poca forza delle une colla non maggiore della perla in bianca fronte, accennando per la poca celerità la poca forza dalla quale essa procede. Adunque

Tali vid' io più face a parlar pronte,  
 Perch' io dentro all' error\* contrario corsi  
 A quel ch' accese amor tra l' uomo e il fonte.

As through transparent and polished plates of glass, or through waters limpid and undisturbed, (yet) not so deep as that the bottom be lost to sight, the outlines of our faces come reflected back so faintly, that a pearl on a white forehead comes not (back) less speedily to our eyes. Such (*i.e.* so indistinct) saw I many faces desirous of speaking, whereat I fell into the opposite error to that which enkindled love between the man (Narcissus) and the fountain.

Narcissus, looking down at the reflection of his own face on the surface of the water, thought he saw a real face; Dante looking at real faces of spirits seen dimly in the pallid light of the Moon, thinks they are the reflections of real persons behind him. He turns quickly round to look for these supposed real people, and sees nothing. He turns to Beatrice for an explanation.

Subito, sì com' io di lor m' accorsi,  
 Quelle stimando specchiati sembianti,                    20  
 Per veder di cui fosser, gli occhi torsi;  
 E nulla vidi, e ritorsili avanti  
 Dritti nel lume della dolce guida,  
 Che sorridendo ardea negli occhi santi.†

The instant that I became aware of them, deeming them to be mirrored images, I turned my eyes (behind

Dante confronta il venir debole delle postille col tornar poco tosto della perla, perocchè il tornar debole procede dalla poca forza, siccome il tornar poco tosto dalla poca forza." Both Scartazzini and Casini read *tosto*.

\* *error*: The story of Narcissus, who fell in love with the reflection of his own face seen in a fountain, and was drowned in trying to embrace it, is told by Ovid, *Metam.* iii, 407, et seq.

† *occhi santi*: So also in *Purg.* xxxi, 133:

"Volgi, Beatrice, volgi gli occhi santi."

me) to see of whom they might be (the reflections); and saw nothing; whereupon I turned them again forward direct into the light (of the eyes) of my sweet guide, who (though) smiling was (yet) glowing (with Love) in her holy eyes.

Beatrice's eyes were to Dante the Light of Truth, and in them he sought for a solution of the unintelligible phenomenon he has just seen. She darts a radiant glow of Love from her eyes, but smiles at his apprehension. She then reproves him for trusting to the evidence of his senses, and for his relying (Buti thinks) on Physics, to seek out natural causes. He is no longer on Earth, but in Heaven. He must look at things from a different point of view, and rely solely on Theology. She assures him that what he sees are true spirits, not reflections, and that if he will only speak to them, he will find it quite incompatible with their condition of blessedness to utter a word that is not perfect truth.

“Non ti maravigliar perch'io sorrída,”— 25  
 Mi disse—“appresso il tuo pueril coto,\*  
 Poi sopra il vero ancor lo piè non fida,

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\* *coto*: According to the *Gran Dizionario*, and Blanc, *Voc. Dantesco*, this is an antiquated word derived from the Latin *cogitare* and signifying “thought, idea, judgment,” and has its equivalent in the Provençal *cut, cutz*. In Donkin's *Etymological Dictionary of the Romance Languages chiefly derived from Diez*, I find *coto* under the head of o. v. “*coitare*, Sp. Pg. Pr. *cuidar*, O. Fr. *cuidier*, Fr. *cuidier*, to care; from *cogitare*, O. It. *coto*, O. Sp. *cuida*, Sp. Pg. *cuidado*, care. Hence It. *tracotanza*, Fr. *outrécuidance* presumption, = *ultracogitantia*.” Compare *Inf.* xxxi, 77-78:

“Questi è Nembrotto, per lo cui mal coto  
 Pure un linguaggio nel mondo non s'usa.”

So also we have *oltracotanza* (*Inf.* ix, 93); and *l'oltracotata schiatta* (*Par.* xvi, 115). Nannucci has written a monograph upon the word *Sopra la parola coto usata da Dante*, Florence, 1839.



Ma ti rivolge, come suole, a voto.

Vere sustanzie son ciò che tu vedi,

Qui rilegate per manco di voto.

30

Però parla con esse, ed odi, e credi ;

Chè la verace luce che le appaga

Da sè non lascia lor torcer li piedi.”—

“Do not marvel that I smile,” she said to me, “after thy childish thought, for it does not as yet rest its foot confidently upon the truth, but, as it is wont to do, turns thee round upon vacancy. These are real substances that thou seest, relegated here for failure of some vow. But speak thou with them, and listen, and believe that the Light of Truth which gives them content, does not suffer them to turn their feet from it.”

These spirits only make an appearance, as it were, in this sphere. They, and every one of the spirits throughout the spheres, have their real abode in the Empyrean, and—as Beatrice tells Dante in the next Canto (iv, 28 *et seq.*)—Piccarda, with whom he is now about to converse, is as much a real inhabitant of Heaven as the Blessed Virgin herself.

*Division II.* Dante now, in obedience to his fair Guide, turns his eyes again upon the band of spirits ; and seeing one, the expression in whose countenance seems to give him encouragement, he addresses himself to her. This spirit is that of Piccarda, or possibly Riccarda, sister of Corso and Forese de’ Donati, to a branch of which powerful family Dante’s own wife Gemma belonged. Count Cesare Balbo, in his *Vita di Dante* (p. 105), says that the story of Piccarda is one of the fullest in pathos of those recorded by Dante ; and it is indeed a marvel that it should never have found a place among the many touching epi-



sodes that foreign poets have borrowed from him. Piccarda seems to have taken the veil in the Convent of Santa Chiara at Florence.\* According to Benvenuto da Imola, Piccarda entered the convent when of full age, and of her own free will. From this peaceful life she was forcibly withdrawn by her fierce brother Corso, and compelled to wed one Rosellino della Tosa. Tradition records different fables respecting the amount of resistance that Piccarda opposed to this violence. One account relates that, having before the Crucifix entreated God for the preservation of her virginity, she was miraculously smitten with instantaneous leprosy, of which she died in a few days. Another account, while corroborating her intercession, differs as to the miraculous visitation, which, it maintains, was a lingering sickness, under which she wasted away. Some, on the other hand, think that from her only attaining the lowest place in Paradise, and from the long philosophical and theological treatise upon the efficacy of the will that Dante has put into her mouth, we are to infer that Piccarda submitted, though in sorrow and reluctance, to the realization of a married life, before being attacked by the mortal illness that her prayers had implored. The one fact remains, that somehow she died soon after her marriage, and then popular superstition assigned her unexpected death to a miraculous cause. Balbo declines to enter into this discussion, considering that Dante's own lines most fully narrate the facts, while

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\* Santa Chiara, the countrywoman and contemporary of St. Francis of Assisi, adapted the rule of his Friars to her own sex, and founded the Order which bore her name.

they are as replete with tenderness and affection as any that he ever wrote. Piccarda is one of those gentle and saintly female creations, which Dante, and after him Shakespeare, could alone adequately represent.

Ed io all' ombra, che pareva più vaga  
 Di ragionar,\* drizza' mi, e cominciai,                    35  
 Quasi com' uom cui troppa voglia ismaga: †  
 —“O ben creato spirito, che a' rai  
 Di vita eterna la dolcezza senti,  
 Che non gustata non s' intende mai; ‡

\* *più vaga Di ragionar*: Scartazzini thinks that Piccarda was the one among the spirits who appeared most desirous of conversing with Dante, because she had known him with all the intimacy of a kinswoman. And yet, though desirous of speaking with him, she is not the first to address him, but waits until he makes his enquiries of her. Her's is that charity which (1 Cor. xiii, 5) “seeketh not her own.” It is that unselfishness inculcated by St. Paul in Phil. ii, 4: “Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others.”

† *troppa voglia ismaga*: Dante's desire to converse with Piccarda was so great, that his reason was almost wandering. L. Venturi (*Simil. Dant.* p. 160, Sim. 274) says that this simile manifests an eagerness as keen as that which disturbs the mind by reason of the multiplicity of the things it seeks to know. Petrarch (*Ball.* i, st. 1), in his eagerness to behold Laura, says:

“Lassare il velo o per Sole o per ombra,

Donna, non vi vid' io,

Poi che 'n me conosceste il gran desio

Ch'ogni altra voglia d'entr' al cor mi sgombra.”

for *ismaga* see *Readings on the Inferno*, vol. ii, p. 342, footnote on *smagato*, *Inf.* xxv, l. 146. Andreoli says of *ismaga* in the passage in the text: “priva del prestigio della posatezza, della gravità.” And on *Purg.* iii, 10, 11: “la fretta, che l'onestade ad ogni atto dismaga,” Andreoli writes: “la quale toglie il prestigio del decoro ad ogni atto dell'uomo.” L. Venturi (*l. c.*) says that Dante uses the word *smagare* several times in the different senses of, “to be discouraged;” or “to be bewildered;” or “to be distant from.”

‡ *non s' intende mai*: In the *Vita Nuova*, § xxvi, Sonnet 15, Dante says of Beatrice:

Grazioso mi fia, se mi contenti \*

40

Del nome tuo e della vostra sorte.”—†

And I to the shade that seemed the most desirous of talking, turned myself, and began almost like a man whom a too ardent eagerness bewilders: “O spirit predestined to bliss, who in the rays of life eternal (*i.e.* of Divine Grace) art tasting that sweetness which, when untasted, can never be comprehended (by mortals); grateful will it be to me, if thou wilt satisfy my desire to know thy name and your destiny.”

Dante had been told by Beatrice (ll. 29, 30) that, for failure of their vows, these spirits had been relegated to an inferior mansion in Heaven.

Piccarda at once replies. She tells Dante who she was, what she had been in her life-time, and explains the condition of the spirits in the heaven of the Moon.

Ond’ ella pronta e con occhi ridenti : ‡

“Mostrasi sì piacente a chi la mira,  
Che dà per gli occhi una dolcezza al core,  
Che intender non la può chi non la prova.”

\* *mi contenti* : This verb has, among its other significations, the distinct sense of to satisfy the desire of any one to know anything, or to have anything : “*Contentare alcuno di una cosa vale Appagare il desiderio che alcuno ha di sapere di avere una cosa.*” (*Gran Dizionario*, s. v. *contentare*, § 2). In Giov. Villani, Lib. xii, cap. 57, we find the word with the sense of “satisfying the desire to have.” “Filippo di Valos, re di Francia, a petizione del duca d’Atene, gli diè rappresaglia sopra i Fiorentini in avere e in persona in tutto suo reame, se per infino a’ calen di Maggio prossimo non avessero contento il detto duca d’Atene di ciò che domandava di menda a’ Fiorentini, ch’era infinita quantità di moneta.”

† *nome tuo . . . . . vostre sorte* : Observe the difference between the *tuo* referring to Piccarda only, and *vostra*, which includes herself and her fellow spirits.

‡ *occhi ridenti* : Piccarda’s eyes were beaming with the holy gladness that proceeds from Heavenly Love.

—“La nostra carità non serra porte\*  
 A giusta voglia, se non come quella  
 Che vuol simile a sè tutta sua corte. 45  
 Io fui nel mondo vergine sorella; †  
 E se la mente tua ben si riguarda, ‡  
 Non mi ti celerà l'esser più bella,  
 Ma riconoscerai ch'io son Piccarda,  
 Che posta qui con questi altri beati, 50  
 Beata sono in la spera più tarda.

Whereupon she readily, and with beaming eyes:  
 “Our charity (*i.e.* the spirit of love with which we  
 are animated) doth not close the doors to a just wish,  
 any more than that (of God) which wills that all its  
 court be like itself. In the world I was a virgin  
 sister (*i.e.* a nun); and, if thy memory reviews itself  
 well, my having become more beautiful will not  
 conceal me from thee, but thou wilt recognize that  
 I am Piccarda, who placed here with these other  
 blessed ones, am (myself) blest in the sphere that  
 moves the slowest.

The Heaven of the Moon is supposed to be the  
 smallest of all the spheres, and to have a slower  
 revolution than the rest. Capetti (*Osservazioni sul  
 Paradiso dantesco*, Venice, 1888, p. 9 *et seq.*) observes  
 that Piccarda answers with the gentleness of a high-  
 born dame, the sweetness of a virgin sister, and the  
 saintliness of a blessed spirit: she speaks of her

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\* *non serra porte*: Tommaséo explains this to mean that the  
 spirits will not deny to Dante satisfaction to his natural wish for  
 information, because their Love is in conformity with the Divine  
 Love which has not denied such satisfaction.

† *sorella*: This is not commonly employed to express a nun,  
 or a sister in a religious Order. *Suora* is the usual word. *Sorella*  
 more generally signifies the family tie of sister.

‡ *si riguarda*: “Il riguardare della mente a sè stessa dimostra  
 per convenevol modo l'atto del ricordarsi, o richiamare alla me-  
 moria alcuna imagine di cosa altre volte caduta sotto i sensi od  
 in pensiero.” (Giuliani, *Metodo di commentare la D. C.*, p. 523).



courtesy as that Charity which is in conformity with Divine Love: she too, even as Francesca da Rimini, is moved to speak from love, but from a love that is pure and all-embracing.

In the belief that the magnified beauty of her new life of blessedness will not prevent Dante, who knew her in her earthly life, from recognizing her here, she does not, just at first, reveal her own name. But as he is not quick to recollect her (*a rimembrar festino*), with that kindly tenderness that will not delay even for a moment to fulfil his desire, she declares her name, reiterating the word (*-beati*, l. 50, *beata*- l. 51) which describes her state of blissfulness. She tells him that the company, of whom she is one, rejoice only in that amount of blissfulness which it pleases God that they should have. His Will stamps and gives form to their joy. Capetti thinks that their being placed in the lowest grade of Heaven is very opportune; even as their countenances are so transformed as to have retained the merest shade of their earthly semblance, so does the merest shadow of the world, of its griefs and trespasses, remain in their souls. Virgin sisters, they were driven by violence back into the world, and though they remained virgins in heart, and not loving the world, yet they had just this much of faulty weakness, in lacking the moral force to combat and resist the violence to which they were subjected; and God, as just in His rewards as in His punishments, has actually placed them in a degree of Heaven below those who lived in the world, and were ambitious for its glories, but were strong. It is therefore from no theological subtlety but from a lofty concep-



tion of life, that Dante has represented in the lowest sphere these gentle and innocent spirits, who had been the victims of violent men.

Li nostri affetti, che solo infiammati  
 Son nel piacer dello Spirito Santo,  
 Letizian del suo ordine formati.

E questa sorte, che par giù cotanto, 55  
 Però n'è data, perchè fur negletti  
 Li nostri voti, e vòti \* in alcun canto.”—

Our affections, which are inflamed only in the bliss of the Holy Spirit, take the form of delight that has been ordained by Him. And this allotted place, which appears so lowly, is given us for this reason, because our vows were neglected, and made void in some particular.”

Benvenuto here gives an explanation, which is, to say the least, peculiar. He apparently does not consider that the lowly grade which has been assigned to Piccarda applies to the Heaven of the Moon as a whole, but only to the lowest part of that sphere in which she is. He thinks that *all* holy virgins are in that Heaven, St. Clare among the rest; “*nam omnes sanctæ virgines sunt in luna, sicut potes videre in beata Clara, quæ est in eadem sphaera, et tamen non neglexit votum, imo perseverantissime servavit. Sicut enim*

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\* *voti, e vòti, etc.*: Blanc (*Saggio di una interpretazione filologica di parecchi passi oscuri e controversi della Divina Commedia. Versione Italiana di O. Occioni: L'Inferno.* Trieste, 1865, sm. 8vo), in a comment on the passage in *Inf.* xiii, 25, “Io credo ch’ei credette ch’io credesse,” says that he would like to be able to contend that Dante neither sought out nor avoided such-like play of words, but that a number of passages forbid one from coming to the conclusion that he did not somewhat relish them. Blanc quotes ten of such passages, of which the present text is one. They are reproduced at length in *Readings on the Inferno*, vol. i, pp. 420, 421.

*sol qui est pater caloris facit viros sapientes, ita luna mater humoris facit mulieres honestas. Sed vult dicere ista virgo quod est posita in infimâ parte lunæ, quia non solverat integre debitum voti.*" Therefore when Dante in ll. 97 *et seq.* alludes to St. Clare, whose perfect life he says (l') *inciela più su*, he would mean, according to Benvenuto, not that she is in a higher sphere than Piccarda, but in a higher grade of the same sphere. This is not Buti's view, as we shall see later on when we come to speak of St. Clare.

Dante, for his own exculpation, points out to Piccarda that there is some excuse for his not having recognized her features, for the glory of Heaven has wrought such a change in them, as well as in those of her companions, that his present recognition of her is only "from what she has just said."

Ond' io a lei :— "Ne' mirabili aspetti  
 Vostri risplende non so che divino,  
 Che vi trasmuta\* dai primi concetti. 60  
 Però non fui a rimembrar festino,  
 Ma or m' aiuta ciò che tu mi dici,  
 Sì che raffigurar m' è più latino.†

\* *Che vi trasmuta*: Mr. Haselfoot (*The Divina Commedia of Dante Alighieri*, translated . . . with notes by Frederick K. H. Haselfoot, London, 1887) happily points out that "in a far different sense Piccarda's brother Forese's face also was so changed as to be beyond recognition by Dante." We may remark that Dante has omitted to place the ferocious Corso de' Donati in Hell, perhaps because he was a kinsman of his wife Gemma. Had he done so, he probably would have represented him too as unrecognizable. Corso Donati died in 1308. The *Inferno* was not completed till after 1314.

† *latino*: There are numberless instances to prove that, in the time of Dante, this word was in general use to signify "easy, clear, intelligible." In the *Poeti del Primo Secolo della Lingua Italiana*, Florence, 1816, 2 vols. 8vo., vol. i, p. 530, Gonnella

Whereupon I to her: "In your glorified countenances there beams forth I know not what of the

degl' Interminelli writes, in a Sonnet to Bonagiunta Urbiciani:

"Parlàra (*i.e.* parlerà) più latin, se non ch'eo spero  
Che tutto sa chi è dottor di rima."

And *Ibid.*, p. 534, Bonodico Notaio da Lucca, in a Sonnet to Gonnella degl' Interminelli, writes: "Latino, come sento, respondero." This line is interpreted by Nannucci (*Anal. Crit.* p. 239, footnote (1)): "Cioè *latinamente, chiaramente. Latino per piano, chiaro, intelligibile, facile*, etc. Dice Daniello ch' è voce dei Lombardi, che quando vogliono, dimostrare una cosa esser agevole e facile da maneggiare, dicono, è *ladina*. Ma è dal *latinus* de' bassi tempi. Antonio di Tempo nei suoi Ritmi volgari, MS. . . Estense citato dal Galvani: *quia magis est latinus et facilior.*" Giov. Villani (xi, cap. 20) speaking of Pope John XXII's accessibility, writes: "Le più mattine dicea la messa, e assai era latino (*i.e. facile*) a dare udienza, e tosto spediva." Caverni (*Voci e Modi della Div. Com. dell' uso popolare toscano*, Firenze, 1877, p. 73) explains that, as in Dante's time Latin was the language spoken and written by learned people, the word *latino* came to be used to signify an ornate speech, or oration, as in *Par.* xii, 144: "il discreto latino;" and in *Par.* xvii, 34, 35: "per chiare parole, e con preciso Latin, rispose." Caverni adds: "E perchè tutto ciò ch' è ornato è facile, e anzi è la facilità una condizione essenziale alla grazia; latino venne a significare anche facile, agevole. Di questa voce in tale significato è vivo *latinare*, ch' è detto da' conciatori (*curriers*) per togliere con facilità la lana alle pelli di pecora, quando per la calcina son ben ricotti i bulbi de' peli." I also find a full description of *latinare* in *Il Parlare degli Artigiani di Firenze*, di Girolamo Gargioli, Firenze, 1876, where in pp. 86, 87, a detailed description is given of how lambskins "si latinano con altro bastone più corto (termed *un bastone da latinare*) che si adopera come il ferro da pelare. Codesto semplice arnese (*tool*) basta per levare di dosso alla pecora la lana, della quale il latte di calcina ha bruciate le barbe. *L'operazione si dice latinare per la gran facilità di eseguirla.*" Casini, after asserting that *latino* for "easy" exists still in several Lombard dialects, adds, that the expression *latine loqui* was in frequent use by the ancient Romans, and that Cicero (*Philipp.* vii, 6) so uses it to designate speakers whose language is plain and easy to understand: "Quem gladiatorem non ita appellavi, ut interdum etiam M. Antonius gladiator appellari solet, sed ut appellant ii, qui plane et Latine loquuntur." Compare also *Convito* ii, 3, ll. 1, 2: "A più latinamente vedere la sentenza litterale, alla quale ora s' intende," etc. See Littré, "Être au bout de son Latin," = ne savoir plus que faire.

divine, which transforms you from one's earlier recollections (of your faces). For that reason I was not quick to remember, but now that which thou tellest me assists me, so that to recognize thee is easier for me.

Scartazzini observes that in this Sphere only have the spirits faces; while throughout the rest of Paradise they are Lights, or Radiances. But even here, from excess of beauty, their faces are not recognized by Dante. Beatrice alone retains her face.

It has been remarked that the Sphere of the Moon is a species of Ante-Paradise. As we found the souls of the Negligent in the vestibule of Hell, and in the Ante-Purgatory, so, on the very threshold of Paradise, do we find, standing as it were in the place of the Negligent, the souls of those who failed in their vows, not indeed from their own neglect, but from the violence of others.

*Division III.* In his account of the shades in *Limbo* (*Inf.* iv), Dante had represented them as being without hope of changing their condition, though in continuous desire to do so. He asks Piccarda if any such feeling exists in the lowest Sphere of Heaven.

Ma dimmi : voi che siete qui felici,

Desiderate voi più alto loco

65

Per più vedere, o per più farvi amici?\*"\*

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\* *per più farvi amici*: "Videtur quod amici sint necessarii ad beatitudinem . . . Sed ad bene esse beatitudinis facit societas amicorum; unde Augustinus dicit (*Super. Gen.* ad litt. lib. viii, cap. 25, post med.), quòd 'creatura spiritualis ad hoc quòd sit beata, nonnisi intrinsecùs adjuvatur aeternitate, veritate, charitate Creatoris; extrinsecùs verò si adjuvari dicenda est, fortasse hoc solo adjuvatur quòd se invicem vident, et de sua



But tell me : you that are here in bliss, do you long for any more exalted place, to see more, or to make for yourselves more friends."

I follow Tommaséo, Scartazzini and Casini, in their interpretation, which conveys the following meaning : "Do all of you desire to be in a more exalted region of Heaven, in order that you may see a greater number of your former friends who are already there, or, for the purpose of making for yourselves a glorious array of friends in increasing numbers among the Blessed on High?" And this interpretation is confirmed by the fact that Dante does not yet know that everyone of the spirits in the Spheres are also inmates of the Empyrean. The more generally adopted interpretation, with which I do not agree, is:—

"For the purpose of beholding nearer that Divinity, from which all Blessedness takes its source, or to be able to make yourselves more beloved by God?"

We now come to one of the most touching and beautiful passages in the *Divina Commedia*. Let those, who only know Dante by his *Inferno*, and who think of him as the Poet of wrath, horror, and vindictiveness, turn their attention instead to the lines that follow, and they will then recognize him as the Poet of sweetness, simplicity, and Piety, as the Poet of peaceful scenes in which the most perfect submission to the will of God is garbed in a radiant gladness which seems to say : "Be glad, O ye righteous, and rejoice in the Lord : and be joyful, all ye that are true of heart."

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societate gaudent.' . . . Unde quasi concomitanter se habet amicitia ad perfectam beatitudinem." (St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summ. Theol.* pt. i, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. iv, art. 8).



“ I am content to do (Thy will, O my God) : I am content to do it : yea, thy law is within my heart.”

Con quelle altr' ombre pria sorrise un poco ;  
Da indi \* mi rispose † tanto lieta,  
Ch' arder pareva d' amor nel primo foco : ‡

—“ Frate, la nostra volontà quieta 70  
Virtù di carità, che fa volerne  
Sol quel ch' avemo, e d' altro non ci asseta. §

\* *Da indi* is the equivalent in Italian of the Latin *deinde*.

† *mi rispose* : Scartazzini observes that in the next twenty lines of the text Dante expresses dogmas that are in full accord with the writings of the Early Fathers, namely, that the spirits of the just in Heaven have no other will than the will of God. He quotes many passages in corroboration, of which I will only cite one by St. Augustine (*De Civ. Dei*, xxii, 30, 2) : “ Qui futuri sint pro meritis praemiorum etiam gradus honorum atque gloriarum, quis est idoneus cogitare quanto magis dicere? Quod tamen futuri sint, non est ambigendum. Atque id etiam beata civitas illa magnum in se bonum videbit, quod nullus inferior superiori invidebit, sicut nunc non invident Archangelis Angeli ceteri: tamque nolet esse unusquisque quod non accepit, quamvis sit paratissimo vinculo concordiae ei, qui accepit obstrictus, quam nec in corpore vult oculus esse qui est digitus, cum membrum utrumque contineat totius carnis pacata compago. Sic itaque habebit donum alius alio minus, ut hoc donum quoque habeat, ne velit amplius.”

‡ *d' amor nel primo foco* : With Tommaséo, L. Venturi, Scartazzini and Casini, I follow the interpretation here of Vellutello : “ *Nel primo*, cioè nel più veemente fuoco d' amore ; e non nel primo fuoco perchè fosse nel primo basso cielo come altri hanno inteso.” Some interpret the words as meaning “ in the fire of divine Love,” *i. e.* in God who is *il primo amore*. Others understand *primo foco* to mean the Moon, as the first or nearest of the planetary spheres to the Earth. But Scartazzini points out that Piccarda not only “ *pareva ardere, ma ardeva veramente ;*” and it is just that glowing in Divine Love that Dante wishes to make known to us, by comparing it to the burning of a first love that is known to us even on earth.

§ *d' altro non ci asseta* : Benvenuto on these three lines observes that each heaven contains an amount of bliss in proportion to its capacity, as in our world a small vessel will not be able to hold as much water as a bigger one. Ozanam (*Dante*

Se disiassimo esser più superne,  
 Foran discordi li nostri disiri  
 Dal voler di colui che qui ne cerne,\* 75  
 Che vedrai non capere † in questi giri,  
 S'essere in carità è qui *nesesse*,  
 E se la sua natura ben rimiri.

*et la Philosophie Catholique au Treizième Siècle*, Paris, 1839, p. 177), after describing the Empyrean as understood by Dante, adds: "Ce lieu est le séjour commun des âmes épurées par les épreuves de la vie ou par les expiations qui la suivent. Si quelquefois on se les représente à des hauteurs inégales dans les orbes innombrables qui peuplent le firmament, cette image mesurée à la faiblesse de l'esprit humain, n'a d'autre objet que de faire comprendre l'inégalité de leurs mérites. Elles-mêmes sentent la justice de cette proportion, et la conscience qu'elles en ont devient un élément constitutif de leur félicité. Car l'amour qui les rend heureuses, fait entrer leurs volontés dans le cercle de la volonté divine, où elles se perdent comme les eaux dans l'Océan. Ainsi, en des conditions différentes, chacune rencontre le terme de ses désirs, c'est-à-dire la somme de bonheur dont elle est capable : et de la variété même des bienfaits résulte un concert admirable à la louange du Rémunérateur."

\* *cerne*: The verb *cernere* has been variously interpreted. I follow Buti, who says: "che, cioè lo quale, *qui*, cioè, in questo luogo, *ne cerne*, cioè giudica noi che dobbiamo stare." Of Buti's interpretation Casini speaks approvingly, but thinks Buti meant to give to *cernere* the somewhat wider signification of "to assign, to allot." Scartazzini prefers to take it as equivalent to "*vedere*;" others with the sense of "to separate, segregate, distinguish." But these spirits are *not* separated off from all others in Paradise, as all are inmates of the Empyrean.

† *capere* is equivalent to "*aver luogo*." The sense of the passage is: "Variance from the will of God can have no place in Paradise, if so be that it is a necessity that in Paradise the spirits are under the influence of Love, and if it be remembered that the essential quality of Love (or Charity) is a perfect submission or conformity to the Divine Will." Compare the following: "Charitas diligit Deum super omnia eminentius quam natura. Natura enim diligit Deum super omnia, prout est principium et finis naturalis boni; charitas autem, secundum quòd est objectum beatitudinis, et secundum quòd homo habet quandam societatem spiritualem cum Deo. Addit etiam charitas super naturalem dilectionem Dei promptitudinem quandam et delectationem, sicut habitus quilibet virtutis addit super actum

Anzi è formale\* ad esto beato *esse*

Tenersi dentro alla divina voglia,

80

Per ch' una fansi nostre voglie stesse.

With those other shades first she smiled a little, and after that she answered me with such gladness, that she seemed as it were to glow with the fire of a first love: "Brother, the influence of Love contents our will, which (influence) makes us long for that alone which we have, and sets us not athirst for aught else. Were we to wish to be more exalted, our desires would be at variance with the Will of Him who assigns us our abode here, which (variance) thou wilt see can have no place in these spheres, if to exist in Love be here a necessity, and if thou well considerest the nature of it (*i.e.* Love). Nay rather, it is essential to this blessed existence to restrain oneself within the Divine Will, and that is why our very wills themselves are made one (with that of God).

Piccarda adds that this perfect concord and unanimity of will is by no means confined to the spirits in the lowest region of Heaven, but from sphere to

bonum qui fit ex sola naturali ratione hominis virtutis habitum non habentis." (St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summ. Theol.* pars i, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. cix, art. 3).

\* *è formale*, et seq. Mr. Butler quotes the following from St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summ. Theol.* pars i, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. xix, art. 10: "Conformatur quantum ad hoc voluntas hominis voluntati divinæ, quia vult hoc quod Deus vult eum velle. Est et alius modus conformitatis secundum rationem causæ formalis ut scilicet homo velit aliquid ex charitate, sicut Deus vult; et ista etiam conformitas reducitur ad conformitatem formalem, quæ attenditur ex ordine ad ultimum finem, quod est proprium objectum charitatis. . . Sed in particulari nescimus quid Deus velit. . . In statu tamen gloriæ omnes videbunt in singulis quæ volent, ordinem eorum ad id quod Deus circa hoc vult; et ideo non solum formaliter, sed materialiter in omnibus suam voluntatem Deo conformabunt." Compare also *Ibid.*, pars ii, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. civ, art. 1: "Divina voluntas est prima regula quæ regulantur omnes rationales voluntates, cui una magis appropinquat quàm alia, secundum, ordinem divinitus institutum."

sphere the one same conformity of will exists in the hearts of all the blessed with that of their Almighty Father in the Highest Heaven.

Sì che, come noi sem di soglia in soglia\*  
Per questo regno, a tutto il regno† piace,  
Com' allo re ch' a suo voler ne invoglia : ‡

E la sua volontate è nostra pace ; § 85

Ella è quel mare al qual tutto si move  
Ciò ch' ella crea, o che natura face." ||

So that as we are distributed from degree to degree throughout this realm, to the whole realm this (unity of will) gives contentment, as (also) to the King who makes our wills conform to His Will. And His

\* *di soglia in soglia* : Compare *Par.* xxxii, 13-15 :

"Puoi tu veder così di soglia in soglia  
Giù digradar, com' io ch' a proprio nome  
Vo per la rosa giù di foglia in foglia."

† *a tutto il regno* : Understand, "to all that inhabit the Heavenly Kingdom, *i. e.* to all its denizens."

‡ *invoglia* : From *invogliare* "to make the will, or desires, to conform to." Dante only uses it in one other passage, with the sense of "*mettere in voglia, mettere in cuore*" (see *Gran Dizionario*) namely, *Purg.* xiv, 109, 110 :

"Le donne e i cavalier, gli affanni e gli agi,  
Che ne invogliava amore e cortesia."

Petrarch uses the word in *Canz.* iii (in some editions viii), st. 5 :

"E perchè a ciò m' invoglia  
Ragionar de' begli occhi," etc.

§ *pace* : This Scartazzini interprets : "il principio della nostra beatitudine." Compare St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summ. Theol.* pars i, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. iv, art. 1 : "Cum beatitudo nihil aliud sit quam adeptio summi boni, non potest esse beatitudo sine delectatione concomitante . . . ex hoc ipso quòd merces alicui redditur, voluntas merentis quiescit ; quod est delectari."

|| *face* : "Tutte le creature che sono immediatamente da Dio create, o quelle che sono mediatamente da Dio ed immediatamente prodotte dalla natura, in modi diversi, secondo la diversità di loro natura, tutte sono dirette ad ultimo fine, e tutte, in modi pure diversi, sono ordinate a fare la volontà di Dio." (Cornoldi).



Will is our peace; it is that ocean towards which everything moves, which it (the Divine Will) creates, or which Nature forms."

Dante now understands that in God's House there are many mansions, and that these spirits, of whom Piccarda is one, *do* enjoy the bliss of the highest Heaven, the Empyrean, as much as the greatest Saints, and that this applies to the Blessed in every Sphere; excepting that there is a difference in the intensity of their bliss according as their Sphere is a higher or a lower one.

Chiaro mi fu allor com' ogni dove\*

In cielo è Paradiso, e sì † la grazia

Del sommo ben d' un modo non vi piove. 90

Then was it clear to me how that every part of Heaven is Paradise, although the Grace of the Highest Good is not showered down on (each of) them in the same degree.

*Division IV.* Having received from Piccarda a complete satisfaction of his doubts as to whether the spirits in Heaven aspire to a higher Sphere than that

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\* *ogni dove*, et seq.: Compare St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summ. Theol.* pars iii, suppl. qu. xciii, art. 2: "Diversi modi consequendi finem ultimum diversæ mansiones dicuntur; ut sic unitas domus respondeat unitati beatitudinis, quæ est ex parte objecti; et pluralitas mansionum respondeat differentiæ, quæ in beatitudine invenitur ex parte beatorum." And *Ibid*, art. 3: "Principium distinctivum mansionum sive graduum beatitudinis est duplex, scilicet propinquum et remotum. Propinqua est diversa dispositio quæ erit in beatis, ex qua continget diversitas perfectionis apud eos in operatione beatitudinis; sed principium remotum est meritum, quo talem beatitudinem consecuti sunt."

† *e sì*: This is the reading adopted by Moore, Witte, Scartazzini and Casini. The latter interprets: "e pur essendo così, e ciò non ostante. Questo è il preciso senso della locuzione dantesca, nella quale erroneamente si è voluto vedere dai più un riflesso del Latino *etsi*, col quale nulla ha di comune."



allotted to them, Dante now seeks to learn from her what the vow was, which she had failed to fulfil; for Piccarda (l. 56) had told him that she and her companions had been neglectful of their vows. He thanks her for having solved one of his doubts, and begs her to solve the other also, which he paraphrases by terming it the web which she did not complete by drawing the shuttle up to the head.

Ma sì com'egli avvien, se un cibo sazia,  
 E d'un altro rimane ancor la gola,\*  
 Che quel si chiede, e di quel si ringrazia;  
 Così fec'io,† con atto e con parola,  
 Per apprender da lei qual fu la tela  
 Onde non trasse infino a co‡ la spola. 95

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\* *la gola*: See *Gran Dizionario*, § 8, for the use of *gola* in the sense of "Desiderio, appetito, agonia." Compare *Par. x*, 109-111:

"La quinta luce, ch'è tra noi più bella,  
 Spira di tale amor, che tutto il mondo  
 Laggiù ne gola di saper novella."

Dr. Moore reads *ne gola*, taking *golare* as a verb, though the more usual reading is "Laggiù n'ha gola." Compare also Dante, *Canzoniere*, canzone xii, ll. 79-81 (p. 164 in Dr. Moore's edition):

"Canzon, vattene dritto a quella donna,  
 Che m'ha ferito il core, e che m'invola  
 Quello, ond'io ho più gola."

† *Così fec'io*, et seq.: Casini amplifies this: "con atti e con parole ringraziai Piccarda d'avermi illuminato sopra uno dei punti dubbiosi e la pregai di chiarirmi sopra un'altro." Landino is very clear: "questo secondo dubbio, del quale voleva essere chiarito, era d'intendere qual fu la vita sua che essa cominciò nella religione ma non la fini; e parla per traslazione, chiamando la vita *tela*, della quale essa non trasse la spola *insino al co'*, cioè insino al capo, cioè insino al fine, perciocchè la spola è quella che conduce il filo della trama di qua in là tanto, che la tela s'empie."

‡ *infino a co*: Manfred (*Purg.* iii, 128) speaks of being buried under the cairn *in co del ponte*, i.e. at the bridge-head at Bene-

But as it will happen that one food satisfies, while for another the appetite remains, so that one asks (for more) of the latter, and the former is refused with thanks; even so did I in act and word, to learn from her what web it was whereof she had not drawn the shuttle up to the head.

Piccarda in reply relates how she had taken the veil and the vows of the Order of St. Clare, and how she had been forcibly prevented from fulfilling them.

—“*Perfetta vita* \* ed alto merto inciela †

Donna ‡ più su”—mi disse,—“alla cui norma

Nel vostro mondo giù si veste e vela,

Perchè in fino al morir si vegghi e dorma 100

Con quello sposo ch'ogni voto accetta,

Che caritate a suo piacer conforma.

vento. Virgil (*Inf.* xx, 76, 77) in describing the Mincio first becoming a river, when it sets head to flow out of the Lago di Garda, says:

“Tosto che l'acqua a correr mette co,

Non più Benaco, ma Mencio si chiama.”

\* *Perfetta vita*: The perfection indicated here is that of the contemplative life. Compare St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summ. Theol.* pars i, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. xcix, art. 6: “*Perfectio autem hominis est ut contemptis temporalibus, spiritualibus inhaereat . . . Imperfectorum autem est quòd temporalia bona desiderent, in ordine tamen ad Deum: perversorum autem est quòd in temporalibus bonis finem constituent.*” St. Thomas here quotes *Phil.* iii, 13-15: “Forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark . . . Let us therefore, as many as be perfect, be thus minded.”

† *inciela* from *incielare*, i.e. *porre in cielo*. Compare *Par.* xxviii, 3, where Dante similarly creates the word *imparadisare* in the same sense:

“Quella che imparadisa la mia mente.”

‡ *Donna*: We have already spoken of St. Clara, the founder of Monastic Orders for women. She was born at Assisi in 1194, and her secular name was Chiara Sciffi, and she was endowed, before quitting the world, with wealth as well as great beauty. She died in 1253.

Dal mondo, per seguirla, giovinetta  
 Fuggi 'mi, e nel suo abito mi chiusi,\*  
 E promisi la via della sua setta. 105  
 Uomini poi, a mal più ch' al bene usi,†  
 Fuor mi rapiron della dolce chiostra;  
 E Dio si sa qual poi mia vita fusi.

"A perfect life and exalted merit inshrine higher up in heaven," she said to me, "a Lady (St. Clara) in whose rule down in your world women wear the robe and veil, in order that until death they may keep watch and sleep beside that Bridegroom (Jesus Christ) Who accepts every vow which Love conforms to His pleasure. To follow her, from the world I fled, a young maiden, and donned her habit, and pledged me to the pathway of her Order. Thereafter men, used more to evil than to good, tore me forth from the peaceful cloister, and what my life was afterwards God knoweth !

Benvenuto remarks that, whatever Piccarda's life was afterwards, it was but a brief life in a very suffering body in accordance with God's holy purpose. Casini observes that Dante draws, as it were, a veil over poor Piccarda's life subsequent to her being torn from the cloister; and by the very indefiniteness of this last line (108) he allows the reader to picture to himself the moral torments of the unhappy lady, constrained to live with a man she did not love, and with anguish at having failed in keeping her holy vows.

Piccarda's own story is now ended; but Dante

\* *nel suo abito mi chiusi*: See *Gran Dizionario*, s. v. *chiudere*, § 55: "*Chiudersi in un abito, vale prenderlo, vestirsene.*" The present passage is cited.

† *Uomini poi, a mal più ch' al bene usi*: "*Scilicet, dominus Cursius de Donatis et Foresius frater ejus, quorum alter assuetus erat dominio, alter vero gulae.*" (Benvenuto).

(l. 41) had not only asked her for her own name (*nome tuo*), but also for the particulars of her lot as shared with her companions (*vostra sorte*). This latter part of his question seems to recur to her, and she accordingly names one of the spirits near her; though we may perhaps be pardoned for noticing that Dante, following his usual custom, makes her point out the spirit that was the most exalted in worldly dignity; namely, the Empress Constance.\* It is moreover fully consistent with Dante's family pride,

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\* Constance, the youngest daughter of Roger II, King of Sicily, was born in 1154, and married (1185) Henry VI, son of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. Her story is thus told by Giov. Villani, lib. v, cap. 16:—"In prima che 'l detto Arrigo (*i.e.* Arrigo di Soavia, figliuolo che fu del grande Federigo) si partisse dalla Magna, avendo la Chiesa discordia con Tancredi, re di Cicilia e di Puglia, figliuolo che fu dell'altro Tancredi, nipote per femmina di Roberto Guiscardo . . . per cagione ch'egli, siccome dovea, fedelmente non rispondea del censo della Chiesa, e promutava vescovi e arcivescovi a sua volontà, in vergogna del papa e della Chiesa, il detto papa Clemente trattò coll'arcivescovo di Palermo di torre il detto regno di Cicilia e di Puglia al detto Tancredi, e fece ordinare al detto arcivescovo, che Costanza serocchia [*sorella*] che fu del re Guglielmo, e diritta ereda del reame di Cicilia, la quale era monaca in Palermo, e era già d'età di più di cinquant'anni, sì la fece uscire del munistero, e dispensò in lei ch'ella potesse essere al secolo [*i.e. return to a secular life*] e usare matrimonio; e di nascoso, il detto arcivescovo fattala partire di Cicilia e venire a Roma, la Chiesa la fece dare per moglie al detto Arrigo imperadore, onde poco appresso nacque Federigo secondo imperadore, che fece tante persecuzioni alla Chiesa." Ricordano Malespini (*Istoria Fiorentina*, cap. lxxxvi) gives practically the same account. Lubin remarks that the circumstance of Constance being upwards of fifty years of age when torn from the Convent, has caused many to doubt the accuracy of the story. But it is perhaps this one question of her age that is alone at fault. Other historians say that Constance was born in 1154 and as she was wedded to Henry in 1186, she must have been 32 years old, instead of 52, as Villani tries to show. The mistake of substituting 52 for 32 is one that might very easily occur.



to represent his wife's kinswoman Piccarda in intimate conversation with that great personage. Constance would seem to have participated in the smile of compassion, exchanged between Piccarda and her fellow-spirits, at Dante's ignorance of their entire resignation to the will of God, and contentment with their lot.

E quest' altro splendor,\* che ti si mostra  
 Dalla mia destra parte, e che s' accende      110  
 Di tutto il lume † della spera nostra,

Malespini however particularly states that so great fears were entertained lest, owing to the advanced age of Constance, the reality of her pregnancy might be called in question, that orders were given that her confinement should take place under a tent in the middle of the public square of Palermo, and that any woman who wished it, might go in and see. And many, adds Malespini, went and saw her, and so the suspicion ceased.

\* *splendor*: See *Convito* iii, 14, ll. 37-50. Dante uses this epithet for the spirits of the Blessed in several passages, e.g. *Par.* v, 103: "Più di mille splendori"; also *ibid.* ix, 13: "un altro di quegli splendori"; and xxiii, 82: "più turbe di splendori"; and xxv, 106: "lo schiarato splendore."

† *s' accende Di tutto il lume*, etc.: Compare *Summ. Theol.* pars iii, suppl. qu. lxxxv, art. 1: "Claritas illa causabitur ex redundantia gloriæ animæ in corpus. Quod enim recipitur in aliquo, non recipitur per modum influentis, sed per modum recipientis. Et ideò claritas quæ est in anima spiritualis recipitur in corpore ut corporalis. Et ideò secundum quod anima erit majoris claritatis secundum majus meritum, ita etiam erit differentia claritatis in corpore, ut patet per Apostolum (1 *Cor.* xv). Et ita in corpore glorioso cognoscetur gloria animæ, sicut in vitro cognoscitur color corporis quod continetur in vase vitreo." Giuliani observes with reference to *tutto*, that when Piccarda says that the glorious spirit on her right hand is lit up with the whole of the radiance belonging to the Sphere of the Moon, she seems to speak it out as though the spirit of Constance were the greatest among her companions in the degree of bliss indicated in that sphere. And that would quite agree with the *secundum majus meritum* alluded to above; for Constance, the great Empress, who is so resplendent in this region of heaven,



Ciò ch' io dico di me di sè intende:  
 Sorella fu, e così le fu tolta  
 Di capo l'ombra delle sacre bende.  
 Ma poi che pur al mondo fu rivolta 115  
 Contra suo grato e contra buona usanza,  
 Non fu\* dal vel del cor giammai disciolta.  
 Quest' è la luce della gran Costanza,  
 Che del secondo† vento‡ di Soave§  
 Generò il terzo, e l'ultima possanza." 120

gave, in retiring from the world, proofs of a virtue so much the greater, inasmuch as within the royal palace where she was born, she could enjoy the greatest amount of worldly luxuries and pleasures.

\* *Non fu*, et seq.: "Piccarda dice che avvegnachè la detta Gostanza fosse in privazione dell'abito estrinseco, che sempre lo suo cuore [*core*] fue chiuso e velato dalle sopradette sacre bende, quasi a dire che sempre ebbe l'animo e la voglia alla vita promessa per suo voto."—(Lana). This praise of Constance's unworldliness is in direct opposition to Giov. Villani's account of her in lib. iv, cap. 20, where it is written: "e così fu fatto, che la detta Costanzia fosse riservata da morte; la quale non volontariamente, ma per temenza di morte, quasi come monaca si nutricava in alcuno munistero di monache." And a few lines further on: "Costanzia serocchia del re Guglielmo era, già forse d'età di cinquant'anni, *del corpo non della mente* monaca nella città di Palermo."

† *secondo*: The second "whirlwind" or "blast" of Suabia is the Emperor Henry VI, to whom Constance was forcibly wedded. *Il terzo* refers to their son the Emperor Frederick II, the third and last of the three Suabian Emperors. We may perhaps here call attention to the fact that King Manfred (*Purg.* iii) was the natural son of Frederick II, and consequently grandson of the Empress Constance, as he himself tells Dante in *Purg.* iii, 112, 113:

"Io son Manfredi,  
 Nepote di Costanza Imperadrice."

‡ *vento*: Of many interpretations I prefer that of Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*): "la potenza impetuosa e passeggera dei principi della casa di Svevia paragonata acconciamente ad un vento impetuoso."

§ *Soave*, i.e. Suabia, an ancient duchy in the South-West of Germany, extending over most of the Rhine Provinces as far

And this other resplendence who displays herself to thee on my right side, and who is lighted up with all the radiance of our Sphere, what I say of myself understand thou of her (*i.e.* her story is similar to mine): she was a nun, and in like manner from her head the shade of the sacred wimple was snatched away. But after that she too had been turned back to the world against her will and contrary to decent custom, she never was unloosed from the veil of the heart (*i.e.* in her heart she continued faithful to her vows). This is the effulgence (*i.e.* the glorified form) of the great Constance, who from the second whirlwind of Suabia (the Emperor Henry VI) brought forth the third and last power (of that house, namely the Emperor Frederick II)."

Piccarda has now ended her conversation with Dante, and, as she chants the angelic salutation, she fades away from his view. He turns to Beatrice, but his human powers of vision being wholly unequal to sustain the dazzling radiance of her features, he is obliged to postpone the questions he desires to ask her.

Così parlammi, e poi cominciò: *Ave,*  
*Maria,* cantando; e cantando vanío,  
 Come per acqua\* cupa cosa grave.

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South as Switzerland, and from Burgundy and Lorraine on the West, to Bavaria on the East. From this province were sprung the three great Hohenstaufen Emperors, namely Frederick Barbarossa, Henry VI, and Frederick II. During their reigns, they almost invariably conferred the title of Duke of Suabia upon some relative of their own house.

\* *per acqua*: There is a singular charm (says L. Venturi, *Simil. Dant.* p. 62, sim. 102) about all the graceful personality of Piccarda; and Dante's making her vanish with *Ave Maria* on her lips is a picture full of heavenly sweetness. Giuliani observes that these spirits, who are perpetual inmates of the Empyrean, appear to Dante during the different stages of his privileged journey through Heaven, each in their own Spheres, to give him a gladsome welcome both with speech and with intellectual light. But so soon as they conclude their several

La vista mia, che tanto la seguio  
 Quanto possibil fu, poi che la perse, 125  
 Volsesi al segno di maggior disio,  
 Ed a Beatrice tutta si converse ;  
 Ma quella folgorò\* nello mio sguardo  
 Sì che da prima il viso non sofferse ;  
 E ciò mi fece a domandar più tardo. 130

Thus she spake unto me, and then began chanting *Ave Maria*, and as she sang, she vanished, as through deep water some weighty substance. My eyes, which followed her as long as was possible, when they lost sight of her, turned to the object of greater desire (than were Piccarda and Constance), and were wholly directed to Beatrice ; but she flashed forth such radiant beams upon my gaze, that at first my eyes were unable to endure it, and that made me more tardy in questioning.

Benvenuto observes that the beams of radiance flashed upon Dante by Beatrice were to enkindle his intellect for the discussion of the doubts that he will put forward in the next Canto.

replies to his questions, whether expressed or tacitly implied, they at once melt away from his sight, and return to their allotted posts in the Highest Heaven.

\* *folgorò*: Dante here beholds Beatrice for a single instant in her full Empyrean glory, completely throwing into the shade that of the spirits in the pallid light of the Heaven of the Moon. We shall see her flash forth again with a similar splendour in the next Canto at ll. 130 *et seq.*

END OF CANTO III.

CANTO IV.  

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SPHERE OF THE MOON (*continued*).—DANTE'S FURTHER DOUBTS SOLVED UPON TWO POINTS.—  
(*a*) HOW CAN MERIT BE DIMINISHED BY ACTS DONE UNDER COMPULSION? — (*b*) DO SOULS AFTER DEATH RETURN TO THE STARS FROM WHICH, ACCORDING TO PLATO, THEY WENT FORTH INTO THE WORLD?

WE have again in this Canto to experience some of the aridity of scholastic discussion, but Tommaséo remarks that, although the Canto is arid, yet the passage about Dante's doubt is in itself worth two whole Cantos. In the *Inferno* Dante treated of human vices regarded from a political point of view when circumstances admit of it, or when the crime is one that has a social character; in the *Purgatorio* human failings were considered from their moral point of view; now in the *Paradiso* human virtues are reviewed from their metaphysical and theological standpoint. The loftiest questions of human destiny are discussed; Free-Will; the motives from which any good deed is done; Stellar Influence; and the origin of souls.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

*In the First Division*, from v. 1 to v. 27, Dante describes how he fell into doubt about two matters, and how Beatrice divined his thoughts.

*In the Second Division*, from v. 28 to v. 63, Beatrice solves one of these doubts.

*In the Third Division*, from v. 64 to v. 90, she solves the other doubt.

*In the Fourth Division*, from v. 91 to v. 142, Beatrice removes a further doubt that had arisen in Dante's mind.

*Division I.* The words of Piccarda have aroused two doubts in Dante's mind, and feeling an equal amount of perplexity and disturbance both as to the one and the other, and not knowing which to mention first, he remains silent. His silence, he explains, being the result of absolute necessity, is neither deserving of praise nor blame.

Intra due cibi,\* *distanti e moventi*

\* *Intra due cibi*: Dante probably took this example from St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. xiii, art. 6): "Si aliqua duo sunt penitus æqualia, non magis movetur homo ad unum quàm ad aliud; sicut famelicus si habet cibum æqualiter appetibilem in diversis partibus, et secundum æqualem distantiam, non magis movetur ad unum quàm ad alterum, ut Plato dicit, etc." The celebrated French schoolman, Jean Buridan, who was Rector of the University of Paris soon after Dante's death, has been credited with the sophism known as "Buridan's Ass," which attempts to show that, if a hungry ass be placed exactly between two bundles of hay of equal size and attractiveness, it must starve, as there is nothing to determine the will of the animal towards either bundle. This dilemma does not occur in any of Buridan's writings. Mr. Butler says it seems to have been a favourite subject of logic in the Middle Ages; and is certainly as old as Aristotle (*De Cælo*, ii, 13, 14), where this hypothetical case is stated. Biagioli says that the will, moved at the same instant by two equally pressing desires, remains, as it were, bound, and is unable to escape from such irresolution, unless one of the two desires gives it a greater impulse than the other. See also Montaigne, *Essais*, livre ii, ch. xiv: "C'est une plaisante imagination, de concevoir un esprit



D' un modo, prima si morria di fame,  
 Che liber' uomo\* l' un recasse ai denti.  
 Sì si starebbe un agno† intra due brame  
 Di fieri lupi, egualmente temendo ; 5  
 Sì si starebbe un cane intra due dame.‡  
 Per che, s' io mi tacea, me non riprendo,  
 Dalli miei dubbi d' un modo sospinto,  
 Poich' era necessario, nè commendo.

balancé justement entre deux pareilles envies : car il est indubitable qu'il ne prendra jamais parti, d'autant que l'application et le choix porte inégalité de prix ; et qui nous logeroit entre la bouteille et le jambon, avecques equal appetit de boire et de manger, il n'y auroit sans doute remede que de mourir de soif et de faim . . . Il se pourroit dire, ce me semble, plus-tost, que aulcune chose ne se presente à nous où il n'y ait quelque difference, pour legiere qu'elle soit ; et que, ou à la veue ou à l'attouchement, il y a tousjours quelque plus qui nous attire, quoyque ce soit imperceptiblement." *moventi* : Tommaséo explains this. The two viands are so perfectly equal in their attractiveness, "che non ci fosse motivo più per l' uno che per l' altro."

\* *liber' uomo* : *i.e.* a man endowed with Free Will.

† *agno* : We find this Latinism (for *agnello*) in *Par.* ix, 130-131:  
 "il maledetto fiore

Ch' ha disviate le pecore e gli agni."

and *Par.* x, 94 :

"Io fui degli agni della santa greggia."

‡ *intra due dame* : Compare Ovid, *Metam.* v, 164-166 :

"Tigris ut, auditis diversa valle duorum

Exstimulata fame mugitibus armentorum,

Nescit, utro potius ruat ; et ruere ardet utroque."

*Dame* is an unusual form of *damma*, the feminine of *daino*, "a fallow deer." The form *dama* is derived from the Latin *dama*. Compare Horace, I *Carm.* ii, 10, 11 :

"Et superjecto pavidæ natarunt

Æquore damæ."

Compare too Virg. *Georg.* iii, 539, 540 :

"Timidi damæ cervique fugaces

Nunc interque canes et circum tecta vagantur."

Compare Petrarch, part ii, canz. ii, st. 2 :

"E' non si vide mai cervo nè damma

Con tal desio cercar fonte nè fiume."

Between two viands, in like degree distant and tempting, a free man would sooner die of hunger, ere he would bring one to his teeth (*i.e.* select it for eating). Even so would a lamb stand still between the ravings of two savage wolves, in equal dread of both; so would a dog stand still between two does (uncertain which to attack). Wherefore (*i.e.* in virtue of such a law of nature) if I remained silent, I do not blame myself, impelled as I was in equal measure by my doubts—since of necessity (I had to be silent)—nor yet do I commend (myself).

Beatrice reads what is passing in Dante's thoughts just as readily as Daniel read and interpreted the dream that Nebuchadnezzar had forgotten, and she tells him so.

Io mi tacea, ma il mio disir dipinto	10
M'era nel viso, e il domandar con ello*	
Più caldo assai, che per parlar distinto.	
Fe' sì Beatrice, qual fe' Daniello,†	
Nabuccodonosor levando d'ira,	
Che l'avea fatto ingiustamente fello,	15
E disse:—"Io veggio ben come ti tira	
Uno ed altro disio, sì che tua cura	
Sè stessa lega sì che fuor non spira.	

Silent (indeed) I was, but my desire was painted in my eyes, and by them my demand was far more

\* *con ello*: I have taken *ello* as referring to *viso* rather than to *disir*. Casini takes it so: "La domanda ch'io faceva con l'atteggiamento del volto era più fervida che se fosse stata fatta con aperte parole." The *Gran Dizionario* says of *ello* that it is a masculine pronoun, the same as *elli*, *egli*, and is declinable in the same way. The word exists still among the Tuscan peasantry. Dante uses it frequently.

† *qual fe' Daniello*: See *Dan.* ii, 12-49. As Daniel, by divine revelation, could read the dream of Nebuchadnezzar, and interpreted it to him, so did Beatrice read the doubts in Dante's mind without his having spoken them to her.

ardently expressed than (it could have been) by words. Beatrice (then) did, as did Daniel in appeasing Nebuchadnezzar from that wrath which had rendered him unjustly cruel (towards his sooth-sayers), and she said: "I plainly see how each of two desires draws thee, so much so, that thy anxiety binds itself up to such a degree that it does not breathe forth.

Beatrice then tells Dante what his doubts are. Why, if Good Will, that is, the determination to adhere to their vows, endured in Piccarda and Constance, why should they have a lesser degree of merit, when forcibly torn from them? And secondly; from Piccarda having said that her allotted place was in the Moon, and as the Moon was then considered to be a planet, Dante is in doubt, Beatrice implies, as to how far the Platonic doctrine is true, which held that human souls were formed before their bodies, and distributed among the stars. From these they were supposed to pass into the human bodies during life, and to return to their respective stars after death.\* She tells him that she will first deal with this second question of the souls returning to the stars, because it contains a most pernicious theological error respecting the essence of divine and human nature.

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\* Pietro di Dante states this clearly: "Auctor . . . dicit, quod ex eo quod audivit a dicta Piccarda, quod dicta sphaera lunaris caeli ut sua sors data erat eis, etc.: et sic videbatur sequi quod dicit Plato in suo Timæo, in quo libro asserit animas ad astra redire, quod est erroneum et reprobaturum." These words of Plato are in his *Timæus*, 41 D and E; and 42 B. See "Dante and Plato" in Moore's *Studies in Dante*, pp. 157-160. Casini says that this passage was known to Dante through the rendering of it by St. Augustine, *De Civit. Dei*, lib. xiii, cap. 19; as also through St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa contra gent.* ii, 47, 48; and iii, 73, 84.

Tu argomenti : ' Se il buon voler dura,  
 La violenza altrui per qual ragione 20  
 Di meritar mi scema la misura ?'  
 Ancor di dubitar\* ti dà cagione,  
 Parer tornarsi l'anime alle stelle,  
 Secondo la sentenza di Platone.  
 Queste son le question che nel tuo *velle*† 25  
 Pontano egualmente ; e però pria  
 Tratterò quella che più ha di felle.‡

Thou arguest : ' If the good will endures, by what reason doth the violence of others decrease in me the amount of merit ?' Moreover, there occasions

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\* *Ancor di dubitar*, etc. : Landino's comment seems the clearest here : " Il secondo dubbio è, che veduto Dante questi spiri nel globo lunare, quasi s'inclina in opinione che le anime degli uomini uscendo dai corpi tornassero alle stelle," and therefore, observes Scartazzini, the doubt in Dante's mind would be : " Is this teaching of Plato true or the reverse ?"

† *velle* : This, Tommaséo observes, is a regular scholastic expression for *volere*, *volontà*. Dante uses it in the *De Monarchia*, i, II, ll. 38-48 : " Justitia contrarietatem habet quandoque in *velle* . . . Quantum vero ad operationem, justitia contrarietatem habet in *posse*," and *Ibid.* iii, 10, ll. 36-39 : " Quum officium ejus (scilicet, Imperatoris) sit humanum genus uni *velle*, et uni *nolle* tenere subjectum, ut in primo hujus de facili videre potest." Dante uses the word again in the last *terzina* of the *Divina Commedia*, *Par.* xxxiii, 143 :

" Ma già volgeva il mio disiro e il *velle*."

‡ *più ha di felle* : " Nota che, avvegnachè gli predetti dubbj, secondo l'Autore, fossono eguali, secondo lo vero erano disuguali, imperquello che lo dubbio che può generare eresia è troppo più crudo e amaro, che gli altri ; e però che tenere altro dell'anima umana che non fa la fede cattolica, si è eresia, si è più velenoso dubbio quello ch'è circa essa anima, secondo la posizione sopradetta, che non è a dubbiare della forza, overo del merito predetto." (Lana). *Felle* (another form of *fiele*) is primarily "bile," and hence comes to signify figuratively, "venom, bitterness." An old Tuscan proverb says :

" Poco *fiele* fa amaro molto miele,"

which means (says the *Gran Dizionario*, s. v. *fiele*) that a very small trouble is sufficient to mar one's happiness, or to make one feel discontented.

thee a (still further) doubt that the souls seem to return to the stars according to the teaching of Plato. These are the questions which in thy will are giving an equal stimulus (in seeking for explanation); and therefore I will first treat of that which has the most venom (*i.e.* the more dangerous).

Scartazzini thinks that Dante has wished in these lines to convey the implication that the Platonic doctrine was, or had been, especially dangerous to himself, and that we have a confession of his having, at one time, had doubts on the subject of the human soul. All the more does this show how, in the *Divina Commedia*, one must study carefully the history of Dante's inner life, as also the development of his thoughts and his beliefs.

Casini expresses full concurrence with Scartazzini.\*

*Division II.* Benvenuto remarks that in this next part of the Canto Beatrice begins by solving, very briefly but distinctly, the second of Dante's two doubts, because it is the one most full of danger. She tells him that all the spirits of the Blessed, whether Angels or men, without exception, have their own places in the Empyrean Heaven, and that their being seen by Dante in different spheres, is not

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\* Tommaséo thinks that Dante represents this error as the more dangerous one, because he might be supposed to consider it confirmed by the words of Virgil in *Georg.* iv, 221-227 :

“Deum namque ire per omnes  
Terrasque, tractusque maris, cœlumque profundum.  
Hinc pecudes, armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum  
Quemque sibi tenues nascentem arcessere vitas ;  
Scilicet huc reddi deinde ac resoluta referri  
Omnia ; nec morti esse locum, sed viva volare  
Sideris in numerum, atque alto succedere cœlo.”



because these spheres are their allotted places, but rather to mark more definitely the differences in their degrees of Blessedness. And this, as Mr. Butler points out, has been from early times the interpretation of such expressions in the New Testament as "many mansions"; "one star differeth from another star in glory"; the end of the parable of the Talents, etc.

Dei Serafin\* colui che più s'india,†  
 Moisé, Samuel, e quel Giovanni,  
 Qual prender vuoi, io dico, non Maria, 30  
 Non hanno in altro cielo i loro scanni,  
 Che quegli spirti che mo t'appariro,  
 Nè hanno all'esser lor più o meno anni.‡  
 Ma tutti fanno bello il primo giro,§

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\* *Dei Serafin*, et seq.: Compare *Par.* xxi, 92, 93:  
 "Quel Serafin che in Dio più l'occhio ha fisso,  
 Alla domanda tua non satisfara."

The whole passage is well explained by Scartazzini:—"Dante first names the Seraphim, *che veggiono più della* Prima Cagione, che alcun'altra angelica natura (*Conv.* ii, 6, ll. 79-81), then Moses, the greatest of all the prophets (*Deut.* xxxiv, 10); with whom Dante couples Samuel, following *Jeremiah* xv, 1; then the two Johns, namely, the Apostle, that disciple whom Jesus loved, and the Baptist, the greatest among them born of woman (*Matt.* xi, 11); lastly, the Virgin Mary, *alta più che creatura* (*Par.* xxxiii, 2). Dante's meaning is therefore:—"the sublimest Angels and the most exalted Saints of Paradise have not their abode elsewhere than those spirits, of whom Piccarda is one, that thou hast just seen."

† *s'india*: "Fare partecipe della beatitudine, e delle grazie divine." (*Gran Dizionario, s.v. indiare*).

‡ *più o meno anni*: Casini explains that the bliss of all the spirits is in equal degree eternal for them all, and that Dante is here indirectly censuring another Platonic theory, which held that souls, returning from their bodies to their stars, remained there a longer or a shorter time according to their merits.

§ *il primo giro*: The Empyrean, wherein are all the Blessed. Landino compares the souls therein to vessels of different sizes, holding some more, some less, but all filled up. A jug holds

E differentemente han dolce vita, 35  
Per sentir più e men l'eterno spiro.  
Qui si mostraron, non perchè sortita  
Sia questa spera lor; ma per far segno  
Della celestial\* ch'ha men salita.

Of the Seraphim neither that one that is in the closest communion with God, nor Moses, nor Samuel, nor whichever John (of the two) thou preferest to take—not even Mary, I say, have their seats in a different heaven from these spirits who appeared to thee anon, nor have they in their being more years or less (*i.e.* the duration of their abode on high is not circumscribed by time). But all of them render beautiful the first Sphere (*i.e.* the Empyrean) and have possession of blessed life in different degrees, according as they feel more or less the Eternal Afflatus (of the Holy Spirit). They showed themselves here not because this Sphere is allotted to them, but merely to be to thee an indication of the heavenly (sphere) that has the least ascendancy.

Beatrice goes on to explain that, in speaking to human beings of spiritual matters, it is necessary to do so in language fitted for their capacity for understanding, and that is why the most exalted Messengers of Heaven have been seen sometimes by living men, with bodily forms, and even the Almighty Himself is represented with such human attributes as hands, feet, face, back, sitting on a throne, and with other actions such as are intelligible to men.

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more than a cup, but when both are full, the cup, though holding less, still lacks nothing. In the same way every soul being full of glory, that soul which contains less glory is not less full than that which contains more. Compare St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars iii, suppl. qu. xciii, articles 2 and 3).

\* *Della celestial*: Understand *spera*, which Scartazzini says means the degree, the condition the souls in the Moon occupy as the lowest condition, or degree of blessedness.

Così parlar conviensi al vostro ingegno,	40
Perocchè solo da sensato* apprende	
Ciò che fa poscia d'intelletto degno.	
Per questo la Scrittura condiscende †	
A vostra facultate, e piedi e mano	
Attribuisce a Dio, ed altro intende ; ‡	45
E santa Chiesa con aspetto umano	

\* *sensato*: Tommaséo paraphrases this : "Da oggetto sensibile apprende quel che poi divien intelligibile." Tommaséo further quotes the so-called Aristotelian doctrine, which however (Dr. Moore tells me he thinks) is due rather to Descartes: "Nihil esse in intellectu quod non prius fuerit in sensu." To which Leibnitz is said to have added: "Except the intellect itself." Tommaséo quotes Galileo as saying: "Averne sensata esperienza per mezzo del telescopio." Compare St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. i, art. 9): "Conveniens est sacrae scripturae divina et spiritualia sub similitudine corporalium tradere. Deus enim omnibus providet, secundum quod competit eorum naturae. Est autem naturale homini ut per sensibilia ad intelligibilia veniat; quia omnis nostra cognitio a sensu initium habet. Unde convenienter in sacra Scriptura traduntur nobis spiritualia sub metaphoris corporalium." Dr. Hettinger (*Dante's Divina Commedia, its scope and value from the German of Franz Hettinger, D.D.*, edited by Henry Sebastian Bowden, London, 1887, p. 250), remarks: "In the realistic treatment of his allegory, to which we have often adverted, Dante is guided by St. Thomas, who says that, by a law of our nature, we are led from sensuous to super-sensuous things, from things material to things spiritual." In *Convito* ii, 5, ll. 120-121, Dante says: ". . . alcuno senso, dal quale comincia la nostra conoscenza."

† *condiscende*: "Omnes, qui spiritaliter intelligunt Scripturas non membra corporea per ista nomina, sed spirituales potentias accipere didicerunt, sicut galeas et scutum et gladium et alia multa." (St. August. *in Genes.* xvii). Compare also St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. i, art. 10): "Per voces significatur aliquid propriè, et aliquid figurativè. Nec est litteralis sensus ipsa figura; sed id quod est figuratum. Non enim cum Scriptura nominat *Dei brachium*, est litteralis sensus quòd in Deo sit membrum hujusmodi corporale; sed id quod per hoc membrum significatur, scilicet virtus operativa."

‡ *altro intende*: "means something more than the words imply." "Intende di manifestarci attributi immateriali divini simboleggiati nelle mani e nei piedi." (Cornoldi).

Gabriel e Michel vi rappresenta,  
E l'altro che Tobia rifece sano.\*

In such wise is it needful to speak to your (human) intelligence, because only by an appeal to the senses does it learn that which it afterwards renders meet for understanding. For this reason Holy Scripture condescends to your (human) faculties, and attributes feet and hands to God, and (yet) means something else; and Holy Church represents to you Gabriel and Michael under a human aspect, as also that other one (Raphael) who made Tobias (meaning Tobit) whole again.

She then points out that the teaching of Plato in the *Timæus*, and the teaching of the Church are by no means the same, for the latter speaks only in metaphorical language; while Plato really seems to have been giving what he believed to be a real account of the transmigrations of the souls, first from the stars in which they took their origin, then into human bodies which they animated with life, and then back again into their respective stars after death, and he meant his words to be taken in their literal sense.

Quel che Timeo dell'anime argomenta  
Non è simile a ciò che qui si vede,      50  
Però che, come dice, par che senta.  
Dice che l'alma alla sua stella riede,†

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\* *l'altro che Tobia rifece sano*: Dante has confused Tobit with Tobias (see *Tobit*, iii, 17): "And Raphael was sent to heal them both, that is, to scale away the whiteness of Tobit's eyes, and to give Sara the daughter of Raguel for a wife to Tobias the son of Tobit." Compare Milton, *Par. Lost*, v, 221-223:

"Raphael, the sociable spirit, that deigned  
To travel with Tobias, and secured  
His marriage with the seven-times-wedded maid."

† *Dice che l'alma alla sua stella riede*: Compare *Convito* iv, 21, ll. 17-19: "Plato ed altri vollero che esse (*nostre anime*)

Credendo quella quindi esser decisa,\*

Quando natura per forma la diede.†

That which (Plato in) Timæus argues about souls does not resemble that which one sees here, because he really does seem to believe as he says. He says that the soul returns to its own star, (evidently) believing that it was parted from it, when Nature gave it (the soul) as a (vital) form (to the body).

Beatrice remarks, however, that this opinion of Plato is perhaps not so much erroneous as misunderstood.

procedessero dalle stelle, e fossero nobili e più e meno, secondo la nobiltà della stella." Petrarch (Part ii, Son. 21) alludes to this opinion when he suggests that the soul of Laura has returned to its star:

"Anzi tempo per me nel suo paese  
È ritornata ed alla par sua stella."

\* *decisa*: The primary meaning of *decidere* is "to cut off," "to sever," and the meaning "to decide" is the last given of all its significations. See *Gran Dizionario*.

† *natura per forma la diede*: Compare St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. clxiv, art. 1: "Naturæ per se principia sunt forma et materia. Forma hominis est anima rationalis, quæ est de se immortalis . . . materia autem hominis est corpus tale quod est ex contrariis compositum." Scartazzini in both his editions, followed by Casini and Poletto, quotes the following words from *ibid.*, pars i, qu. lxxvi, art. 1: "Anima rationalis est forma sui corporis." I have looked most carefully through the whole article, and am satisfied that the words "Anima rationalis" do not occur in it, and yet in the Index iii *Rerum* in my edition (Paris, 1880) of the *Summa* the passage is cited, as Scartazzini gives it. The nearest approach to the words quoted is the following: "Hoc ergo principium quo primo intelligimus, sive dicatur intellectus, sive anima intellectiva, est forma corporis." And in a footnote at the beginning of art. 1, I find: "In concilio Viennensi Clemens V, sic damnavit eos qui animam corporis esse formam non agnoscebant: *Quisquis asserere, defendere, seu tenere pertinaciter præsumpserit, quodd anima rationalis seu intellectiva non sit forma corporis humani per se essentialiter, tanquam hæreticus sit censendus.*" Compare also art. 4 of the same *Quæstio* in the *Summa*: "Anima est forma substantialis hominis." And qu. xc, art. 2: "Anima rationalis est forma subsistens." And qu. xci, art 4: "Forma humani corporis est ipsa anima, quæ est spiraculum vitæ."



If his meaning is, not so much that the souls issue from the stars and return to them again, as that the stars exercise an influence over them, moving them to good or to evil, then perhaps (Beatrice says) he might not be far from the truth as understood in Dante's time, when the influence of the stars was an admitted fact. She goes on to show that it was owing to this very doctrine of Plato being taken in a wrong sense that caused nations to give to the planets the names of the different heathen deities, believing that each of these planets exercised the special influence of the god it was called after, *e.g.* Venus the influence of love, Mars the influence of war, and so on. If, therefore, Plato's opinion is understood in this other sense, it would be in accordance with that of Dante, who has had no other motive for representing these discloistered dames in the Sphere of the Moon, than as a mark of the influence upon them of the instability attributed to that (so-called) planet.

E forse\* sua sentenza è d'altra guisa 55  
 Che la voce non suona, ed esser puote  
 Con intenzion da non esser derisa.  
 S'egl' intende† tornare a queste rote

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\* *E forse*, et seq.: On this Mr. Butler remarks that the suggestion in this passage is rather curious, considering that, in an immediately preceding passage of the *Timæus* (40 D), Plato very distinctly is speaking otherwise than as he thinks. The *Postillatore Cassinese* has: "*Et forse*: quia potest forte scribere unum et aliud intelligere, sicut intelligit auctor in hac sua fictione, nam si dictus Plato intellexisset in tali ejus opinione quod laus et reprehensio influentiarum dictorum planetarum rediret ad eos forte non errasset."

† *S'egl' intende*, et seq.: Compare *Purg.* xvi, 73; and *Par.* ii, 67, and Scartazzini's observations thereon, wherein we see clearly that Dante admitted the influence of the stars.

L'onor dell'influenza e il biasmo, forse  
In alcun vero suo arco percote.

60

Questo principio male inteso torse

Già tutto il mondo quasi, sì che Giove,  
Mercurio e Marte a nominar\* trascorse.

And (yet) perchance this belief of his is of other guise than his words sound (*i.e.* is not to be merely taken in the literal sense), and may be with a meaning that is not to be derided. If he means that to these spheres return the honour of their influence and the blame, perchance the (shaft from his) bow may hit on some (part of the) truth. This principle (*i.e.* of the influence of the stars) ill understood once so nearly perverted all the world, that it went astray to give (to the planets) the names of Jupiter, Mars, and Mercury.

The interpretation of this last line has been much disputed, as many Commentators have preferred to take *nominare* in the sense of "to call upon the name of," *i.e.* to invoke, to adore, to worship, and although that would not alter the sense of the passage, yet the interpretation I have followed, which is also that of Scartazzini and Casini, is by far the simplest, and is fully borne out by what Dante says of Venus in *Par. viii*, 1-13, where it is said of the ancients that they *pigliavano il vocabol della stella che il sol vagheggia*, etc.

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\* *nominar*: Scartazzini most aptly remarks that the mere naming some of the planets after the Pagan gods would not constitute a sin, and he thinks the line means that the world took to naming the stars after illustrious men whose souls were believed to have returned to the respective stars from which they originally issued. Cicero takes that view in *De Nat. Deor.* i, 13: "Deos enim octo esse dicit [Xenocrates]: quinque eos, qui in stellis vagis nominantur." And the *Postillatore Cassinese*: "Hic dictum Platonis fuit causa quare antiqui gentiles nominaverunt planetas a nomine Jovis, Mercurii, et Martis, et aliorum ceterorum virorum ab ipsis pressis, quasi crederent animas talium ad dictas stellas redisse."

*Division III.* Beatrice now disposes of the second doubt in Dante's mind, which was, "If a vow be broken, not by the will of the person pledged to fulfil it, but by the violence of some one else, can that violence detract from the merit of the good-will?" Beatrice's answer is to the effect that these nuns had no blame in being violently torn from their vows, but that their fault lay in not repairing the evil by returning to the cloister as soon as they were able. Will may be kept in abeyance by force, but as soon as the force is removed, the will regains its power of action. Force causes a flame to bend or turn aside, but as soon as ever that force is removed, the flame at once resumes its upward tendency. These nuns lacked that strength of will which made St. Lawrence lie undaunted upon the gridiron, and made Mutius unflinching when he burnt his own hand before Lars Porsenna. Therefore their merit is incomplete.

Dante's doubt concerning vows is of less harmful consequences than the other, as it is not one likely to lead him away from the Church, its discipline or its teaching; and Beatrice now speaks as the symbol of ecclesiastical authority, to whom is entrusted the ministry of revelation. Scartazzini thinks that he is not far wrong in surmising that this second doubt is a doubt "for wonder and discussion," whereas the first doubt was one "of infidelity and unbelief."

L'altra dubitazion\* che ti commove

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\* *dubitazion*: A Scholastic expression. Scartazzini (*Ediz. Min.*) observes that whereas in the Council held at Constantinople in 540 A.D., the Platonic doctrine, which had been openly professed by Origen, Prudentius, and other Christian theologians, had received the emphatic condemnation of ecclesiasti-

Ha men velen, perocchè sua malizia 65  
 Non ti poria menar da me altrove.  
 Parere ingiusta\* la nostra giustizia  
 Negli occhi dei mortali, è argomento  
 Di fede, e non d'eretica nequizia.

cal authority, the same authority had not as yet made any precise and emphatic pronouncement about extenuation or exculpation for the breaking of vows. Therefore Beatrice says that this second doubt could not lead Dante astray from her (*da me altrove*).

\* *Parere ingiusta*, et seq.: This is a passage which Scartazzini says must be counted as one of the most difficult in the *Divina Commedia*, and he adds that while he has consulted over sixty commentators, not one of them wholly satisfies him; nor can he himself offer an interpretation that shall be beyond all question. Andreoli says that the interpretations are as numerous as the interpreters, and not one of them is adequate. To enter into the whole of Scartazzini's learned examination of all the opinions offered, would be beyond the scope and limits of the present work, but as Casini gives a careful digest of Scartazzini's long note, and its alternative views, and as both these learned Commentators seemingly prefer the same interpretation, I will translate Casini's note: "That divine justice should to men seem unjust is a reason for faith and not for heresy. The interpretation of this *terzina* has sufficiently occupied ancient and modern Commentators, who have expressed the most widely divergent views about it; but all their explanations can, for the matter of that, be reduced to one of the three following: (1) That in some particular case divine justice may seem unjust is a proof of our belief in that justice in general. This is the interpretation of the *Ottimo*, Buti, Landino, Daniello, Venturi, Andreoli, and others. (2). That divine justice should seem unjust is a question of faith, which faith alone must solve, not human Reason. This view is supported by Cesari and some few more. (3) That divine justice should seem unjust is a motive for us to believe in it. (Lombardi, Biagioli, Costa, Tommaséo, Brunone Bianchi, Fraticelli, etc.). This last is the best, and has been admirably illustrated by Scartazzini, who has interpreted the passage as follows: 'If the justice of God appears unjust in the eyes of mortals, such appearance ought to guide them to belief, not to unbelief, knowing as they do that the judgments of the Lord are incomprehensible. If you consider that incomprehensibility, you ought at once to be satisfied without attempting to comprehend the incomprehensible. But

Ma perchè puote vostro accorgimento  
Ben penetrare a questa veritate,  
Come disiri, ti farò contento. 70

The other doubt which troubles thee has less venom (*i.e.* is less pernicious), in that its mischief could never lead thee astray from me. That our (*i.e.* divine) justice should appear unjust in the eyes of mortals is an argument for faith (*i.e.* a motive for them to believe in it), and not for heretical iniquity (*i.e.* of disbelieving it, knowing as they do how inscrutable are the judgments of God). But as your (*i.e.* human) understanding is well able to penetrate this truth, I will content thee in the way thou desirest.

She means that she will make it quite clear to him that the justice of God is in no wise unjust to these ex-nuns. She goes on to define what is violence, and why these nuns cannot really be said to have been *entirely* the victims of violence. Violence can be wrought upon the human body, but not upon the human will. If the will, owing to force, participates in a course of action of which it does not approve, it is impossible to deny that, however unwillingly, it has given some sort of consent,\* and consent is incompatible with violence.

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as we are now dealing with a matter into which human Reason can readily penetrate, I will do for you what you wish and explain it to you.' Talice da Ricaldone comments: "Nam quamvis non cognosceres que esset causa quia minueretur meritus alicujus, hoc est signum fidei et bone credulitatis, et non erronee credulitatis."

\* "Il Poeta, con la finezza ch'è propria dell'ingegno e degli animi dirittamente severi, conosce una colpa attenuata sì, ma tuttavia colpa, in coloro che, costretti, cedono al male senza acconsentire si piegano con ribrezzo; ma a tutti gli spiragli di libertà, che non possono non si aprire anco ai più schiavi, non pongono mente per profittarne, temono insieme e il male a cui sono forzati, e lo sforzo necessario a prosciogliersene; e col





Perchè, s'ella si piega assai o poco,  
 Segue la forza; e così queste fero 80  
 Possendo ritornare al santo loco.

If violence is when he who suffers it contributes nothing to him who uses force, (then) these souls had no excuse on that score. For Will, if it wills not, cannot be quenched, but does as Nature does in fire, though violence twist it aside a thousand times over; because if it (the Will) bends much or little, it seconds the force; and thus did these souls, as they were able to return to the consecrated place (their cloister).

Benvenuto observes that by two human examples, the one Christian and the other pagan, Beatrice proves to Dante that the will is inviolable. The Spanish saint, St. Lawrence, in the time of the cruel Emperor Decius, underwent horrible tortures, one of which was the being bound upon a red hot iron grating, with unflinching fortitude, and in the midst of his sufferings, rendered thanks unto the Most High. But lest Dante might attribute this fortitude to divine aid afforded to a holy man, Beatrice cites the example of a valiant pagan, Mutius Scævola, whose endurance was exhibited solely for earthly, and not for eternal glory.

Se fosse stato lor volere intero,  
 Come tenne Lorenzo\* in sulla grada,

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the *z* and the *c* were interchangeable even in the Tuscan idiom. Casini says that *torzare* is used to express a continuous and violent action. See Donkin's *Etymological Dictionary of the Romance Languages* after Diez, s.v. *torciare*. The *Gran Dizionario* under this word, quotes Giov. Villani, viii, cap. 78: "Tutto torciaro e caricaro con loro arnesi e vittuaglia in sulle loro carra." This reading however *torciaro* (say the authors of the Dictionary) is not the only one, for the older texts of Villani read *tornarono*.

\* *Lorenzo*: St. Lawrence was a deacon who suffered martyrdom at Rome A.D. 258. Being treasurer of the Christian

E fece Muzio\* alla sua man severo,  
 Così le avria ripinte per la strada 85  
 Ond'eran tratte, come furo sciolte;  
 Ma così salda voglia è troppo rada.

E per queste parole, se ricolte  
 L'hai come devi, è l'argomento casso,  
 Che t'avria fatto noia ancor più volte.† 90

If their will had been perfect, as (that which) kept Lawrence (undaunted) upon the gridiron, and made Mutius relentless to his own hand, then it would, as soon as they were free, have driven them back into the path from whence they were dragged, but so staunch a will (as that) is but too rare. And by these words (of mine), if thou hast gathered them up (in thy mind) as thou oughtest, is the argument confuted, which would still have annoyed thee many times.

*Division IV.* Beatrice now disposes of a third difficulty. She has said that the spirits of the nuns were to blame for not returning to their convent life, after

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Church, he was summoned by the Emperor Decius to hand over the treasures in his keeping, whereupon he brought forward a crowd of poor persons, saying that they were the treasures of the Church. Valerian the Prefect of Rome had Lawrence most cruelly scourged on the Viminal, and then had him stretched upon an iron grating over a red hot fire, but such was his constancy that he invited his tormentors, when one side was sufficiently roasted, to turn him upon the other. See *Breviarium Romanum*, Festa Augusti Die 10: "Strinxerunt corporis membra posita super craticulam: ministrantibus prunas insultat Levita Christi," etc.

\* *Muzio*: "E Muzio la sua mano propria incendere, perchè fallato avea il colpo che per liberare Roma pensato avea." (*Convito* iv, 5, ll. 115-118). "Quid non audendum pro patria, nobis Mutius persuasit quum incautum Porsenam invasit, quum deinde manum errantem, non alio vultu quam si hostem cruciari videret, suam adhuc, cremari adspiciebat?" *De Mon.* ii, 5, ll. 121-126).

† *t'avria fatto noia ancor più volte*: See *Par.* xix, 97 *et seq.*, where the question of God's justice is again discussed.

they were free again. Piccarda on the other hand has told him that Constance always retained her fidelity to the veil, though it had been torn from her by force. Beatrice shows that this is a contradiction. Sometimes to avoid danger, the will may yield to the violence of others, though with repugnance. For this repugnance Piccarda commends Constance, who never had the will to quit the cloister, but, while acquiescing through fear, retained her love for her religious life. Beatrice, however, draws a distinction between a perfect will and a qualified will, and does not wholly acquit Constance for her qualified acquiescence.

Ma or ti s'attraversa un altro passo  
 Dinanzi agli occhi tal, che per te stesso  
 Non usciresti, pria saresti lasso.  
 Io t'ho per certo nella mente messo,  
 Ch'alma beata non poria mentire, 95  
 Perocch'è sempre al primo vero appresso :  
 E poi potesti da Piccarda udire,  
 Che l'affezion del vel Costanza tenne,  
 Sì ch'ella par qui meco contraddire.

But now another strait comes athwart thee before thine eyes, of such a nature, that of thyself alone thou couldst not issue from it, ere thou wast wearied. I have instilled into thy mind for certain that a soul in bliss could not lie, because it is always near unto the First Truth ; and then thou mightest hear from Piccarda that Constance retained her affection for the veil, so that she seems here to be in contradiction with me.

This apparent contradiction Beatrice explains away by defining the distinction between simple Will, and Will *secundum quid*.\* This may be illustrated by the

\* With regard to the Will being either *simplex* or *secundum quid*, see Josephi Zamae Mellinii *Lexicon quo veterum Theolo-*

example of the schoolboy who goes to school solely from the fear of stripes, and learns well, and gets praised; though he would be far more deserving of praise did he go willingly to school without the incentive of the fear of being punished. On the other hand, the boy, who through obstinacy entirely refuses to learn, meets with deserved censure. Beatrice, in confirmation of this argument, cites the episode of Alcmaeon, who revenged the murder of his father by murdering his mother, and, to show filial piety towards the former, perpetrated filial impiety towards the latter.

Molte fiate già, frate, addivenne 100

Che per fuggir periglio, contro a grato\*

Si fe' di quel che far non si convenne;

Come Almeone,† che di ciò pregato

Dal padre suo, la propria madre spense;

Per non perder pietà si fe' spietato. 105

Many a time ere now, brother, has it happened that

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*gorum locutiones explicantur theologicae tironibus accomodatum*, Coloniae, 1855, p. 11, s. v. *Absolute*, § 2: "*Absolute* aliquando idem est ac *simpliciter*, et dicitur quando res sine addito, vel limitatione potest denominari talis. Hoc sensu v.g. anima nostra est intelligens *absolute*, vel *simpliciter*. Huic correlativum est *secundum quid*, quod dicitur de re, quæ secundum parvam sui partem, vel tantum cum addita particula restringente talis denominetur. Sic æthiops dicitur albus *secundum quid*, nempe, in dentibus."

\* *contro a grato*: On this see the *Ottimo*: "Qui tocca della voglia rispettiva, ch'è mezzo tra lo appetito volontario assoluto, e lo involontario semplicemente."

† *Almeone*: Compare *Purg.* xii, 49-51:

"Mostrava ancor lo duro pavimento

Come Almeon a sua madre fe' caro

Parer lo sventurato adornamento."

See also Aristotle, *Eth.* iii, 1, 8: "Ἐνια δ' ἴσως οὐκ ἔστιν ἀναγκασθῆναι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀποθανεῖον παθόντι τὰ δεινότατα· καὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἐυριπίδου Ἀλκμαίωνα γελοῖα φαίνεται τὰ ἀναγκασαντα μητροκτονῆσαι."



to avoid some peril, a thing has been reluctantly done, which ought not to have been done; even as Alcmaeon, who being by his father entreated thereto, slew his own mother; not to lack (filial) piety he made himself pitiless.

Actions that are performed through fear are not really done against the will of the person who yields. They are, so to speak, mixed actions, for the will of the person yielding, in some sort of way, gets united to that of the person using compulsion.

A questo punto\* voglio che tu pense

Che la forza al voler si mischia, e fanno

Sì che scusar non si posson l' offense.

Voglia assoluta non consente al danno,

Ma consentevi in tanto in quanto teme,

110

Se si ritrae, cadere in piè affanno.

Però, quando Piccarda quello espreme,†

\* *A questo punto*: Buti explains this: "cioè che toccato è disopra di Gostanza." Trissino understands Beatrice to mean: "At this point of my discourse." Buti thus prefaces the next nine verses: "Debbiamo sapere che sono due volontà: l' una assoluta, la quale non può volere lo male: e l' altra rispettiva, la quale vuole minor male per cessare [*i. e. to put a stop to*] lo maggiore. E così può l' uomo volere con volontà rispettiva quel che non vorrebbe secondo la volontà assoluta. Ma può essere che l' uomo s' inganni nel discernere qual sia maggior male e qual minore, e allora si fa quello che non si dè, come fece Gostanza, che elesse lo minor bene parendole fuggire maggior male che non fuggitte, e che non arebbe fuggito, se avesse seguitato lo maggior bene. E però è vero che Gostanza colla volontà assoluta sempre tenne la religione; ma colla rispettiva no; e però vero dico io Beatrice che intendo della volontà rispettiva, e vero disse Piccarda che intese della volontà assoluta. E così è soluto lo dubbio." Casini says that, in the above expression of opinion, Buti was adhering closely to the teaching of S. Thom. Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. vi, art. 6), in which St. Thomas quotes words from Gregorius Nyssenus, *De Homine*, which are very analogous to Dante's here: "Hujusmodi quæ per metum aguntur mixta sunt ex voluntario et involuntario."

† *espreme*: On this form for *esprime* see Nannucci, *Analisi Critica*, p. 207, note (4). Scartazzini, Cornoldi, Casini and Tom-

Della voglia assoluta intende, ed io  
Dell'altra, sì che ver diciamo insieme."—

In respect to this point I would have thee reflect, that force can mix itself up with the will, and they so act that the offence cannot be excused. Absolute will does not consent to evil, but consents to it (only) so far as, if it resists, it is in fear of falling into greater trouble. Therefore, when Piccarda uses that expression, *she* means it of the absolute will, and *I* of the other (the qualified will), so that together we are both speaking the truth."

Dante is careful to remind his readers, on the conclusion of Beatrice's dissertation, that her words had emanated from the Spirit of God, the Fountain of all Truth.

Cotal fu l'ondeggiar\* del santo rio, 115  
Ch'uscì del fonte ond'ogni ver deriva ;  
Tal pose in pace uno ed altro disio.

Such was the flowing of the holy rill which gushed forth from the source whence all truth springs ; and this set at rest my one and other desire.

From Beatrice, fountain of all truth, the explanation had flowed like a pure stream, and had removed Dante's doubt as to whether Piccarda, with her companions, were entirely free from blame, as well as the doubt as to whether souls did or did not return to their stars.

Dante now thanks Beatrice, but at the same time

maséo, understand Beatrice to speak thus : "When Piccarda says of Constance, that she never consented to the violence she endured, she means the consent of will absolute, whereas I (Beatrice) mean will conditional, or mixed, so that we are both saying what is true."

\* *l'ondeggiar del santo rio* : "La sapienza di Beatrice è ruscello che viene dal fonte della divina sapienza, onde deriva ogni vero." (Cornoldi).

asks her to solve a new difficulty, namely, can man by good works render satisfaction for unfulfilled vows? To this Beatrice gives her answer in the next Canto.

—“O amanza \* del primo amante, o diva,”—

Diss'io appresso,—“il cui parlar m'inonda,

E scalda sì, che più e più m'avviva, 120

Non è † l'affezion mia tanto profonda,

Che basti a render voi grazia per grazia ;

Ma quei che vede e puote, a ciò risponda.

“O Lady beloved by the First Lover (*i.e.* by God), O thou Divinity,” said I thereafter, “whose speech so overflows me and warms me, that it revives me more and more ; my own (deep) affection is not so deep that it can suffice to render unto you grace for grace (*i.e.* adequately to express my gratitude for your favour) ; but let Him Who discerns and has power, respond thereto (*i.e.* render thanks for me).

Dante pleads as an excuse for his new doubt that it

\* *amanza*: This word (says the *Gran Dizionario*) was used by the early writers to signify “the woman beloved,” and is so used by Dante here. In modern language it is never used except to express sarcasm. Parini, in his *La Notte, Poemetto*, ll. 205-207, uses it as a term of irony :

“Quale Ibero amator quando, raccolta

Dall'un lato la cappa, contegnoso

Scorge l'amanza a diportarsi al vallo,” etc.

It is also found among the early writers to signify “Love.” Compare Dante da Majano, in the *Rime Antiche*, Venice, 1532, p. 83 :

“Mi presi oltre poder di nostra amanza.”

† *Non è*, et seq. : Dante tells Beatrice that it is not in the power of his human nature to render her adequate thanks, but he entreats the All-Seeing and Omnipotent God to demonstrate his gratitude. Compare Virgil, *Æn.* i, 600-605 :

“grates persolvere dignas

Non opis est nostrae, Dido, nec quidquid ubique est

Gentis Dardaniae, magnum quae sparsa per orbem.

Dî tibi, si qua pios respectant numina, si quid

Usquam justitia est et mens sibi conscia recti,

Praemia digna ferant.”

is only natural that out of one doubt should spring another. God, the First Truth, is the foundation of all truth, as philosophy shows. Man's intellect has a natural desire to learn the truth; and, as a desire that proceeds from Nature cannot be fallacious, the possibility of knowing the truth is brought about. And just for the same reason (says Cornoldi)\* when the truth has been obtained, the intellect finds as much delight in it, as the wild beast after a long chase finds refuge and rest in its lair.

Io veggio ben che giammai non si sazia †  
 Nostro intelletto, se il ver non lo illustra, 125  
 Di fuor dal qual nessun vero si spazia.‡  
 Posasi in esso, come fiera in lustra,§

\* *La Div. Comm. di Dante Alighieri col Comento di Giovanni Maria Cornoldi D.C.D.G.*, Roma, 1888, 1 vol. 8vo.

† *se non si sazia*: Scartazzini says that human intellect never gets satiated, unless it be illumined by Divine Truth, outside of which there is not truth. Ferrazzi (*Manuale Dantesco*, vol. iv, p. 413), quotes Giambattista Niccolini as observing in his work *Dell' universalità e nazionalità della Divina Commedia* in his *Opere*, iii, p. 253, that in these *terzine* of Dante there is comprised the philosophy of many books. Compare St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summ. Theol.* pars i, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. v, art. 3: "Boni desiderium in hac vita satiari non potest."

‡ *si spazia*: Compare St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. xvi, art. 5: "Veritas invenitur in intellectu, secundum quod apprehendit rem ut est; et in re, secundum quod habet esse conformabile intellectui. Hoc autem maximè invenitur in Deo. Nam esse suum non solum est conforme suo intellectui, sed etiam est ipsum suum intelligere; et suum intelligere est mensura et causa omnis alterius esse, et omnis alterius intellectus; et ipse est suum esse et intelligere. Unde sequitur quod non solum in ipso sit veritas, sed quod ipse sit ipsa summa et prima veritas."

§ *come fiera in lustra*: *Lustra*, from the Latin *lustrum*, is the lair of a wild beast. "Stupenda comparazione (exclaims Luigi Venturi, *Simil. Dant.* p. 239, *Sim.* 393) ove sono da notare due sensi, analoghi, ma distinti. La verità è riposo all' intelletto che l'ha conosciuta, come riposo è all' errante belva la tana, in cui

Tosto che giunto l'ha: e giugner puollo ;  
 Se non, ciascun disio sarebbe *frustra*.\*

I well perceive that our (human) intellect is never sated unless the Truth enlightens it, outside of Whom no true thing is expanded. As a wild beast in its lair, it lays itself to rest in it (the Divine Truth) as soon as it has reached it: and, reach it, it can; for otherwise every desire would be in vain.

Dante goes on to show how, with the attainment of knowledge of the truth, doubts are liable to arise respecting other points not precisely known or understood; we are in consequence impelled by Nature to determine the truth as to these points, so that, continually proceeding from the known to the unknown, we may pass upwards until we reach the highest Truth of all, which is God.

Nasce per quello,† a guisa di rampollo,

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giunse a ricoverarsi: e l'intelletto in quel suo rifugio difende sè stesso dagli inganni dell'errore, come la belva nel suo covile difende sè e i figli dal cacciatore che la insegue."

\* *frustra*, i.e. "in vain." Compare St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. xii, art. 1): "Si intellectus rationalis creaturæ pertingere non possit ad primam causam rerum remanebit inane desiderium naturæ."

† *Nasce per quello*: Gioberti, whose remarks on the *Paradiso* are few, comments at length on this *terzina*: "Questi versi chiuggono un profondo pensiero: che il dubitare che fa l'uomo, l'esser pieno d'insaziabile curiosità, d'ignoranza e d'incertezza, il trovarsi a ogni poco l'intelletto oscurato, e persino il finire talvolta col disperare del vero e gittarsi nello scetticismo, è prova grandissima dell'Amor che ha l'uomo della Verità, e dell'idea che ne possiede; poichè egli è appunto per voler certa e piena verità, sgombra da ogni oscurità e da ogni dubbio, che giunge talvolta al pirronismo; e tutti quelli che si danno a tal desolante sistema il fanno dopo aver cercato la verità, e non trovata quella che risponda alla perfetta idea che fatta se n'hanno. Talchè lo Scetticismo non è mai nè nell'ordine della filosofia nè nell'individuo il primo sistema, il sistema ispirato dalla natura; ma è frutto d'arte, e deriva dallo stesso amore del vero, che disperando di ottenere il suo fine, ama meglio di uccidersi



Appiè del vero il dubbio : ed è natura, \*  
 Ch' al sommo pinge noi di collo in collo. †

From that cause (namely, that our human intellect is so formed) there springs up in the manner of an

per così dire rinunciando a ogni verità, e facendo consistere la verità nel provare che non si può ottenere, che contentarsi di una verità imperfetta e dimezzata. Così lo stesso Scetticismo conforta sè stesso. E si giunge più di una volta allo Scetticismo (che è morte della mente) per troppo amore del vero, come si viene indotto al suicidio per troppo amor della vita. Questa induzione è però un grandissimo traviamiento. Poichè, come ivi dice l'Alighieri tutto quello è bene disposto dall'Autore della Natura. Mentre per una parte l'amor che abbiamo del Vero mostraci che questo è il nostro fine, e che di esso siamo capaci; e l'impotenza di conseguirlo pieno ed intero nella vita terrena e coll'umana scienza ci rende avvisati che dobbiamo anelare per essere beati a una vita futura, in cui solo Dio, *Primo Vero*, potrà contentare la nostra sete di verità. Ed è in questa bellissima sentenza che il b. Agostino principia le sue Confessioni." Tommaséo's observations on this passage are cited by most subsequent Commentators: "Il dubbio buono e fecondo, quello che viene da istinto di natura, e che serve all'ascensione dell'anima umana, è il dubbio che nasce a piedi del vero, ed è germe di quello. Se l'uomo dubita, il genere umano crede; se l'uomo esita, l'umanità procede; se alcuni uomini si dividono tra sè, la famiglia umana si aduna in sè stessa più e più intimamente."

\* *natura*: "Naturaliter accedit, quod cognitio uno vero per intellectum oriatur dubium aliquot penes illum verum, et sic verum intelligendo et dubia habendo discitur scientia gradatim de gradu ad gradum." (*Postillatore Cassinese*).

† *di collo in collo*: Casini explains that "la voce *collo*, usata qui figuratamente, è nel suo proprio senso di *culmine*, *cima* in *Inferno* xxiii, 43, 44:

"giù dal collo della ripa dura  
 Supin si diede."

Compare *Convito* iv, 12, ll. 170-180: "Vedere si puote che l'uno desiderabile sta dinanzi all'altro agli occhi della nostra anima per modo quasi piramidale, chè 'l minimo li copre prima tutti, ed è quasi punta dell'ultimo desiderabile, ch'è Dio, quasi base di tutti. Sicchè quanto dalla punta ver la base più si procede, maggiori appariscono li desiderabili; e quest'è la ragione per che, acquistando, li desideri umani si fanno più ampi l'uno appresso l'altro."

off-shoot the doubt at the foot of the truth : and it is Nature which from peak to peak urges us on to the summit.

Dante brings the Canto to a conclusion by stating the question which he wishes Beatrice to solve. Beatrice beams upon him with so bright a smile of encouragement that all his "sense to ravishment is lost." We shall read her reply in the next Canto.

Questo m'invita, questo m'assicura,  
 Con riverenza, donna, a domandarvi  
 D' un' altra verità che m' è oscura. 135

Io vo' saper\* se l' uom può satisfarvi  
 Ai voti manchi sì con altri beni,  
 Ch' alla vostra statera non sien parvi."—

Beatrice mi guardò con gli occhi pieni  
 Di faville d' amor, così divini, 140  
 Che vinta mia virtù diede le reni,  
 E quasi mi perdei con gli occhi chini.

This it is which invites me, this, Lady, gives me the assurance to ask you with all reverence about another truth which is obscure to me. I wish to know if to you (the inhabitants of Heaven) Man can render satisfaction for broken vows with other good works in such a degree that they will not be underweight in your balance." Beatrice looked upon me with eyes full of the sparks of love, and so divine, that my power, vanquished, was put to flight, and with eyes downcast I almost lost consciousness.

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\* *Io vo' saper*, et seq. The problem proposed to Beatrice by Dante is discussed at considerable length by St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. lxxxviii, art. 10, et seq.) *Utrum possit in voto dispensari.*

END OF CANTO IV.

## CANTO V.

THE FIRST SPHERE: NAMELY, OF THE MOON.—THE  
BINDING FORCE OF VOWS DISCUSSED.—THEIR  
PERMUTATION INADMISSIBLE.—THEIR BREACH  
UNCONDONABLE.

ASCENT TO THE SPHERE OF MERCURY.—JUSTINIAN.

IN the last Canto Dante, after receiving from Beatrice, satisfactory explanations respecting two doubts that had entered his mind, stated to her a third upon which he begged her to enlighten him, concerning the binding force of vows. In this Canto he relates how she removed this third doubt, and how they then ascended into the Sphere of Mercury, the Second of the Spheres of Paradise.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

*In the First Division*, from v. 1 to v. 33, Beatrice convinces Dante that no compensation can be offered in exchange for a vow.

*In the Second Division*, from v. 34 to v. 63, she plainly lays down the principle that no exchange of vow can be sanctioned by the Church, unless the offering that is laid aside be of lesser value than that assumed.

*In the Third Division*, from v. 64 to v. 84, she points out to him the inexpediency of rash and ill-considered vows.

*In the Fourth Division*, from v. 85 to v. 139, Dante describes his ascent into the Sphere of Mercury.

*Division I.* At the conclusion of the last Canto we saw that Dante's eyes were unable to endure the increased radiance of Beatrice, and she now begins this Canto by bidding him attribute that brightness to the internal illumination of her perfect vision. This will go on increasing as she ascends from Sphere to Sphere.

Beatrice speaks :

—“S'io ti fiammeggio\* nel caldo d'amore  
 Di là dal modo che in terra si vede,  
 Sì che degli occhi tuoi † vinco il valore,  
 Non ti maravigliar ; chè ciò procede  
 Da perfetto veder, che come apprende,‡ 5  
 Così nel bene appreso move il piede.

\* *fiammeggio* : Compare *Vita Nuova*, §xxi, son. 11, ll. 20-21 :

“Quel ch'ella par quand' un poco sorride,  
 Non si può dicer, nè tener a mente,  
 Sì è nuovo miracolo gentile.”

and §xxvi, son. 15, st. 1 :

“E gli occhi non l'ardiscon di guardare.”

† *degli occhi tuoi* : Compare *Conv.* iii, Canzone *Amor che nella mente mi ragiona*, ll. 55-65 :

“Cose appariscon nello suo aspetto,  
 Che mostran de' piacer del Paradiso ;  
 Dico negli occhi e nel suo dolce riso,  
 Che le vi reca Amor com' a suo loco.  
 Elle soverchian lo nostro intelletto,  
 Come raggio di sole un fragil viso :  
 E perch' io non le posso mirar fiso,  
 Mi convien contentar di dirne poco.  
 Sua beltà piove fiammelle di fuoco  
 Animate d' un spirito gentile,  
 Ch'è creatore d' ogni pensier buono.”

‡ *perfetto veder, che come apprende* : Most of the early Commentators and all the best modern Dantists understand the perfection of the eyes of Beatrice to be signified here. But Buti, Landino, Daniello, Tommaséo and Witte, think the *perfetto veder* refers

“ If in the heat of Love I beam upon thee beyond the measure that on earth is seen, so that I bear down the power of thine eyes, marvel not ; for this is due to the perfection of (my) vision, which, as it apprehends, so moves its foot towards the good apprehended.

Lubin tells us that the more man meditates upon the truths of Divine Science, the more lucidly does it beam into his mind, and fills it with an infinitely greater joy.

De Gubernatis (*Il Paradiso di Dante dichiarato ai giovani*, Firenze, 1887) remarks that the mutual love for each other of Dante and Beatrice is unlike any other love, because its foundation is in Heaven. The most divine matters find their expression and their image in two persons, who are reflected in each other

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to Dante. The former interpretation however, is fully confirmed by the passages in the Bible in which it is related that Moses, having met the Almighty face to face, his countenance shone so that the Children of Israel were unable to gaze upon it, and he was forced to cover it with a veil. *apprende*: Mr. Butler remarks that as has been seen already in *Purg.* xvii, 91 *et seq.* ; and in xviii, 19 *et seq.*, apprehension or conception gives rise to love, or desire, and this is followed by action in the direction of the desired good. Compare St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. xxvii, art. 2) : “ Bonum est causa amoris per modum objecti, Bonum autem non est objectum appetitus, nisi prout est apprehensum ; et ideo amor requirit aliquam apprehensionem boni quod amatur. Et propter hoc Philosophus dicit 9 *Ethic.* cap. 5 et 12, in princip. quod *visio corporalis est principium amoris sensitivi* ; et similiter contemplatio spiritualis pulchritudinis vel bonitatis est principium amoris spiritualis. Sic igitur cognitio est causa amoris ea ratione qua et *bonum*, quod non potest amari nisi cognitum.” Mr. Butler thinks the reference must be to *Ethic.* ix, 12 : “ τοῖς ἐρωσι τὸ ὁρᾶν ἀγαπητότατον ἐστι,” and adds that “ thus Beatrice meets Dante’s desire for more knowledge with an assurance of her own perfect knowledge, which again gives rise to perfect love.”



as in two mirrors, and of whom both fix their affections in the same ideal world animated by God. In their looks, in their smiles, and in their words, God Himself speaks. Beatrice has perceived that Dante's mind, in approaching the Eternal Light, is already enkindled with a holy love of the First Truth, but with feminine delicacy she tells him that, if by chance any other affection is still moving him, he is not to be amazed at it, since all human affection, even though it be not made manifest, is still a ray of the love of God. She tells him that his doubt merits the explanation which she will afterwards give him.

Io veggio ben sì come già risplende\*

Nello intelletto tuo l'eterna luce,†

Che, vista sola,‡ sempre amore accende;

E s'altra cosa vostro amor seduce,§

10

\* *risplende*: Compare *Convito* ii, 5, ll. 120-124, where Dante, speaking of *le Sostanze angeliche*, adds: "Pure risplende nel nostro intelletto alcuno lume della vivacissima loro essenza, in quanto vedemo le sopradette ragioni e molte altre."

† *l'eterna luce*: Compare *Convito* iii, 14, ll. 52-55: "Siccome il divino amore è tutto eterno, così conviene che sia eterno lo suo oggetto di necessità, sicchè eterne cose siano quelle ch' Egli ama." Compare with these two lines *Inf.* x, 102:

"Cotanto ancor ne splende il sommo Duce."

‡ *Che, vista sola*: Talice da Ricaldone and others read *Che vi sta sola*. Compare *Par.* xxxiii, 100-105:

"A quella luce cotal si diventa,

Che volgersi da lei per altro aspetto

È impossibil che mai si consenta;

Perocchè il ben ch'è del volere obbietto,

Tutto s'accoglie in lei, e fuor di quella

È difettivo ciò che lì è perfetto."

§ *seduce*: "Tutto ciò che qui amiamo è appreso quale bene, e quindi quale partecipazione (*vestigio*) del sommo bene; il quale è tale, cioè sommo bene alla volontà, ed è *eterna luce* all' intelletto. Ma in terra per errore si crede tal fiata essere bene quello che tale non è; e però è *mal conosciuto*." (Cornoldi.)

Non è, se non di quella alcun vestigio  
 Mal conosciuto, che quivi\* traluce.  
 Tu vuoi saper, se con altro servizio,  
 Per manco† voto, si può render tanto,  
 Che l'anima sicuri di litigio."‡—

15

Well can I discern how already within thine intellect the Eternal Light is shining, the mere sight of which, ever enkindles Love. And if aught else (*i.e.* earthly things) seduces your love, it is no other than some vestige of this (the Eternal Light) ill understood, which shines through there (*i.e.* through earthly things). Thou desirest to know if by (means of) another service so much can be rendered in requital of an unfulfilled vow, as may secure the soul from controversy."

Dante's own words sufficiently explain what follows.

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\* *quivi*: "nell'altra cosa, cioè nelle cose terrestri. L'anima dell'uomo desidera naturalmente il Buono e il Vero; se l'uomo va dietro al male ed all'errore, ciò avviene perchè si lascia sedurre dall'apparenza del Buono e del Vero." (Scartazzini.) On these two lines Casini observes that Dante is saying here in poetical language the same thing as he expressed scholastically in *Conv.* iv, 12, ll. 151-161: "L'anima nostra, incontanente che nel nuovo e mai non fatto cammino di questa vita entra, dirizza gli occhi al termine del suo Sommo Bene, e però qualunque cosa vede, che paia avere in sè alcun bene, crede che sia esso. E perchè la sua conoscenza prima è imperfetta, per non essere sperta nè dottrinata, piccioli beni le paiono grandi; e però da quelli comincia prima a desiderare."

† *manco*—that which is unfulfilled, or defectively performed.

‡ *litigio*: "Il debito innanzi alla giustizia divina è quasi litigio tra il male e il bene, tra i buoni spiriti e i tristi. Nella Bibbia l'idea di giudizio è frequente." (Tommaséo.) Benvenuto says of *litigio*, "quod non objiciatur sibi ad culpam in iudicio aeterni iudicis." And Cornoldi: "che franchi l'anima dal contrasto con la divina giustizia." Scartazzini points out that not only the idea of judgment, but moreover that of controversy (*litigio*) is one taken from Holy Writ. Compare *Micah* vi, 2: "Hear ye, O mountains, the Lord's controversy, and ye strong foundations of the earth: for the Lord hath a controversy with his people, and he will plead with Israel." In the *Vulgate* "controversy" is *judicium*.

Beatrice prefaces her argument by laying down the principle that every vow is founded upon Free-Will, and on this Benvenuto remarks that according to Civil Law no slave can bind himself by a vow, because, having no will of his own, the law regards him as dead or non-existent.

Sì cominciò\* Beatrice questo canto ;

E sì com' uom che suo parlar non spezza,†

Continuò così il processo‡ santo :

—“ Lo maggior don§ che Dio per sua larghezza

Fesse || creando, ed alla sua bontate

20

\* *Sì cominciò*, et seq.: Tommaséo remarks that one might well be inclined to consider this *terzina* superfluous,—but he thinks it is a worthy preparation for the importance that Dante wishes to give to the matter that follows.

† *non spezza*: *spezzare* has here, says Scartazzini, the meaning of “to cut short,” to “interrupt.” In the converse sense the words remind one of those in Virgil, *Æn.* iv, 388:

“His medium dictis sermonem abrupit.”

‡ *processo*: “continuò senza interruzione il suo santo ragionamento.” (Scartazzini.)

§ *Lo maggior don*, et seq.: Mr. Butler observes: “The argument in the following passage, that free-will being the greatest of human possessions, and the monastic vows being the sacrifice of this, no other sacrifice can compensate for the breach of those vows, appears to be Dante’s own. No trace of it is to be found in the *Summ. Theol.* ii, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. lxxxviii, where the subject of vows is fully discussed, and the orthodox doctrine stated; though it may have been suggested by some of the expressions in art. 6, *e. g.* ‘suam voluntatem obligavit.’ Compare *De Mon.* i, 12 (or 14), ll. 4-7: “Sciendum est, quod primum principium nostræ libertatis est libertas arbitrii, quam multi habent in ore, in intellectu vero pauci,” and ll. 39-44: “Hæc libertas, sive principium hoc totius libertatis nostræ, est maximum donum humanæ naturæ a Deo collatum, sicut dixi; quia per ipsum hic felicitamur ut homines, per ipsum alibi felicitamur ut Dii.”

|| *Fesse* = *facesse*: Compare *Inf.* xx, 67-69:

“Loco è nel mezzo là, dove il Trentino

Pastore, e quel di Brescia e il Veronese

Segnar potria, se fesse quel cammino.”

Più conformato,\* e quel ch' ei più apprezza,  
 Fu della volontà la libertate,†  
 Di che le creature intelligenti,‡  
 E tutte e sole furo e son dotate.

Thus did Beatrice open this Canto ; and like unto a man who does not interrupt his speech, she thus continued her sacred argument : "The greatest gift which God in His bounty made in creating, and the most in conformity with His excellence, and that which he prizes the most, was Freedom of the Will, wherewith creatures of intelligence, they all, and they alone, were endowed."

Benvenuto remarks that, in the lines that follow, Beatrice demonstrates what a perfect vow should be, and he begs his readers to note first of all that a vow is a sort of covenant that Man enters into with God. But to execute a covenant properly many things are required, to wit, the contracting parties, the matters respecting which their covenant is made, and their mutual consent. Now in a vow the contracting parties are God and Man ; the matter covenanted on may be a pilgrimage, a fast, or such like ; and the consent both of God and Man is necessarily required. From these premises Beatrice deduces the conclusion

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\* *conformato* : "Dice che questo è il dono più conforme alla divina bontà, perchè veramente il poter peccare è insieme la facoltà di ben meritare, la possibilità del dolore e la possibilità della gioia." (Tommaséo, in Supplemental note on Il Libero Arbitrio e i suoi Sacrifizii, in his Commentary).

† *della volontà la libertate* : Dante's theories as to Free Will are fully treated by him in *Purg.* xvi, 64-81 ; and as to Love in relation to Free Will in *Purg.* xviii, 40-75.

‡ *creature intelligenti* : Casini explains that all intelligent beings, *i. e.* both men and Angels, and they alone, were endowed with Free Will, before original sin, and have remained so endowed even after the fall of our first parent Adam. See St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. lxxxviii, art. 1 and 2.)

that Man must fulfil his own part of the bargain just as if he were engaged in temporal affairs before a temporal judge.

Or ti parrà, se tu quinci\* argomenti, 25  
 L'alto valor del voto,† s'è sì fatto  
 Che Dio consenta quando tu consenti ;  
 Chè nel fermar tra Dio e l' uomo il patto,

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\* *quinci*: "Da questo principio" (Camerini). "*quinci*: da quello che ti ho detto circa la libertà del volere, che essa è il maggior dono da Dio fatto all' uomo." (Scartazzini). It must be noticed that the *Gran Dizionario* not only gives the primary signification of *quinci* as "movimento da luogo; di qui, di qua," but also "moto per luogo, per questo luogo, as in *Purg.* xvi, 30, *domanda se quinci si va sue, i. e.* "ask if it is in that direction that one ascends." The *Gran Dizionario* interprets the present passage in the same way as Camerini.

† *valor del voto*: In St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2<sup>da</sup>, qu. lxxxviii, art. 1 and 2), we find "Ad votum tria ex necessitate requiruntur: primò quidem deliberatio; secundò propositum voluntatis; tertio promissio, in qua perficitur ratio voti. Superadduntur verò quandoque et alia duo ad quamdam voti confirmationem, scilicet pronuntiatio oris, . . . et iterum testimonium aliorum . . . . Votum est promissio Deo facta. Promissio autem est alicujus quod quis pro aliquo voluntariè facit. Non enim esset promissio sed comminatio, si quis diceret se contra aliquem facturum. Similiter vana esset promissio, si quis alicui promitteret id quod ei non esset acceptum. Et ideò cum omne peccatum sit contra Deum, nec aliquod opus sit Deo acceptum, nisi sit virtuosum, consequens est quod de nullo illicito, nec de aliquo indifferenti debeat fieri votum, sed solum de aliquo actu virtutis. Sed quia votum promissionem voluntariam importat, necessitas autem voluntatem excludit, id quod est absolute necessarium esse, vel non esse, nullo modo sub voto cadit. Stultum enim esset, si quis voveret se esse moriturum, vel se non esse volaturum. Illud vero quod non habet absolutam necessitatem, sed necessitatem finis, puta quia sine eo non potest esse salus, cadit quidem sub voto, in quantum voluntarie fit, non autem in quantum est necessitas. Illud autem quod neque cadit sub necessitate absoluta, neque sub necessitate finis, omnino est voluntarium, et ideo proprissime cadit sub voto. Hoc autem dicitur esse majus bonum in comparatione ad bonum quod communitur est de necessitate salutis. Ideo proprie loquendo, votum dicitur esse de meliori bono."



Vittima fassi di questo tesoro,\*  
 Tal qual io dico, e fassi col suo atto. 30  
 Dunque che render puossi per ristoro?  
 Se credi bene usar quel ch'hai offerto,  
 Di mal tolletto† vuoi far buon lavoro.

Now if thou argue from this, the exceeding value of a vow will be evident to thee, if it be so made that God consents (to accept it), when thou art consenting (to offer it to Him); because in the confirming of the compact between God and Man, a sacrifice (*lit. victim*) is made of that treasure such as I say (namely, of Free Will which I have described as so precious), and it is made by its own act. What then can be rendered in compensation? If thou thinkest to turn to a good use (for a different purpose) that which thou hast offered to God (for a definite object), then thou art desiring to do a good deed with ill-gotten gains.

*Division II.* Beatrice has now made it clear that for the vow itself no compensation can be offered in exchange. She proceeds to deal with the questions of dispensation or permutation of vows.

Tu se' omai del maggior punto certo ;

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\* *Vittima fassi di questo tesoro* : Buti says that one can argue this point thus : Free Will is the greatest and best gift man has ever received from God, and in making a vow Man pledges the freedom of his will to God ; whence it follows that the promise pledges the will, and finally that the vow made directly to God is the greatest and best gift that Man can make to Him. What then can Man substitute for his vow that represents an equal value?

† *mal tolletto* : Compare *Inf.* xi, 35, 36 :  
 "e nel suo avere  
 Ruine, incendi e tollette dannose."  
 and Fr. Jacop. da Todi (*in Gran Dizionario*) 4, 21, 1 :  
 "Figli, nepoti e frati,  
 Rendete il mal tolletto."

Ma perchè santa Chiesa in ciò dispensa,\* 35  
 Che par contra lo ver † ch' io t' ho scoperto,  
 Convienti ancor sedere un poco a mensa, ‡  
 Perocchè il cibo rigido ch' hai preso

\* *dispensa*: Commentators do not seem to be agreed as to whether to consider this an active or a neuter verb. I am taking it as the latter, with the signification "grants a dispensation," or as Poletto puts it: "esonera dall'osservanza d'un dato voto." St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. lxxxviii, art. 10) speaks thus of *dispensation* and *commutation* of vows: "Dispensatio voti intelligenda est ad modum dispensationis quæ fit in observantiâ alicujus legis; quia, ut supra dictum est, lex ponitur respiciendo ad id quod est ut in pluribus bonum. Sed quia contingit hujusmodi in aliquo casu non esse bonum, oportuit per aliquem determinari, in illo particulari casu legem non esse servandam. Et hoc propriè est dispensare in lege . . . Similiter autem ille qui vovet, quodammodò sibi statuit legem, obligans se ad aliquid quod est secundùm se et ut in pluribus bonum. Potest tamen contingere quòd in aliquo casu sit vel simpliciter malum, vel inutile, vel majoris boni impeditivum: quod est contra rationem ejus quod cadit sub voto . . . Et idèò necesse est quòd determinetur in tali casu votum non esse servandum. Et si quidem absolutè determinetur aliquod votum non esse servandum, dicitur esse dispensatio voti; si autem pro hoc quod servandum erat, aliquid aliud imponatur, dicitur commutatio voti. Unde minus est votum commutare quàm in voto dispensare; utrumque tamen in potestate Ecclesiæ consistit."

† *par contra lo ver*: Up to this point Beatrice's arguments have not admitted that there is any possibility whatsoever of escaping from the complete fulfilment of a vow. This is a new doubt to be solved; and her words take a new turn, showing under what contingencies, and those so exceptional as to be almost prohibitory, such evasion is possible.

‡ *sedere . . . a mensa*: This is identically the same expression that Dante uses in *Convito* I, 1, ll. 52-55: "Oh beati que' pochi che seggono a quella mensa ove il pane degli Angeli si mangia, e miseri quelli che colle pecore hanno comune cibo." On this Landino remarks: "La mente si pasce della dottrina, come il corpo de' cibi corporali." Compare *Par.* x, 22-25:

"Or ti riman, lettor, sopra il tuo banco,  
 Dietro pensando a ciò che si preliba,  
 S'esser vuoi lieto assai prima che stanco.  
 Messo t'ho innanzi; omai per te ti ciba."

Richiede ancora aiuto a tua dispensa.\*  
 Apri la mente a quel ch'io ti paleso, 40  
 E fermalvi entro ; chè non fa scienza,†  
 Senza lo ritenere, avere inteso.

Thou art now fully informed on the chief point ; but since Holy Church gives dispensation in this, which seems contrary to the truth which I have unfolded to thee, thou must needs sit at table (*i.e.* listen to me) a little longer, because the solid food which thou hast taken requires yet some help for thee to digest it. Open thy mind to what I reveal to thee, and close it up there within ; for to have (merely) heard without retaining does not make knowledge.

Beatrice analyses the composition or essence of a vow, which in itself is a sacrifice of one's free will. It consists of two essential conditions, the first of which is the matter or subject of the vow, as, for instance, pledging oneself to virginity, abstinence, and such like ; and the second condition is the bargain or covenant that one makes with God of the abdication of one's own will.

Due cose si convengono all'essenza  
 Di questo sacrificio ; l'una è quella  
 Di che si fa, l'altra è la convenenza. 45  
 Quest'ultima giammai non si cancella,  
 Se non servata, ed intorno di lei  
 Sì preciso di sopra si favella ;

---

\* *a tua dispensa*: This is the reading generally adopted. A very few MSS., Scartazzini observes, and a very few Commentators, among whom are Buti, Daniello, and Torelli, prefer to read *a sua dispensa*. Benvenuto, who reads *a tua dispensa*, comments: "quasi dicat: indiget (the Este MS. of Benvenuto reads *indiges*) adhuc declaratione circa dispensationem voti."

† *non fa scienza*, et seq.: On this Casini exclaims: "Stupenda e vera sentenza, che nella sua brevità ha solennità ed efficacia maggiore d'ogni più minuzioso avvertimento, ed e di quelle in cui Dantè solo sa scolpire le più usuali verità in maniera inimitabile."

Però necessità fu agli Ebrei

Pur l' offerere, ancor che alcuna offerta 50

Si permutasse, come saper dei.

Two things combine to the essence of this sacrifice: the one is that whereof it is made, the other is the covenant (*i.e.* the renunciation of one's will). This last can never be annulled, except by being fulfilled, and it is concerning it that I spoke above so precisely. For this reason the offering only was made a necessity for the Hebrews, notwithstanding that some offering might be changed (in its form) as thou must know.

Cornoldi explains the two conditions somewhat differently, the first, according to him, being the covenant that a sacrifice *shall* be made, whereas the second would be the nature of that sacrifice, or the subject of the vow. The first is permanent, the second is capable of being changed, if authorized by legitimate authority, as when we read in *Lev. xxvii, 9-13*, that one animal might be offered for another, provided it was not unclean.

L' altra, che per materia t' è aperta,

Puote bene esser tal che non si falla\*

Se con altra materia si converta.

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\* *tal che non si falla*: Scartazzini thinks *falla* is the conjunctive mood from *fallare*, instead of *falli*. Compare Nannucci, *Anal. Crit.* p. 291, v, who observes that in verbs of the first conjugation the persons singular of the present conjunctive are by Bojardo made to terminate in *a, io ama, tu ama, egli ama*. Compare with this *Orl. Innam.* lib. i, canto iii, st. 80:

“Se vuoi che la battaglia tra noi resta, [instead of *resti*]  
Convienti quella Dama abbandonare.”

And lib. i, canto v, st. 64:

“Ma poi bisogna che anch' egli indovina  
Quel, ch' ella dice,” etc.

Nannucci adds that this termination, which is now obsolete, was only adopted for the purpose of making the whole of the terminations of the conjunctive uniform in all the conjugations, *e.g. io ama, tu ama, egli ama; io tema, tu tema, egli tema; io oda, tu oda, egli oda*.

Ma non trasmuti carco\* alla sua spalla  
 Per suo arbitrio alcun, senza la volta†  
 E della chiave bianca e della gialla ;

55

\* *non trasmuti carco*, et seq. : On this the *Ottimo* says : "Mostrato che il voto non si può dimettere, ma che la cosa di che si fa il voto si può permutare ; ora mostra che è necessario fare la permutazione. E dice, che sono due cose : l'una è l'autoritate del pastore che abbia a ciò potestade, e però dice, ch'elli dee essere tale, che possa prosciogliere e legare ; sì che ogni pastore non ha questa balia ; e dice, che nessuno ordini per suo arbitrio permutarsi il voto ; l'altra è che la cosa, nella quale tu permuti la cosa votata, sia maggiore di quella, sì che contenga in sè quella, e la metà di quella ; siccome il numero del sei contiene il numero del quattro, e la metà più ; o almeno sia maggiore di quella."

† *senza la volta*, et seq. : The turning of the two keys implies, the first, the authority of the Church, the second, that that authority must only be used with knowledge and discrimination. Of these two keys St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol. Suppl.* qu. xvii, art. 3) in reply to the question *Utrum sint duæ claves, vel tantùm una*, writes : "Respondeo dicendum quòd in omni actu qui requirit idoneitatem ex parte recipientis, duo sunt necessaria ei qui debet actum illum exercere, scilicet iudicium de idoneitate recipientis, et expletio actûs. Et idèo etiam in actu justitiæ, per quem redditur alicui hoc quo dignus est, oportet esse iudicium quo discernatur an iste sit dignus ad ipsam redditionem ; et ad utrumque horum auctoritas quaedam sive potestas exigitur ; non enim dare possumus nisi quod in potestate nostrâ habemus ; nec iudicium dici potest, nisi vim coactivam habeat, eo quòd iudicium ad unum jam determinatur ; quæ quidem determinatio in speculativis fit per virtutem primorum principiorum, quibus resisti non potest et in rebus practicis per vim imperativam in iudicante existentem. Et quia actus clavis requirit idoneitatem in quem exercetur, quia *recipit* per clavem iudex ecclesiasticus *dignos, et excludit indignos* (see art. 1), idèo indiget iudicio discretionis quo idoneitatem iudicet ex ipso receptionis actu ; ed ad utrumque horum potestas quaedam sive auctoritas requiritur. Et secundùm hoc distinguuntur duæ claves ; quarum una pertinet ad iudicium de idoneitate ejus qui absolvendus est ; et alia ad ipsam absolutionem. Et hæc duæ claves non distinguuntur in essentiâ auctoritatis, quia utrumque ex officio eis competit ; sed ex comparatione ad actus, quorum unus alium præsupponit." Compare *Purg.* ix, 117-129, and especially ll. 117-120 :



Ed ogni permutanza creda stolta,  
 Se la cosa dimessa in la sorpresa,  
 Come il quattro nel sei, non è raccolta. 60

The other thing which has been disclosed to thee as the substance, may well be of such a nature, that one errs not if it be exchanged for some other substance. But let not any one exchange the load upon his shoulders at his own discretion, without the turn of both the white and the yellow key; and let every permutation be regarded as naught (*lit.* foolish), if the thing laid aside be not contained within that subsequently taken up, as four within six.

This means that no exchange of vow could be sanctioned by the Church unless the offering that is abandoned be of lesser value than the offering assumed. The exchange must be in the same proportion as would be that of four for six. Four, the lesser quantity, is contained within six, the greater quantity.

Però qualunque cosa tanto pesa \*  
 Per suo valor, che tragga ogni bilancia,  
 Satisfar non si può con altra spesa.

---

“E di sotto da quel trasse due chiavi.  
 L'una era d'oro e l'altra era d'argento:  
 Pria con la bianca, e poscia con la gialla  
 Fece alla porta sì ch'io fui contento.”

\* *tanto pesa*: Compare *Ecclus.* xxvi, 20 (*Vulgate*): “Omnis autem ponderatio non est digna continentis animæ.” A vow of chastity has no equivalent, and cannot therefore admit of any compensation. St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. lxxxviii, art. 11) distinguishes between temporal and spiritual vows of chastity, for the latter of which no dispensation is possible: “Dicendum quòd in voto temporalis continentie dispensari potest, sicut et in voto temporalis orationis, vel temporalis abstinentie. Sed quòd in voto continentie per professionem solemnizato non possit dispensari, hoc non est in quantum est actus castitatis, sed in quantum incipit ad latriam pertinere per professionem religionis.” In the same Article St. Thomas quotes the following from the Decretals: “Decre-

Therefore whatever thing by its own value weighs so much, that it drags down every balance, cannot be redeemed by other charge.

It is clear, that if any offering have been promised of such value as to preponderate over that of anything else, there being no equivalent for it, such vow cannot be exchanged or compensated for.

*Division III.* Beatrice goes on to show the necessity for calm and thoughtful deliberation on the part of those who are intending to make vows. A vow is so serious an undertaking, and its bonds, so indissoluble, that Christians should bethink themselves very earnestly before they pledge themselves. They should reflect that there are other means of salvation available for them in which they do not incur such risk of perdition, as when they rashly take up a vow which they are not strong enough to carry through. Let them take example from the rash vows of two great men in sacred and profane history, each of whom, from a vow made without forethought, found himself obliged to sacrifice the life of a dearly beloved daughter. Scartazzini points out that Dante is here slightly at variance with St. Thomas Aquinas, who (*Summ. Theol.* ii, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. lxxxviii, art. 6), holds that “*facere idem opus cum voto est melius et magis meritorium quàm facere sine voto.*”

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*talis inducta expressè dicit, quòd nec summus pontifex potest contra custodiam castitatis monacho licentiam dare;*” and in another part of the same Article, St. Thomas says: “*Præterea extra de Statu monach. in fine illius Decretalis: Cùm ad monasterium, dicitur: Abdicatio proprietatis, sicut etiam custodia castitatis, aded annexa est regulæ monachali, ut contra eam nec summus pontifex possit licentiam indulgere.*”

Non prendan li mortali il voto a ciancia : \*  
 Siate fedeli, † ed a ciò far non bieci, ‡ 65  
 Conie Jeptè alla sua prima mancia ; §  
 Cui più si convenia dicer : ‘ Mal feci,’  
 Che servando far peggio || ; e così stolto  
 Ritrovar puoi lo gran duca dei Greci,

\* *non prendan . . . a ciancia* : This line has been imitated by Fazio degli Uberti, (a poet, who was grandson of the famous Farinata degli Uberti *Inf.* x), in the *Dittamondo* ii, 30 :

“ Non prendan li signor le imprese a ciancia.”

Compare also *Inf.* xxxii, 7 :

“ Chè non è impresa da pigliare a gabbo.”

Scartazzini says the expression *prendere a ciancia* is still a living expression in Italy.

† *Siate fedeli, ed a ciò far non bieci*, etc. : Cornoldi remarks that in bringing forward these instances of parents sacrificing their own children, Dante does not allude to Abraham's willingness to offer up Isaac ; and for this reason. God is the Lord over the life of every human being ; He gives that life to every one, and according to His good pleasure takes it away by natural means ; He can, if He chooses, make use even of a father to be the executor of His will. But in the case in point, God was satisfied with the sincere willingness of Abraham, and with the obedience of Isaac, nor did He require more.

‡ *bieci* : The word *bieco* does not mean *absence*, but *obliquity*, of vision, and thence comes to mean whatever is not straight, and hence (see *Gran Diz.* s. v. *bieco*, § 4) ; “ Cattivo, Brutto, Laido, Pravo, Sregolato, Perverso.” Lubin explains the passage : “ Biechi di mente, cioè stolti.”

§ *prima mancia* : The word *prima* used in allusion to Jephthah's vow, as expressed in the *Vulgate* (*Judges* xi, 31) : “ Quicumque *primus* fuerit egressus de foribus domûs meæ, mihi que occurrerit revertenti cum pace a filiis Ammon, eum holocaustum offeram Domino.” The word *primus* does not occur in our English version.

|| *far peggio* : Tertullian, Ambrose, Proconius, and St. Thomas Aquinas consider that Jephthah's rash vow was a sin on his part. See St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. lxxxviii, art. 2) : “ Quædam verò sunt quidem in se considerata bona, et secundùm hoc possunt cadere sub voto, possunt tamen habere malum eventum, in quo non sunt observanda. Et sic accidit in voto Jephthe . . . Hoc autem poterat malum eventum habere, si occurreret e aliquod animal non immolandum, sicut asinus vel

Onde \* pianse Ifigenia il suo bel volto,  
 E fe' pianger di sè li folli e i savi, †  
 Ch' udir parlar di così fatto colto. ‡

70

Let not mortals take up the vow as a thing to be played with: be faithful, and in so doing, not perverse, as was Jephthah in his first offering; whom it would have better fitted to say: 'I have done ill,' rather than by keeping (his vow) to do worse; and equally insensate thou wilt find the great leader of

homo; quod etiam accidit. Unde et Hieronymus dicit (æquiv. lib. 1 contra Jovinianum, et in cap. 6 et 7 Michææ, et in cap. 7 Jerem.) *In vovendo fuit stultus, quia discretionem non habuit, et in reddendo impius.* St. Thomas adds that "Probabile est eum (Jephthah) pœnituisse de facto iniquo," but, as Scartazzini tritely observes, that supposition is wholly gratuitous.

\* *Onde*, etc.: The mythical story is that Agamemnon was required by Diana to sacrifice his daughter Iphigenia to her as an expiation for his having slain in the chase a doe sacred to her, but Euripides (*Iphigenia in Tauris*, ll. 17-24) relates that the king had promised to sacrifice to Diana the most beautiful thing that should be born to him within the year, and that Diana forbade the departure of the Grecian fleet to Troy, until Agamemnon had sacrificed his beautiful daughter, who had been born during the year of the vow.

“ὦ τῆσδ' ἀνάσσων Ἑλλάδος στρατηγίας,  
 Ἀγάμεμνον, οὐ μὴ ναῦς ἀφορμίσῃ χθονὸς,  
 πρὶν ἢν κόρην σὴν Ἴφιγένειαν Ἄρτεμις  
 λάβῃ σφαγεῖσάν· ὅ τι γὰρ ἐνιαυτοῦ τέκοι  
 κάλλιστον, ἠῦξω φωσφόρῳ θύσειν θεᾶ.  
 παῖδ' οὖν ἐν οἴκοις σὴ Κλυταιμνήστρα δάμαρ  
 τίκτει, τὸ κάλλιστέιον εἰς ἔμ' ἀναφέρων,  
 ἦν χρὴ σε θύσαι.”

Boëthius too (*Consol. Philos.* iv, Metr. 7):

“Ille dum Graiæ dare vela classi  
 Optat, et ventos redimit cruore,  
 Exuit patrem, miserumque tristis  
 Fæderat natæ jugulum sacerdos.”

† *li folli e i savi*: There is a proverb in the Milanese dialect quoted by Scartazzini, *Ghe voruu i savi e i matt a sâghela capî*, which shows that the expression is still in use to signify "All men."

‡ *colto* for *culto*: See *Gran Dizionario*, s. v. *colto*, s. m. § 3: "Per venerazione." It here means "an act of sacrifice, or worship."

the Greeks (Agamemnon), whence (*i.e.* on account of whose inconsiderate vow) Iphigenia mourned for her fair face, and made to mourn for her both fools and wise (*i.e.* all men), as many as heard tell of such an act of sacrifice as that.

Benvenuto also instances the case of Idomeneus, one of the Grecian heroes, who after the fall of Troy, when in peril on the sea, vowed to Poseidon to sacrifice to him whatever he should first meet on his landing. The first person he met was his own son. He kept his rash vow, sacrificed his son, but was then expelled from his territories by the Cretans. Agamemnon too, after going through so much to wreak vengeance on Paris, the paramour of Helen, was himself on his return home slaughtered like an ox by the priest Ægistheus, the paramour of his wife.

Vows are too important, says Beatrice, to be entered upon lightly and rashly. We are not to be wafted about hither and thither to seek them, as sailors tacking about under the influence of every light puff of wind. If we once contract them, a little sprinkling of holy water will not avail to annul the sacred obligation, nor will every sort of offering be acceptable to God.

Siate, Cristiani, a movervi più gravi,  
Non siate come penna ad ogni vento,\*  
E non crediate ch' ogni acqua vi lavi.†

75

\* *comme penna ad ogni vento*: Compare *Ecclus.* v, 9:

“Winnow not with every wind, and go not into every way.”  
And *Ephes.* iv, 14: “That we henceforth be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men and cunning craftiness.”

† *ch' ogni acqua vi lavi*: Compare Ovid, *Fasti* ii, 45, 46:

“Ah nimium faciles, qui tristia crimina cædis  
Fluminea tolli posse putetis aqua!”



Avete il vecchio e il nuova Testamento, \*  
 E il pastor della Chiesa † che vi guida :  
 Questo vi basti à vostro salvamento.

Christians, be more staid in your motions (*i.e.* do not make vows lightly), be not like a feather to every wind, and do not believe that every water will wash you. Ye have the Old and the New Testament, and the Pastor of the Church (the Pope) to guide you : let this suffice you for your salvation.

Let Christians beware lest the Jew, who has only the Old Testament, see their failing to act up to their Faith.

Se mala cupidigia ‡ altro vi grida,

\* *il vecchio e il nuovo Testamento* : Compare *De Mon.* iii, 14, ll. 27-29 : "Omnis divina lex duorum Testamentorum gremio continetur."

† *il pastor della Chiesa* : Compare *De Mon.* iii, 16, ll. 75-79 : "Opus fuit homini duplici directivo, secundum duplicem finem ; scilicet summo Pontifice, qui secundum revelata humanum genus perduceret ad vitam æternam."

‡ *Se mala cupidigia*, etc. : According to the *Postillatore Cassinese* there would seem to be here an allusion to the Friars of St. Anthony, popularly called *fratres de campanella*, who professed to absolve any one from a vow for a moderate price : "idest propter avaritiam velletis vos facere absolvi ab istis fratribus a campanellis qui pro modica pecunia absolvuntquem ab omni delicto et excessu et ab omni voto quocumque modo facto." On this *Philaethes* writes : "According to a MS. commentary at Monte Cassino from which the Padre Costanzo took references, this passage specially refers to certain monks whom he calls *fratres de campanella*, who for trifling sums of money absolved from all vows. This is the more probable, as it can hardly refer to an abuse by ecclesiastical superiors themselves, to whose judgment Beatrice has just referred. I am doubtful (adds *Philaethes*) what Order of monks these were. Padre Costanzo understands thereby Brethren of the Holy Anthony, the Hermit Order, who wore a rope and bell as their badge. This rope is only mentioned as their badge in Helyot's *Histoire des Ordres monastiques* ; but Anthony the Hermit is always represented wearing a rope and a small bell. Compare *Par.* xxix, 124-126 :

Uomini siate, e non pecore matte,\* 80  
 Sì che il Giudeo† di voi tra voi non rida.  
 Non fate come agnel che lascia il latte  
 Della sua madre, e semplice e lascivo‡  
 Seco medesimo a suo piacer combatte.”—

If evil concupiscence cry to you aught else, be men, and not silly sheep, so that the Jew (dwelling) among you may not make a mock of you. Do not act as the lamb that leaves its mother's milk, and, simple and wanton, fights with its own self for its own pleasure.”

Buti observes that the Christian does this when he abandons the teaching of the Holy Church.

*Division IV.* Beatrice subsides into silence. Her radiant glory is seen to have augmented to such an extent that Dante is rendered speechless with awe, and is unable to frame the words that he was preparing to utter. They now quit the sphere of the Moon, and ascend instantaneously into that of Mercury.

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“Di questo ingrassa il porco sant' Antonio,  
 Ed altri ancor che son assai più porci,  
 Pagando di moneta senza conio.”

\* *pecore matte*: Compare *Conv.* i, 11, ll. 58, 59: “Questi sono da chiamere pecore, e non uomini.” And *II Peter*, ii, 12 (*Vulgate*): “Hi vero velut irrationabilia pecora . . . in corruptione sua peribunt.” Compare also *Purg.* iii, 79-84.

† *il Giudeo*: Compare Dante's own words in his Epistle to the Cardinals (*Epist.* viii), ll. 33-38: “Impietatis fautores, Judaei, Saraceni, et gentes sabbata nostra rident, et, ut fertur, conclamant: ‘Ubi est Deus eorum?’ Et forsán suis insidiis ac potestati contra defensantes Angelos hoc adscribunt.”

‡ *lascivo*: The *Gran Dizionario* (s. v. § 6), quoting this passage, explains the word: “Esultante, allegro, gajo,” and not in the vicious sense of “dissolute, lustful.” The word seems however rather to imply that Man, when he abandons the guidance of Holy Scripture and the Church, becomes like the heedless lamb, that leaving his mother's side, skips about, too foolish to protect itself from danger.

Così Beatrice a me, com'io scrivo ; 85  
 Poi si rivolse \* tutta disiante  
 A quella parte ove il mondo è più vivo.†  
 Lo suo tacere e il trasmutar sembante  
 Poser silenzio al mio cupido ingegno,  
 Che già nuove questioni avea davante. 90  
 E sì come saetta,‡ che nel segno

\* *si rivolse . . . A quella parte*, etc.: These lines are interpreted in four different ways. One group of Commentators think Beatrice turned towards the East; a second group, that she turned her eyes up towards the Empyrean; a third group, headed by Daniello, "*a quella parte ove il moto (not mondo) è più vivo*," and these understand: *la parte equinoziale*. A fourth group think Dante is referring to the Equator, on which the Sun was then resting. Scartazzini and Casini, both agree that the ascent to Mercury would be performed in the same way as that to the Sphere of the Moon, when Beatrice's eyes, directed towards the Sun, gave the Poets their upward propulsion. Therefore these Commentators think that the second and fourth of these opinions may be taken as one. The Sun was upon the Equator, and to gaze upon it Beatrice would perforce have to look up towards the Empyrean. Cesari remarks: "Quanto a me; avendo Beatrice tutte le altre volte guardate su al cielo, non saprei perchè io dovessi intender questa altrimenti; e certo il mondo, che vive di Dio (*in quo vivimus, movemur et sumus*) non è più vivo altrove, che in Dio; cioè, *nel ciel che più della sua luce prende*." It would seem to be sufficient to sum up these interpretations in the simple fact that Beatrice, who had discontinued her upward gaze to speak to Dante, resumed it again.

† *quella parte ove il mondo è più vivo*: Compare *Par. xxiii, 112-114*:

"Lo real manto di tutti i volumi  
 Del mondo, che più ferve e più s'avviva  
 Nell'alito di Dio e nei costumi."

‡ *come saetta*, et seq.: Compare *Par. ii, 22-26*, where Beatrice's upward gaze, and the arrow speed with which, in consequence, she and Dante shot up to the first Sphere, is similarly described:

"Beatrice in suso, ed io in lei guardava;  
 E forse in tanto, in quanto un quadrel posa,  
 E vola, e dalla noce si dischiava,  
 Giunto mi vidi ove mirabil cosa  
 Mi torse il viso a sè."

on this see L. Venturi, *Simil. Dant.* p. 299, sim. 488: "Dante

Percote pria che sia la corda queta,  
Così corremmo nel secondo regno.

Thus Beatrice to me, even as I write; then full of ardent desire (to show me greater wonders) she turned round to that quarter where the Universe has most life (*i.e.* she turned her eyes up towards the Empyrean). Her cessation from speaking and the transformation of her countenance imposed silence on my eager mind which already had some new questions (to put) forward. And as an arrow, which strikes the mark before the bowstring has ceased quivering, so sped we on into the Second Kingdom (*i.e.* into the planet Mercury, the Second of the Spheres of Heaven).

So great was the radiance of Beatrice from her intrinsic light, that she actually increased the splendour which the planet received from without, so that it seemed as though it laughed from very gladness.

Quivi la Donna mia vid'io sì lieta,  
Come nel lume di quel ciel si mise, 95

sale con Beatrice al cielo di Mercurio. Anche qui la celerità dell' ascensione è espressa con la medesima similitudine della freccia, ma con varietà d'immagine. La saetta ha già colto nel segno, e la corda dell'arco tremola ancora. Virgilio, delle api: (*IV Georg.* 313, 314):

‘ut nervo pulsante sagittæ,  
Prima leves ineunt si quando proelia Parthi;’  
e molte altre simili nel latino poeta.”

Compare *Purg.* ii, 16:

“. . . m'apparve, . . . . .

Un lume per lo mar venir sì ratto,  
Che il mover suo nessun volar pareggia.”

Compare also Petrarch, part ii, canz. viii, st. 7:

“I dì miel, più correnti che saetta,  
Fra miserie e peccati

Sonsen andati, e sol Morte n'aspetta.”

Cesari remarks on this passage: “Ama il nostro Poeta questa similitudine, che è assai espressiva; ma in questo è mirabile, che le dà sempre nuovo atto è forma; qui è bellissimo l'immaginare la rapidità del quadrello, che imberciò già nel segno, e la corda dell'arco tremola ancora.”

Che più lucente se ne fe' il pianeta.  
 E se la stella si cambiò e rise,\*  
 Qual mi fec' io, che pur di mia natura  
 Trasmutabile son per tutte guise!

Here beheld I my Lady so full of gladness as she passed into the radiance of that heaven, that the planet itself became more luminous therefrom. And if the star was changed and smiled, what did I become, who am by my mere nature susceptible to change of every kind!

Longfellow observes that Dante here represents himself as being of a peculiarly mercurial temperament.

Dante and Beatrice, being now in the Heaven of Mercury, look about them to observe its inmates. These are the spirits of those, who in their lifetime were energetic in the pursuit of honour and glory. Beaming with radiance, and with exclamations of joyful welcome, they throng round Dante, much as fish do round any food thrown into their pond. As the glorious beings surround Dante and Beatrice, the spirit of each is distinctly discernible within the effulgence which each of them diffuses around it in token of their heavenly joy and gladness.

Come in peschiera, ch' è tranquilla e pura,† 100

\* *la stella . . . rise*: In *Convito* iii, 8, ll. 97-112, Dante defines his idea of *riso*, and applies it to Beatrice: "E che è *ridere*, se non una corruscazione della dilettazone dell' anima, cioè un lume apparente di fuori secondo che sta dentro? . . . . Ah! mirabile riso della mia Donna, di cui io parlo, che mai non si sentia se non dell' occhio!"

† *tranquilla e pura*: "I due epiteti *tranquilla e pura* rispondono alla quiete somma e alla serenità della sfera celeste; e l'immagine dei pesci, che si volgono a ciò che stimano cosa di lor pastura, concorda col desiderio che hanno quelle anime di pascersi di carità. Di più: come i pesci, i quali visti in fondo alla peschiera si distinguono appena, saliti al sommo si veggono



Traggoni \* i pesci a ciò che vien di fuori †  
 Per modo che lo stimin lor pastura ;  
 Sì vid' io ben più di mille splendori  
 Trarsi ver noi, ed in ciascun s'udfa :  
 "Ecco chi crescerà ‡ li nostri amori." 105  
 E sì come ciascuno a noi venfa,  
 Videasi l' ombra piena di letizia  
 Nel fulgor chiaro che da lei uscfa.

As in a fish-pond which is still and clear, the fish dart forward to that which comes from without in such a way that they deem it their food ; so beheld I innumerable (*lit.* more than a thousand) resplendences hasten towards us, and in each one was heard: "Lo here is one (*i.e.* Dante) who will multiply our Loves." And as each one of them came towards us, one could see the spirit full of gladness in the radiant effulgence that issued from it.

Scartazzini, after prolonged investigation of *Ecco chi*, agrees with Vellutello and Tommaséo that Dante, and not Beatrice, is referred to here.

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chiaramente ; così quei beati via via si fanno più risplendenti per la carità che gl' infiamma, e che nell' avvicinarsi a Dante va crescendo." (Venturi, *Simil. Dant.* p. 253, Sim. 419). Fazio degli Uberti, *Dittamondo*, lib. i, cap. i, terz. 19, similarly compares certain symbolical ladies gathering round a personified Virtue :

" Molte donne, aleggiando in varie piume,  
 Si vedean tranquillar ne' suoi splendori  
 Come pesci d' estate in chiaro fiume."

\* *Traggoni* : Compare *Purg.* ii, 70-72 :

" E come a messaggier, che porta olivo,  
 Tragge la gente per udir novelle,  
 E di calcar nessun si mostra schivo."

† *fuori* : At the request of Dr. Moore I have deleted the comma after *fuori*, the absence of which he thinks makes the sense much clearer.

‡ *crescerà li nostri amori* : "L' amore dei beati cresce oggettivamente preso, perchè cresce il numero degli amati. L' anima mostrava sua letizia mandando fuori da sè maggior luce." (Cornoldi).

Benvenuto says that, before bringing upon the scene one of the most illustrious personages in the Sphere of Mercury, Dante dexterously contrives to make his readers feel his suspense and eagerness to know who are the spirits in this Heaven.

Pensa, lettore, se quel che qui s' inizia  
 Non procedesse, come tu avresti 110  
 Di più sapere angosciosa carizia ; \*  
 E per te vederai, come da questi  
 M'era in disio d' udir lor condizioni,  
 Sì come agli occhi mi fur manifesti.

Bethink thee, Reader, if what here begins were not to be continued, how thou wouldst have a painful craving to know more ; and by thyself thou wilt see how from these (spirits) I longed to know their conditions, so soon as they became manifest to my eyes.

The spirit of the Emperor Justinian now addresses Dante, though his identity is not revealed until the next Canto. He volunteers to give Dante information as to himself and his blessed companions, and Beatrice encourages Dante to ask him for it.

— "O bene nato,† a cui veder li troni 115

\* *carizia* : The *Gran Dizionario* says this is an equivalent of *carestia*, and quotes the following from Fra Guittone in the *Rime Antiche* :

"Eh, donna mia, non fate carizia  
 Di così gran dovizia."

compare also *Purg.* xxii, 141 :

". . . Di questo cibo avrete caro."

† *bene nato* : Compare the words with which Dante commences his address to Piccarda Donati in *Par.* iii, 37, 38 :

"O ben creato spirito, che a' rai  
 Di vita eterna la dolcezza senti," etc.

and *Purg.* v, 58-60 :

" . . . Perchè ne' vostri visi guati,  
 Non riconosco alcun ; ma se a voi piace  
 Cosa ch' io possa, spiriti ben nati," etc.

Del trionfo eternal concede grazia,  
 Prima che la milizia\* s' abbandoni,  
 Del lume che per tutto il ciel si spazia †  
 Noi semo accesi : e però, se disii  
 Da noi chiarirti, ‡ a tuo piacer ti sazia.— 120  
 Così da un di quegli spirti pii  
 Detto mi fu ; e da Beatrice :—“ Di' di'  
 Sicuramente, e credi come a Dii.”§—

“ O thou born to good, to whom Grace vouchsafes to see the thrones of the Eternal Triumph, before thy warfare (*i.e.* thy earthly life) has been laid aside, we are illumined with the light that is spread throughout the whole heaven : and therefore, if thou desirest to be enlightened about us, sate thee (*i.e.* speak thy fill) at thine own pleasure.” Thus to me was spoken by one of these saintly spirits, and (then) by Beatrice : “ Speak, speak with confidence, and trust them even as Gods.”

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\* *milizia*: Compare *Job*, vii, 1, where *militia* in the *Vulgate* is in the Authorised Version “appointed time.” On the passage in the text see the *Ottimo*: “Nota che il vivere qui è uno militare ; e però dicesi militante Ecclesia questa qua giù, e triunfante quella del Cielo.”

† *si spazia*: Compare *Purg.* xxvi, 62, 63 :  
 “sì che il ciel v' alberghi,

Ch'è pien d'amore e più ampio si spazia.”

‡ *da noi chiarirti*: Scartazzini points out that in the next Canto Dante is enlightened both as to the condition of the spirits, and as to many other points.

§ *credi come a Dii*: Compare *St. John*, x, 34, 35 (*Vulgate*): “Nonne scriptum est in lege vestra quia ego dixi : Dii estis? Si illos dixit deos, ad quos sermo Dei factus est, et non potest solvi scriptura,” etc. Compare also Boëthius, *Consol. Philos.* iii, pros. x: “Quoniam beatitudinis adeptione fiunt homines beati, beatitudo vero est ipsa divinitas, divinitatis adeptione beatos fieri, manifestum est. Sed uti justitiæ adeptione justii, sapientiæ sapientes fiunt, ita divinitatem adeptos deos fieri simili ratione necesse est.” Cornoldi says that *Dii* is employed here in the Christian, not the pagan sense. “I beati non possono nè errare nè mentire ; però sono fatti partecipi di due rilevantissime proprietà della divinità.”

Buti explains this as meaning that Dante was to put as full trust in these blessed spirits as did the Gentile Heathen in their gods.

Dante, now replying to the spirit of Justinian, excuses himself for not knowing him. He then asks him two questions (a) Who is he? and (b) Why he is in the sphere of Mercury?

— “Io veggio ben\* sì come tu t’annidi  
 Nel proprio lume, e che dagli occhi il traggi, 125  
 Perch’ei corruscan, sì come tu ridi;  
 Ma non so chi tu sei, nè perchè aggi,  
 Anima degna, il grado della spera,  
 Che si vela ai mortal con altrui raggi.”—†

“I well perceive (by thy glistening eyes) how that thou art nested in thine own light, and that thou drawest it from thine eyes, because they beam with radiance as thou smilest; but I know not who thou art, nor wherefore thou hast, O august soul, the rank of that sphere (Mercury) which is veiled from mortals by the rays of another (*i.e.* of the Sun).”

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\* *Io veggio ben*, etc.: Of these three lines Cesari remarks: “A me par vedere troppo più profonda ed alta sentenza in questa terzina, che non videro i comentatori, i quali nulla ci notarono di singolare. Io dirò quello che me ne sento. Io veggio bene, che tu ti riposi (*t’annidi*), come nella tua nicchia, nel lume di carità che hai detto testè, e che è ora tuo proprio . . . Ora, segue Dante, di ciò m’accorgo io bene, al segno che me ne danno i tuoi occhi, per li quali tu trai del cuore il fuoco dell’amor tuo d’entro; ond’essi corruscano, e brillano secondo la tua letizia, ovvero il ridere della tua bocca . . . Io leggo *corruscan*, e non *corrusca* . . . conciossiachè per gli occhi soprattutto si sfogano i movimenti del cuore, e meglio l’allegrezza che altro . . . Anzi dico, che senza questo una bellezza singolar di concetto sarebbe perduta.”

† *si vela ai mortal con altrui raggi*: “Ecco determinato il cielo al quale è asceso il Poeta. È il secondo, cioè la spera di Mercurio, che gli antichi pure riconobbero la più prossima a quella del sole tanto che rimane velata dai raggi di questa, e difficilmente può scorgersi la stella.” (Antonelli ap. Tommaséo).

We now read how the spirit of Justinian, enkindled by the desire of satisfying Dante's thirst for information, beams forth such an intense access of radiance, that his shade becomes invisible to Dante's mortal vision. The spirit prepares himself to speak, but does so like the concealed god in an ancient oracle. De Gubernatis (*Il Paradiso di Dante*, Firenze, 1887) observes that Dante very happily concludes the Canto at this point. Justinian is about to reveal his ideas of Justice, according to the principles of Imperial policy, in which on earth should be seen the outline sketch of Divine Justice. The theme is a lofty one; and Dante is unwilling to treat it too briefly or too lightly, but devotes to it another Canto.

Questo diss' io diritto alla lumiera*	130
Che pria m'avea parlato, ond' ella fessi	
Lucente più assai di quel ch'ell'era.	
Si come il sol, che si cela † egli stessi ‡	
Per troppa luce, come il caldo ha rose	
Le temperanze dei vapori § spessi;	135

\* *diritto alla lumiera*: The *Gran Dizionario* quotes this very passage in § 1 of *diritto*, adjective, though one might have thought it to be an irregular participle: "*diritto*. Agg. *Per linea retta, Che non piega da niuna banda e non torce, Che è voltato dirittamente.* Directus, aureo lat."

† *si cela*: Compare Petrarch, part ii, son. 67 (in some editions 295):

"E per aver uom gli occhi nel Sol fissi,  
Tanto si vede men, quanto più splende."

‡ *stessi*: See *Gran Dizionario*, under *stesso*, § 5: "*Stessi*, nel caso retto del minor numero come *Quegli e Questi*, si trova talora presso gli antichi. Da *iste, ipse*, quasi trasposta la *i* dal principio alla fine." Compare *Inf.* ix, 58-60:

"Così disse il Maestro; ed egli stessi  
Mi volse, e non si tenne alle mie mani,  
Che con le sue ancor non mi chiudessi."

§ *temperanze dei vapori*: Compare *Purg.* xxx, 25-27:



Per più letizia sì mi si nascose  
 Dentro al suo raggio la figura santa,  
 E così chiusa chiusa \* mi rispose  
 Nel modo che il seguente canto canta.

This said I, being turned straight towards the bright lustre that had first addressed me, whereupon it waxed far more radiant than it had been before. Even as the Sun, which through excess of light concealeth its own self, when heat has eaten away the tempering influence of the thick vapours (that surround it):— so by increase of gladness did that holy form conceal itself from me within its own radiance, and thus completely enfolded it made answer to me in the fashion which the ensuing Canto sings.

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“ . . . la faccia del sol nascere ombrata,  
 Sì che per temperanza di vapori  
 L'occhio la sostenea lunga fiata.”

\* *chiusa chiusa*: “interamente nascosta, tutta velata dal suo splendore.” (Casini).

END OF CANTO V.

## CANTO VI.

THE SPHERE OF MERCURY (*continued*).—THE EMPEROR JUSTINIAN.—HISTORY OF THE ROMAN EAGLE AND EMPIRE.—GUELPHS AND GhibelLINES.—OTHER SPIRITS IN THE SPHERE OF MERCURY.—ROMEO DI VILLANOVA.

AS was stated in the commentary on the preceding Canto, the present one is wholly devoted to the words spoken by the spirit of the Emperor Justinian.\*

Benvenuto divides the Canto into three parts.

*In the First Division*, from v. 1 to v. 27, Justinian briefly touches upon the principal events of his reign, his conversion to Christianity, and his great deeds.

*In the Second Division*, from v. 28 to v. 111, he glances over the more notable exploits of the Romans achieved during several centuries under their glorious standard, the Roman Eagle.

*In the Third Division*, from v. 112 to v. 142,

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\* Scartazzini (*Ediz. Min.*) notices the coincidence of Dante's successive treatment of the VIth Canto of each of the *Cantiche*. In Canto VI of the *Inferno* all the feuds then troubling Florence are described, and others are foretold. In Canto VI of the *Purgatorio* the general condition of Italy is Dante's theme. In Canto VI of the *Paradiso* the history of the Empire from Æneas down to Caesar, to Charlemagne, and even down to Dante's own time is dilated upon. This parallel arrangement of Cantos is not unfrequent with Dante. In *Inf.* xix he relates his interview with a wicked Pope; in *Purg.* xix with a good Pope; and other instances might be cited.

Justinian replies to the question put to him by Dante (Canto v, 127-129) as to why he happens to be an inmate of the Sphere of Mercury.

*Division I.* Dante, in the last Canto, had said to the spirit: "I do not know who thou art, nor why this particular degree of beatitude has been assigned to thee."

These words contain two questions:

(1) "Who art thou?"

(2) "Why art thou here?"

To the first question Justinian at once proceeds to reply. The second he will answer in ll. 112-126.

Justinian begins by relating the epoch of his tenure of the Empire. He tells first how the Roman Empire had remained in Greece over 200 years from the time of its translation there by Constantine, before it passed into his hands.

— "Posciachè Constantin l'aquila volse  
 Contra il corso del ciel,\* ch'ella seguïo  
 Dietro all'antico che Lavina tolse,

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\* *Contra il corso del ciel*: When Constantine transferred the seat of the Empire from Rome in the West, to Byzantium, situated to the East of Rome, he turned the Eagle, emblem of the Roman Empire, into the contrary course from that of the Heavens, which are supposed to move from East to West. (Compare *Par. ix*, 85: *contra il sole*). The Eagle had followed the course of the Sun behind that taken by Æneas, who, when he left Troas in the East, came to Italy in the West, and there he laid the original foundations of the Roman Empire. Another reading, which has considerable MS. authority and is very commonly adopted, is *che la seguïo* (instead of, as here, *ch'ella seguïo*). Scartazzini says the sense must decide which of the two is right. Is it the Eagle that followed the course of the Heavens (*ch'ella seguïo*), or the course of the Heavens that followed the Eagle (*che la seguïo*)? Cesari (vol. iii, p. 99), derides the idea of the latter: "E' mi par troppo ardito questo immagi-

Cento e cent'anni \* e più l'uccel di Dio  
 Nell'estremo d'Europa si ritenne, 5  
 Vicino ai monti de' quai prima uscío;  
 E sotto l'ombra delle sacre penne †  
 Governò il mondo lì di mano in mano,  
 E sì cangiando in sulla mia pervenne.

“After that Constantine had turned the Eagle back against the course of Heaven, which it followed behind that ancient one (*Æneas*) who took (to wife) Lavinia, for a hundred and a hundred years and more did the bird of God (*i.e.* the Eagle) hold itself on the extreme confines of Europe near unto the mountains (of Troas) from which it had first gone forth; and beneath the shadow of the sacred wings it governed the world there (at Constantinople) from hand to hand, and so changing (*i.e.* from one Emperor to another in succession) it alighted at last upon mine (*i.e.* my hand).

Scartazzini observes that it is somewhat an anachronism on the part of Dante to suppose that the Eagle had been the standard of the Roman Empire from the time of *Æneas*. It was Marius who first made it the standard of all the Roman Legions.

Benvenuto says that Justinian describes himself, first, by his Imperial dignity, secondly, by his proper

nar che Enea con l'aquila in mano insegnasse quasi al sole la strada: che certo ei dovea sapersela bene. E però io bacio e benedico un codice, il quale ha *ch'ella seguío*; facendo che essa aquila seguisse il corso del sole, dietro a' passi d'Enea; il che è più grave, e ragionevole, e vero.”

\* *Cento e cent'anni*: From the removal of the seat of Empire to Byzantium in A.D. 324 to the Accession of Justinian as Emperor in A.D. 527 was almost exactly two hundred years.

† *l'ombra delle sacre penne*: Compare *Psalm* xvii, 8: “Hide me under the shadow of thy wings.” And *Psalm* xxxvi, 7: “The children of men put their trust under the shadow of thy wings.” And *Psalm* lxiii, 7: “in the shadow of thy wings will I rejoice.”

name, and thirdly, by his most excellent work. Being sister's son of Justinus, and adorned with every virtue and accomplishment, Justinian succeeded to the Imperial throne, A.D. 538 [it was really 527], and for thirty-eight years his administration of public affairs was worthy of all praise. Immediately on his accession he set to work to codify and ameliorate the principal Imperial *constitutions* or statutes, of which there was such a multitude, that the life of one man would not even have sufficed to read them. Justinian, leaving to his distinguished generals the prosecution of his wars, abstracted the laws into a very few books, and gained for himself a lasting reputation.

Cesare fui,\* e son Giustiniano,† 10  
 Che, per voler del primo amor ch' io sento,  
 D' entro le leggi trassi il troppo e il vano;  
 E prima ch' io all' opra fossi attento,  
 Una natura in Cristo esser, non piùe,  
 Credeva, e di tal fede era contento; 15

I was Cæsar, and I am Justinian, who by the will of the Primal Love (*i.e.* by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit) which I feel, withdrew from (the body of) the laws the superfluous and the useless; and before the time that I became engaged upon that work, I believed that in Christ there was (but) one nature (the divine), not more, and with such faith I was contented.

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\* *Cesare fui*: Justinian alludes to his having been Cæsar or Emperor in the past tense, and gives Dante thereby to understand that all earthly dignities are at an end after a man's death. He says: "I was Emperor, but I remain plain Justinian." Compare *Purg.* v, 88: "Io fui di Montefeltro, io son Buonconte."

† *Giustiniano*: Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1862, vol. v, p. 248 and p. 282), gives an excellent account of Justinian.



Justinian is here referring to the Eutychian heresy, so called from Eutyches, an Abbot at Constantinople, who maintained that only the Divine nature existed in Christ, not the human ; but that at His Crucifixion a phantom was crucified in His place. Hence the heresy was also termed the Monophysite. Tommaséo says that the word *contento* would be superfluous, but that it expresses the good faith of Justinian in his error. Mr. Butler thinks that it was not really Justinian himself, but his wife Theodora, who was attached to the above-mentioned heresy. The Emperor's own orthodoxy would seem to have been unimpeachable till quite the end of his life, when he lapsed into erroneous views concerning, not the nature, but the person of Christ. The alleged visit of Agapetus is not mentioned by Gibbon ; the story may have been derived from the Trésor of Brunetto Latini (Livre i, part ii, chap. lxxxvii) : " Et jà soit ce que il fust au commencement en l'error des hereges, en la fin reconut il son error par le conseil Agapite, qui lors estoit apostoiles " (ii, 25). The more generally accepted tale, as given by Benvenuto,\* Talice da Ricaldone, and others, states that Agapetus was sent by Theodatus, the Gothic king, to make terms with Justinian, and that he incidentally discovered and reformed the Emperor's heterodox views.

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\* According to Paulus Diaconus (*Contin. Hist. Eutropii*, lib. xvii), on Agapetus reproving Justinian for his heretical opinions, their argument became heated and the emperor having uttered some threatening words, Agapetus replied : " I thought I had been coming to Justinian, the most just of Emperors, whereas I have found a new Diocletian." Agapetus was only Pope for one year, from 535 to 536.

Ma il benedetto Agapito, che fue  
 Sommo pastore, alla fede sincera \*  
 Mi dirizzò con le parole sue.

Io gli credetti, e ciò che in sua fede era  
 Veggio ora chiaro, sì come tu vedi  
 Ogni contraddizion e falsa e vera.

20

But the blessed Agapetus, who was the supreme Pastor, by his words directed me to the pure Faith. Him I believed, and what there was in his belief (namely, the two natures in Christ, the human and the divine) I now see clearly, even as thou seest all contradictories (*i.e.* every pair of contradictory propositions) to be both false and true (*i.e.* one false and the other true).

It is a familiar and fundamental principle of Logic that, of two Contradictory Propositions, one must be true and the other false. Both could not be true, nor yet both false, as for example :

(1) All men can run.

(2) Some men cannot run.

One of these must be true and the other false.

Justinian now goes on to show that as soon as he had become reconciled to the Church, and had become a faithful son thereof, by acknowledging the doctrine of the two-fold nature of Christ, he was inspired by God to hand over to his great general, Belisarius, all warlike undertakings, and to devote himself wholly to the work of recompiling the laws.

Tosto che con la chiesa mossi i piedi,  
 A Dio per grazia piacque di spirarmi  
 L'alto lavoro, e tutto a lui mi diedi.

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\* *sincera*: *Sincero* is commonly used in Tuscany in the sense of "pure." "Questo è un vino sincero," "this is a pure wine." Compare also *1 Pet.* ii, 2: "As new-born babes desire the sincere milk of the word."

Ed al mio Bellisar \* commendai l'armi, 25  
 Cui la destra del ciel fu sì congiunta,  
 Che segno fu ch' io dovessi posarmi.†

So soon as I moved my feet with the Church (*i.e.* embraced its doctrines), it pleased God of His Grace to inspire me with this high task, and I gave myself wholly to it. And (matters of) arms I committed to my Belisarius, to whom the right hand of Heaven was so conjoined, as to be a signal to me that my duty was to stay quiet.

Benvenuto says that he had heard that Belisarius was victorious in twenty-seven pitched battles; and that when he came to Rome he offered at the shrine of St. Peter, by the hand of Pope Vigilius, a cross of gold of one hundred pounds' weight, enriched with precious stones, on which the number of his victories was recorded.

*Division II.* Before giving an answer to the second of Dante's two questions, as to why Justinian has been placed in this particular Sphere of Heaven, the spirit of the Emperor compresses into a brief narrative the most memorable achievements done at various times under the standard of the Eagle, the symbol of the Roman Empire. Scartazzini observes that Dante

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\* *Bellisar*: Of Belisarius, the famous general of Justinian, an account will be found in Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 1862, vol. v, p. 99. See also G. Villani, lib. 11, cap. 6: "Il quale Belisario . . . fu uomo di grande senno e prodezza, e bene avventuroso in guerra . . . E bene avventurosamente e con vittoria in tutte parti vinse e soggiogò i ribelli dello 'mperio, e tenne in buono stato mentre vivette."

† *posarmi*: Compare *Purg.* ii, 85:  
 "Soavemente disse ch' io posasse."

introduces this digression, to give himself an opportunity of administering a sharp reproof to the two factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, the former being to blame in fighting against the Eagle, and the latter in appropriating it to themselves.

Or qui alla question prima s'appunta\*

La mia risposta ; ma sua condizione

Mi stringe a seguitare alcuna giunta ;

30

Perchè tu veggì con quanta ragione

Si move contra il sacrosanto segno,†

E chi 'l s'appropria, e chi a lui s'opponne.

Now here my answer to the first question terminates (*lit.* reaches the full stop); but the nature of it constrains me to follow it up with some addition; in order that thou mayest see with what amount of reason there moves against the hallowed sign both he who appropriates it to himself (the Ghibelline), and he (the Guelph) who is in opposition to it.

\* *s'appunta* : See the *Gran Dizionario s. v. appuntare*, v. a. §16 : "Per fermarsi." In Par. xxix, 11, 12, the word is used to signify "has its end," Beatrice telling Dante that the creation of Angels emanates from God, for she has herself seen in Him within Whom all space and time comes to an end :

"perch'io l'ho visto

Dove s'appunta ogni *ubi* ed ogni *quando*."

Beatrice in the present passage says to Dante : "I have at this point really concluded my answer to your first question, but the quality of my answer obliges me to continue my speech and add to it some further matters." Most of the old Commentators (*e.g.* Landino, Vellutello, and Daniello) understand *appuntarsi* correctly, but Buti interprets it curiously as "I will now begin my answer." Benvenuto says : "*la mia risposta s'appunta*, idest, facit finem et punctum."

† *sacrosanto segno* : Dante firmly believed that the Empire was a divine institution, and he therefore terms the Eagle "the hallowed sign." Compare Dante's Epistle to Henry VII. (*Epistola* vii) ll. 186-188 : "Ac quemadmodum sacrosanctæ Jerusalem memores, exules in Babylone, gemiscimus."

According to Dante (ll. 100-102) the Ghibellines were no less the enemies of the Empire than the Guelphs.

Justinian now traces the miraculous progress of the Eagle (*processus aquilæ*) from Æneas to Charlemagne.

Vedi quanta virtù l'ha fatto degno  
Di riverenza."—E cominciò dall' ora 35  
Che Pallante\* morì per dargli regno.†

Behold what prowess has made it worthy of reverence." And he (Justinian) commenced his relation from the hour that Pallas died to give sovereignty to it (the Eagle).

Most of the Commentators take the whole of the last *terzina* to be part of Justinian's words, meaning that "the prowess of the Eagle commenced from the remote days of Pallas," but I follow Benvenuto, Tommaséo, Scartazzini and Casini, in understanding a break in Justinian's speech after the words "degnò di riverenza," and that it is *Dante*, who, by way of parenthesis, says: "and then he, Justinian, began

\* *Pallante*: As to the death of Pallas, the son of Evander, King of Latium, in battle with Turnus, whom Æneas afterwards slew to avenge his friend, see Virgil, *Æneid*, Books viii, ix and x.

† *per dargli regno*: "Quando Pallante figlio di Evandro morì combattendo in difesa di Enea, e gli assicurò la vittoria sul Lazio, l'aquila, per la prima volta, spiegò nel mondo la sua ala dominatrice." (De Gubernatis, Angelo di, *Il Paradiso di Dante dichiarato ai giovani*, Firenze, 1887, p. 68). Perchè tu veggia quale ragione si abbiano i Ghibellini e i Guelfi nell'opporsi al segno sacro dell'Aquila, vedi come per alta virtù fu sempre degno di riverenza, fin dal punto in cui Pallante, figlio di Evandro, mandato e soccorrere Enea, venne ucciso. Pallante morì per costituire un reame di cui l'Aquila dovea essere il segno." (Cornoldi).



his narrative, tracing the progress of the Eagle, from the time of Æneas," or, as he puts it, from the time that Pallas, the ally of Æneas, was slain by Turnus. (*Æn.* xii, 948-949).

The narrative proceeds ; tracing with marvellous precision and terseness the victorious career of the Roman Eagle. For three hundred years it rested in Alba, until, by the combat between the Horatii and the Curatii, in which the Alban champions were slain by the Roman, the kingdom of Alba passed under the sway of Rome. Under the Eagle the seven kings held the sceptre, and added vastly to Roman dominions. By the Eagle both the Gauls and Pyrrhus were repulsed, and under its influence a long line of heroes achieved deeds of valour.

—“ Tu sai che fece in Alba\* sua dimora

Per trecent' anni ed oltre, infino al fine

Che i tre ai tre pugnar per lui ancora.

E sai ch'ei fe' dal mal delle Sabine

Al dolor di Lucrezia in sette regi,

40

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\* *Alba*: Compare *Convito* iv, 5, ll. 155-160: “E non pose Iddio le mani proprie alla battaglia, dove gli Albani colli Romani dal principio per lo capo del regno combattero, quando uno solo Romano nelle mani ebbe la franchigia di Roma?” Compare also *De Mon.* ii, 11, ll. 22-36: “Quumque duo populi ex ipsa Troiana radice in Italia germinassent, Romanus videlicet populus et Albanus, atque de signo aquilae deque penetibus diis Troianorum atque dignitate principandi longo tempore inter se disceptatum esset ; ad ultimum, de communi adsensu partium, propter instantiam cognoscendam, per tres Horatios fratres hinc, et per totidem Curiatios fratres inde, in conspectu regum et populorum altrinsecus expectantium decertatum est ; ubi tribus pugilibus Albanorum peremptis, Romanorumque duobus, palma victoriae sub Hostilio rege cessit Romanis.” These two chapters from the *Convito* and the *De Monarchia* may be read in relation to this part of Justinian's speech.

Vincendo intorno le genti vicine.  
 Sai quel ch' ei fe', portato dagli egregi  
 Romani incontro a Brenno, incontro a Pirro,  
 E contra gli altri principi e collegi :\* 45  
 Onde Torquato, e Quinzio che dal cirro†  
 Negletto fu nomato, i Deci, e' Fabi  
 Ebber la fama che volentier mirro.‡

“Thou knowest that it made its abode in Alba for three hundred years and upwards, until the conclusion (of its sojourn there) when yet again for its sake the three fought against the three. Thou knowest what it achieved from (the time of) the Sabine women's wrong down to the woe of Lucretia in (the reigns of) seven kings, subjugating the neighbouring nations

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\* *collegi*: The *Gran Dizionario* gives as the primary meaning of *Collegio*: “Società d' uomini in un corpo raccolti a un fine comune,” and under §2 (written by Tommaséo): “*Collegio dei re*, Assemblea de' maggiori principi della Confederazione del Reno . . . In Dante, *Par. vi, Principi e collegi*, vinti da Roma, altri [*some*] intende *Collegghi, Collegati*; altri [*others*] collegi o Alleanze in comune deliberanti e operanti.” I prefer the latter interpretation and translate “confederated States.”

† *cirro*: “Cirro e cincinno, capello è a dire.” (Buti.) In the *Gran Dizionario*, s. v. *cirro*, Tommaséo says that in the Val di Chiana the word *ciruglio* is in use, to signify long and unkempt hair.

‡ *mirro*: The interpretation of this word is much disputed, even by the early Commentators. Cesari remarks of it: “Oh! oh! *mirro*! chi ne dice una, e chi altra di questo *mirro*.” He agrees with Lana, and the *Anonimo Fiorentino* in understanding the word “I anoint with balsam,” i. e. I embalm, I preserve the memory of the great deeds of the heroes I have mentioned. This interpretation was certainly the most generally accepted in the early times, and it is also supported by Pietro di Dante, and the *Postillatore Cassinese*, and is the one that I follow. Buti thinks *mirro* is for *miro* written with two *r*'s for the sake of the rhyme! Daniello, Lombardi, Biagioli and Costa, adopted this view, which I reject entirely. The more common interpretation is that of the *Ottimo*: “Quella fama dice, la quale volentieri coronò, e onorò con mirra la quale dà ottimo odore.”

around. Thou knowest what it achieved, when borne by the illustrious Romans against Brennus, against Pyrrhus, and against the other princes and confederated states: After them (Manlius) Torquatus, and Quinctius who was surnamed (Cincinnatus) from his neglected locks, and the Decii, and the Fabii obtained the fame which right gladly do I embalm (*i.e.* preserve in song).

The next to be extolled, are Scipio, for his victories over the Carthaginians under Hannibal; Pompey, who, fighting on the side of Sulla, defeated the forces of Marius; the sacking and destruction of Fæsulæ by the Romans are also cited as an instance of the well-merited severity dealt out by the Roman Eagle to its rebellious subjects. This (according to Villani, lib. i, cap. 37) took place, when, after the defeat of Catiline and his brother conspirators, they found an asylum in the city of Fæsulæ.

Esso atterrò l'orgoglio degli Arabi,\*

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\* *Arabi*: Dr. Moore writes to me on this passage: "I believe the explanation to be that as the neighbourhood of Carthage at Tunis was occupied by Arabs in Dante's time, and had not yet come under the dominion of the Turks, the word is used anachronistically for Carthaginians." See *Textual Criticism*, p. 342: "Dante's practice in the 'anachronistic' use of national titles is curious, and throws light on the interpretation of other passages . . . . The following are cases that occur to me: Virgil's parents are called "*Lombardi*" in *Inf.* i, 68. In *Conv.* iv, 5, l. 161, the attack on the Capitol by the Gauls is curiously described as 'quando li Franceschi . . . . prendeano di furto *Campidoglio*.' I believe this is the simple explanation of the word *Arabi*, about which so much difficulty has been raised, in *Par.* vi, 49. As in the instance above, *Franceschi* = Gauls, here *Arabi* = Carthaginians. . . . We might also perhaps adduce the description of Theseus as "*Duca d'Atene*" (*Inf.* xii, 17), since, as *Philalethes* notes, this was an actual title in Dante's time, in fact since 1204." Dr. Moore adds in a letter to me: "Conversely, the Romans are spoken of as 'Trojani,' in *Inf.* xxviii, 10;

Che dietro ad Annibale passaro 50  
 L'alpestre rocce\* di che, Po, tu labi.  
 Sott'esso giovinetti trionfaro  
 Scipione† e Pompeo, ed a quel colle  
 Sotto il qual tu nascesti, parve amaro.‡

It humbled to the dust the pride of the Carthaginians (*lit.* Arabs), who, in the train of Hannibal passed over the Alpine peaks from which thou, Po, flowest. Under it in their youth Scipio and Pompey triumphed, and cruel did it (the Eagle) show itself to that hill at the foot of which thou wast born.

The hill of Fiesole towers above the plain of Florence, Dante's birthplace. Justinian has up till now been relating the achievements of the Eagle when it was raised aloft by the authority of the Consuls of Rome. He goes on to speak of it when it represented the sway of the Emperors, and he begins with the mighty

and Italians as 'Latini' *passim*. *Inter alia* see *Conv.* iv, 28, 61, where Guido da Montefeltro is described as 'il nobilissimo nostro Latino.'

\* *L'alpestre rocce*, *i.e.* the Alps. Scartazzini observes that, amid the doubts that have always existed as to the route followed by Hannibal, the most probable one is the Little St. Bernard, and this is the one mostly believed in at the present time. Others prefer the Mont Cenis, but in Dante's time the common belief was that Hannibal passed by the Mont-Genèvre, or Matronæ Mons, a pass between Susa and Briançon, in the Cottian Alps.

† *Scipione*: Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, the elder, in his youth fought in the battles of the Ticinus and Cannæ; when only twenty years of age he conquered Spain, and at the age of thirty-three overcame Hannibal at the decisive battle of Zama. Pompey was only twenty-five years old when he obtained his triumph.

‡ *Parve amaro*: "Item dictum signum visum fuit amarum illi colli, sub quo auctor noster natus est, scilicet Fæsulano." (Pietro di Dante.) "*Parve amaro*, scilicet: dictum signum, quando Florinus consul romanus devicit Fæsulanos cum dicto signo." (*Postillatore Cassinese*.)



deeds of Julius Cæsar, the (so-called) first of the Emperors. He describes how, about the time of the birth of Jesus Christ, when all the world was at peace, Julius Cæsar again raised the standard of the Eagle, and marched into Gaul. He carried it from Cisalpine Gaul, over the Var, into Transalpine, he carried it to the Rhine, which divided Gaul from Germany, and to the Isère, to the Saone, and to the other tributaries of the Rhone. He crossed the Rubicon; he invaded Spain, Dalmatia, and defeated Pompey in far-off Egypt.

Poi, presso al tempo che tutto\* il ciel volle 55

\* *tutto*: Some read *tutto* with commas before and after it, and understand it to refer to *lo mondo*. I follow Dr. Moore's text, and read "tutto il ciel volle," translating *tutto* adverbially. See the very remarkable passage illustrating this *terzina*, on the divine ordinance that peace on earth under a united empire should herald the birth of Jesus Christ, in *Convito* iv, 5, ll. 20-32: "Eletto fu in quell' altissimo e congiuntissimo Consistoro divino della Trinità, che 'l Figliuolo di Dio in terra discendesse a fare questa concordia. E' perocchè nella sua venuta nel mondo, non solamente il Cielo, ma la Terra conveniva essere in ottima disposizione; e la ottima disposizione della terra sia quand' ella è Monarchia, cioè tutta ha uno Principe, come detto è di sopra; ordinato fu per lo divino Provvedimento quello popolo e quella città che ciò dovea compiere, cioè la gloriosa Roma." And *ibid.* ll. 60-69: "Nè 'l mondo non fu mai nè sarà sì perfettamente disposto, come allora che alla voce d' un solo principe del Roman Popolo e comandante fu ordinato . . . . E però pace universale era per tutto, che mai più non fu nè fia: chè la nave della umana compagnia dirittamente per dolce cammino a debito porto correa." See also St. Thom. Aq. (*Summ. Theol.* pars iii, qu. xxxv, art. 8): "Congruebat etiam ut in illo tempore, quo unus princeps dominabatur mundo, Christus nasceretur, qui venerat congregare suos in unum, ut esset unum ovile." Compare Milton, *Hymn on the morning of Christ's Nativity*, st. 3, 4:

"But he, her fears to cease,  
Sent down the meek-eyed Peace:

The trumpet spake not to the armèd throng;  
And kings sat still with awful eye,  
As if they surely knew their sovran Lord was by."



Ridur lo mondo a suo modo sereno,  
 Cesare per voler di Roma il tolle :\*  
 E quel che fe' da Varo infino al Reno,  
 Isara vide ed Era, e vide Senna, †  
 Ed ogni valle onde Rodano è pieno. 60  
 Quel che fe' poi ch' egli uscì di Ravenna,  
 E saltò Rubicon, fu di tal volo ‡  
 Che nol seguiteria lingua nè penna.  
 In ver la Spagna rivolve lo stuolo ;  
 Poi ver Durazzo, e Farsalia percosse 65  
 Sì ch' al Nil caldo si senti del duolo.

Then, near the time when Heaven wholly willed to bring back the world to its own serene state, Cæsar by the will of Rome assumed it (*i.e.* began to exercise the supreme authority); and what it (the Eagle) then achieved from the Var as far as the Rhine, Isère saw, and Saône, and Seine (also) saw, and every valley from which the Rhone is filled. What it achieved when (with Julius Cæsar) it went forth from Ravenna, and leaped the Rubicon, was of such (*i.e.* so rapid) a flight, that neither tongue nor pen could

\* *tolle*: It is doubtful whether Dante intended this word for *toglie*, 3rd person present indicative, or for *tolse* 3rd person perfect indicative. The form *tollero* for *tolsero* occurs, and some Commentators think that Dante uses *tolle* here in the sense of *tolse*.

† *Isara vide ed Era, e vide Senna*. The Isère, the Saône, and the Seine. We find these three rivers combined in a passage of Lucan (*Phars.* i, 399-434):

“Hi vada liquerunt Isaræ, qui gurgite ductus  
 Per tam multa suo, famæ majoris in amnem  
 Lapsus, ad æquoreas nomen non pertulit undas . . .  
 Finis et Hesperiaæ promotò limite Varus : . . .  
 Optima gens flexis in gyrum Sequana froenis . . .  
 . . . qua Rhodanus raptum velocibus undis  
 In mare fert Ararim.”

‡ *fu di tal volo*: “si compì con tanta celerità.” (Casini). Compare a very similar passage in *Purg.* xviii, 101-102:

“Cesare, per soggiogare Ilerda,  
 Punse Marsilia, e poi corse in Ispagna.”

follow it. Towards Spain it turned back its legions ; then towards Dyrrhachium, and smote Pharsalia (with such a mighty blow) that to the torrid Nile the disaster was felt.

According to the ancient legend, Æneas, after leaving Troy, touched at Antandros, a city of Great Mysia, on his way to Italy to found the Roman Empire. Justinian therefore, by a fiction that the Eagle originally started from Troy, describes it as revisiting these places, when Cæsar (according to Lucan) touched there in his pursuit of Pompey, after defeating him at Pharsalia. Cæsar passed on into Egypt, and dethroning Ptolemy bestowed the kingdom upon Cleopatra. From Egypt he carried the victorious Eagle into Mauritania, where, at the court of King Juba, Cato, Scipio, and his other enemies had taken refuge after the battle of Pharsalia. Finally Julius Cæsar, at the battle of Munda in Spain, overthrew the last remnants of Pompey's power by his defeat of Labienus and of Pompey's two sons, three years after their father's death.

Antandro e Simoenta, \* onde si mosse,  
Rivide, e là dov' Ettore si cuba,  
E mal per Tolommeo poi si riscosse :  
Da indi scese folgorando a Juba ;

70

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\* *Simoenta* : Compare Lucan, *Phars.* ix, 961-965 :

“ Sigaeasque petit famae mirator arenas,  
Et Simoentis aquas, et Graio nobile busto  
Rhaetion, et multum debentes vatibus umbras.  
Circuit exustae nomen memorabile Trojæ,  
Magnaue Phoebæi quærit vestigia muri.”

and *ibid.* 974-977 :

“ Inscius in sicco serpentem pulvere rivum  
Transierat, qui Xanthus erat : securus in alto  
Gramine ponebat gressus ; Phryx incola manes  
Hectoreos calcare vetat.”

Poscia si volse nel vostro occidente, \*

Dove sentia la Pompeiana tuba. †

It revisited Antandros and Simois (*i.e.* Troas), whence it had (of yore) taken its departure, and that spot where Hector lies, and in an evil hour for Ptolemy it marched on again; from there it fell like a thunderbolt upon Juba; after which it turned back to your West, where it had heard the trumpet blast of the Pompeys.

From Julius Cæsar, the so-called first Roman Emperor, Justinian passes on to speak of Cæsar Augustus, who is termed here the second bearer of the Roman standard. His victory over Brutus and Cassius at Philippi, over Mark Antony at Modena, and over Lucius the brother of Mark, at Perugia, are all alluded to; then the defeat of Cleopatra at Actium, and her subsequent self-destruction. By his conquest of Egypt, the Eagle was borne to the shores of the Red Sea, and then during a period of universal peace the temple of Janus was shut.

Di quel ch' ei fe' col baiulo ‡ seguente,

\* *vostro occidente*: Tommaséo explains that Justinian, speaking as from the Eastern Empire to Dante, an Italian, describes Spain as being to the West of Italy, *i.e.* "to the West of you, O Italians."

† *tuba* is used by Dante in the sense of "trumpet" in *Purg.* xvii, 14, 15:

"uom non s' accorge,  
Perchè d' intorno suonin mille tube."

Compare Tasso, *Ger. Liber. i*, st. 59:

"Sin ch' invaghi la giovinetta mente  
La tromba che s'udia dall' Oriente."

‡ *baiulo*: I extract from Casini's note that the word derived from the Latin *baiulus*, properly signifies "a bearer," and by extended signification, "a ruler, a guardian, a governor," and it bears this sense as well in its abbreviated forms, *báilo* and *ballo*. In *Convito* iv, 5, ll. 88-92, Dante says of Rome: "Se con-

Bruto con Cassio nello inferno latra,\*  
 E Modena e Perugia fe' dolente. 75  
 Piangene ancor la trista Cleopatra,  
 Che, fuggendogli innanzi, dal colubro †  
 La morte prese subitana ed atra.

sideriamo li sette regi che prima la governarono, Romolo, Numa, Tullo, Anco, e li tre Tarquini che furono quasi *bali e tutori* della sua puerizia," etc. ; and in the Epistle to the Florentines (*Epist.* vi) l. 180, Dante terms the Emperor Henry VII : "Romanæ rei baiulus." The expression then here *baiulo seguente* clearly means Cæsar Augustus considered as second Emperor after Julius.

\* *latra* : I have followed Pietro di Dante, and others, in translating *latra* in the sense of "to attest," "proclaim." Pietro comments : "In Inferno latrant, idest attestantur." Casini : "latra : è vero che al momento in cui Dante visita il cerchio dei traditori Bruto *non fa motto* (*Inf.* xxxiv, 66), ma ciò non costituisce una contradizione ; perchè il verbo *latrare* è da intendere qui, come ben fece Pietro di Dante, per attestare ; attestare cioè col fatto e con la disperata loro condizione." M. Foresi (*La Divina Commedia voltata in prosa*, Firenze, 1890) : "Delle imprese che fece colui che in seguito la portò *fan testimonianza* Bruto con Cassio nell'Inferno." Trissino : "Delle imprese che la medesima imperiale insegna fece col portatore di essa, succeduto a Giulio Cesare (cioè con Ottavino Augusto) Bruto e Cassio ne attestano e fanno fede giù nell'Inferno." Tommaséo : "latra. Non colla voce, perchè Bruto in Inferno *non fa motto* cosa che a stoico s'addice, ma col fatto," etc. Brunone Bianchi : "latra, lo manifestano Bruto e Cassio," etc. Compare *Purg.* viii, 124, 125 :

"La fama che la vostra casa onora  
 Grida i signori, e grida la contrada," etc.

This does not mean that Fame spoke with a voice, but "proclaimed ;" and *latra* has a similar sense.

Also *Inf.* vii, 43 :

"Assai la voce lor chiaro l'abbaia."

† *colubro* : Of Cleopatra, Horace (*I Carm.* xxxvii, 25-32), writes :

"Ausa et jacentem visere regiam  
 Vultu sereno, fortis et asperas  
 Tractare serpentes, ut atrum  
 Corpore combiberet venenum ;  
 Deliberata morte ferocior ;  
 Servis Liburnis scilicet invidens,

Con costui corse infino al lito rubro ;\*  
 Con costui pose il mondo in tanta pace, 80  
 Che fu serrato a Jano il suo delubro.

Of what it achieved with its next standard-bearer, Brutus and Cassius are still bearing testimony in Hell, and Modena and Perugia were made to mourn. Because of it the ill-fated Cleopatra is still weeping (among the Sensual), who, fleeing before it, took from the asp a sudden and terrible death. With him (Augustus) it sped even to the Red (Sea) shore ; with him it composed the world in such complete peace, that Janus had his shrine closed.

The chief importance however in Justinian's laudation of the Eagle is assigned to the reign of Tiberius, the (so-called) third Emperor. Under previous chiefs it had operated on behalf of worldly dominion, but it was now to be called to work for the Kingdom of Heaven. Our Lord Jesus Christ being crucified during the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, the standard of the Roman Empire had the great glory of becoming the instrument for carrying out the sentence decreed by God, that His Son should die in expiation of the sin of Adam, and thus be the means of appeasing the vengeance that would otherwise have been executed by Divine Justice on Man. But though the Jews were fulfilling the decrees of the Almighty, yet, in putting the Messiah to death, they committed an enormous sin which cried to Heaven for that ven-

Privata deduci superbo  
 Non humilis mulier triumpho."

Compare also Virgil, *Æn.* viii, 696, 697 :

"Regina in mediis patrio vocat agmina sistro ;  
 Necdum etiam geminos a tergo respicit angues."

\* *lito rubro* : Compare *Æn.* viii, 686 :

"Victor ab Auroræ populis et littore rubro."



geance which the Roman Eagle under Titus became the instrument to work out upon them.

Ma ciò che il segno che parlar mi face  
 Fatto avea prima, e poi era fatturo \*  
 Per lo regno mortal, ch' a lui soggiace,  
 Diventa in apparenza poco e scuro, 85  
 Se in mano al terzo Cesare † si mira  
 Con occhio chiaro e con affetto puro;  
 Chè la viva giustizia che mi spira  
 Gli concedette, in mano a quel ch' io dico,  
 Gloria di far vendetta ‡ alla sua ira. 90

\* *fatturo*: An old Italian use derived from the Latin *facturus*, but obsolete now. We find still such forms as *futuro*, *venturo*, etc. Compare *passuri* in *Par.* xx, 105.

† *terzo Cesare*, etc.: On this passage, and its condemnation by certain Commentators as being little short of blasphemy that glory should be given to such a monster as Tiberius Cæsar because the Son of God was crucified during his reign, Scartazzini observes: "A noi non pare che Dante facesse strazio della storia per amore di un sistema dommatico [*dogmatic*]; ci avvisiamo invece che e' fu uno di que' rari e profondi pensatori che ebbero il coraggio di dedurre le conseguenze necessarie ed inevitabili da un principio generalmente ammesso." Of the immediate importance of the above argument Dante enlarges in *De Mon.* ii, 13, ll. 1-3; and ll. 38-49: "Si Romanum imperium de jure non fuit, peccatum Adæ in Christo non fuit punitum . . . Si ergo sub ordinario iudice Christus passus non fuisset, illa poena punitio non fuisset: et iudex ordinarius esse non poterat, nisi supra totum humanum genus jurisdictionem habens, quum totum humanum genus in carne illa Christi portantis dolores nostros (ut ait Propheta), vel sustinentis, puniretur. Et supra totum humanum genus Tiberius Cæsar cujus vicarius erat Pilatus, jurisdictionem non habuisset, nisi Romanum Imperium de jure fuisset."

‡ *vendetta*: The *Gran Dizionario*, quoting a number of similar passages in the D. C., observes that, when one speaks of the *vendetta di Dio*, it means "His just retribution." See *Purg.* xxxiii, 36: "vendetta di Dio non teme suppe." And *Par.* vii, 49-51:

"Non ti dee oramai parer più forte,  
 Quando si dice che giusta vendetta  
 Poscia vengiata fu da giusta corte."

The thrice-repeated "*vendetta*" may remind us of the passage

Or qui t'ammira in ciò ch'io ti replico:  
 Poscia con Tito\* a far vendetta corse  
 Della vendetta del peccato antico.

But what the standard which causes me to speak, had achieved before, and afterwards was yet to do, throughout the realm of the earth that lies under its sway (*i.e.* the Roman Empire), becomes dwindled and obscured in appearance, if one looks at it in the hand of the third Cæsar with an unclouded eye and with pure affection; because the living justice which inspires me vouchsafed unto it, in the hand of that one I speak of (Tiberius), the glory of executing the vengeance of its wrath (*i.e.* the wrath of Divine Justice). Now here marvel at what I repeat † to thee: with Titus afterwards it sped to work vengeance for the vengeance of the primal sin.

in *Purg.* xx, 65-69, where the word *ammenda* occurs three times:

“e poscia, per ammenda,  
 Pontì e Normandia prese e Guascogna.  
 Carlo venne in Italia, e per ammenda,  
 Vittima fe' di Corradino; e poi  
 Ripinse in ciel Tommaso per ammenda.”

\* *con Tito*, et seq.: Compare *Purg.* xxi, 82-84:

“Nel tempo che il buon Tito con l'aiuto  
 Del sommo Rege vendicò le fora,  
 Ond'uscì il sangue per Giuda venduto,” etc.

† Justinian, in Benvenuto's opinion, is telling Dante that he wishes to accentuate the word *vendetta*, by thrice again repeating it: “Dicit ergo: *or qui t'ammira in ciò ch'io ti replico*, quia, scilicet, vocabulum semel positum repetit bis.” Longfellow translates *io ti replico*, “I answer thee”; which is a correct rendering of the word. Norton, “I unfold”; but I cannot find any justification of that signification for *replico*. Butler has a very interesting note in which he says he is inclined to think that there is a special allusion, appropriate to the speaker, marked by the use of the word *replico*, “here and here only in the whole poem. In the terms of the Roman law the statement of the plaintiff's case as sent by the magistrate to the judge was *intentio*. If the defendant pleaded special circumstances which made the general rule of law under which the case would naturally fall inapplicable, his plea was called *exceptio*. If the

Justinian closes his long relation of the great deeds of the Roman Eagle, by taking a great leap of 700 years, and showing what it accomplished in the hands of Charlemagne, when that Emperor defeated the Lombards under Desiderius. Witte, in a note on this passage, says: "In the same way that Stephen II had invoked the aid of Pepin against Astolph, so in 773 did Adrian I seek the aid of Charlemagne against Desiderius. To be exact, it was not until 27 years later (800) that Leo III conferred upon the King of the Franks the Imperial crown; but, notwithstanding this, Dante could well affirm from that day forward that the Eagle had taken under the protection of its wings an enterprise which was to reawaken to life the (inanimate) Empire of the West."

E quando il dente \* Longobardo morse

La santa Chiesa, sotto alle sue ali

95

Carlo Magno, vincendo, la soccorse,

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plaintiff answered, this was *replicatio*, 'quia per eam replicatur et resolvitur jus exceptionis.' (See Justinian, *Institutes*, ed. Sandars, 1874, pp. lxxvii, 477). Here (adds Mr. Butler) we have a pretty close parallel, which is set out more fully in the next Canto, ll. 40-51. God has a controversy with the Jews for the death of Christ. The plea in answer is that this was the appointed atonement for man's fall. The *replicatio*, enforced by the punishment of the Jews at the hands of Titus, would be that this in no way affected their guilt in crucifying an innocent person."

\* *dente Longobardo*, etc.: Compare *De Mon.* iii, 11, ll. 1-13: "Adhuc dicunt, quod Hadrianus Papa Carolum Magnum sibi et Ecclesiae advocavit ob injuriam Longobardorum tempore Desiderii regis eorum, et quod Carolus ab eo recepit Imperii dignitatem; non obstante quod Michael imperabat apud Constantinopolim. Propter quod dicunt, quod omnes qui fuerunt Romanorum Imperatores post ipsum, et ipsi advocati Ecclesiae sunt, et debent ab Ecclesia advocari. Ex quo etiam sequeretur illa dependentia quam concludere volunt." Scartazzini observes that according to Dante's idea the Roman Empire never ceased

And when the Lombard tooth attacked the Holy Church, under its wings Charlemagne came victoriously to her aid.

There is here an apparent anachronism. Justinian reigned long before Charlemagne, but *the spirit of Justinian* is represented in 1300 telling Dante in Heaven what since his death had occurred on Earth.

Dante now returns to the allusion he had made in ll. 31-33, and severely denounces the Guelph and Ghibelline factions, blaming both alike for the ills they have wrought on Italy, each of them making use of the sacred sign purely from motives of self-interest; the Guelphs striving to Frenchify Italy, the Ghibellines to Germanize it.

Omai puoi giudicar di quei cotali  
 Ch'io accusai di sopra, e di lor falli,  
 Che son cagion di tutti vostri mali.  
 L'uno\* al pubblico segno i gigli gialli 100  
 Oppone, e l'altro appropria quello a parte,  
 Sì che forte † a veder è chi più falli.  
 Faccian li Ghibellin, faccian lor arte  
 Sott' altro segno; ‡ chè mal segue quello

its *de jure* existence, although *de facto* such existence had temporarily ceased. Compare *Psalm* iii, 7: "Thou hast broken the teeth of the ungodly." And *Psalm* cxxiv, 6: "Blessed be the Lord, who hath not given us as a prey to their teeth."

\* *L'uno*: Charles II of Valois, King of Apulia, who was at this time the acknowledged head of the Guelph party.

† *forte* is here used to express *difficile*. Compare *Purg.* ii, 65: "Per altra via che fu sì aspra e forte."

also *Purg.* xxix, 41, 42:

"Ed Urania m'aiuti col suo coro,  
 Forti cose a pensar mettere in versi."

and *Purg.* xxxiii, 49, 50:

"Ma tosto fien li fatti le Naiade,  
 Che solveranno questo enigma forte."

‡ *sott' altro segno*: "Non iscusino e non ricuoprano la loro mala intenzione dell'odio che hanno al vicino e al cittadino e

Sempre chi la giustizia e lui diparte: 105  
 E non l'abbatta esto Carlo novello  
 Coi Guelfi suoi, ma tema degli artigli  
 Ch'a più alto leon \* trasser lo vello.

Now mayest thou judge of such as those whom I accused above, and of their misdeeds, which are the cause of all your misfortunes. The one (the Guelph faction) sets up the golden lilies (of France in opposition to the Eagle), and the other (the Ghibelline faction) appropriates it for his own party, so that it is hard to see which of them is most in the wrong. Let the Ghibellines work, let them work their intrigues under some other standard; for ill does that man follow this one (the Eagle) who separates justice and it. And let not this new Charles smite it down with his Guelphs, but let him dread those talons which rent off the hide from a mightier lion than he (*i.e.* let him dread the power of the Empire).

Who this mightier lion was, is not explained: Scartazzini quotes Benvenuto as taking it simply to refer to the great deeds of the Eagle mentioned above, *e.g.* Jugurtha overthrown by Marius, Macedon conquered by Paulus Æmilius, etc. Butler thinks Dante may have meant to refer to the defeats that Charles of Anjou suffered in his later days, as for example in 1282. The *Carlo novello* (l. 106) means Charles II,

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prossimo suo, sotto questo scudo dicendo: *Egli è rubello al santo imperio.*" (Buti.) No one can follow the Imperial Eagle properly, who does not follow justice at the same time.

\* *a più alto leon*: "Ipsius aquilae fortis, *ch' a maggior lion, quam sit ipse Carolus, qui suo tempore fuit potens et formidatus, trasser lo vello*, idest, lanam, sive pilum, quasi dicat, denudavit, et privavit majores reges, sicut Jugurtham quem Marius praecepitavit de arcu triumphali, et sicut Persem regem Macedoniae, quem Paulus Æmilius duxit ante curram triumphalem, et mortuus est in carcere." (Benvenuto.)



son of Charles of Anjou, and King of Apulia, who was reigning in 1300.

On the next three lines, Casini remarks that nearly all the Commentators understand them as having merely a general sense, but Buti finds in them a prophesy, and observes that, though the said Charles II of Apulia did not himself incur retribution, yet did it fall upon his son Philip of Taranto, who died in 1332, after having been taken prisoner by the King of Aragon. Casini however does not agree with Buti, but thinks the personage alluded to is Carlo Martello, *eldest* son of Charles II, and by far the best of his children.\*

Molte fiãte già piãser li figli

Per la colpa del padre, e non si creda 110

Che Dio trasmuti l'armi † per suoi figli.

Many a time ere now have the sons had to bewail the transgressions of the fathers, and let not him (Charles II) believe that God will exchange this escutcheon for his lilies.

God will never suffer the French *fleur-de-lys* to become

\* This Carlo Martello will be described at greater length in Canto viii, 31, *et seq.*

† *l'armi*: Tommaséo, Witte, and Scartazzini read *arme*; but all the old Commentators and most of the *Codices* read *armi*. The meaning is the same. The singular *arme* has *armi* in the plural; the singular *arma* has *arme* in the plural. Both are found under the same heading in the *Gran Dizionario*. I understand the word in this passage to mean "armorial bearings." See *Gran Dizionario*, s.v. *arme* or *arma*, § 157: "Scudo o altro in cui sono dipinte le insegne d'una famiglia, d'un principe, d'una nazione." "Questo novello Carlo non si creda che Dio trasmuti l'Arme, cioè l'Aquila per la fiordeligi, arme di esso Carlo; cioè non si pensi che Iddio voglia che questo segno dell'aquila si disperda e perda, e rimanga solamente invece di quello l'insegna di Francia." (Daniello.)

the standard of universal Empire, in place of His chosen ensign, the Eagle.

*Division III.* Justinian, after the long digression in which he has related the exploits of the Imperial Eagle, now gives his reply to Dante's *Second Question* as to why he (Justinian) is in the Sphere of Mercury. The spirits in this Sphere acted righteously in their lives, but were not uninfluenced by the desire for worldly fame; and hence, as Jesus Christ had said: "He that exalteth himself shall be abased," they have to abide in a lower sphere.

Questa picciola stella \* si correda †  
 Dei buoni spirti, che son stati attivi  
 Perchè onore e fama li succeda;  
 E quando li disiri poggian ‡ quivi

115

\* *picciola stella*: "Il cielo di *Mercurio* si può comparare alla *Dialettica* . . . che *Mercurio* è la più piccola stella del cielo; chè la quantità del suo diametro non è più che di dugento trentadue miglia, secondochè pone *Alfragano*." (*Convito* II, 14, ll. 90-95).

† *si correda*: "Cioè, si adorna." (Buti.)

‡ *poggian*: The primary meaning of *poggiare*, as given in the *Gran Dizionario*, is "to mount up on high, to raise oneself up." See § 1: "Salire ad alto. Perchè nel salire una parte del corpo s'appoggia, s'appunta per prendere il movimento." It is not however used in this sense in ordinary conversation, where it has oftener the signification of "to rest," but in early writers it is constantly used, as here, in the sense of ascending. See *Sanazzaro, Arcadia*, Pros. v: "Cominciammo pian piano a poggiare il non aspro monte." Compare also *Petrarch*, part iv, son. 4:

"Onde al vero valor conven ch' uom poggi."

and *Ariosto, Orl. Fur.* xliii, st. 2:

"Alcun la terra e 'l mare e 'l ciel misura . . .

E poggia sì, ch' a Dio riguarda in seno."

Casini observes that Dante has here again followed the teaching of *St. Thomas Aquinas*, who (*Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2<sup>dæ</sup>,

Sì disviando, pur convien che i raggi  
Del vero amore in su poggin men vivi.

This little planet is made beautiful by the good spirits, who have been active in order that honour and fame may come after them. And when the desires thus going astray (from the love of God) mount up thither (*i.e.* aim at the acquisition of honour and fame), it follows of necessity that the rays of the True Love mount upward less vividly (*i.e.* love for higher and holier things is less intense).

Benvenuto says that Justinian next replies to a tacit question that was in Dante's mind, namely, to ask whether these spirits were not made sad, or at all events less joyful, by being in a lower sphere. "By no means," says Justinian. Like Piccarda and her companions, they contemplate with increased joy the beauty of Divine Justice which so rightly apportions the rewards of Heaven.

Ma nel commensurar dei nostri gaggi\*  
Col merto, è parte di nostra letizia,

qu. cxxxii, in several passages, art. 1-4) evidently shows that the love of human glory is to be deemed a venial sin, provided that it be not in opposition to Charity, and be cultivated for the benefit of our neighbour.

\* *gaggi*: "Dal latino *vas, dis*, o dal gotico *wadi*, voce antiquata usata da Dante nel *Par. vi*, 118, al plurale, e proprio nel senso del francese *gages*, ricompensa, salario." (Blanc, *Voc. Dant.*) In Donkin's *Etymological Dictionary of the Romance Languages*, London, 1864, I find: "*Gaggio*, It., Sp., Pg., Pr., Fr. *gage*, pledge, wages, Pr. *gudi, gazi*, will, testament; vb. Pr. *gatjar*, O. Fr. *gager* to pledge; Fr. *engager* to pawn (Engl. *engage*); Fr. *Degager*. (Low Latin has *vadium wadium*, bail, pledge, vb. *wadiare, invadiare, disvadiare, revadiare*. Not from the Latin, for the *v* would remain soft, but from the Gothic *vadi* (partly from *vidan* to bind, partly from *vas vadis*), Old High German *wetti*, Modern ditto *wette*, Old Frisian *ved* pledge; vb. Goth. *gavadjôn* to promise, Modern High German *wetten*, German *wetten* to bet."

Perchè non li vedem minor nè maggi.\* 120

But in the proportioning of our guerdon to our merit, is a part of our joy, because we see them (to be) neither less nor more (than what is our just due).

In the lines that follow we may notice the same ideas that were expressed by Piccarda, in Canto iii, 70-87.

Quindi addolcisce la viva giustizia

In noi l' affetto sì, che non si puote

Torcer giammai ad alcuna nequizia.

Diverse voci fan giù † dolci note ;

Così diversi scanni ‡ in nostra vita, 125

Rendon dolce armonia tra queste rote.

Hence the Living Justice (God) doth so sweeten our affection, that it can never be perverted to any iniquity (such as Envy, or Presumption). Down (in the world) diverse voices make sweet melody ; so in this life of our's the diverse grades (of blessedness) render harmony among these Spheres.

In the episode that follows, it must be remembered that *romèò* § means "a pilgrim to Rome," and the word is used by Giov. Villani (vi, 90) in that sense in

\* *maggi* for *maggiori*. Compare *Inf.* vi, 47, 48 :

"a si fatta pena

Che s'altra è maggio, nulla è sì spiacente."

† *fan giù* : Others read *fanno*.

‡ *scanni* : "Domus est una, quia unum et summum Bonum, id est Deus ipse; sed diversitas mansionum ibi erit." (Peter Lombard, *Sent.*, lib. iv, dist. 49.) Compare *St. John*, xiv, 2 : "In my Father's house are many mansions: if it were not so, I would have told you."

§ In the *Vita Nuova*, § xli, ll. 42-51, Dante defines the different species of pilgrims : "In tre modi si chiamano propriamente le genti, che vanno al servizio dell' Altissimo. Chiamansi *Palmieri* in quanto vanno oltramare là onde molte volte recano la palma; chiamansi *Peregrini* in quanto vanno alla casa di Galizia, però che la sepoltura di santo Jacopo fu più lontana dalla sua patria, che d'alcuno altro Apostolo; chiamansi *Romei* in quanto vanno a Roma."

relating this story, which is involved in some uncertainty. Scartazzini notices that the Commentators all follow Villani, and speak of "un romèo." Benvenuto first mentions the personage as *quidem peregrinus*, but goes on to say of him: "Et interrogatus saepe de nomine suo et sorte, vocabat se Romeum, idest *romipetam* et peregrinum." Dante mostly followed the legends in vogue in his time.

The *real history* is this. Romieu de Villeneuve, who was born about 1170, was the Grand Seneschal, Constable, and first minister of Raymond Berenger IV, the last of the Counts of Provence. After that prince's death in 1245, Romieu remained as the sole administrator of the County, as well as the guardian of Raymond's fourth and youngest daughter Beatrice, whom Romeo gave in marriage to Charles of Anjou. She is mentioned in *Purg.* vii, 127, *et seq.* Romieu died in 1250. *The legend* as given by Villani, and further amplified by Buti and the early Commentators, relates that a certain pilgrim from the shrine of St. James of Compostella, visited the Court of Count Raymond, and found such favour with him, that he made him lord of all his substance. He is said to have brought about the marriage to King Louis (*Saint Louis*) of France of the Count's eldest daughter, and afterwards fulfilled his promise of procuring royal husbands for the other three daughters. Having afterwards incurred the envy of the barons of Provence, and being accused of defalcations and mismanagement of the affairs of State, the Count called on him for a reckoning. This he immediately gave, but then, notwithstanding the Count's penitence, and



entreaties that he would remain, he insisted on departing, poor as he came, with only his scrip, his staff, and his mule, nor was he ever heard of again. (See Raynouard, *Journal des Savants*, 1825, p. 294, *et seq.* on the episode of Romée). Hence we gather that the Romeo of history, in contrast to the one of the legends, was neither poor nor a pilgrim, nor did he abandon the court to become a pilgrim.

E dentro alla presente margarita \*  
 Luce la luce di Romeo, di cui  
 Fu l'opra bella e grande mal gradita.  
 Ma i Provenzali che fer contra lui 130  
 Non hanno riso, e però mal cammina  
 Qual si fa danno del ben fare altrui.  
 Quattro figlie † ebbe, e ciascuna regina,  
 Ramondo Beringhieri, e ciò gli fece  
 Romeo persona umile e peregrina; 135  
 E poi il mosser le parole biece ‡

\* *margarita*: Compare *Par.* ii, 34, 35:

"Per entro sè l'eterna margarita  
 Ne ricevette."

the *presente margarita* here means the Sphere of Mercury.

† *Quattro figlie*: The four daughters of Raymond Berenger were:

- (1) Margaret (born 1221, died 1295), married in 1234 to Louis IX of France (*St. Louis*).
- (2) Eleanor (died 1291), married in 1236 to Henry III of England.
- (3) Sancha (died 1261), married Richard, Duke of Cornwall, brother to Henry III, elected King of the Romans in 1257.
- (4) Beatrice who inherited her father's sovereignty, and married Charles I of Anjou, brother of Louis IX, and King of Naples and Sicily.

‡ *biece*: Casini remarks that *biece*, a form found also in *Inf.* xxv, 31, *opere biece*, and *bieci* in *Par.* v, 65, are all common expressions in early Italian. See Nannucci, *Analisi Critica dei Verbi Italiani*, p. 289, note (1).

A domandar ragione a questo giusto,  
 Che gli assegnò sette e cinque per diece.\*

And within this present pearl (the planet Mercury) shines the sheen of Romèo, whose good and great work was ill-requited. But the people of Provence who wrought against him have not had the laugh, and therefore that man treads an evil path who turns to his own injury the good deeds of another (*i.e.* by making himself guilty of Envy and Calumny). Four daughters had Raymond Berenger, and every one of them a queen, and this (*i. e.* the wedding of them to four kings) for him did Romèo, a man of low estate and a foreigner; and yet afterwards malignant words incited him (Count Raymond) to demand a reckoning (of his administration) from this upright man, who had rendered to him seven and five for ten.

This means that Count Raymond received his own with usury. Where he had given 10, Romèo repaid him with  $7 + 5 = 12$ . When Romeo rendered up his account, he showed the finances of the State to have enormously increased in prosperity.

Indi partissi povero e vetusto;

E se il mondo sapesse il cor ch' egli ebbe      140  
 Mendicando sua vita a frusto a frusto,†

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\* *sette e cinque per diece*: "Ma costui gli assegnò sette e cinque, cioè dodici, per dieci; in sentenza: gli assegno gran guadagno." (Landino.)

† *mendicando . . . a frusto a frusto*: While thus describing the imaginary poverty of Romieu, Dante was probably speaking of his own privations and sufferings during the long years of his exile. In *Convito* I, 3, ll. 15-33, he says of himself: "Ahi! piaciuto fosse al Dispensatore dell' Universo, che cagione della mia scusa mai non fosse stata; che nè altri contro a me avria fallato, nè io sofferto avrei pena ingiustamente; pena, dico, d' esilio e di povertà . . . . Per le parti quasi tutte, alle quali questa lingua si stende, peregrino, quasi mendicando, sono andato, mostrando contro a mia voglia la piaga della fortuna, che suole ingiustamente al piagato molte volte volte essere imputata."

Assai lo loda,\* e più lo loderebbe.”—

Thereupon he departed poor and stricken in years ;  
and if the world could know the heart which he had  
as he begged his livelihood morsel by morsel, (though)  
much it does praise him, (yet then) would it praise  
him still more.”

Justinian brings his long speech to an end, and this  
closes the Canto.

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\* *Assai lo loda* : Scartazzini remarks that the whole account of this Romèò, whether taken from the legends, or from history, seems to show him as anything but an ambitious or self-glorifying man. Why then is he placed in the Sphere of Mercury among those who wrought great deeds, but at the same time sought for honour and self-renown? Scartazzini thinks the answer is to be found in the words *assai lo loda*. While Justinian is the type of those who seek for honour and fame in great deeds, Romèò is instead the type of those who, in the exercise of humility, seek their own glory rather than that of God—in fact, men ambitious in their humility. Dante does not indeed say as much, but implies it by placing among the ambitious, this man who is seemingly so humble, and so far from the love of praise and worldly fame.

END OF CANTO VI.

## CANTO VII.

THE SECOND SPHERE.—THE HEAVEN OF MERCURY  
(*continued*).—EXPLANATION OF BEATRICE RESPECTING THE JUSTICE OF GOD ; THE REDEMPTION OF MANKIND ; THE DISSOLUTION OF THE ELEMENTS.

IN the last Canto the spirit of Justinian had said that, by the Crucifixion of Jesus Christ, God had wrought vengeance for the original sin of Adam. These words leave Dante's mind in a state of great perplexity, and in the present Canto we read how Beatrice, having by her intuitive knowledge divined his doubts, proceeds to dispel them.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into three parts.

*In the First Division*, from v. 1 to v. 51, the spirit of Justinian vanishes into a cloud of glory, and Beatrice touches on the first of Dante's doubts.

*In the Second Division*, from v. 52 to v. 120, a second doubt arising out of the first is discussed.

*In the Third Division*, from v. 121 to v. 148, a third doubt arising out of the second is similarly treated.

*Division I.* Justinian, in the very act of departing from Dante, breaks forth into a song of praise to the Lord of Hosts, and the Saints around him vanish as they join in the sacred Chorus. The hymn is in Latin.

the official tongue of the Christian Church, which tongue is specially used by the Blessed. Some Hebrew words are mixed with the Latin, perhaps because Hebrew was the language of the ancient Church, so that the hymn represents the Church, both before, and after Christ.

—“*Osanna\* sanctus Deus Sabaoth,  
Superillustrans claritate tua  
Felices ignes horum malachoth !†*” —

Così, volgendosi alla nota sua,  
Fu viso a me cantare essa sustanza,  
Sopra la qual doppio lume ‡ s' addua :  
Ed essa e l' altre mossero § a sua danza,  
E quasi velocissime faville,||  
Mi si velar di subita distanza.

5

“*Hosannah sanctus Deus Sabaoth, superillustrans claritate tua felices ignes horum malachoth !*” In such wise, turning round and round in time to his song, that substance (Justinian), upon whom a two-fold light is doubled, was seen by me to chant : and it and the others moved to their dance, and, like sparks exceeding swift, veiled themselves from me in sudden distance.

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\* “*Hosannah holy God of Sabaoth, abundantly illuming with thy brightness the blessed fires of these realms !*”

† *malachoth* : The right Hebrew word is *mamlachoth*, but Dante, who was ignorant of Hebrew, is said to have copied the word from the *Prologus Galeatus* of St. Jerome, where he read “*malachoth, idest regnorum.*”

‡ *doppio lume* : The expression “a twofold light is doubled,” refers to Justinian as Emperor and as Legislator. In the *Pro-cemium* to his *Institutions* he says : “*Imperatoriam majestatem non solum armis decoratam, sed etiam legibus oportet esse armatam.*”

§ *mossero* : “*Dimostra che le anime di quelle spere si voltano come il cielo con moto circolare, e che per tale moto si allontanano da Dante.*” (Landino.)

|| *faville* : Compare *Wisd.* iii, 7 (*Vulgate*) : “*Fulgebunt justii, et tanquam scintillæ in arundinetis discurrent.*”



The spirits in Paradise were usually gyrating in the same course as the sphere they were in ; and, having for a time interrupted their swift movement out of love for Dante, they have now resumed it, and like meteors, are at once borne away from Dante's sight.

Dante's mind is harassed by the following doubt.

How could the vengeance executed by means of Titus for the death of Christ be a just vengeance, if the death of Christ, under Tiberius, was a just death, such as is implied in Canto vi, 93, as being the penalty due to the sins of the race which He assumed, being "made sin for us"? If the judge is just in condemning the guilty one, how can the vengeance for the death of the guilty one be just? Reverence for Beatrice prevents Dante from putting to her this question in words.

Io dubitava, e dicea :—"Dille,\* dille,"— 10  
 Fra me,—"dille,"—diceva,—"alla mia donna  
 Che mi disseta con le dolci stille ;"†—  
 Ma quella riverenza che s'indonna‡  
 Di tutto me, pur per BE e per ICE,  
 Mi richinava come l'uom<sup>o</sup> ch'assonna.§ 15

\* *Dille*, et seq. : The repetition of this word three times expresses the intensity of Dante's wish to confide in his Lady, mixed, however, with timidity and hesitation.

† *le dolci stille* : "cioè colle dolci goccioline che significano la verità, la quale è dolce a gustare a chi la desidera." (Buti.)

‡ *s'indonna* : The *Gran Dizionario* on this : "Farsi donna nel sensi di Signora, *lat.* Domina ; *insignorirsi.*" Compare Petrarch, part I, canz. xii, st. 2 :

"Poi che sormonta riscaldando il sole,  
 Parmi qual esser sôle  
 Fiamma d'amor che n cor alto s'indonna."

and Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* canto v, st. 15 :

"Men può nel cor superbo amor di donna,  
 Ch'avidità d'onor che se n'indonna."

§ *Mi richinava come l'uom ch'assonna* : Venturi (*Similitudini Dantesche*, p. 134, sim. 225) says : "La similitudine nota l'atto

I was in doubt, and began to say: "Tell her, tell her," within myself: "Tell it to her," I added, "to my Lady, she who quenches my thirst with the sweet drops (of truth)." But that reverence which has become mistress of my whole being, even for BE and for ICE, bowed me down again as a man who is falling asleep.

Tommaséo says of BE and ICE that it is the outside of the name (*scorcio del nome*) of Beatrice, the mere elementary sound of the word, even as a few chords just struck upon a lute recall the music; in the same way does the outside skeleton of her name recall her presence to Dante. The sense of the words is: "That reverence which takes possession of my whole being merely to hear the beginning or the end of my Lady's name." Some have tried to make out that Dante was making a play upon the popular shortening of Beatrice's name into "*Bice*," but, as Andreoli points out, Dante is speaking of some sound, much shorter than his Lady's whole name, which would instantly arrest his attention; and the shortened and endearing form "*Bice*" was in such general use, that to hear it would be equivalent to hearing the whole name. All Dante's thoughts have been read by Beatrice, who at once proceeds to dispel his doubts.

Poco sofferse me\* cotal† Beatrice,  
E cominciò, raggiandomi d' un riso

---

puramente esterno degli effetti del sonno; ma tuttavia non pare molto conveniente il paragone dell'abbassamento del capo per timor rispettoso, con quello che viene dal bisogno di dormire."

\* *Poco sofferse me*: Compare *Purg.* xxxi, 10: "Poco sofferse, poi disse: 'Che pense?'"

† *cotal*: "Beatrice per poco tempo mi lasciò *cotale*, così incerto tra il chiedere o no la spiegazione del mio dubbio." (Casini).

Tal, che nel foco\* faria l'uom felice :  
 — "Secondo mio infallibile† avviso,  
     Come giusta vendetta giustamente                   20  
     Vengiata‡ fosse, t'ha in pensier miso ;  
 Ma io ti solverò§ tosto la mente :

\* *nel foco*, et seq. : Compare *Purg.* xxvii, 52-57, where Dante's painful transit through the flames is alleviated by allusions on the part of Virgil to the eyes of Beatrice.

† *infallibile* : Beatrice is the symbol of Ecclesiastical Authority, which cannot err. Compare *Corvito* ii, 4, ll. 31, 32 : "Secondo che la santa Chiesa vuole, che non può dire menzogna."

‡ *Vengiata* : On the alternative readings *vengiata* and *punita*, Dr. Moore (*Textual Criticism*, pp. 449, 450) observes : "The very large majority of MSS., Commentators, and Editors read *Punita* here ; yet I cannot but suspect that *Vengiata* is the true reading . . . In favour of *Vengiata* should be noted the obvious and distinct reference, almost amounting to a quotation, of the language of Justinian in the previous Canto, l. 92 :

"Poscia con Tito a far *vendetta* corse  
 Della *vendetta* del peccato antico."

and further that, when this passage is again referred to in l. 51, we find the words :

"che giusta *vendetta*  
 Poscia *vengiata* fu da giusta corte."

This, I am quite aware (adds Dr. Moore) would be a most dangerous and two-edged argument if unsupported . . . . But here there seem to be two other considerations to be taken into account : (1) there is independent evidence of a systematic tendency to modify and soften down strong expressions of this kind in other passages. This has been noticed and illustrated by examples under *Inf.* xi, 90. (2) Another possible motive for the substitution of *Punita* here might have been the notion of some pedantic or purist transcriber that the repetition *vendetta* . . . *vengiata* was inelegant." Witte, Scartazzini, and Casini all read *vengiata*.

§ *Ma io ti solverò*, et seq. : On this see Scartazzini's note, quoted also by Casini : "Dimostra Beatrice che fu giusta la morte di Cristo, e che giustamente furono puniti gli autori di essa. Giusta la morte, perchè avendo Cristo assunta l'umana natura dannata nel padre comune, essa natura fu giustamente punita sulla croce. Ma avendo Cristo conservata la sua natura divina accanto alla umana, essa natura divina fu sacrilegamente perseguitata ed offesa. Con altre parole : La morte di Cristo era giusta inquanto egli era uomo, sacrilega inquanto Dio.

E tu ascolta, chè le mie parole  
Di gran sentenza ti faran presente.

Not long did Beatrice suffer me (to remain) thus, and began, beaming upon me with such a smile that it would render a man happy in the (very) flames: "According to my infallible judgment, (the question as to) how a vengeance that was just could be with justice avenged, has set thee thinking; but I will speedily set thy mind free; and do thou hearken, because my words will bestow on thee the gift of a great doctrine.

The substance of the explanation given by Beatrice is based upon one of the refinements of the Schoolmen, who erroneously contended, that although it was just that Christ, having assumed Man's nature, which had been doomed by the Father of All, should be punished as Man upon the Cross, yet, as He had still retained His Divine nature, it was sacrilege to offer violence to the Son of God. But this is a scholastic over-refinement, in which the Unity of the two Persons God and Man in Christ is forgotten.

Beatrice touches briefly on the original sin of Adam.

Per non soffrire alla virtù che vuole 25  
Freno\* a suo prode, quell' uom che non nacque,†

---

È un'arguzia scolastica, che dimentica l'unità della persona. Non furono due, un uomo ed un Dio, che morirono sulla croce, ma una sola persona, cioè l'*Uomo-Dio*." "Poena crucis, considerata deitate, fuit ineffabiliter iniquissima et injusta, sed considerata humanitate ejus et carne propter ejus antiquum excessum, respectu habito ad ejus totalitatem, justa fuit et salutifera." (Pietro di Dante).

\* *Freno*: *Fraenum concupiscentiae* was the scholastic term to denote the original justice which kept Sensuality in subservience to Reason.

† *quell' uom che non nacque*: This means Adam, whom Dante (*De Vulg. Eloq.* 1, 6, ll. 5-7) calls: "Vir sine matre, vir sine lacte, qui neque pupillarem aetatem nec vidit adultam." Cor-

Dannando sè, dannò tutta sua prole ;  
 Onde l' umana specie inferma giacque  
 Giù per secoli molti\* in grande errore,  
 Fin ch' al Verbo di Dio† di scender piacque, 30  
 U' la natura,‡ che dal suo fattore  
 S' era allungata, unfo a sè in persona  
 Con l' atto§ sol del suo eterno amore.

noldi says : " L' uomo che non nacque fu Adamo il quale colla sua disubbidienza nocque a sè e alla posterità : perchè da lui in tutti derivò il peccato originale, e diè occasione a tutte le altre colpe."

\* *secoli molte* : Compare *Par.* xxvi, 118-120 :  
 " Quindi onde mosse tua Donna Virgilio,  
 Quattromila trecento e due volumi  
 Di sol desiderai questo concilio."

† *Verbo di Dio* : " Il Verbo di Dio ch' è la seconda persona della SS. Trinità, discese in terre, cioè per opera dello Spirito Santo ch' è eterno amore, si unì alla natura umana in Cristo. In Cristo c' era la vera natura umana che si era da Dio peccando dilungata, ma non individualmente peccatrice ; perchè nè ci era nè ci poteva essere in essa il peccato originale ; ma e per l' unione sua col Verbo e per la grazia ricevuta, era tutta pura e santissima." (Cornoldi). Compare the opening words of the Gospel of St. John in the *Vulgate* : " In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum." Compare also St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. xxxiv, art. 2 :) " Verbum proprie dictum in divinis personaliter accipitur, et est proprium nomen personae Filii ; significat enim quamdam emanationem intellectûs. Persona autem quae procedit in divinis secundum emanationem intellectûs, dicitur Filius ; et hujusmodi processio dicitur generatio . . . Unde relinquitur quod solus Filius proprie dicatur Verbum in divinis."

‡ *U' la natura*, etc. : " In terra, dove per virtù dello Spirito Santo congiunse alla propria natura divina in unità di persona la natura umana, che si era allontanata da Dio per il peccato originale." (Casini). Compare also *Convito* iv, 5, ll. 16-23 : " Volendo la smisurabile Bontà divina l' umana creature a sè riconformare, che per lo peccato della prevaricazione del primo uomo da Dio era partita e disformata, eletto fu in quell' altissimo e congiuntissimo Concistoro divino della Trinità, che 'l Figliuolo di Dio in terra discendesse a fare questa concordia." *U'* stands for *ove* (Latin *ubi*).

§ *Con l' atto*, et seq. : " Per solo atto d' amore, per opera dello



By not enduring a curb to his Free-Will for his own advantage, that man (Adam) who was never born, by damning himself, damned all his posterity. Whereby the human race down in the world lay sick for many centuries in great error, until it pleased the Word of God to come down to where He united to Himself in (His own) person, by the sole act of His Eternal Love, that Nature which had been far estranged from its Maker.

Beatrice goes on to show that this human nature, when God created it in Adam, was pure and good; but it then got vitiated by sin, and forsook the way of the Lord God in which alone can there be eternal life.

Or\* drizza il viso a quel ch' or si ragiona :  
 Questa natura† al suo Fattore unita, 35  
 Qual fu creata, fu sincera‡ e buona ;  
 Ma per sè stessa§ pur fu ella sbandita

Spirito Santo." (Poletto). Compare St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars iii, qu. xxxii, art. 1:) "Conceptionem corporis Christi tota Trinitas est operata. Attribuitur tamen hoc Spiritu sancto." St. Thomas gives three reasons (*triplici ratione*) for this.

\* *Or . . . or*: Scartazzini feels certain that the alternative reading *a quel che si ragiona* must be rejected, and that which I have adopted, *a quel ch' or si ragiona*, preferred. The second "*or*" is a complement affirmative of the time.

† *natura*: Lana says that the human nature that was assumed by the Word of God was pure and undefiled by the sin of Adam. Compare St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars iii, qu. xv, art. 1:) "Non eodem omni modo Christus fuit in Adam, et in aliis patribus, quo nos ibi fuimus. Nos enim fuimus in Adam secundum seminalem rationem, et secundum corpulentam substantiam . . . Christus non accepit activè ab Adam humanam naturam, sed solum materialiter, activè vero a Spiritu sancto; sicut et ipse Adam materialiter sumpsit corpus ex limo terrae, activè autem a Deo. Et propter hoc Christus non peccavit in Adam, in quo fuit solum secundum materiam."

‡ *sincera*: On *sincero* as meaning "pure, unadulterated," see *Par.* vi, 17 (footnote), and again l. 130, of the present Canto.

§ *per sè stessa, i.e. per sua colpa*. Compare *Purg.* xxviii,

Di Paradiso,\* perocchè si torse  
Da via di verità e da sua vita.†

But *now* direct thy gaze to what I shall *now* reason out : This nature joined to its Maker was pure and good ; as it was created (in Adam) ; but through its own fault alone was it banned out of Paradise, because it turned itself out of the path of truth, and from its own life.

Beatrice continues her argument.

La pena dunque che la croce porse, 40  
S' alla natura assunta si misura,  
Nulla giammai sì giustamente morse ;  
E così nulla fu di tanta ingiura,‡  
Guardando alla persona che sofferse,  
In che era contratta § tal natura. 45

Therefore the penalty which the cross inflicted, if it be measured by the nature thus assumed, never did any ever strike (*lit.* bite) so justly (*i.e.* upon Jesus Christ made man) ; and similarly never was there any (penalty) of such iniquity, when one considers who the Person was that suffered, to Whom such a

---

where speaking of the Terrestrial Paradise, Matelda tells Dante (92-94) that the Supreme Good created Man good.

“e questo loco  
Diede per arra a lui d'eterna pace  
Per sua diffalta qui dimorò poco.”

\* *Paradiso* : Understand *Terrestre*, *i.e.* the Garden of Eden.

† *vita* : Compare *Deut.* xxxii, 47 : “It is not a vain thing for you ; because it is your life ; and through this thing ye shall prolong your days in the land.”

‡ *ingiura* is another form for *ingiuria*, which word has also the other forms *injuria*, *ingiulia*, and *ingiurio*. See *Gran Dizionario*. Scartazzini notices that Dante in several passages suppresses the “*i*,” using *sorco* for *sorcio* (*Inf.* xxii, 58) ; *pane* (plural) for *panie i. e.* floods of pitch. (*Inf.* xxi, 124) ; *varo* for *vario* (*Inf.* ix, 115) ; *matera* for *materia* (*Purg.* xviii, 37 ; and *Purg.* xxii, 29).

§ *contratta* : I follow Buti, who interprets *contratta* as “conjoined ;” and the *Gran Dizionario*, quoting this passage, confirms that interpretation.

nature was conjoined (*i.e.* there could be no greater crime than the crucifixion of the God-Man).

Beatrice now explains to Dante that one and the same act can be, from different points of view, both good and bad. The Passion of Jesus Christ, although of itself a good and holy thing, and of vital advantage to Man, was not wrought by the Jews for that good end, but that they might inflict injury on Christ; and therefore the said Passion, although it fulfilled the words of the Prophets, who for a good object wished it to happen, was by the Jews brought about for a bad end, because they only desired evil to Christ. So, if anyone steals to help his mother, the end is bad, for although it is right to assist one's mother, yet it is bad to assist her in a sinful way. On the other hand, if any one aims an arrow at a wild beast, for the purpose of giving food to a sick and poor man, and the arrow kills a man who is unseen in the wood, the action was either a meritorious one, or at all events without importance.

Però d' un atto uscir\* cose diverse ;  
 Ch' a Dio ed ai Giudei piacque una morte :  
 Per lei tremò la terra† e il ciel s' aperse.

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\* *uscir*: "Della morte di Cristo nasce due considerazioni, l'una lo piacere di Dio a redimere l'umana generazione per tal modo, l'altra la iniquitate delli Giudei a fare patire pena a persona innocente, per invidia." (Lana).

† *tremò la terra*: See Cornoldi on this: "Tremò la terra quasi detestando il deicidio, si aperse il cielo per accogliere la umanità redenta con la stessa morte." Compare *Purg.* x, 34-36:

"L'angel che venne in terra col decreto  
 Della molt'anni lagrimata pace,  
 Che aperse il ciel dal suo lungo divieto."

and St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars. iii, qu. xlix, art. 5):  
 "Per passionem Christi liberati sumus . . . et aperta est nobis

Non ti dee oramai parer più forte,  
 Quando si dice che giusta vendetta 50  
 Poscia vengiata fu da giusta corte.\*

Therefore from one action issued things diverse ; for the one same death was pleasing both to God and to the Jews : at it the earth quaked, and the heaven was opened. Henceforth it should no longer seem to thee difficult, when it is said that a just vengeance was afterwards avenged by a just Tribunal (namely by Titus the executor of Divine Justice).

The Earth quaked in horror at the Jews' crime, and the Gate of Heaven was opened to admit the Elect. The death of Christ was pleasing to God (says Cary), inasmuch as it satisfied the divine justice ; and to the Jews, because it gratified their malignity.

*Division II.* Beatrice now tells Dante that she sees that he is troubled with the following doubt : Why was Man's redemption to be worked out in that especial way ? Could not God have redeemed the human race in some other way than by the death of His Son ?

Dante, who took his theological ideas principally from St. Thomas Aquinas, puts the following doctrine into Beatrice's mouth :

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janua coelestis . . . ante passionem Christi nullus intrare poterat regnum coeleste."

\* *giusta corte* : In *Par.* vi, 92, we read that the Eagle "poscia con Tito a far vendetta corse," for the death of Christ. All the old Commentators understand *giusta corte* in the present passage to refer to Titus, as the executor of the Justice of God, and I follow that mode of interpretation. The more modern Commentators think the words refer to the Tribunal of God itself. Compare also *Purg.* xxi, 82-84 :

"Nel tempo che il buon Tito con l'aiuto  
 Del sommo Rege vendicò le fora  
 Ond' usci il sangue per Giuda venduto," etc.

The human soul, created by God *directly*, *i.e.* without the assistance of secondary causes, is therefore incorruptible and eternal. By right of its origin it possesses these attributes in particular above all others created by God, namely, (*a*) that it resembles Him, and (*b*) that His Divine Love beams with more life upon it (the soul). But by sin Man forfeited his celestial privileges, remained void of every kind of good, deprived of the friendship of God, and condemned to certain perdition. To regain his primal condition he was under the necessity of filling this void by proportionate satisfaction.

Now to purchase back Divine Grace and his lost dignity, it was necessary, (1) either that Man should by himself make reparation for his guilt, or (2) that God Himself should undertake for him.

But for Man to purchase back his own worth was impossible.

It remained then for God to redeem him. God could do so in two ways, namely (1) by Mercy; (2) by Justice.

God willed to make use of both these instruments, namely, (1) Mercy impelled the Divine Word (Logos) to become incarnate. (2) Justice nailed Him to the Cross. No other means would have been sufficient to satisfy Divine Justice, except the humiliation of the Son of God.

The above is the substance of the long exposition which Beatrice now makes, and Scartazzini observes that Dante's ideas on the subject correspond to those expressed by St. Anselm of Canterbury in his celebrated treatise entitled *Cur Deus homo?* The subject



was also discussed by St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* iii, 46-49); St. Augustine; St. Gregory the Great; Peter Lombard (*Sent.* iii, 20, 7); Albertus Magnus; and Alexander of Hales.

Ma io veggì' or la tua mente ristretta \*

Di pensier in pensier dentro ad un nodo,†  
Del qual con gran disio solver s'aspetta.

Tu dici: 'Ben discerno ciò ch'ì' odo ;

55

Ma perchè Dio volesse, m'è occulto,  
A nostra redenzion pur questo modo.‡

But I now perceive that thy mind involved (as it passes) from thought to thought within a knot from which with eager longing it waits to be released. Thou sayest: 'I well understand what I hear (namely, that the just vengeance was avenged by a just tribunal), but why God willed this sole means for our redemption (the death of His Son) that is obscure to me.'

Benvenuto agrees with St. Augustine that, although

\* *ristretta*: Brunone Bianchi, and Scartazzini explains this "invillupata o angustiata, passando da uno ad altro pensiero." Buti renders it "rinchiusa."

† *nodo*: Compare *Inf.* x, 94-96, where Dante asks Farinata degli Uberti to solve a doubt (*nodo*) for him which has confused (*invilupata*) his judgment:

"Deh, se riposi mai vostra semenza,  
Prega' io lui, 'solvete mi quel nodo,  
Che qui ha invilupata mia sentenza.'"

‡ *questo modo*: St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars iii, qu. xlvi), after having given his answer to the question in art. 1, *utrum fuerit necessarium Christum pati pro liberatione humani generis*, next in art. 2 propounds the further question, *utrum fuerit possibilis alius modus liberationis humanæ quam per passionem Christi*; and then, in art. 3, enquires still further, *utrum fuerit aliquis modus convenientior ad liberationem humani generis quam per passionem Christi*, and to this last (art. 3) he replies: "Respondeo dicendum quod tanto aliquis modus convenientior est ad assequendum finem, quanto per ipsum plura concurrunt quæ sunt expedientia fini."

other ways of saving our souls could have been possible with God, none could have been more fitting; and that we have no business to say that God ought, or ought not, to have redeemed the world in some other way; because God did it, not to discharge an obligation, but simply out of loving-kindness.

Poletto, in his Commentary, observes that it will be profitable for readers of this Canto, to compare the argument of Beatrice as to the mode of redeeming Man selected by God, with all that St. Thomas Aquinas has said on the same subject, were it only to note how Dante's marvellous genius has enabled him to turn into most beautiful poetry the argumentative researches of the theologian; and the earnest Faith, which was the consolation of Dante's heart, lent aid to his imagination in finding out a field as well as methods to illumine certain truths.

Beatrice next begs Dante to note the reasons why this ordinance of the Incarnation has been the cause of so much misunderstanding and ignorance; and Benvenuto says one ought first to realize that no man can be a fitting hearer of sacred science, unless he be humble, purified, faithful, and earnest. It is only those whose minds have not been *literally educated* into the Love of God, and have failed to attain to a profound knowledge of holy things, to whom the reason of this high purpose of God is a veiled mystery. "Nullus malus (says Benvenuto) potest esse perfectus metaphysicus."

Questo decreto, frate,\* sta sepulto  
 Agli occhi di ciascuno, il cui ingegno

---

\* *frate*: Beatrice addresses Dante thus as "my Brother"

Nella fiamma d'amor non è adulto.\*

60

Veramente,† però ch'a questo segno

Molto si mira, e poco si discerne,

Dirò perchè tal modo fu più degno.

This decree (of the Incarnation), my brother, lies buried from the eyes of every-one, whose intelligence has not become matured in the flame of love. Nevertheless (*veramente*), inasmuch as at this mark one gazes much, and understands little, I will declare why this mode was the most worthy.

Poletto remarks that in these last lines there peeps out a vein of sarcasm on Dante's part against the vain speculations of the Schoolmen, at which he also has a fling in *Par. xxix, 74 et seq.* Beatrice's argument is that it is no use studying the question and not understanding it; for it can, and should, be understood.

twice in this Canto, the second time being in l. 130. She has done so twice before, namely in *Par. iii, 70*:

“Frate, la nostra volontà quieta  
Virtù di carità.”

and in *Par. iv, 100*.

\* *adulto*: “Arrivato al debito compimento di crescere.” (*Gran Dizionario*). Cornoldi is very clear on this *terzina*: “Afferma Beatrice che il modo o il decreto della redenzione, tale quale fu, non è capito da veruno, per sapiente che sia, se non ha in sè vera carità. Quindi i sapienti increduli (se pur può un incredulo, il quale contraddice anche a' principii di ragione, appellarsi sapiente) ascoltano la dottrina che spiega il modo, ma diconla fantasia o stoltezza.”

† *Veramente*: See the word in the *Gran Dizionario*, § 3: “Talora è come un'eccezione alle cose dette, un temperamento del troppo risoluto affermare; e in Dante più volte corrisponde a *Tamen*.” We find the word so used in various passages in the Divina Commedia, notably in *Purg. vi, 43, 44*:

“Veramente a così alto sospetto  
Non ti fermar.”

See my note on this in *Readings on the Purgatorio*, second edition, London, 1897, vol. i, p. 206.

Casini sums up very tersely what follows from l. 64 to l. 120; making comparatively plain what is very involved and somewhat arid. He says that Beatrice argues that the human soul, as the immediate creation of God, is eternal, endowed with freedom, and conformed to the likeness of God (ll. 64-78), but sin deprives it both of its freedom and its conformity with God, so that it cannot re-acquire that dignity until after just penitence (ll. 79-84); the whole human race sinned through Adam, and could only be redeemed by the Grace of God and individual virtue (ll. 85-93). But of itself it could not be redeemed (ll. 97-102), wherefore God had to accomplish this end by bringing His Mercy and Justice to bear upon it (ll. 103-114); so that God gave Himself for the redemption of Man, fulfilling the sole act that was adequate to the need (ll. 115-120).

La divina bontà, che da sè sperne

Ogni livore,\* ardendo in sè sfavilla †

65

Sì, che dispiega le bellezze eterne.

---

\* *livore*: See the *Gran Dizionario*, § 4, on the most common signification of this word, which in its primary sense means "pallor"; "Passione d' invidia; dai segni ch' essa lascia apparire nel volto di chi n' è malato." Dante uses it in the same sense in *Purg.* xiv, 83, 84, where Guido del Duca says:

"Che se veduto avessi uom farsi lieto,

Visto m' avresti di livore sparso."

Compare also Michelangelo Buonarroti il Giovane, *La Fiera*, *Giorn.* v, att. iv, sc. 3:

"Qual per livore, e qual per vil lentezza

Nel ben operare."

and Boëthius, *Philos. Consol.* iii, Metr. 9;

"verum insita summi

Forma boni livore carens."

see also Plato, *Timæus*, 29, E. to which Benvenuto alludes.

† *sfavilla*: Witte reads *scintilla*, but I follow Dr. Moore in reading *sfavilla*. Tommaséo, in his *Dizionario dei Sinonimi*,

The Divine Goodness, which spurns from Itself all envy, burning within Itself so sparkles (*sfavilla*) that it unfolds its eternal beauties.

This means that the entire creation was the work of Divine Love, and, as Dean Plumptre remarks, the solution starts from the conception of the absolute goodness of the Divine Will. Scartazzini gives the following amplification of the above *terzina*: "The Divine Goodness, which drives far away from itself all affections not in accordance with Charity, burning within itself, beams forth in a way that unfolds its eternal beauties even on the outside."

Beatrice having thus touched on the creation of things in general, now speaks of those creations which are eternal, and emanate directly from God without the co-operation of "secondary causes." She "discriminates," says Longfellow, "between the direct or immediate inspiration of God, and those influences that come directly through the stars."

Ciò che da lei senza mezzo distilla  
Non ha poi fine, perchè non si move  
La sua impronta,\* quand'ella sigilla.

---

7th edition, Milan, s. d. p. 581, sin. 2125, distinguishes between the two: "*Favilla*, di fuoco; *scintilla*, di luce. La prima dice segnatamente l'ardore; l'altra la luce. . . . Faville d'amore escono, dice l'amante, dagli occhi dell'amata donna: e l'amata donna avrà il cuore freddo più della selce (*flint*). Occhi *sfavillanti* dice più che *scintillanti*. . . . Sfavilla propriamente la luce del sole; le stelle scintillano. Le stelle di maggiore grandezza non sarà forse improprio, quasi per estensione, chiamarle *sfavillanti*." Benvenuto renders *sfavilla*, "idest, splendet, velut fons lucis."

\* *impronta*: What God creates by a direct act, *i.e.* the angels and the souls of men, bears on it this stamp of eternity, and its annihilation is inconceivable (Plumptre). Compare St. Thom.



Ciò che da essa senza mezzo \* piove 70  
 Libero è tutto, perchè non soggiace  
 Alla virtute delle cose nuove. †  
 Più l'è conforme, ‡ e però più le piace ;  
 Chè l'ardor santo, ch'ogni cosa raggia,  
 Nella più simigliante è più vivace. 75

Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. lxxv, art. 1): "Omnes creaturae Dei secundum aliquid in aeternum perseverant, ad minus secundum materiam; quia creaturae nunquam in nihilum rediguntur, etiamsi sint corruptibiles. Sed quanto creaturae magis appropinquant ad Deum, qui est immobilis, tanto magis sunt immobiles." As regards the impress of the seal of God, compare *Purg.* xxxiii, 79-81:

"... Sì come cera da suggello,  
 Che la figura impressa non trasmuta,  
 Segnato è or da voi lo mio cervello."

\* *senza mezzo*: Compare *Convito* iii, 14, ll. 35-37: "Nelle Intelligenze raggia la divina luce senza mezzo, nell'altre si ripercuote da queste Intelligenze prima illuminate." Compare also St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars. i, qu. lvi, art. 3): "Imago Dei est in ipsa natura angeli impressa, per suam essentiam angelus Deum cognoscit, in quantum est similitudo Dei. Non tamen ipsam essentiam Dei videt: quia nulla similitudo creata est sufficiens ad repraesentandam divinam essentiam. Unde ista cognito magis tenet se cum speculari; quia et ipsa natura angelica est quoddam speculum divinam similitudinem repraesentans."

† *cose nuove*: "By 'things new' are here meant Secondary Causes, as distinct from the direct operation of God, the First Cause. They are 'new' because created later than those 'First Effects' produced by God without other intervention." (Hasel-foot). The words are so understood by Tommaséo, Andreoli, Biagioli, Lombardi, Cesari, Scartazzini, Br. Bianchi, and Fraticelli; but the old Commentators, almost without exception, understand "le influenze dei cieli che sono nuovi in quanto sono creati." Compare St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, 2<sup>dæ</sup> qu. xix, art. 4): "In omnibus causis ordinatis effectus plus dependet a causa prima quam a causa secunda quia causa secunda non agit nisi in virtute primae causae."

‡ *conforme*: "Gli angeli predetti e le anime umane sono più somiglianti a Dio: quindi a Dio più piacciono: giacchè la divina bontà (ch'è l'oggetto primario dell'amore divino) la quale risplende in ogni cosa, in quelle cose, che sono a Dio più somiglianti, più risplende." (Cornoldi.)

That which from It (Divine Goodness) proceeds (*lit.* distils) without intervention (of Secondary Causes) thenceforth has no end (*i.e.* is immortal), because the impress can never be removed when It sets Its seal. That which from It without (other) intervention showers down is wholly free, because it is not subject to the influence of Secondary Causes (*lit.* new things). The more it (the creature) is in conformity with It (Divine Goodness), the more it pleases on that account; for the holy ardour (of Love), whose rays penetrate everything, is most radiant in that which most resembles Itself.

When Dante speaks of conformity, he is indicating the three special privileges of Man created by God, *viz.*

(a) his immortality (l. 68.)

(b) his freedom (l. 71.)

(c) his similitude to God (ll. 73-75.)

And thereby Man is the special object of Divine Contentment.

From his creation by God, from his immortality, from his freedom, from his similitude to God, and from the Love of God in him, Man is an especially privileged being.

Di tutte queste cose\* s'avvantaggia  
L'umana creatura, e s'una manca,  
Di sua nobiltà convien che caggia.  
Solo il peccato è quel che la disfranca,†

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\* *tutte queste cose*: "Cioè che l'anima umana hae libero arbitrio, ed è eterna ed è disposta a ricevere tale splendore . . . se è suddita al peccato e non è in libero arbitrio o se non riceve per lo peccato lo splendore divino sì cade di sua nobiltade." (Lana).

† *disfranca*: Sin deprives the human soul of its Freedom (*la disfranca*), as well as of its similitude to God. We have our Lord's own words in corroboration of this. See *St. John* viii, 31-34: "If ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed ;

E falla dissimile al Sommo Bene, 80  
 Perchè del lume suo poco s' imbianca ;\*  
 Ed in sua dignità mai non riviene,  
 Se non riempie dove colpa vòta,  
 Contra mal dilettar† con giuste pene.

By all these things the human creature has been especially privileged, and if (even) one be lost, he must perforce fall away from his nobility. It is sin alone which doth disfranchise him, and renders him unlike the Chief Good, so that he is but little illumined by Its radiance ; and he can never return to his (former) dignity, unless, where transgression makes empty he makes full again, with righteous penalties for evil joys.

Man having sinned only too heinously against God, what course was there left to him to attain salvation and to raise himself from the depths into which he had fallen? One of two things. Either that God should pardon him, or that man should of himself regenerate himself.

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and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free. They answered him, We be Abraham's seed, and were never in bondage to any man : how sayest thou, Ye shall be made free? Jesus answered them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin."

\* *poco s' imbianca*, et seq.: On this Cornoldi observes, that sin does not altogether annihilate Man, who retains his essence and nature. There remains in him some radiance of the Divine Goodness, but Grace is taken from him, and so he is but little illumined (*poco s' imbianca*). The subject of sanctifying grace is the essence of the soul, and from sin results emptiness of that grace. To refill that *void* righteous penalties (*giuste pene*) are requisite, namely, contrition, good purpose, and a vow of firm resolution to make satisfaction for the evil that was wrought when wishing for what was opposed to the Will of God. Only when the aforesaid *void* has been replenished, does the soul return to its former dignity.

† *mal dilettar*: This does not only refer to carnal joys, but to every gratification of the desires for that which God wills not. (Cornoldi).

Vostra natura, quando peccò <i>tota</i> *	85
Nel seme suo, da queste dignitadi, Come da Paradiso, fu remota ;	
Nè ricovrar poteasi,† se tu badi	
Ben sottilmente, per alcuna via, Senza passar per l'un di questi guadi :‡	90

\* *tota*: Compare *Par.* xx, 130-132 :

“O predestinazion, quanto remota  
È la radice tua da quegli aspetti  
Che la prima cagion non veggion *tota*!”

In his *Analisi Critica*, p. 155, note (2), Nannucci peremptorily waves aside the statement of Lombardi and other Commentators, that Dante has in these two passages inserted *tota* for *tutta* for the sake of the rhyme, and adds that in early times in all the Romance languages that was the mode of writing the word, namely, *Tot*, *tota* in Provençal ; *tot*, *tote*, in old French ; *todo*, *toda*, in Spanish ; *tota*, in Portuguese. And if in Italy one says quite correctly *totale*, *totalmente*, *totalità*, why could not the early Italian writers say *tota* except for the sake of the rhyme? *Tota* is found in the *Dittamondo* of Fazio degli Uberti, *lib.* cap. 22 :

“N'ebbe di qua fra noi la gente *tota*.”

and Frezzi (*Quadriregio*, lib. ii, cap. 3) has *toto* :

“Più fredda cosa non ha 'l Mondo *toto*.”

† *poteasi*: This with *ricovrar* may either mean that human nature could not of itself recover the dignities it had lost ; or, that it could not recover itself. Others read *poteansi*, *i.e.* “queste dignitadi non poteansi ricovrare,” meaning “these dignities once lost could not be recovered.” I follow Dr. Moore in reading *poteasi*. Scartazzini reads *poteasi* in his Leipzig edition (1882) ; and *poteansi* in his Milan edition (1893).

‡ *guadi*: Here again we have a discrepancy of readings. *Guadi* is adopted by Benvenuto, Witte, the *Codice Cassinese*, the Aldine, Velutello, Daniello, Lombardi and others ; while the reading *gradi*, is preferred by Buti, Landino, and the *Quattro Prime Edizioni*. On these two readings Cesari (*Bellezze*, vol. iii, p. 121) says: “Dante dice ; *senza passar per un di questi guadi*, che è bellissimo parlar poetico. Questo scappar fuori di tratto con la metafora in luogo del proprio, fa bellissima prova ; diletando molto al lettore ; il quale si credea procedere al suo passo naturale ; esser condotto per altro modo da lui non aspettato, al suo intendimento ; e ciò con una figura, che di repente gli pone innanzi un'altra idea più bella di quella che portava il discorso. Così questa voce *guadi*, gli rappresenta un braccio

O che Dio solo per sua cortesia \*

Dimesso avesse, o che l' uom per sè isso †

Avesse soddisfatto a sua follia. ‡

When your whole nature sinned in its seed (*i.e.* through Adam), it was driven out of these dignities, as out of Paradise; nor could it (of itself) recover them, if thou consider it very subtly, by any way, except by passing through one of these fords (*i.e.* passages from sin to grace): either that God simply out of His clemency should have remitted (the debt), or that Man by himself had made atonement for his foolishness (*i.e.* sin).

But God could not remit the debt to Man without injustice; and Man could never have found in himself sufficient virtue to re-elevate himself to the condition of his first purity, from the state of humiliation to which he had reduced himself; so that God alone

di mare che convenga *passare* per esser di là. Alcuni codici hanno *gradi*; e l' ho per buona lezione. Tuttavia al modo dell'immaginar di Dante, parmi che più s'accosti *passar un guado*, che *un grado* . . . I due mezzi adunque o *guadi*, che a passar erano per ricoverar l'uomo, erano; o che Dio rimettesse la colpa, ovvero che l'uomo soddisfacesse egli del suo."

\* *Dio solo per sua cortesia*: *Solo* stands here for *solamente*, and Fraticelli interprets the sentence: "Dio Solamente per sua clemenza." Casini: "libertalità." Philalethes: "Gütigkeit." In the *Vita Nuova*, § xliii, ll. 12, 13, Dante speaks of God as "Colui ch' è Sire della cortesia."

† *isso*: Nannucci (*Anal. Crit.* p. 227, note (1) derives *isso* from the Latin *ipso*, and quotes *ipsa* occurring as an Italian word in *Dittamondo*, lib. vi, cap. vi, terz. 1: "Si svara più, quanto più pensa in ipsa." And to disprove the assertion that *isso* was used here for the sake of the rhyme, Nannucci quotes two passages where the word is used in prose, *Framment. Stor. Rom.* lib. i, cap. vi: "Allora li Romani se comenzaro a fare gabe (*gabbe*, jests) de isso." And Matteo Spinello (a writer between 1230 and 1268): "Et isso a pena si salvao per la bontà dello suo cavallo."

‡ *follia*: See Plato (*De Republica*, *passim*) as to folly and wickedness being synonymous terms.



could resuscitate Man, either by Mercy alone, or by the combination of Mercy with Justice.

Ficca mo\* l'occhio per entro l'abisso  
 Dell'eterno consiglio, quanto puoi 95  
 Al mio parlar distrettamente † fisso.  
 Non potea ‡ l'uomo nei termini suoi  
 Mai satisfar, per non poter ir giuso  
 Con umiltate, ubbidendo poi,  
 Quanto disubbidiendo intese ir suso ; § 100

\* *mo*: The combination of *mo* in this line with *isso* in l. 92 is similar to *Inf.* xxvii, 19-21, where the shade of Guido da Montefeltro addresses Dante:

“Udimmo dire: ‘O tu, a cui io drizzo  
 La voce, e che parlavi mo Lombardo,  
 Dicendo: *issa ten va, più non t'adizzo.*”

See my notes on that passage, and also on another, *Inf.* xxiii, 7:

“... più non si pareggia mo ed issa,”

in *Readings on the Inferno*, vol. ii, p. 225.

† *distrettamente*: Casini explains this *terzina*: “nella profondità degli eterni decreti divini (*Purg.* vi, 121), tenendoti stretto, per quanto puoi, al mio ragionamento.” Some read *discretamente*, which, as Mr. Butler observes, must be translated “with discernment.”

‡ *Non potea*, etc.: Man, in his condition of a finite entity, would never have been able to perform an adequate penitence. Landino's comment on this is quoted by all the modern commentators: “La ragione perchè egli non potea satisfare in quanto uomo è, che lui avendo peccato per superbia, per voler apparecchiarsi a Dio (perciocchè volendo sapere il bene ed il male, era agguagliarsi a Dio), lui non potea ubbidendo discendere in tanta bassezza, che fosse pari all'altezza di Dio, alla quale disubbidendo era voluto salire. Imperocchè l'altezza di Dio è infinita; ma nessuna bassezza si trova, che non sia finita.” I have no space to quote the following two apt illustrations: Hugh de Saint Victor, *Erud. theol. de Sacram.* i, 8, 4; and St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars iii, qu. i, art. 2.)

§ *ir suso*: “La soddisfazione dell'uomo è finita. La colpa considerata quale ingiuria fatta a Dio, ch'è l'offeso, ha una gravità infinita.” (Cornoldi). By Man “aspiring to soar up,” we are to understand the allusion to Satan's words in *Gen.* iii, 5, (*Vulg.*): “Scit enim Deus quod in quocumque die comederitis ex eo, aperientur oculi vestri; et eritis sicut dii, scientes bonum et malum.”

E questa è la cagion per che l' uom fue  
 Da poter satisfar per sè dischiuso.\*  
 Dunque a Dio convenia con le vie sue†  
 Riparar l' uomo a sua intera vita,  
 Dico con l' una, o ver con ambo e due. 105

Now fix thine eyes within the abyss of the Eternal Counsel, as closely rivetted to my words as thou art able. Never could Man within his finite limits have made satisfaction, from not having the power to stoop in humility as low in subsequent obedience, as in his disobedience he had aspired to soar up; and this is the reason why Man was excluded from the power of making satisfaction by himself alone. There it was needful for God by His own ways to re-establish Man in his perfect life, I mean, by the one (way, *i.e.* by Mercy alone), or else by both (*i.e.* by Mercy and Justice combined).

God in His Wisdom determined to make use of the second of these ways, *i.e.* the combination of Mercy and Justice.

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\* *dischiuso*—*escluso*. See Cesari on this: "Egli (*i.e.* Man) s'era superbamente argomentato di montare ad una eccellenza infinita: potea forse abbassarsi altrettanto? no certo!" And Pietro di Dante: "Igitur cum anima in sua totalitate peccavit, non poterat reparari nisi culpa deleretur satisfactioe. Sed homo in suis terminis, idest in sua pura humanitate, qui voluit adjungi sapientiae Dei, non poterat se tantum infimare, ut ascendere praesumpsit; ergo insatisfacibilis erat."

† *Dio . . . con le vie sue*: See Cesari again: "Che sono queste *vie* di Dio? il suo operare, ed ordinamenti. Dante avea le Scritture alla mano; e questo *vie* è il linguaggio della Scrittura. Nel *Salmo* xxiv, 10: *Universae viae Domini misericordia et veritas*." (In the *Auth. Vers. Psalm* xxv). Compare St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars iii, qu. xlvi, art. 1): "Dicendum quod hominem liberari per passionem Christi conveniens fuit et misericordiae, et justitiae ejus. Justitiae quidem, quia per passionem suam Christus satisfecit pro peccato humani generis; et ita homo per justitiam Christi liberatus est: misericordiae verò, quia cum homo per se satisfacere non posset pro peccato totius humanae naturae . . . Deus ei satisfactorem dedit Filium suum . . . et hoc fuit abundantioris misericordiae quam si peccata absque satisfactioe dimisisset."

Ma perchè l'opra è tanto più gradita  
 Dell'operante, quanto più appresenta\*  
 Della bontà del core ond'è uscita ;  
 La divina bontà, che il mondo imprenta,†  
 Di proceder per tutte le sue vie 110  
 A rilevarvi suso fu contenta ;  
 Nè tra l'ultima notte e il primo die  
 Sì alto e sì magnifico processo,‡  
 O per l'una o per l'altra§ fu o fie.

But since the deed of the doer is ever the more prized, in proportion as it the more manifests the goodness of the heart from which it has emanated ; so Divine Goodness which sets its impress upon the world was content to proceed by all Its methods to lift you up again ; nor between the final night (of the

\* *appresenta* : Casini says that *appresentare* in the sense of "to make present," "to demonstrate," is a far preferable interpretation to that of "to give," "to bestow." See *Purg.* xxxi, 49-51 ; and *Par.* x, 32, 33.

† *imprenta* is from *imprentare*, or *improntare*, "to give an impress, stamp, or seal," to anything. Compare *Par.* xxvi, 25-27 :

"Ed io : ' Per filosofici argomenti,

E per autorità che quinci scende,

Cotale amor convien che in me s'imprenti."

and *Giov. Villani*, lib. vi, cap. 36 (or in some editions 37) : "Lo re Luis fece fare (in some editions this is *imprentare*) nella moneta del tornese grosso dal lato della pila le bove [*i.e. catene*, derive from Latin *bojæ*] da pregiioni." Compare also *Convito* iii, 12, ll. 62-64.

‡ *processo* : Cornoldi says : "Il *processo* include colpa, sentenza e pena della colpa dell'uomo. E fu così magnifico che tale altro non fu o sarà dal principio alla fine del mondo."

§ *O per l'una o per l'altra* : "Dr. Barlow (*Contributions*, p. 388) says that, with the exception of the six earliest editions, the reading *uno . . . altro* was 'for 200 years the established reading.' . . My own examination of twenty-nine editions gives the following result : *una . . . altra*, 11 : *uno . . . altro*, 11 : *una . . . altro*, 7 : *uno . . . altra*, none. Assuming *una . . . altra* to have been the original reading, the conjectural alterations seem due to the absence of any obvious grammatical antecedents for *una* and *altra*." (Dr. Moore, *Textual Criticism*, pp. 451-453).

Day of Judgment) and the primal day (the creation of light) has there been or shall there be ever so exalted and glorious a procedure, either by the one (method, Mercy) or by the other (Justice).

In other words, from the first instant of the creation of the world to its extinction, there will never have been so vast an exhibition of the excellence of the works of God, so that He in His Omniscience contrived a process for Man's redemption, in which the two factors of Mercy and Justice were combined.

Chè più largo\* fu Dio a dar sè stesso,† 115

A far l' uom sufficiente a rilevarsi,  
Che s' egli avesse sol da sè dimesso.

E tutti gli altri modi erano scarsi

Alla giustizia, se il Figliuol di Dio  
Non fosse umiliato‡ ad incarnarsi. 120

\* *largo*: The *Gran Diz.* § 6, interprets *largo* "Liberale, generoso," and at § 7: "magnifico, cortese, amorevole." Compare Petrarch, *Trionfo della Fama*, cap. ii, last lines:

"Dall' altra parte il mio gran Colonnese

Magnanimo, gentil, costante e largo,"

compare also *Par.* viii, 82-84:

"La sua natura, che di larga parca

Discese, avria mestier di tal milizia

Che non curasse di mettere in arca."

and *Convito*, iv, 27, ll. 104-114: "Conviensi anche a questa età essere *Largo*; perocchè allora si conviene la cosa, quando più satisface al debito della sua natura: nè mai al debito della *Larghezza* non si può satisfare come in questa età. Che se volemo ben mirare al processo d' Aristotile nel quarto dell' *Etica*, e a quello di Tullio in quello *degli Officii*, la *Larghezza* vuole essere a luogo e tempo, tale che il *Largo* non nocca a sè, nè ad altrui."

† *sè stesso*: Compare *Gal.* ii, 20: "The life which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me."

‡ *umiliato*: Compare *Phil.* ii, 8: "Being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross." Compare also St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars iii, qu. xlix, art. 6): "Christus in

For God was more bounteous in giving Himself in order to render Man capable of uplifting himself, than if He had of Himself alone granted (unconditional) forgiveness. And all the other methods were insufficient for Justice, if the Son of God had not humbled Himself to become incarnate.

*Division III.* Beatrice now clears away a third doubt which she supposes Dante may have, arising from what was said in the second solution, namely, that everything which emanates directly from God is eternal, because the impress which God sets on anything cannot be removed. Yet the elements, which issued from the hand of God are corruptible. Yes, but they were not *directly* created by God. God *did* create the Heavens and the Angels *directly*, and therefore they cannot see corruption. He created matter *directly* as well as Informing Virtue (*Virtù informante*), placing it in the stars: they therefore are incorruptible. But the life of brutes and of plants is created and brought into existence by the influence of the heavenly bodies upon matter predisposed to generate them. It remains then matter, not form. But human life *does* come *directly* from God, and not from Secondary causes, and is therefore immortal. The form also of the human body comes directly from God, Who formed our progenitors with His own Hand. Therefore of necessity the resurrection of the flesh must be admitted. (Scartazzini).

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sua passione seipsum humiliavit infra suam dignitatem quantum ad quatuor: primo quidem quantum ad passionem et mortem, cujus debitor non erat; secundo, quantum ad locum, quia corpus ejus positum est in sepulcro et anima in inferno; tertio, quantum ad confusionem et opprobria, quæ sustinuit; quarto, quantum ad hoc quod est traditus humanæ potestati."



Or, per empierti \* bene ogni disio,  
 Ritorno a dichiarare in alcun loco,  
 Perchè tu veggi lì così com'io.  
 Tu dici: 'Io veggio l'acqua, io veggio il foco,  
 L'aer, e la terra, e tutte lor misture † 125  
 Venire a corruzione, e durar poco,  
 E queste cose pur fur creature;'  
 Perchè, se ciò ch'ho detto è stato vero,  
 Esser dovrien da corruzion sicure.

Now well to satisfy (*lit.* fill) for thee every desire, I turn back to elucidate a certain point, in order that thou mayest have the same clear insight into it that I have (*lit.* that thou mayest see there as I do). Thou sayest [or according to Benvenuto, thou mightest object to me]: '*I see the water, I see the fire, the air, the earth, and all their combinations turn to corruption, and endure a short while, and these things were notwithstanding created things;*' and therefore, if that which I have said has been true, they ought to be secure from corruption.

Beatrice now distinguishes between what is the result of an immediate act of creation, and consequently incorruptible, and what is the work of intermediate and created agents, the effect of Second Causes, and therefore subject to decay.

Gli Angeli, frate, e il paese sincero ‡ 130

\* *per empierti*: Biagioli happily remarks that desire is, as it were, an emptiness, but when one fills it up, one remains satisfied.

† *lor misture*: Buti explains this as every variety of combination that can take place between the four elements of fire, air, earth, and water. Scartazzini observes that in the time of Dante it was a common belief that fire, air, earth, and water were elements, but that is nowadays shown to be a fallacy. These four *elements* as they were called, kept their place down to quite recent times, when modern chemistry dislodged them.

‡ *paese sincero*: See my note on *fede sincera* in the preceding Canto, l. 17, and also on l. 36 of this Canto. I notice that

Nel qual tu sei, dir si posson creati,  
 Sì come sono, in loro essere intero;\*  
 Ma gli elementi che tu hai nomati,  
 E quelle cose che di lor si fanno,  
 Da creata virtù † sono informati. 135  
 Creata fu la materia ch'egli hanno,  
 Creata fu la virtù informante ‡  
 In queste stelle, che intorno a lor vanno.

The Angels, my Brother, and the pure region  
 (Heaven) in which thou art, may be said to have  
 been created, just as they are, in their entire being.  
 But the elements which thou hast named, and those

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Dante only uses the word in the *Paradiso*, and it does not occur in either of the other *Cantiche*. It was a scholastic dogma that the heavens were incorruptible. See St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. xcviij, art. 1): "Aliquid potest dici incorruptibile tripliciter. Uno modo ex parte materiæ, eo scilicet quod vel non habet materiam, sicut angelus, vel habet materiam quæ non est in potentia nisi ad unam formam, sicut corpus coeleste." And *ibid.*, pars i, qu. lxxvi, art. 2: "Cum enim corpus coeleste habeat naturalem motum diversum a naturali motu elementorum sequitur quod ejus natura sit alia a natura quatuor elementorum. Et sicut motus circularis, qui est proprius corporis coelestis, caret contrarietate; motus autem elementorum sunt invicem contrarii, ut qui est sursum, ei qui est deorsum; ita corpus coeleste est absque contrarietate; corpora vero elementaria sunt cum contrarietate. Et quia corruptio et generatio sunt ex contrariis, sequitur quod secundum suam naturam corpus coeleste sit incorruptibile, elementa vero sint incorruptibilia."

\* *in loro essere intero*: See Buti: "cioè, in quello essere intero che ora sono: imperò che Iddio insieme creò la materia loro e la forma, *sì come sono*, cioè per quel modo che ora sono; e però si può conchiudere che debbono essere perpetui e liberi, imperò che senza mezzo dependono da Dio."

† *da creata virtù*: See Pietro di Dante: "Elementa creata a Deo non immediate, ergo non mirum si corrumpuntur; nam ab eo creata sunt natura naturante mediante."

‡ *virtù informante*: "Creata immediatamente da Dio, e perciò eterna, fu la materia degli elementi: e tale fu creata la virtù che *li informa*, dà loro l'essenza, distribuita in questi pianeti che ruotano intorno agli elementi." (Casini.)

substances which are composed from them, are informed by an influence (which was itself) created. Created was the matter which they have; created was the informing influence in those stars which circulate around them.

The passage that follows, which Casini considers one of the most obscure in the poem, is very difficult, and is interpreted differently by many. Most of the translators (except Haselfoot) make *anima* the nominative case to *tira*, but I follow Benvenuto, Lana, the *Ottimo*, Pietro di Dante, the *Anonimo Fiorentino*, *Falso Boccaccio*, Tommaséo, Scartazzini, Casini, Cesari, and many others, who make *lo raggio e il moto* the nominative case to *tira* ;\* and the following may be a useful paraphrasé of the sentence extracted from their inter-

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\* Scartazzini remarks that this mode of taking the sentence with *lo raggio e il moto* as the nominative case of *tira* is quite in conformity with the Scholastic doctrines. Compare St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. cxviii, art. 1): "Quidam posuerunt, animas sensitivas animalium a Deo creari. Quae quidem positio conveniens esset, si anima sensitiva esset res subsistens, habens per se esse et operationem. Sic enim sicut per se haberet esse et operationem, ita per se deberetur ei fieri; et cum res simplex et subsistens non possit fieri nisi per creationem, sequeretur quod anima sensitiva procederet in esse per creationem. Sed ista radix est falsa, scilicet quod anima sensitiva per se habeat esse et operationem, ut ex superioribus patet (qu. lxxv, art. 3); non enim corrumperetur, corrupto corpore. Et ideo cum non sit forma subsistens, habet se in essendo ad modum aliarum formarum corporalium, quibus per se non debetur esse; sed esse dicuntur, in quantum composita subsistentia per eas sunt. Unde et ipsis compositis debetur fieri. Et quia generans est simile generato, necesse est quod naturaliter tam anima sensitiva, quam aliae hujusmodi formae producantur in esse ab aliquibus corporalibus agentibus, transmutantibus materiam de potentia in actum per aliquam virtutem corpoream quae est in eis. Quanto autem aliquod agens est potentius, tanto potest suam actionem diffundere ad magis distans; sicut quanto aliquod corpus est magis calidum, tanto ad remotius calefactionem producit."

pretations. "From elementary matter, which in its quality has received the potency thereto, the stars, beaming and revolving, draw into action the sensitive soul of brute beasts, and the vegetative soul of plants." Cesari explains it well: "Le stelle diventano cause seconde da Dio degli effetti a' quali s'adoperano; ed ecco come: *L'anima* d'ogni bruto e delle piante Da *compleSSION* potenziata tira Lo raggio, e'l moto delle luci sante. E da ordinare così: *Lo raggio e'l moto delle luci sante tira l'anima d'ogni bruto e delle piante di virtù potenziata*: La luce e'l muoversi di quei corpi fu da Dio impressa di virtù informatrice dell'anima de' bruti, e delle piante, che hanno natura in potenza (*parlare scolastico*), da essere da quel raggio tirate a prendere quella forma."

L'anima d'ogni bruto e delle piante

Da compleSSION potenziata tira

140

Lo raggio e il moto delle luci sante.

The rays and motion of the holy lights (*i.e.* the stars) attract (into existence) the (sensitive) soul of every animal and (the vegetative soul) of every plant by means of its potential temperament (*i.e.* elementary matter predisposed to *become* them).

"This means (says Brunone Bianchi) that the stars by their glorious brilliancy and *their* motions attract from elementary matter (*compleSSION potenziata*) apt and predisposed by its essence to such generation, they attract, I say, the sensitive soul (the vital principle) of animals, and the vegetative soul of plants. Such souls or vital principles therefore, not being the immediate creation of God, are mortal."

But it is not so with the rational soul, which came direct from God, and is a divine creation.

Ma vostra vita senza mezzo spira \*

La somma beninanza,† e la innamora ‡

\* *spira*: Compare this passage with *Purg.* xxv, 68-72:

“sì tosto come al feto

L' articular del cerebro è perfetto;

Lo Motor primo a lui si volge lieto

Sopra tant' arte di natura, e spira

Spirito nuovo di virtù repleto.”

Compare also St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. xc, art. 2 and 3): “Anima rationalis non potest fieri nisi per creationem; quod non est verum de aliis formis . . . Anima autem rationalis est forma subsistens. Unde ipsi proprie competit esse et fieri. Et quia non potest fieri ex materia praejacente nec corporali, quia sic esset naturæ corporae; neque spirituali, quia sic substantiae spirituales invicem transmutarentur; necesse est dicere quod non fiat nisi per creationem . . . Quidam posuerunt quod angeli, secundum quod operantur in virtute Dei, causant animas racionales. Sed hoc est omnino impossibile, et a fide alienum. Ostensum est enim quod anima rationalis non potest produci per creationem. Solus autem Deus potest creare; quia solius primi agentis est agere, nullo praesupposito; cum semper agens secundum praesupponit aliquid a primo agente. Quod autem agit aliquid ex aliquo praesupposito, agit transmutando; et ideo nullum aliud agens agit nisi transmutando, sed solus Deus agit creando. Et quia anima rationalis non potest produci per transmutationem alicujus materiae, ideo non potest produci nisi a Deo immediate.”

† *beninanza*: Nannucci (*Anal. Crit.* p. 37, note 4) says that this word and its other form, *benignanza*, are not of the same derivation, though often confused together, chiefly, he thinks through the errors of copyists, rather than of writers. *Beninanza* he derives from the Provençal *ben* and *anar*, i.e. *bene andare*, and he understands it to signify “prosperity, happiness.” Alluding to the present passage, he observes that the best Codices read *benignanza*, and not *beninanza*. I hesitate to alter my translation from “the Supreme Beneficence” to “the Supreme Bliss,” but I quote Nannucci’s weighty authority, and leave the translation as it is. *Beninanza* occurs in *Par.* xx, 99:

“E vinta vince con sua beninanza.”

‡ *la innamora*: Compare with this the beautiful lines in *Purg.* xvi, 85-89:

“Esce di mano a Lui, che la vagheggia

Prima che sia . . . . .

L' anima semplicetta, che sa nulla,



Di sè, sì che poi sempre la disira.\*

But without any intermediary (*i.e.* without any operation of the heavens) the Supreme Beneficence directly inspires your (human) life, and so fills it with love for Itself, that it for ever afterwards desires it.

Beatrice concludes her long speech and this Canto by showing that the same argument is also true of Man's body. That also was represented in *Gen.* i, as created by the hand of God. And on this ground, as in itself sufficient, Dante is content to rest not only the immortality of the soul, but the resurrection of the body. I state (says Dean Plumptre) his argument without discussing it. It will be clear, at least, how remote his belief was from what we have learnt to call the doctrine of Conditional Immortality.

E quinci \* puoi argomentare ancora

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Salvo che, mossa da lieto fattore,  
Volentier torna a ciò che la trastulla."

\* *disira*: Compare *Convito*, iii, 2, ll. 47-59: "L'anima umana, ch'è forma nobilissima di queste che sotto il cielo sono generate, più riceve della natura divina che alcun'altra. E perocchè naturalissimo è in Dio volere essere, . . . l'anima umana *esser* vuole naturalmente e con tutto desiderio. E perocchè il suo essere dipende da Dio, e per quello si conserva, naturalmente disia e vuole a Dio essere unita per lo suo essere fortificare."

† *E quinci*, etc.: From this principle, that whatever God creates, is eternal, Beatrice tells Dante that he may necessarily infer the resurrection of the human body, if he will merely recollect that human flesh was created by God when He created Adam and Eve. Compare St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. xci, art. 2: "Prima formatio humani corporis non potuit esse per aliquam virtutem creatam, sed immediate a Deo." St. Thomas Aquinas further shows (in passage already quoted, pars i, qu. xcvi, art. 1, at l. 130) that the flesh of our first parents was incorruptible and immortal, and (in pars iii, qu. xlix, art. 3) that by original sin Man lost that dignity, but afterwards recovered it by the passion of Christ: "Satisfactio Christi habet effectum in nobis, inquantum incorporamur ei, ut membra suo capiti. Membra autem oportat capiti conformari.

Vostra resurrezion, se tu ripensi  
 Come l'umana carne fessi allora,  
 Che li primi parenti \* intrambo fensi."—

And hence (*i.e.* from the principle previously laid down that all that proceeds from God is eternal) thou mayest also deduce argument for your resurrection, if thou consider further how human flesh was formed at that time when the first parents were both created."

Et ideo sicut Christus primo quidem habuit gratiam in anima cum passibilitate corporis, et per passionem ad gloriam immortalitatis pervenit; ita et nos, qui sumus membra ejus, per passionem ipsius liberamur quidem a reatu cujuslibet poenae, ita tamen quod primo recipiamus in anima spiritum adoptionis filiorum, quo adscribimur ad haereditatem gloriae immortalis, adhuc corpus passibile et mortale habentes; postmodum vero configurati passionibus, et morti Christi, in gloriam immortalem perducimur."

\* *primi parenti*: Compare *Inf.* iv, 55:

"Trasseci l'ombra del primo parente."

END OF CANTO VII.

## CANTO VIII.

ASCENT TO THE THIRD SPHERE OF HEAVEN.—THE SPHERE OF VENUS.—THE SOULS OF THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF VENUS ON EARTH.—CHARLES MARTEL OF HUNGARY.\*—ROBERT KING OF NAPLES.—THE REASON OF THE CONSTANT DISSIMILARITY OF SONS FROM THEIR FATHERS.

IT would seem that, at the conclusion of the long discourse of Beatrice related in the preceding Canto, she and Dante commenced ascending into the Sphere of Venus. Benvenuto divides the present Canto into three parts.

*In the First Division*, from v. 1 to v. 30, Dante describes the Ascent into the Sphere of Venus, and the spirits he saw on arrival there.

*In the Second Division*, from v. 31 to v. 84, Dante's

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\* *Charles Martel of Hungary*: This personage must not be confounded with the Charles Martel of history, the powerful Mayor of the Palace and Duke of Austrasia, who in A.D. 732, between Tours and Poitiers, gained that great and decisive victory over the Saracens, which, in the words of Gibbon, "rescued our ancestors of Britain, and our neighbours of Gaul, from the civil and religious yoke of the Koran." The name of the famous Charles Martel is so universally known, and that of the character who comes before us in this Canto so much the contrary, that it might have been expected that writers on Dante should at once make this clear to their readers. Yet, with the exception of Mr. Butler, I have not met with a single translator or Commentator who has taken the trouble to warn his readers of the possible trap they might fall into.

interview with the spirit of Charles Martel of Hungary is related.

*In the Third Division*, from v. 85 to v. 148, Dante seeks and obtains from Charles Martel an explanation as to why, from a munificent and worthy father, there can descend a niggardly and degenerate son.

*Division I.* As a preliminary (says Casini) to entering into the Sphere of Venus, Dante, by way of explaining how that name came to be given to the planet, recalls and applies to this particular case all that Beatrice told him in a general way in *Par.* iv, 61-63.\* He begins by showing the fallacy of the pagan opinions as to the supposed influence of that planet. They believed that the beautiful Venus, revolving upon the Epicycle of the Third Sphere, influenced by her rays that foolish love that emanates from carnal appetite. The heathen not only adored Venus, but also Dione and Cupid, her supposed mother and son, who were thought to exercise the same influence, and one of their traditions maintained that Cupid, in the form of Ascanius, crept into the bosom of Dido, who was indisposed to love, and not only eradicated her old love for Sichæus, but made her burn with love for Æneas. According to the Ptolemaic system, an Epicycle was a small sphere upon which each planet revolved in the direction from West to East, at the same time that it was itself being carried from East to West by

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\* See *Par.* iv, 61-63, where, speaking of the influences of the Heavens, Beatrice observes:

“Questo principio male inteso torse  
Già tutto il mondo quasi, sì che Giove,  
Mercurio e Marte a nominar trascorse.”

the *Primum Mobile*. (It was also subject to a third and almost insensible revolution of one degree in a hundred years from West to East, owing to the "Precession of the Equinoxes." See *Conv.* ii, 6, ll. 136-144. This motion is derived from the slow revolution of the 8th Heaven, that of the Fixed Stars, as appears from *Conv.* ii, 15, l. 102 *et seq.*; and *Vita Nuova*, § ii, ll. 10-12. See Dr. Moore's *Studies in Dante*, p. 126, note showing that 3,600 is an absurd blunder for 36,000.) Therefore the Epicycle of the Third Planet, Venus, is also the Third Epicycle.

Solea creder lo mondo in suo periclo  
 Che la bella Ciprigna \* il folle amore  
 Raggiasse, volta nel terzo epiciclo ; †

\* *Ciprigna*: According to Pietro di Dante the ancients made a distinction between the pure Venus, the wife of Anchises, the goddess of honourable conjugal love, and the impure Venus, the wife of Vulcan, and the mother of Cupid. The latter Venus they believe to have been born in Cyprus, where in fact she had her principal temples, at Idalium and at Paphos.

Compare Ovid, *Metam.* x, 270, 271:

"Festa dies Veneri, tota celeberrima Cypro,  
 Venerat."

and Horace i, *Carm.* iii, 1:

"Sic te diva potens Cypri," etc.

and *Ibid.* iii, *Carm.* xxvi, 9:

"O quæ beatam, diva, tenes Cyprum."

† *epiciclo*: "Secondo Tolomeo, i pianeti facevano i loro movimenti in direzione opposta al moto diurno della rispettiva sfera, in un circolo particolare, che appellavano *epiciclo*, o perchè sovrapposto al circolo chiamato *eccentrico*, sulla circonferenza del quale sempre dovea trovarsi il centro dell'epiciclo; o perchè circolo principale, come quello che doveva rappresentare le apparenze più singolari, dipendenti dal moto proprio dei pianeti. Ciascuno di questi aveva l'epiciclo suo, tranne il Sole: quindi, cominciando la numerazione dalla luna, il terzo epiciclo, apparteneva alla stella di Venere." (Antonelli, *op. Tommaséo.*) Compare Dante's own words about it in *Convito* ii, 4, ll. 78-98: "In



Perchè non pure a lei facean onore  
 Di sacrificio e di votivo grido 5  
 Le genti antiche nell' antico errore;  
 Ma Dione onoravano e Cupido,  
 Questa per madre sua, questo per figlio,  
 E dicean ch'ei sedette in grembo a Dido;\*

sul dosso di questo cerchio (dell' Equatore) nel cielo di Venere . . . è una speretta che per sè medesima in esso cielo si volge; lo cerchio della quale gli Astrologi chiamano *epiciclo*. E siccome la grande spera due poli volge, così questa piccola . . . e così è più nobile, quanto è più presso di quello: e in su l' arco over dosso di questo cerchio è fissa la lucentissima stella di Venere . . . L' epiciclo, nel quale è fissa la stella, è uno cielo per sè, ovvero spera; e non ha una essenza con quello che l' porta, avvegnachè più sia connaturale ad esso che agli altri, e con esso è chiamato uno cielo, e denominansi l' uno e l' altro dalla stella." Dante had doubtless seen the following passage in St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars i. qu. xxxii, art. i): "Sicut in astrologia ponitur ratio excentricorum et epicyclorum ex hoc quod, hac positione facta, possunt salvari apparentia sensibilia circa motus coelestes; non tamen ratio haec est sufficienter probans, quia etiam forte alia positione facta salvari possent." On this quotation Cornoldi exclaims: "Notabile osservazione!" Compare the beautiful lines in Milton, *Par. Lost*, viii, 72-84:

"From Man or Angel the great Architect  
 Did wisely to conceal, and not divulge  
 His secrets to be scanned by them who ought  
 Rather admire; or if they list to try  
 Conjecture, he his fabric of the heavens  
 Hath left to their disputes, perhaps to move  
 His laughter at their quaint opinions wide  
 Hereafter; when they come to model Heaven  
 And calculate the stars, how they will wield  
 The mighty frame; how build, unbuild, contrive  
 To save appearances; how gird the sphere  
 With centric and eccentric scribbled o'er,  
 Cycle and epicycle, orb in orb."

\* *sedette in grembo a Dido*: Virgil (*Æn.* i, 657-722) relates how Venus sent Cupid under the semblance of Ascanius to excite feelings of love in the breast of Dido; Dante is more especially referring to ll. 715-722:

"Ille, ubi complexu Æneae colloque pependit,  
 Et magnum falsi implevit genitoris amorem,

E da costei, ond'io principio piglio,\*

10

Pigliavano il vocabol della stella

Che il sol vagheggia or da coppa or da ciglio.†

The world, in (the time of) its peril (before Christianity) used to believe that the lovely Cyprian (Venus), as she revolved in the Third Epicycle, inspired with her rays wild love; and hence not to her alone did the nations of old time (who were) old in their error render honour of sacrifices and votive cries: but honoured also Dione and Cupid, the former as her mother, the latter as her son, and told how he sat in Dido's bosom; and from her (Venus) from whom I am taking my prelude, they took the name of the star on which the Sun looks fondly, now behind him, now in front.

Benvenuto takes *il sol* as the nominative of *vagheggia*,

Reginam petit. Haec oculis, haec pectore toto  
Haeret; et interdum gremio fovet, inscia Dido  
Insidat quantus miseræ Deus! At memor ille  
Matris Acidaliae, paulatim abolere Sychaeum  
Incipit, et vivo tentat praevertere amore  
Jampridem resides animos desuetaque corda."

\* *principio piglio*: Compare this with two passages in Virgil, iv *Georg.* 316:

"Unde nova ingressus hominem experientia coepit?"

and *Æn.* iv, 284:

"Quae prima exordia sumat?"

† *da coppa* . . . *da ciglio*: *Coppa*, from the Latin *Caput*, *occiput*, Old It. *Co.* (Dante, *Inf.* xx, 76), is not to be confused with *Coppa* from the Latin *Cuppa*, a drinking-cup. *Coppa* in the former sense signifies "La parte di dietro del capo." The word survives in the German *Kopf*. In that sense we find it in *Inf.* xxv, 22:

"Sopra le spalle, dietro dalla coppa."

From this it comes to be used in the adverbial expression *da coppa* "behind." And as *coppa* expresses the hinder part of the body, so is *ciglio* (lit. an eyebrow) used adverbially with *da* to signify "in front." Frezzi (*Il Quadriregio*, lib. i, cap. i), has imitated Dante:

"E già il cor de' giovinetti Amanti

Destava Amore, e'l raggio della Stella

Che'l Sol vagheggia or dietro (*dietro*) ed or davanti."

in which I follow him, but some translators take *il sol* as the accusative. He says "*che 'l sol vagheggia*, idest, quam Venerem tanquam vagam suam pulcerrimam sol pulcerrimus respicit, *or da coppa*, idest, a tergo, et tunc est occidentalis, *or da ciglio*, idest a fronte, et tunc est orientalis." Dante alludes to this same phenomenon in *Convito* ii, 2, ll. 1-5: "La stella di Venere due fiata era rivolta in quello suo cerchio che la fa parere serotina e mattutina, secondo i due diversi tempi." Casini explains this: "la quale stella contempla il sole ora precedendolo nel mattino (Lucifero), ora seguendolo nella sera (Espero)." The following is the substance of Antonelli's remarks on the subject:

Venus being at a much greater distance from the Sun than Mercury, it follows that during one of her revolutions in her own orbit she travels much farther away from the Sun; because twice during that period she travels out of reach of the Sun's rays, and is seen sparkling with a soft but brilliant light, which renders her, after the Sun, the most radiant of all the planets. And possibly it was in consequence of this greater beauty that she came to be named after the goddess. During these greater digressions from the Sun, considered from the position of our Earth, at one time she follows behind the Sun in her daily gyration, and at another she precedes him. In the first of these cases Venus cannot be seen by us in the morning, because she does not rise until after the Sun is already above our horizon, but she is seen at evening after the Sun is set, when she takes the name of Hesperus: but in the second case she is no longer to be seen in the evening, as she sets before the Sun, but she is

then fully visible at dawn before sunrise, at which time she is called Diana\* (*sic*) or Lucifer.

The ascent from one Sphere into another Sphere has been so rapid, that Dante and Beatrice have already entered into that of Venus, and Dante only becomes aware of his transition by the greater loveliness of Beatrice, which increases more and more, as they ascend higher and higher, from Sphere to Sphere, and draw nigher to the glory of the Almighty.†

Io non m' accorsi del salire in ella ;

Ma d' esservi entro mi fece assai fede

La Donna mia, ch' io vidi far più bella.

15

I was not aware of our ascending into it (the Sphere of Venus), but of our being there my Lady gave me ample proof, whom I saw become more beautiful.

Dante now beholds the bright souls of those lovers who burn, not with an insensate, but with a pure and angelic love. They approach Dante and Beatrice singing a hymn so sweet, that there remains in Dante an inextinguishable thirst to hear it again.

E come‡ in fiamma favilla si vede,

\* "Diana : " It is so in Antonelli, and is so quoted by Poletto and Scartazzini.

† Dr. Moore writes to me : " There is a passage in Alfraganus which shows that (in a sort of confused sense) the heavens were continuous. I suppose the Equator of the *speretta* forming the Epicycle of one "Heaven," must have just reached to the circumference of the Equator of the Epicycle of the next "Heaven" above it. Alfraganus, quoting Ptolemy in c. 21, says: "inter orbes nihil est vacui;" and he goes on to explain that the maximum distance of any planet is the same as the minimum distance of the planet next beyond it, and he then gives the amount (as then believed) of these distances in each case."

‡ *E come*, et seq. : Scartazzini most aptly remarks that the two similes that are given here by Dante, seem so terse, so self-evident, and so real, that any comment upon them would tend

E come in voce voce si discerne,  
 Quando una è ferma e l'altra va e riede ;  
 Vid' io in essa luce altre lucerne\*  
 Moversi in giro più e men† correnti, 20  
 Al modo, credo, di lor viste eterne.‡

rather to obscure than to elucidate them. L. Venturi (*Simil. Dant.* p. 49, *Sim.* 74) writes: "Sale il Poeta alla fulgida stella di Venere, e vede *altre lucerne*, altre anime risplendenti. A spiegare com'ei le scorgesse per entro il corpo del lucente pianeta, usa due similitudini con verità e brevità, di cui egli, sopra tutti, possiede l'arte. *Come favilla* manda guizzi [*flashes*] di luce che ben si distinguono nel campo rosso della fiamma. *E come voce*, etc. Due voci che cantino all'unisono, paiono una sola. Ma se una tenga ferma la nota, e l'altra gorgheggi [*performs a shake*], si discerne questa da quella."

\* *altre lucerne*: Casini says that these are the blessed spirits of those, who had strong feelings of love in their lifetime, and are still in Heaven dominated by them. See v. 38 below: "E sem sì pien d'amor," etc., and *Par.* ix, 33:

"Perchè mi vinse il lume d'esta stella."

and *ibid.*, 95, 96, where Folco da Marsiglia says: .

"questo cielo

Di me s'imprenta, con'io fei di lui."

† *più e men*, etc.: On this see Lana (copied by the *Anon. Fior.*): "Qui describe la velocità del moto ch'avea nelli suoi movimenti, e ciò per allegoria hae a significare la perfezione dello amore, in che fiammeggiano le anime beate, essere differenziata . . . Nota che l'autore poetando le sopradette alme pone essere nel corpo della stella e quella stella volgersi sovra suo centro e questo fa perchè lo movimento attribuito a perfette sostanze dee essere perfetto; e circolare si è desso, come appare per lo Filosofo . . . adunque quelle alme ch'erano più presso lo centro della stella si muoveano più tarde, e quelle che erano più presso alla circonferenza, piu veloci, e tutte si moveano ad uno moto."

‡ *eterne*: This is the reading of an overwhelming majority of the best MSS. and editions, but a somewhat important minority, including the *S. Croce*, the *Codice Cassinese*, Benvenuto, and Witte read *interne*, which would mean "according to the separate inward contemplation of God possessed by each individual spirit, which interpretation is, after all, not very different from the other." Brunone Bianchi, who reads *eterne*, says: "In ragione del loro eterno vedere: più o meno profonda visione in Dio, più o meno rapido il moto." Read Dr. Moore's remarks (*Textual*



And as within a flame a spark can be seen, and as within the voice (of persons singing in harmony) a single voice can be distinguished, when the one is sustained and the other comes and goes; so saw I within that light other luminaries coursing with a circular movement with greater or less speed, according, as I imagine, to the measure of their eternal vision.

The lights approach nearer with great rapidity, and a sweet song is heard.

Di fredda nube non disceser venti,  
O visibili o no,\* tanto festini,†  
Che non paressero impediti e lenti  
A chi avesse quei lumi divini

25

*Criticism*, p. 477) on *Par.* xxiii, 115, where, while showing that in that passage *interna* is to be preferred, he says: "The difference between *eterna* and *interna* (which in the old type is written (*ī terna* or *iterna*) is very slight, and several cases occur of the interchange of these two words (e.g. *Par.* xvii, 9, etc., and even in *Inf.* iii, 2 (!) *auct.* Witte, *Prolegomena*, p. lx."

\* *O visibili o no*: "This passage, if not directly quoted from Aristotle's *Meteor.* iii, i, is evidently founded upon it, and is certainly to be explained by it. We may note especially the following passage in *Meteor.* iii, i (370 b. 32): '... τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ νέφους στρέφεται μὲν κύκλῳ τὸ πρῶτον διὰ τὴν εἰρημένην αἰτίαν, φέρεται δὲ κάτω διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ τὰ νέφη πυκνοῦσθαι, ἣ ἐκπίπτει τὸ θερμὸν καλεῖται δ', ἂν ἀχρωμάτιστον ἦ, τοῦτο τὸ πάθος τυφῶν,' κ. τ. λ. Hence we recognize (1) the descent of the storm from the cloud; (2) the presence of cold as the cause; and (3) the curious expression ἀχρωμάτιστον, explaining the insertion of the words '*o visibili o no*.' For Aristotle held lightning to be simply wind rendered visible by ignition. See *Meteor.* ii, ix (369 b. 6), 'καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἣν καλοῦμεν ἀστραπήν, ἣ ἂν ὡσπερ ἐκπίπτον τὸ πνεῦμα χρωματισθὲν ὀφθῆ'; and again, *De Mundo*, c. iv (395 a. 15), 'πυρωθὲν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ λάμψαν ἀστραπή λέγεται.' Hence Dante's simile, when interpreted by Aristotle, includes the comparison of swift motion to either lightning or hurricane, i.e. *venti visibili o no*. It will be observed that several quotations show the familiarity of Dante with this particular portion of Aristotle." (Dr. Moore's *Studies in Dante*, pp. 132, 133).

† *festini*: Compare *Par.* iii, 61:

"Però non fui a rimembrar festino."

Veduti a noi venir, lasciando il giro\*  
 Pria cominciato in gli alti Serafini.  
 E dentro a quei che più innanzi appariro,†  
 Sonava *Osanna* sì che unque poi  
 Di rüdir non fui senza disiro.

30

Never from icy cloud did winds, whether visible or no, descend with such swiftness, that they would not have seemed restrained and slow to one who had seen those lights divine coming towards us, (and) desisting from the circling that had been first begun by the Seraphim on high. And from the midst of those (spirits) that were the foremost to appear there was sounding *Hosannah* in (a strain of) such sweetness that never afterwards was I without desire of hearing it again.

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\* *lasciando il giro*, et seq.: This means that the new spirits interrupted their dance, or circular movement, which they had commenced in the Emyrean. Scartazzini quotes the following from the *Commentary* (apparently on this Canto only) of Alessandro Mariotti, Rimini, 1878: "Interrompendo la danza, che ha il suo principio insieme coll' altissimo cielo detto il Primo Mobile preseduto dal coro dei Serafini, il quale cielo aggira seco tutti gli altri cieli sottoposti. Que' santi adunque che nel cielo Empireo danzavano insieme coi Serafini (i più sublimi degli spiriti beati) discesi in Venere, per scontrare Dante e fargli oneste e liete accoglienze, continuavano ancora la loro danza, e non la lasciarono se non quando egli vi fu giunto." Scartazzini does not mention this commentary of Mariotti's among the authors in the list at the head of his Milan Commentary (1893), but in his Leipzig Commentary (1882) in the footnote at the beginning of this Canto, he says: "Oltre i soliti commenti ed i lavori speciali che andremo menzionando, si confronti sopra questo canto il commento *altrettanto magro che vasto* (?) pubblicato da Alessandro Mariotti, . . . Rimini, 1878; volume di 92 pagine." See also Pietro di Dante. • It may be remarked that, although the Seraphim were supposed by Dante to preside over the Ninth Heaven, the *Primum Mobile*, or *Ciel Stellato*, yet all the spirits in Heaven, whatever their rank, were simultaneously inmates of the Emyrean as well as of their own allotted Spheres.

† *quei che più innanzi appariro*: Benvenuto says that this refers to Charles Martel, Cunizza, Folco of Marseilles, and Rahab.

Benvenuto remarks that if the spirits in the Sphere of Mercury sang with such sweetness as they departed, how far more sweetly would those in Venus do so as they approached.

*Division II.* The spirit of Charles Martel of Hungary approaches Dante, and addresses him.

Indi si fece l'un\* più presso a noi,  
E solo incominciò:—"Tutti sem presti  
Al tuo piacer, perchè di noi ti gioi.

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\* *l'un*: Among the numerous accounts that have been written of Carlo Martello, or Charles Martel, I select that of Brunone Bianchi. This prince was the eldest son of Charles II, King of Naples and Apulia (surnamed *le Boiteux*, or *il Ciotto*) and of Mary of Hungary, the daughter of Stephen V, and sister of Ladislaus IV, King of Hungary. Ladislaus dying in 1290, Charles Martel, by right of his mother, became the legitimate heir of the throne of Hungary; although the prince that really did reign was his rival Andrew III, who died in 1301. Charles Martel himself died in 1295, at the age of 23, while his father was still living; but in 1291 he had married Clemence, daughter of Rudolph of Hapsburg, Emperor of Germany, by which marriage he had a son called Carl Robert, by contraction Carobert, who was recognized and elected King of Hungary in 1308. Charles II of Naples, who died in 1309, thinking that Carobert, the first-born of his eldest son was sufficiently provided for, and that his (Charles II's) second son Louis, was Bishop of Toulouse, made his third son Robert, Duke of Calabria, the heir of his dominions. Carobert by no means acquiescing in this arbitrary act of his grandfather, laid claim to the succession both to the Kingdom of Naples and the County of Provence by right of sonship to the eldest son of Charles II. The matter being referred to the judgment of Pope Clement V, he decided in favour of Robert. Charles Martel thus was only titular King of Hungary, and never sat on the throne. Benvenuto relates the private friendship that existed between Dante and this young prince, and the attractive qualities of the latter: "Carolus primogenitus, cognomento Martellus, juvenis magnæ indolis, fuit vere filius Veneris quia amorusus, gratiosus, vagus, habens . . . sanitatem, pulchritudinem, opulentiam, otium, et juventutem. Cum isto Dantes habuit certam familiaritatem [*intimate friendship*], cum venisset semel Florentiam cum ducentis juvenibus militibus accinctis in pari habitu vestium, et equis magnifice

Noi ci volgiam coi principi celesti\*

D' un giro, e d' un girare, e d' una sete,

35

Ai quali tu del mondo già dicesti :

ornatis more neapolitano ; . . . cum plausu receptus est a florentinis : venerat enim obviam patri, qui redibat de Gallia, facta pace cum domino Jacobo rege Aragonum, apud quem habebat tres filios obsides, scilicet Robertum, Raymundum et Johannem : quo tempore Dantes florebat in patria, juvenis viginti quinque annorum ; qui tunc ardens amore, vacans sonis et cantibus, uncis amoris promeruit gratiam istius juvenis Caroli." Prof. Isidoro del Lungo (*Dino Comp.* vol. ii, pp. 498-504) deals at length with the question concerning the date at which Charles Martel and Dante met at Florence, which he feels sure was in March 1294. Del Lungo speaks with great admiration of the "modo ampio e magnifico come Giovanni Villani (viii, 13) descrive la venuta di esso Carlo Martello e il *non breve* e festeggiato soggiorno di lui in Firenze nell'anno 1295." This date Del Lungo thinks is incorrect. He quotes an important document dated 31 March 1294 from the State Archives of Florence (*Provvisioni, Protocolli*, ii, c. 117), in which a certain expenditure is sanctioned to purchase cloth of gold "pro honorando Karolum Jerusalem et Sicilie regem illustrem, et dominam reginam uxorem suam, et etiam dominum Karolum regem Ungarie, in adventum quem nuper fecerunt ad civitatem Florentie." And Del Lungo sums up : "Eccoci veramente all'incontro in Firenze fra i due angioini : il re di Sicilia che veniva d'oltremonti [*reduce dalle carceri di Catalogna*], e il re d'Ungheria che veniva da Napoli ; lo Zoppo e il Martello ; incontro mal registrato dal Villani sotto il 1295." Del Lungo further quotes from another State Document (dated 5 May 1294) in which it is mentioned that the Comune of Florence sent a body of ambassadors, presided over by Vieri de' Cerchi, to go and meet Charles Martel at Siena. It is noteworthy that the word *Martello* as a proper name does not once occur in Dante's works. The surname of *Martel* does not imply a hammer, but is merely a common mediæval form for *Martin*.

\* *principi celesti*: In the *Commedia*, Dante followed the classification of Dionysius the Areopagite, who supposed each of the Spheres of Heaven to be under the motive power of one of the nine Orders of Angels. The Heaven of Venus was moved by the Order called "the Principalities," of whom Pietro di Dante says : "Isti motores tertii coeli dicuntur principatus ideo quod sibi *sub dictis* [? *subditis*] quae sunt agenda disponunt, et eis ad explenda divina mysteria principantur, secundum Magistrum Sententiarum."



*Voi che intendendo\* il terzo ciel movete ;*

E sem sì pien d'amor che, per piacerti,  
Non fia men dolce un poco di quiete."—

Then one of them drew nearer to us, and thus began by himself: "We are all of us ready to do thy pleasure in order that thou mayest have joy in us. In one orbit, in one circling, in one same thirst, are we rolling on with the Princes of Heaven (*i.e.* the Angelic Order called the Principalities), to whom thou

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\* *intendendo*: This is the first line of the first Canzone at the opening of *Convito* ii. And in *Conv.* ii, 6, ll. 154-161, Dante writes: "La forma nobilissima del cielo, che ha in sè principio di questa natura passiva, gira toccata da virtù motrice che questo intende [*"willing it so to move."* Miss Hillard's Translation]: e dico toccata, non corporalmente, per tatto di virtù, la quale si dirizza in quello. E questi Movitori sono quelli, alli quali s'intende di parlare." It must be observed here that while Dante, in the *Divina Commedia*, followed Dionysius the Areopagite in his classification of the motors of the Heavens, as he himself tells in *Par.* xxviii, 127-135; on the other hand, in the *Convito*, his classification seems to be that of Gregory the Great, so that in the *Paradiso* the motors of the third Heaven are called *Principati*, while in the *Convito* they are termed *Troni*. It is interesting to note that the composition of this canzone, the date of which is precisely fixed for us by Dante in the *Convito*, coincides exactly with the time of the visit of Charles Martel to Florence, which was in March 1294, as established by Del Lungo and others. In *Convito* ii, 2, Dante says that the interval between the death of Beatrice and his first sight of the *Donna Gentile* correspond with two revolutions of Venus in her Epicyle, *i.e.*, according to the received Ptolemaic Astronomy,  $2 \times 225$  days, *i.e.* 450 days, or 15 months, after June 1290. In other words, it was in September 1291. In *Convito* ii, 13, ll. 49-70, we are told that this Canzone was composed about 30 months afterwards, *i.e.*, in March 1294. Can we doubt that Dante then communicated it to his royal friend, who probably expressed his admiration of it? The death of Charles occurred within the year, and the friends do not appear to have met again. It is a touching incident that their first greeting in Paradise should recall the words of the song which was associated with their last intercourse on earth! See further the admirable article on the *Donna Pietosa* by Dr. Carpenter in a recent number of the Transactions of the American Dante Society.





Tanto s'avea, e:—"Di' chi siete,"—fue

La voce mia di grande affetto impressa.

45

After that my eyes had been reverently turned towards my Lady, and she had made them content and certain of herself (*i.e.* of her assent), they turned back to the Light (*i.e.* spirit) which had made so large a promise of itself, and: "Say who are you?" was my speech, imprinted by great affection.

Notice that Dante addresses the spirit with the reverential *voi* instead of *tu*, though some read *Di' chi sei tu*.\* Benvenuto reads *siete*, and comments: "*la voce mia impressa di grande affetto*, idest, informata magna affectione similis voci Caroli, *fue*, idest, fuit talis *deh! chi siete*, quasi dicat: suppliciter petivi cum reverentia magna, rogo vos dignemini dicere mihi quis estis . . . et loquitur in plurali ad majorem reverentiam." Dante must have had some intuitive perception that he was addressing a great personage. In *Par.* iii, 40, *et seq.* he asks his kinswoman Piccarda first for her own individual name in the second person singular, and then for information as to the lot of herself and her companions collectively in the plural: *se mi contenti del nome tuo, e della vostra sorte*.

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\* Scartazzini shows that the reading *Di' chi siete* was almost universal in the Old Editions and MSS. Daniello was the first to object to the combination of the singular *Di'* with the plural *siete*. But Parenti replied that Dante had used the same combination when addressing his ancestor Cacciaguida: *Voi siete il padre mio*. I may remark, moreover, that modern usage sanctions such expressions as *Vostra Maesta*, *Vostra Eccellenza*, *Vostra Signoria*, followed by the third person singular. As an instance, take the first line of Giusti's beautiful ode entitled *Sant' Ambrogio*, which begins ironically addressing the Austrian Minister of Police:

"Vostra Eccellenza che mi sta in cagnesco" etc.



La mia letizia mi ti tien celato,  
 Che mi raggia dintorno, e mi nasconde  
 Quasi animal di sua seta fasciato.\*  
 Assai m' amasti, ed avesti bene onde ;  
 Chè, s' io fossi giù stato, io ti mostrava  
 Di mio amor più oltre che le fronde.

55

Thus fashioned (*i.e.* altered in appearance) it said to me: "The world below possessed me (but) a short time; and had it been for longer, much evil that will befall, had never chanced. My gladness which radiates around me keeps me concealed from thee, and hides me like an animal (*i.e.* a silk worm) enswathed in its own silk. Much didst thou love me, and hadst good cause thereto; for had I remained on earth (*giù*), I would have shown thee somewhat more of my love than the leaves.

Charles would have let Dante taste of the *fruit* of his love, and not alone to gaze upon the blossoms and foliage that precede the fruit. There is an allusion here to the existence of a real friendship between Dante and the royal spirit, and, as Scartaz-

long continued. The *Postillatore Cassinese* has: "Quia melius stetisset regnum de curialitate mea (*i.e.* of Charles) quam de avaritia Roberti."

\* *di sua seta fasciato*: See Venturi, *Simil. Dant.* p. 273, Sim. 450: "La mia letiziante beatitudine mi circonda di raggi sì che cela a te il mio aspetto, come filugello [*a caterpillar*] si nasconde nel suo bozzolo [*cocoon*]. Nuovo e ingegnoso il paragone dei ricchi e lucenti stami [*threads*], di cui si cinge il baco da seta, con la fiammeggiante letizia, onde son circondati i celesti per ricchezza di sublimata natura." Venturi adds that Dante uses the word *fasciato* metaphorically to express the same idea in *Par.* xxvi, 135, where Adam, speaking of the Supreme Good, says:

"Onde vien la letizia che mi fascia."

The Dantesque idea has been poorly imitated by Fazio degli Uberti, *Dittamondo*, lib. i, cap. v:

"D' alpi, di mari, e di fiume s' inreta  
 La terra, perchè l' uomo alcuna volta  
 Ci è preso, come verme, che s' inseta."

zini points out, it is absurd to suppose that, had it not been a fact, Dante would have made in his poem the erroneous assertion of intimacy with a royal personage, when such an assertion would at once have covered him with the ridicule of his contemporaries.

Although it is probable that the friendship was formed on the occasion, alluded to above, of Charles's visit to Florence in 1294, when with his splendidly equipped retinue of 200 French and Neapolitan knights, he remained there (says Villani) 21 days, and showed great love to the Florentines; yet we know nothing for certain, and the sole proof of Dante's intimacy with Charles Martel rests upon ll. 55-57 of this Canto, and the allusions thereto by the old Commentators; although we hear from them nothing more detailed than is to be found in Benvenuto's account given above. De Gubernatis (*Il Paradiso di Dante*, Firenze, 1887) surmises that Dante must have met Charles, before the time of his own exile, at Florence, and entertained a warm affection for him, and possibly have anticipated his being some day called to the Imperial throne and doing for Italy what other Emperors had neglected to do; and De Gubernatis thinks that Charles's allusion to "showing Dante something more than the leaves of his love," might imply that had he ever come to the Imperial throne, he might have confided to Dante, as the only mind capable of grasping the full importance of the Imperial idea, the supreme control of the State. Bartoli (*Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, vol. vi, parte ii, p. 143, *et seq.*) asks how it is that Dante has gone out of his way to put into Paradise as one of



the blessed, this young Anjou prince, who had done nothing great in the world? Why should Dante, who is so inveterately fierce in his denunciations of the father, the hated Charles the Lamé, be so tender with the son, who, though titular King of Hungary, yet died at the age of 23, without having achieved a single deed in his short life to render him famous? Why should Dante place him in Paradise as one of the very few of his contemporaries whom he *does* mention as being there? It may have been because Dante wished to requite the personal kindness he had received from Charles; it may have been that Charles was a great admirer of Dante's poetry, a verse from which Dante represents him as quoting. Bartoli, however, is far more disposed to think that the real reason why Dante has introduced Charles Martel into his Paradise is for the express purpose of putting into his mouth a stern reprobation of his brother Robert, "the king only fit for preaching," (*Par.* viii, 147), "the avaricious niggard" *ibid.* 83, 84), who, as a usurper, was then sitting upon the throne that should rightly have belonged to Carobert, son of the elder brother Charles Martel; and, last but not least, because that same Robert, whose Vicar Ranieri di Zaccaria of Orvieto, in 1315, had pronounced against Dante a new sentence of banishment and death, a sentence which included also even Dante's sons.

Benvenuto says that Charles Martel, who up to this point has been speaking of the good dispositions of his mind towards Dante, now goes on to describe the vast dominions over which by right he should have reigned. These are, (*a*) the Countship of Provence;

(b) the Kingdom of Naples and Apulia; (c) the Kingdom of Hungary; (d) the Kingdom of Sicily.

Raymond Bérenger, Count of Provence, had four daughters. The three elder having espoused crowned heads, namely, the King of France, the King of England, and the elected King of the Romans (see footnote to Canto vi, 133), Raymond's sovereignty was inherited by his fourth daughter Beatrice. She married Charles of Anjou, who afterwards became Charles I, King of Naples and Sicily, and their son Charles II (*le Boiteux*) was the father of Charles Martel. He, therefore, as eldest son, should have succeeded to the County of Provence, as well as to the Kingdom of Naples.

Quella sinistra riva che si lava

Di Rodano, poi ch'è misto con Sorga,\*

Per suo signore a tempo m'aspettava: 60

E quel corno † d' Ausonia, che s'imborga ‡

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\* *Sorga*: La Sorgue is a small river which falls into the Rhone about five miles north of Avignon. It takes its rise in the celebrated fountain of Vaucluse, memorable for its connexion with Petrarch. Benvenuto says: "Sorgia fluvius purissimus admiscetur ipsi Rhodano apud Avinionem, cujus fons est notissimus diebus nostris potissime, quia novissimus poeta Petrarca ibi diu suum studium fecit, et magnam partem librorum suorum." The Sorgue and the Rhone formed the western boundary of the County of Provence.

† *quel corno*: The southern part of Italy, which then formed the kingdom of Naples and Apulia, takes a curve to the south something like a horn. Its extremities were to the east, Bari in Apulia; to the west, Gaeta in Campania; and to the south, Catona in Calabria. Its northern boundaries were the river Tronto on the Adriatic side of the Apennines; and the Verde, or Garigliano, on the Mediterranean side. This territory was in Dante's time generally termed the Kingdom of Apulia, the continental portion of the Kingdom of Naples. Sicily had already been lost to the kingdom.

‡ *s'imborga*: The *Gran Dizionario* merely gives the meaning "is filled with towns." Longfellow translates "is towned." But

Di Bari, di Gaeta e di Catona,\*  
Da ove Tronto e Verde† in mare sgorga.

That left bank which is laved by Rhone, after he has been mingled with the Sorgue, awaited me for its lord in due course of time. And that horn of Ausonia (Italy) which has for its suburbs (*i.e.* is bounded by) Bari, Gaeta, and Catona, (beginning) from where Tronto (to the east) and Verde (*i.e.* the Garigliano to the west) fall into the sea.

Charles Martel then describes the Kingdom of Hungary, of which he became *de jure* King, and was

I very much prefer the interpretation given by Casini, and which is also adopted by Haselfoot, who, in his note, says that the literal meaning of l. 61 is that the territory "makes suburbs" of these three towns, *i.e.* they are at its extremities. Casini says: "Per *borghi* s' intendevano nel medioevo i gruppi di case posti alle estremità delle città, fuori delle mura e in corrispondenza delle porte; il verbo *imborgarsi* dovrebbe dunque significare avere a modo di borghi, cioè, nel nostro caso, avere per estremi confini . . . La maggior parte dei commentatori spiega questo verbo nel senso di avere per città: inesattamente, perchè nè Bari e Gaeta erano le sole città del Regno, nè città fu mai il piccolo paese [*village*] di Catona, sull' estrema punta della Calabria di faccia alla Sicilia."

\* *Catona*: Some of the old editions read *Crotona* but nearly all the best MSS., the first four editions, Lana, *Anon. Fior.*, the *Post. Cass.*, Buti, etc., read *Catona*. *Crotona* which lies to the N.E. of Calabria Ulteriore, is by no means one of the extremities of the Apulian Kingdom, whereas *Catona* is in the point of Southern Italy, exactly facing *Messina*.

† *Verde*: This I understand to be the Garigliano, the ancient *Liris*, which, says *Benvenuto*, *labitur in mare tuscum*. Many have tried to prove, however, that the *Verde* referred to is a little stream of that name which flows into the river *Tronto* near *Ascoli*, in the *Marca d'Ancona*. But as *Blanc (Voc. Dant.)* points out, if this *Verde* were only the little tributary of the *Tronto*, it would be as though some writer, wishing to describe the frontier between England and Scotland, were to name first the *Tweed*, the real boundary river, and then the *Till*, a small stream that flows into it, instead of saying that the frontier is formed on the eastern side or portion by the *Tweed*, and on the west by the *Esk*. See note on *Purg.* iii, 131, in *Readings on the Purgatorio*, 2nd edition, London, 1897.

crowned, but never reigned there; and he further mentions that had Sicily not been lost to his grandfather, Charles I (of Anjou), at the " Sicilian Vespers " in 1282, he would also have reigned over that fair land.

Fulgeami già in fronte la corona	
Di quella terra che il Danubio riga	65
Poi che le ripe tedesche abbandona;	
E la bella Trinacria, che caliga*	
Tra Pachino e Peloro,† sopra il golfo	
Che riceve da Euro maggior briga,	
Non per Tifeo,‡ ma per nascente solfo,§	70

\* *caliga*: i.e. *si copre di caligine*, is covered with darkness, " la quale nella costa orientale, sopra il golfo di Catania dominato dal vento di scirocco o Euro, per la vicinanza dell' Etna spesso è offuscata di caligine e di fumo." (Casini).

† *Pachino e Peloro*: The ancient Cape Pachynus is now Capo Passaro on the South. It is on a small island; but on the mainland, not far off, a small town still retains the old name, Pachino. *Peloro*, the ancient *Pelorus*, is now Capo del Faro by Messina.

‡ *Tifeo*: Typhœus or Typhon, was a giant with a hundred heads, son of Tartarus and Terra. Having made war against the gods, and frightened them, he was eventually put to flight by the thunderbolts of Jupiter, and crushed down under Mount Ætna, where his efforts to escape were supposed to account for the convulsions of nature taking place there. Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, p. 216, § 11) writes: " We note next the curiously rationalistic treatment of the myth of Typhœus in *Par.* viii, 70, where Dante says that the volcanic phenomena of Sicily are due to the presence of sulphur and not to the struggles of the buried Typhœus. It only concerns us to observe that Dante here follows Ovid, and not Virgil, both of whom give different traditions as to these phenomena. Ovid, in *Met.* v, 346 *seqq.*, attributes them to Typhœus, but Virgil, in *Æn.* iii, 578 *seqq.*, to Enceladus. Mr. Butler, referring to the latter passage only, wrongly ascribes an error to Dante here."

§ *nascente solfo*: " Ossia per quello che chiamano, nel linguaggio moderno, acido solforoso il quale eruttato insieme a altre sostanze e decomposte, fa che poi nasca lo solfo." (Ferrazzi, *Manuale Dantesco*, Bassano, 1877; vol. v, p. 433). The

Attesi \* avrebbe li suoi regi ancora,  
 Nati per me di Carlo e di Ridolfo,  
 Se mala signoria, che sempre accora  
 Li popoli soggetti, non avesse  
 Mosso Palermo a gridar : ' Mora, mora.' †

75

Already glittered on my brows the crown of that

greater part of the sulphur used in Europe is imported from Sicily. No one who has crossed the interior of Sicily can have failed to be struck by the long lines of mules that one meets on the high roads, each with a couple of large blocks of sulphur on a pack saddle, as also the equally long trains of little yellow carts adorned with every kind of inscription intended to be devotional, though often of very questionable piety.

\* *Attesi*: If the tyranny of Charles of Anjou's rule had not provoked the Sicilians to rise in insurrection, and overthrow the French dynasty, then would Sicily, by the due process of succession, have come under the dominion of a dynasty formed by the union of the Anjous and the Hapsburgs, seeing that Charles Martel married Clemence the daughter of Rudolph; and moreover the island would not have passed into the hands of Pedro III King of Aragon.

† *Mora, mora*: Of Charles of Anjou, his misdeeds, and the Sicilian Vespers, Ariosto says (*Orl. Fur.* xxxiii, st. 20):

"Vedete un altro Carlo, che a' conforti  
 Del buon Pastor fuoco in Italia ha messo;  
 E in due fiere battaglie ha duo re morti,  
 Manfredi prima e Corradino appresso.  
 Poi la sua gente, che con mille torti  
 Sembra tenere il nuovo regno oppresso,  
 Di qua e di là per le città divisa,  
 Vedete a un suon di vespro tutta uccisa."

Ariosto (*Ibid.* xxiii, st. 52) has introduced the words *mora, mora*, in relating the tumultuous attack of the innocent Zerbino by the infuriated populace:

"Tutto'l popol gridando: ' Mora, mora,'  
 Vien per punir Zerbino del non suo fallo."

We also find the whole episode of the Sicilian Vespers related by Fazio degli Uberti, in the *Dittamondo*, lib. ii, cap. xxix:

"Miracol parve ad ogni persona,  
 Che ad una voce tutta la Sicilia  
 Si rubellò dall' una all' altra zona,  
 Gridando: Mora, mora la familia  
 Di Carlo; moran, moran gli Franceschi:  
 E così ne tagliar ben otto milia."



land (Hungary) which the Danube waters after it leaves its German banks; and beautiful Trinacria (*i.e.* Sicily)—which between Pachynus (on the south) and Pelorus (on the north), on the gulf (Catania) which from Eurus (the east wind) receives greater disturbance (than from any other wind) is made dark (by the smoke of Etna), not through Tiphoeus, but from nascent sulphur—would still have awaited its sovereigns (that would have) sprung through me from Charles (of Anjou) and Rudolph (of Hapsburg), if evil rule, which ever exasperates the populations subject to it, had not moved Palermo to raise the cry: ‘Let him die, let him die!’

Most of the translations render this “Death, death,” which is not incorrect, and some of the Italian Commentators, including Trissino and Biagioli, render it “amazza, amazza” (*kill, kill*); and as a matter of fact, the verb *morire* often has an active sense; but rarely, except as a participle accompanied by an auxiliary verb, as when Count Ugolino (*Inf.* xxxiii, 17, 18) says: “io fossi preso, e poscia morto,” *i.e.* was slain. After hunting in vain for the exact meaning of *mora* in the imperative third person singular, I have at last found the following in Serravalle’s Latin Translation and Commentary: “Si malum dominium . . . non commovisset Palermum ad clamandum, scilicet, contra Karolum primum avum istius (*i.e.* of Charles Martel): Moriatur, moriatur!” One might also have understood the words “ogni Francese mora.” The *Anonimo Fiorentino* says that the evil rule “mosse Palermo . . . a gridare *mora i Franceschi*, per la qual cosa di subito la Casa di Francia perdè ogni cosa, e tutta l’isola.” In this latter instance the verb must have the active sense of “kill, kill.” Giov. Villani (vii, 61) has: “Incontanente tutta la gente si ritrassono

fuggendo alla città, e gli uomini ad armarsi, gridando :  
muoiano i Franceschi.”

Charles Martel now begins to speak of his younger brother Robert, the third son of Charles II (*le Boiteux*). At the time Dante wrote the *Commedia*, say, between 1314 and 1320, Robert was really reigning over Sicily, of which he was crowned king in 1309. But, as Dante supposes his vision to take place in 1300, his words are supposed to be prophetic. Charles censures both the avarice of Robert,\* and the still greater avarice of the needy Catalonian officials, who were eating up the land to such an extent, that it was wholly unable to stand up against their extortions. Robert was detained in Aragon with his brothers Louis and John as hostages (see *Purg.* xx, 79) in exchange for their father, after his capture by Ruggieri d'Oría, the naval commander of Pedro, King of Aragon, in the naval battle into which he was lured outside Naples in 1284.

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\* *The avarice of Robert* : Benvenuto strongly disagrees with his friend Petrarch about the excessive, and, as Benvenuto thinks, wholly undeserved laudation of King Robert by Petrarch, who, he remarks, allowed his personal gratitude to blind him to Robert's flagrant vice of avarice. Benvenuto thinks however that Dante's strong hatred of Avarice makes him go a little too far in his censure of Robert. “Et hic nota, lector, quod non solum iudicatura vulgi, sed etiam sententiae sapientum multum discordant in facto istius famosi regis ; unde duo poetae florentini sunt sibi contrarii in scribendo. Nam iudicio meo Petrarca nimis commendat eum semper et ubique, dando sibi omnes artes et omnes virtutes, quia fuit multum honoratus ab eo, et promotus ad lauream quam recepit in capitolio Romae : Dantes vero nimis culpatur eum ab avaritia, quam ipse habuit nimis odio. Et vere istud vitium posuit non parvam maculam in gloriam tanti regis ; unde possem narrare aliqua digna censoria nota, quae ex cupiditate fecit ; ideo bene cancellarius suus cum Robertus diceret : ‘spiritus, ubi vult, spirat’ ; jocosè dixit : ‘et Robertus, ubi vult, pilat.’”

When Robert, in 1309, became King of Sicily, he brought over with him a whole troop of necessitous adventurers, whom he had known in Spain during his captivity, and on these he conferred all the principal offices of State, and lucrative posts about the Court. He adds an expression of regret that, whereas their father Charles, *le Boiteux*, had been generous and liberal, these qualities had by no means descended to Robert, whose sordid and avaricious disposition had become proverbial.

E se mio frate questo antivedesse,  
 L' avara povertà di Catalogna  
 Già fuggiria, perchè non gli offendesse ;  
 Chè veramente provveder bisogna  
 Per lui, o per altrui, sì ch' a sua barca 80  
 Carcata\* più di carco non si pogna.  
 La sua natura, che di larga parca†  
 Discese, avria mestier di tal milizia‡  
 Che non curasse di mettere in arca.”—

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\* *Carcata*: On this Buti remarks: “Parla per quel colore [*rhetorical ornament*] che si chiama permutazione, dicendo che lo suo reggimento è gravato quanto può portare, sicchè non vi faccia junta: imperò che, jungendovi andrebbe a basso, come la barca quando è caricata e jungavisi più che non può portare va a fondo, e però dice: *Carcata*; cioè quanto può portare: avea tanto gravato li sudditi elli quanto poteva e però guardas-sesi di gravargli più, cioè di lasciargli gravare ai suoi ufficiali catalani avari.” Tommaséo's comment is terse and to the point: “L' avarizia sua non s' aggravi con l' altrui, e le sue colpe con altre nuove colpe.”

† *natura . . . parca*: “Questo re Ruberto fu il più savio re che fosse tra' cristiani già sono cinquecento anni, e di senno naturale e di scienza, grandissimo maestro in teologia, e sommo filosofo, e fu dolce signore e amorevole, e amichissimo del nostro comune di Firenze, e fu di tutte le virtù dotato, se non che poi che cominciò a invecchiare l' avarizia il guastava.” (Villani, xii, 10).

‡ *milizia*: This word, Casini says: “è l' insieme (*i.e. the*

And if my brother could foresee this (namely, that an evil rule ever exasperates a nation), he would even now be shunning the greedy poverty of Catalonia, that it be not to him a cause of stumbling; for in truth it is needful to provide, whether (it be done) by him, or by others, that upon his bark (already heavily) laden no further load be placed (*i.e.* let not the avarice of others be added to his own). His nature, which from the munificent one (of his father) has descended niggardly (to him) should of necessity require such a body of retainers as would not give heed to amassing in (their own) coffers.

*Division III.* A doubt has arisen in the mind of Dante on considering the statement of Charles Martel, that his brother Robert, whose nature was niggardly, has descended from a munificent father, and also, knowing as Dante did, that the nature of Charles Martel himself was noble and generous, he asks him how all this is possible. The remainder of the Canto is taken up by a long discourse, in which Charles explains that the discrepancy is due to God's Providence, and that the heavenly bodies influence natures to their predestined end.

Most Commentators have felt a difficulty in the words that now fall from Dante, and have found fault with them, containing, as they allege, a tautology. But Beccaria (*Trattato dei Delitti e delle Pene*, Milan, 1824), says that it is quite clear that Dante makes two different statements, and not one single one repeated twice over. Cesari (*Bellezze*, vol. iii, p. 146) gives perhaps the most lucid explanation of this difficult

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*whole staff*) degli ufficiali del Regno, tutti per lo più dell'ordine dei cavalieri (*milites*)."

passage: "Dice dunque (Dante): 'Signore, l'allegra che il tuo dire m' ha infuso, m'è cara per questo, che io credo che, come io la sento, così tu la vegga qui nel fonte di ogni bene, Iddio: e questo m'è caro altresì, che anche questo mio aggradire tu lo vegga in Dio, perchè in lui tu il dei vedere nettamente tutto quanto egli è.'" There are three interpretations given as to why Dante's joy is discerned by Charles, the first, that it is in God; the second in Heaven; and the third, in the Soul. Scartazzini affirms that none of the three altogether satisfy him; none are quite free from difficulty, nor can he see any new interpretation that would remove it.

—“Perocch'io credo che l'alta letizia 85  
 Che il tuo parlar m'infonde, Signor mio,  
 Là've ogni ben si termina e s'inizia,  
 Per te si veggia, come la vegg'io,  
 Grata m'è più, e anco questo ho caro,  
 Perchè il discerni\* rimirando in Dio. 90

“Because I believe, my Lord, that the lofty joy, which thy speech infuses into me, is seen by thee, even as I see it myself, in a place where all good has its end and beginning, it is the more acceptable to me, and this too I hold dear (*i.e.* I prize it all the more), because thou discernest it (*i.e.* the fact that I *do* hold it dear) in gazing upon God.

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\* *Perchè il discerni*: It is very difficult to give a clear interpretation of this passage, the construction of the words of which are too much slurred over by most Commentators. It must be taken as referring to *questo ho caro*. Trissino explains it well: “Perchè io mi persuado, o mio Signore, che la grande allegra che mi apportano le tue parole, da te si vegga in Dio, in questo luogo, ove ogni bene ha origine e fine quale io la sento dentro di me, perciò ella m'è più grata; ed inoltre m'è caro ancor questo, che tu conosca *ciò* (*i.e.* *essermi più grata*) pure rimirando in Dio.”



Dante then states his doubt.

Fatto m'hai lieto, e così mi fa chiaro,  
 Poichè parlando a dubitar m'hai mosso,  
 Come uscir\* può di dolce seme amaro."—

Questo io a lui.

Thou hast made me glad, and in like manner (now) make it clear to me, since in thy speech thou hast stirred me up to doubt, how from sweet seed can issue bitter (fruit)." Thus I to him.

Charles Martel now, replying to Dante's question, begins by impressing upon him that close attention to what he is about to explain, will make the thing as clear to him as it is now obscure.

Ed egli a me :—" S'io posso  
 Mostrarti un vero, a quel che tu domandi 95  
 Terrai il viso come tieni il dosso.

And he to me : "If I can show thee a truth, thou wilt (then) hold thy face towards that which thou askest, as thou dost (now) hold thy back (*i.e.* the thing which is at present completely hid from thee will come forward manifest before thine eyes).

He tells Dante† that it is due to the law of individuality, which is everywhere manifested in creation, and that, although like ought to generate like, yet Providence has disposed otherwise. Man is intended to associate, and in Society there must of necessity exist different characters, temperaments, and powers of

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\* *Come uscir pud*, et seq. : Dante might well have doubts in his mind as to the question of dissimilarity of dispositions in fathers and sons, as he would have been well acquainted with the words of Our Lord in *St. Matt.* vii, 17 (*Vulgate*): "Omnis arbor bona fructus bonos facit; mala autem arbor malos fructus facit." And *St. Luke*, vi, 43: "Non est enim arbor bona, quæ facit fructus malos; neque arbor mala faciens fructum bonum."

† From Bowden's *Hettinger*, p. 203.

mind. So God has given to the heavenly bodies the faculty of influencing the natures of individuals generated, without any regard to what was the nature of their generators. The All Wise purpose of God provides not only for the existence (*essere*) of the natures, but also for their being together (*essere insieme*, *i.e.* their social life), and provides also for their eternal salvation. All the influences of the heavens are disposed to an infallible end already foreseen by God.

Lo ben che tutto il regno che tu scandi  
 Volge e contenta,\* fa esser virtute  
 Sua provvidenza in questi corpi grandi ;  
 E non pur le nature† provvedute 100  
 Son nella mente ch' è da sè perfetta,  
 Ma esse insieme con la lor salute.‡  
 Perchè quantunque§ questo arco saetta,

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\* *contenta*: God moves the whole system of the Spheres of Heaven, causing their revolutions, and filling them with gladness. Dante is being reminded of this, and also that through all these Spheres he is ascending to the Empyrean.

† *nature*: Compare St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. xxii, art. 1.): "In rebus creatis invenitur bonum, non solum quantum ad substantiam rerum, sed etiam quantum ad ordinem earum in finem; et precipue in finem ultimum, qui est bonitas divina." And Daniello: "Non solamente le nature provvedute da Dio sono nella divina mente di lui, la qual divina mente è perfetta da Sè, perchè ella è somma perfezione; ma sono ancora esse nature da lui provvedute insieme con la salute Loro, cioè con gli effetti salutiferi, che da loro sono per procedere."

‡ *lor salute*: "E l'ordine delle varie nature disposte ad un determinato fine, dal quale ordine dipende la stabilità, la durezza delle cose." (Casini).

§ *quantunque*: This is a kind of Latin neuter form signifying: *tutto quello che, tutto ciò che*. Compare *Par.* xiii, 43, 44:

"Quantunque alla natura umana lece  
 Aver di lume."

Compare also Petrarch, part i, son. 190 (in some editions 210):

"Chi vuol veder quantunque può Natura  
 E'l ciel tra noi, venga a mirar costei."

Disposto cade a proveduto fine,  
Sì come cosa\* in suo segno diretta. 105

The (Supreme) Good, Who causes to revolve and makes glad the whole realm which thou art ascending, doth make His Providence to be a power in those vast bodies (to work on terrestrial natures); and not only are the (diverse) natures foreseen within the mind (of God) that is perfect in itself, but they (are so foreseen) together with (all that tends to) their ultimate well being. Wherefore, whatsoever this bow (the influence of Divine operation) shoots off, alights disposed for a fore-ordained end, just like a thing directed at its mark.

Next he argues that, were there not this regulated ordering of all things, the heavens would produce effects that might readily be ascribed to chance, and not effects due to the hand of their Divine Artificer, and would not be construction but destruction.

Se ciò non fosse, il ciel che tu cammine  
Producerebbe sì li suoi effetti,  
Che non sarebbero arti, ma ruine;  
E ciò esser non può, se gl' intelletti†  
Che movon queste stelle non son manchi, 110  
E manco il primo‡ che non gli ha perfetti.

If this (order and regulation) were not so, the heaven that thou treadest would produce its effects in

\* *cosa*: Others read *cocca*, but *cosa* has an overwhelming MS. authority.

† *intelletti*: Compare *Par.* ii, 127-129:

“Lo moto e la virtù dei santi giri,  
Come dal fabbro l' arte del martello,  
Dai beati motor convien che spiri.”

‡ *il primo*: Compare Dante's *Ep. Kani*, § 20, ll. 356-362: “Constat, quod habere esse a se non convenit nisi uni, scilicet primo, seu principio, qui Deus est. Et quum habere esse non arguat per se necesse esse, et per se necesse esse non competat nisi uni, scilicet primo, seu principio, quod est causa omnium,” etc.

such wise, that they would not be (combinations of) arts, but ruins (*i.e.* a mass of confusion); and this cannot be, if the Intelligences who move these stars be not defective, and defective the Primal (Intelligence) in that He has not perfected them.

Dante, questioned by Charles Martel, professes himself fully convinced that Nature can never be wanting in supplying that which is necessary.

Vuoi tu che questo ver più ti s' imbianchi?—\*

Ed io:—"Non già, perchè impossibil veggio †  
Che la natura, in quel ch' è uopo, stanchi."—

Wilt thou have this truth made more clear (*lit.* white) to thee?" And I: "Not so, for I (now) perceive it to be impossible that Nature should weary in that which is needful."

Charles, in continuation, argues that Man cannot fully attain the end predestined for him unless he lives in society, but that society cannot possibly exist unless

\* *s' imbianchi*: See *Gran Dizionario*, s. v. *imbiancare*, § 10, 11: "*Farsi chiaro, Schiarirsi, Esplicarsi, Dichiararsi.*" The present passage is quoted, with Buti's comment . . . "più ti si faccia chiaro." Compare *Par.* vii, 80, 81:

"E falla dissimile al Sommo Bene,  
Perchè del lume suo poco s' imbianca."

† *impossibil veggio*, et seq.: On the whole of this important passage, from l. 113 to l. 120, Dr. Moore, in his great work *Studies in Dante*, Oxford, 1896, p. 99, § 2, remarks: "The passage is interesting as containing a series of familiar Aristotelian quotations from the Ethics and Politics, which are appealed to as indisputable—

'Se il maestro vostro ben vi scrive.'

These are (1) the well-known *dictum* often quoted or referred to by Dante, 'οὐδὲν μάτην ἢ φύσις ποιεῖ,' which also occurs frequently in Aristotle; (2) 'φύσει πολιτικὸς ἄνθρωπος;' and (3) 'οὐ γίγνεται πόλις ἐξ ὁμοίων,' *Pol.* i, ii (1261 a. 24). Dante quotes the first passage with the limitation 'in essentials' both here—'in quel ch' è uopo' (l. 114)—and again in *De Mon.* i, x, l. 3, 'in necessariis.' It is probable therefore that he had specially on his mind *De An.* iii, ix (432 b. 21), 'εἰ ἡ φύσις μήτε ποιεῖ μάτην μηθὲν, μήτε ἀπολείπει τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων.'"

it be portioned out into diverse offices, functions, professions, etc.

Ond' egli ancora :—" Or di', sarebbe il peggio 115

Per l' uomo in terra se non fosse cive?\*"—

—" Sì,"—rispos' io,—" e qui ragion non chieggio."—

—" E può egli esser, se giù non si vive

Diversamente† per diversi officj?

No, se il maestro vostro ben vi scrive."—‡ 120

Whereupon he again : " Say now, would it be worse for Man were he not a citizen on Earth ?"—" Yes," I answered, " and here I ask for no reasons (for the fact is evident)." (Charles continues) " And can this be, if he (Man) does not live below in different estates for different duties? No, if your Master (Aristotle) writes well on this point."

Charles then draws this inference. If in Society one man is destined to have the office of a law-giver (Solon), and another of a warlike despot (Xerxes), another of a Royal Priest (Melchisedec), another of an artificer such as Daedalus, it follows of necessity

\* *cive* : Dr. Moore refers here to Aristotle, *Pol.* i, ii, 9 ; Mr. Butler to *ibid.* *Eth.* i, 7 ; " φύσει πολιτικός άνθρωπος "; and *Eth.* ix, 9 : " πολιτικὸν ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ συζῆν πεφυκός."

† *Diversamente* : Compare Aristotle, *Pol.* ii, 2 : " Οὐ μόνον δ' ἐκ πλειόνων ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ εἴδει διαφερόντων· οὐ γὰρ γίνεται πόλις ἐξ ὁμοίων . . . Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄρχουσιν, οἱ δ' ἄρχονται παρὰ μέρος, ὡπερ ἂν ἄλλοι γενόμενοι. Τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον ἀρχόντων ἕτεροι ἑτέρας ἄρχουσιν ἀρχάς." See also in *Convito*, iv, the fourth chapter upon *l' umana civiltà*.

‡ *il maestro vostro ben vi scrive* : " Aristotle, ' ἐπεὶ ἐξ ἀνομοίων ἡ πόλις,' κ. τ. λ. *De Rep.* lib. iii, cap. 4 : ' Since a state is made up of members differing from one another ; (for even as an animal, in the first instance, consists of soul and body ; and the soul of reason and desire ; and a family, of man and woman ; and property, of master and slave ; in like manner a state consists both of all these, and besides these of other dissimilar kinds ;) it necessarily follows, that the excellence of all the members of the state cannot be one and the same.'" (Cary).



that men must have diversities of aptitudes, which are *le radici* (l. 123) of the diverse functions.

Si venne deducendo infino a quici;

Poscia conchiuse:—" Dunque esser diverse

Convien dei vostri effetti \* le radici :

Per che un nasce Solone, ed altro Xerse,

Altro Melchisedech, ed altro quello

125

Che volando per l' aere il figlio perse.

So did he (Charles Martel) arrive bringing his deductions thus far; then he concluded: "Therefore it is necessary that diverse must be the roots from whence come the operations of you (man). Therefore one is born a Solon, and another a Xerxes, another a Melchisedec, and another he (Daedalus) who flying through the air lost his son (Icarus).

Mr. Butler remarks that in the last there may be a suggestion of the difference between son and father: Daedalus flew, Icarus fell.

As Charles Martel's discourse draws towards the end, he observes that the active influence of the heavens works out its effects on men with a master hand, without giving heed as to whether a particular virtue or influence enters more readily into one particular house, or one particular family, than into another. It determines a man's disposition without a thought to his origin, and therefore it by no means

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\* *effetti*: The *Gran Dizionario*, s. v. *effetto*, § 16, quotes this line, and comments upon it thus: "Convien concludere che le diverse operazioni degli uomini nei diversi uffizi sociali procedano in radice da naturali disposizioni diversi." Under § 15, the *Gran Dizionario* says: "Possono d'una causa essere più gli effetti, e l'uno effetto dall'altro seguire. Quindi è che *Effetto* ha senso affinitivo a *Sequela* di più avvenimenti o azioni." See De Gubernatis, *op. cit.*, on this: "A ben vivere in società, occorrono ufficii diversi, per i quali si richieggono diverse attitudini. . . Alle diverse attitudini occorrono, come all' albero le radici, indoli diverse che le producano."

follows that the son of a warrior will have impressed upon his nature a martial disposition; and if a man have two sons, as did Jacob, their dispositions may be wholly unlike. Or we may see from a low parentage spring forth a heaven-born king of men. These diversities are all due to the heavenly influences, without which all sons would be cut out exactly according to the pattern of their fathers. Divine Providence alone has obviated that.

La circular natura,\* ch'è suggello  
 Alla cera mortal, fa ben sua arte,  
 Ma non distingue l'un dall'altro ostello.†

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\* *circular natura*: Tommaséo says that the virtue of the revolving heavens, which like a seal imprints varying influences upon mortal bodies, performs its mission exceeding well, but does not distinguish the palace of the king from the cabins of the poor, the body of a duke from the body of a beggar; it may infuse royal sentiments into a poor man, and slavish ideas into a king. Compare Horace i, *Carm.* iv, 13, 14:

“Pallida Mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas,  
 Regumque turres.”

Scartazzini observes that some Commentators have most opportunely quoted here the following from Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, Venice, 1759, fol. 187: “Singula puncta terrae sunt centra diversorum horizontum, ad quae conii diversarum pyramidum virtutum coelestium veniunt, ut possint producere herbas diversarum specierum in eadem particula terræ minima, et gemellos in eadem matrice diversificare in complexione et moribus, et in usu scientiarum, et linguarum, et negotiorum et coeteris omnibus.”

† *ostello*: It seems to be recognized among the Commentators that this word here has the special more extended signification of “condition of life.” Originally meaning an inn, dwelling, house of refuge, it thence came to have the force of “receptacle.” Compare *Purg.* vi, 76: “Ahi serva Italia, di dolore ostello,” on which the *Ottimo* comments: “Qui esclama contra gli abitatori in Italia, e toglie lo luogo per lo locato e dice come ello è ostello, cioè casa di dolore.” Compare *Vita Nuova*, § vii, Son. ii:

“E poi immaginate  
 S'io son d'ogni dolore ostello e chiave.”

Quinci addivien ch' Esaù si diparte *	130
Per seme da Jacob, e vien Quirino †	
Da sì vil padre che si rende a Marte.	
Natura generata ‡ il suo cammino	
Simil farebbe sempre ai generanti,	
Se non vincesse il provveder divino.	135

\* *Esaù si diparte*, et seq.: Compare *Rom.* ix, 10-13: "And not only this; but when Rebecca also had conceived by one, even by our father Isaac; (for the children being not yet born, neither having done any good or evil, that the purpose of God, according to election, might stand, not of works, but of him that calleth); It was said unto her, the elder shall serve the younger. As it is written, Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated."

† *Quirino*: Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, p. 277) says: "This is perhaps suggested to Dante by the tentative or alternative theory propounded by Livy, I, iv: 'Vi compressa Vestalis quum geminum partum edidisset, seu ita rata, seu quia deus auctor culpae honestior erat, Martem *incertae stirpis patrem* nuncupat.' Dante not only boldly adopts the latter alternative, but goes beyond it in asserting that the father was not only *incerto* but *vile*. Perhaps he may have been led to this by the language of Orosius VI, i, § 5: 'Deus quæ infirma sunt mundi elegit, ut confundat fortia, Romanumque imperium *adsumpto pauperrimi status pastore fundavit*.'"

‡ *Natura generata*: This is one of the very few passages in the *Paradiso* noticed by Gioberti, who, after he had commented on the first few Cantos, became too much absorbed in the stirring politics of the time (between 1847-1850) to pay much more attention to his commentary on Dante. On this line he says: "Dante qui e in molti luoghi del suo poema mette la Provvidenza divina sopra la Natura, e considera a gran tratti la storia di quella nelle sue relazioni alla storia di questa." Compare St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2<sup>dæ</sup>). (This reference is given wrong by Scartazzini in both his editions, and followed by Casini): "In agentibus naturalibus forma generati est conformis formæ generantis." In a note on his Translation of Hettinger's Dante, p. 203, the Rev. Sebastian Bowden remarks: "Dante, following Aristotle, teaches that the diversity of gifts and dispositions in mankind are ordained by Providence for the benefit of human society, which requires a variety of qualifications in its members for the diverse service of the state. This difference of dispositions is partly due, according to the divine plan, to the influence of the heavenly bodies at the time of each infant's birth; for by nature the child would inherit the dis-

In her course of revolving spheres Nature, which is the seal to mortal wax (*i.e.* which stamps her influence on men) performs her function perfectly, but makes no distinction between one habitation (*i.e.* condition of life) and another. Hence it comes about that Esau differs in seed from Jacob (*i.e.* though begotten by the same father their dispositions were so different), and Quirinus (Romulus) comes from so mean a sire, that he is given (*i.e.* his parentage is attributed) to Mars. If Divine Providence did not prevail (and dispose otherwise) a nature generated would always pursue its way like unto the generators.

Finally Charles Martel, having stated his general conclusion, adds yet one special conclusion, to the effect that dispositions naturally good in themselves will not suffice to produce good fruit ; it is necessary that they should be seconded by Nature, in the same way that good seed requires to be sown in a good soil if it is to come to maturity. A man may be born with the richest possible moral and intellectual qualities, and feel in himself a fitness to achieve the greatest deeds ; but if he is crossed by fate, if enmity, envy, or the ignorance of his fellow men oppose him, all the great gifts Nature has bestowed upon him will remain useless and unproductive. Providence does all things well ; but men, ignoring the disposition inspired by heavenly influences, are continually turning the greatest intellects to mistaken ends, not recognizing their special aptitudes, so that they will make a priest of one who has martial instincts, and crown another who was born to be a preacher ; and it would be rank

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positions of the parent. But Dante is careful to show that, whatever effect the stars might produce on the human temperament, the character ultimately depends on the good or bad use of the individual free-will."

blasphemy to cast the blame of this upon Providence, when it is Man who has traced out a path for himself at variance with that assigned to him by Nature.\* So Robert, instead of becoming king, should have been made a monk, and would have been far better fitted for the cowl than for the crown.

Or quel che t'era retro t'è davanti;  
Ma perchè sappi che di te mi giova,  
Un corollario † voglio che t'ammanti.

Sempre natura, se fortuna ‡ trova

Discorde a sè, come ogni altra semente § 140

Fuor di sua regìon, fa mala prova.||

\* The above is the substance of the comments of De Gubernatis upon the concluding lines of the Canto.

† *corollario*: See Boëth. (*Philos. Consol.* iii, Pros. x, ll., 76-87): "Super haec, inquit, igitur veluti geometrae solent demonstratis propositis aliquid inferre quae porismata ipsi vocant, ita ego quoque tibi veluti corollarium dabo . . . Et pulchrum, inquam, hoc atque pretiosum, sive porisma sive corollarium vocari mavis." And Pietro di Dante: "Et concluditur per corollarium quoddam, quod est, et dicitur ambitus orationis per circumlocutivam ostensionem."

‡ *fortuna*: On this *terzina* see Venturi, *Simil. Dant.* pp. 85-86, sim. 138: "Provvida ne' suoi ordinamenti è la Natura; ma le facultà naturali, se combattute da condizioni di stato o di fortuna, intristiscono come semenza in clima non convenevole."

§ *semente*: See Boëthius, *Philo. Cons.* iii, Pros. xi, ll. 50-59: "Non est, quod de hoc non possis ambigere cum herbas atque arbores intuearis primum sibi convenientibus innasci locis, ubi quantum earum natura queat cito exarescere atque interire non possint. Nam aliae quidem campis aliae montibus oriuntur, alias ferunt paludes, aliae saxis haerent, aliarum fecundae sunt steriles harenae, quas si in alia quispiam loca transferre conetur, arescant. Sed dat cuique natura quod convenit et ne, dum manere possunt, intereant, elaborat." Compare similar words of Dante in *Conv.* iii, 3, ll. 21-30. Also Petrarch, part I, son. 41:

"Chè gentil pianta in arido terreno  
Par che si disconvenga, e però lieta  
Naturalmente quindi si diparte."

|| *prova*: Compare with this Beatrice's words in *Purg.* xxx, 115-117:

"Questi fu tal nella sua vita nuova



E se il mondo laggiù ponesse mente  
 Al fondamento che natura pone,  
 Seguendo lui,\* avria buona la gente.

Ma voi torcete alla religione

145

Tal che fia nato a cingersi la spada,

E fate re di tal ch'è da sermone;

Onde la traccia vostra è fuor di strada."—

Now that which was behind thee (*i.e.* hidden) is before thee (manifested); but that thou mayest know that I take pleasure in (conversing with) thee, I will that thou enmantle thyself with a corollary. Ever will Nature, if she finds a destiny discordant to her, even as every other seed out of its proper climate, come to evil proof (*i.e.* earns a sad experience). And if the world there below would bear in mind the foundation that Nature lays (namely, the disposition inspired by heavenly influences), following her, it would have its inhabitants virtuous. But ye wrest aside to monastic life (*alla religione*) such a one as shall have been born to gird on the sword, and ye make a king of one who is (only) fit for preaching; therefore are your footsteps outside of the right road (namely, that of Nature)."†

Charles Martel's next eldest brother Louis abdicated

Virtualmente, ch' ogni abito destro  
 Fatto averebbe in lui mirabil prova."

\* *Seguendo lui*: "Ecco l' Educazione richiamata alla via della natura. Rousseau lo fece in apparenza, e in parola; poichè realmente la natura da lui incoronata è monca, imperfetta, e ideale. Il consiglio che dà qui Dante è eccellente e pratico, e nessuno può contestare la necessità di adoperarlo." (Gioberti.)

† "The wisdom of God hath divided the genius of men according to the different affairs of the world; and varied their inclinations according to the variety of actions to be performed therein. Which they who consider not, rudely rushing upon professions and ways of life unequal to their natures, dishonour not only themselves and their functions, but prevent the harmony of the whole world." (Brown, on *Vulgar Errors*, b. I, ch. 5.)

his princely rights, professed the vows of the Frati Minori, and entered the priesthood. Robert, though king, wrote sermons. Villani (xii, 10) terms him a great master of theology ; so the allusion here is both to Robert, and also to Louis.

END OF CANTO VIII.

## CANTO IX.

THE THIRD SPHERE : HEAVEN OF VENUS (*continued*).  
—SPIRITS OF LOVERS.—CUNIZZA DA ROMANO.  
—FOLCO OF MARSEILLES.—RAHAB.—DENUN-  
CIATION OF PAPAL COURT FOR NEGLECT OF  
THE HOLY LAND.

DANTE and Beatrice have not yet broken off their conversation with Charles Martel, but are on the point of doing so.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into three parts.

*In the First Division*, from v. 1 to v. 66, Dante relates the departure of Charles Martel and his interview with Cunizza da Romano.

*In the Second Division*, from v. 67 to v. 108, Folco of Marseilles takes the place of Cunizza, and Discourses with Dante.

*In the Third Division*, from v. 109 to v. 142, Folco tells Dante that the spirit at his side is Rahab, the harlot of Jericho, and contrasts her zeal in the cause of God in helping Joshua to get his first footing in the Holy Land, with the indifference of Pope Boniface VIII, who is content to see that Blessed Country in the hands of the infidels.

*Division I.* There is much debate among the Commentators as to the identity of the royal lady whom Dante apostrophizes as "beauteous Clemence!" Among

those commentaries which I have examined, thirteen are of opinion that the lady addressed is Charles Martel's wife, the daughter of Rudolph of Hapsburg,\* while thirteen others think she is Charles Martel's daughter, the wife of Louis X, of France. Although these opinions are so equally balanced, I have no hesitation in deciding for Charles Martel's wife. The words in the first line, *Carlo tuo*, seem to me perfectly inadmissible to any relation except to a wife, a sister, or a lover, nor can I understand how any Italian can get over that objection. The chief argument in favour of the daughter is, that the wife is said to have died in 1301 (according to others 1295), before

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\* Those in favour of Charles Martel's wife are: Benvenuto, Pietro di Dante, Talice da Ricaldone, the *Falso Boccaccio*, Serravalle, Tommaséo, Fraticelli, Camerini, De Gubernatis; and of translators into English, Longfellow, Butler, Plumptre, and Haselfoot. Poletto, who is doubtful, seems rather to side with the above Commentators than with those who are decided as to its being Charles Martel's daughter who is addressed. These latter are Lana, *Anon. Fiorentino*, Buti, Landino, Daniello, Lubin, Cesari, Andreoli, Scartazzini, Cornoldi, Brunone Bianchi, Casini, and Cary. Some Commentators identify Clemence with the mother of Charles Martel, but that is palpably wrong, as she was *Mary* of Hungary. Benvenuto writes: "unde (auctor) dirigens sermonem ad Clementiam uxorem Caroli, dicit: *O bella Clemenza*, quæ fuit pulcra et pudica, et digna tali viro." And Pietro di Dante: "Continuando se auctor ad precedentia, apostrophando ad reginam Clementiam uxorem dicti Karoli, et filiam regis Alberti (Rodulphi) de Austria, quæ audita morte dicti sui viri, mortua est pro dolore . . . ut in textu patet." Talice says: "apostrophando ad uxorem istius Karoli Martelli, filiam Rodulphi." And the *Falso Boccaccio*: "laltore si muove parlando inverso ladonna cheffu moglie di charlo martello la quale ebbe nome clemenza." Fraticelli writes positively: "Questa *Clemenza*, a cui il Poeta volge il discorso, non è la figlia di Carlo Martello, come hanno creduto i commentatori, poichè nel 1300 non contava ella che sei o sette anni d'età, ma bensì la sua sposa, chiamata pur essa *Clemenza*."

the poem actually *was* written, but against that view I quote Haselfoot: "The style of the address seems to indicate that it is the wife; who, though dead when the poem was written, was alive at the time of its supposed action (1300). She died in 1301." Dean Plumptre says that Charles Martel's wife was known to Dante in the beauty of her youth, and her daughter . . . was probably not so known. Besides, as Longfellow remarks, at the date of the poem, the daughter was only six or seven years old. To me the impossibility of using the term "thy Charles," when speaking to a daughter of her father, is absolutely conclusive. I admit that, supposing Dante *really* to have written the *Paradiso* about 1318 or 1319, Clemence the daughter would have been about twenty-five years of age, but no matter what her age, I cannot believe that a writer, so correct as Dante, would have caused a daughter to speak about her father as "her Charles."

Dante begins by alluding to the wrongs sustained by Clemence (the wife), in that her father-in-law, Charles II, *the lame*, at his death in 1309, bequeathed the kingdom of Naples to his third son Robert Duke of Calabria, thus dispossessing Carobert, son of Charles Martel and Clemence. He tells her, however, that to her only does he utter these words of sympathy, because the spirit of her husband, before melting away into the heavenly radiance around him, had charged Dante to keep silence, and allow events to run their natural course, and that in coming years her wrongs would surely be avenged. Dante then gives way to an explosion of wrath against those who apply their thoughts to the vanities of the world, instead of allow-



ing them to rest in God. De Gubernatis remarks that Dante was not at all times in the same frame of mind when he was writing his *Paradiso*, and this outburst gives us warning that, when writing this Canto, he was greatly agitated. It is a foreshadowing of the bitter shafts of reprobation that will be hurled forth by him at the end of the Canto.

Dapoichè Carlo tuo, bella Clemenza,  
 M' ebbe chiarito, mi narrò gl' inganni\*  
 Che ricever dovea la sua semenza ;  
 Ma disse:—"Taci, e lascia volger gli anni ;"—  
 Sì ch' io non posso dir, se non che pianto 5  
 Giusto verrà† dietro ai vostri danni.  
 E già la vita‡ di quel lume santo

\* *inganni* . . . *ricevere* signifies (see *Gr. Diz.* s. v. *inganno*, § 5) "Èsser leso con fraude ne' proprii diritti," and this passage is quoted as having that signification. The only translator I have found to give the full force of the sentence is Dean Plumptre, who renders it thus :

"He cited, one by one,

The ill his seed by cunning frauds should bear."

The word *inganno* here means more than "treachery, treason, betrayal, deceit," and the only words I could find to give real effect to the sense were the nearly obsolete "defraudation or defraudment ;" Deprivation by treachery or intrigue of what is one's just right, is the signification required. The expression *ricever inganno* occurs in *Inf.* xx, 95, 96, and there also signifies being defrauded of one's just rights :

"Prima che la mattia di Casalodi  
 Da Pinamonte inganno ricevesse."

† *pianto Giusto verrà* : Benvenuto says that this in all probability alludes to the fact that Robert died without male issue, and was succeeded by a grand-daughter (*cui successit ejus neptis, filia Veneris, quae tamen magnifice gubernavit regnum*).

‡ *vita* : Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) says : "le anime dei Beati sono dette vite." Compare *Par.* xii, 127 :

"Io son la vita di Bonaventura."

and *Par.* xiv, 6 :

"La gloriosa vita di Tommaso ;"

*i.e.* the spirit in glory of St. Thomas Aquinas ;  
 and *Par.* xxi, 55-57 :

Rivolta s'era al sol che la riempie,  
 Come quel ben ch'ad ogni cosa è tanto.  
 Ahi, anime ingannate\* e fatture empie,† 10  
 Che da sì fatto ben torcete‡ i cori,  
 Drizzando in vanità le vostre tempie!||

After that thy Charles, O beautiful Clemence, had enlightened me, he related to me the intrigues by which his seed would be defrauded of their just rights; but said: "Keep silence, and let the years

"Vita beata, che ti stai nascosta  
 Dentro alla tua letizia, fammi nota  
 La cagion che sì presso mi t'ha posta."

see *Gr. Diz.* s. v. *vita*, § 27.

The expression seems to be one used by Dante only, and for no other personages than for spirits in Paradise.

\* *anime ingannate*: Compare *Par.* xxii, 37-39:

"Quel monte a cui Cassino è nella costa,  
 Fu frequentato già in sulla cima  
 Dalla gente ingannata e mal disposta."

† *fatture empie*: Although all the most authoritative MSS. and editions read as above, there are a few who follow the *Nidobeatina* and read *fatue ed empie*. Most of the more modern Commentators have adopted this reading, but Tommaséo, Scartazzini, Poletto, Cornoldi, and Casini read *fatture*. Buti says: "Empia fattura è quella che non seguita lo suo fattore, ed empia creatura è quella che non seguita lo suo creatore." Tommaséo very aptly observes that, if one were to adopt the reading *fatue ed empie*, then the whole construction of the sentence would be governed by *anime*, and impalpable spirits would be represented as having heads with temples to them.

‡ *torcete*: Compare Boethius, *Philos. Consol.* iv, Pros. 2, ll. 92, 93: "scientes volentesque bonum deserunt, ad vitia deflectunt."

|| *tempie*: On the whole *terzina* generally, and on the use by Dante of "the temples" to signify "the head" in particular, see the *Ottimo*: "Questo dolersi e sgridare che fa l'Autore, è noto per quello ch'è detto di sopra; ed usa qui una figura che si chiama gramatica, che s'osserva quando ponemo parte per parte altra: pone qui tempie per la testa, e la testa per lo cuore, o vuoi disiderio." Compare *Psalms* cxxxii, 4 (*Prayer Book Version*): "I will not suffer mine eyes to sleep, nor mine eyelids to slumber; neither the temples of my head to take any rest."

roll on ;" so that this only can I say (namely), that well-deserved lamentation will follow on your wrongs (*i.e.* of thee and thy son Carobert). And already the spirit of that glorious being had turned back to the Sun Which fills it (*i.e.* to God, the Sun of Justice), He being that Good which sufficeth for everything. Oh souls misguided, and creatures impious, who turn aside your hearts from such a Good, directing your heads unto vanity !

Another spirit now approaches Dante. This is Cunizza, sister of the ferocious tyrant Ezzelino da Romano the Third, of the great family of Onàra, who were Counts of Bassano. Her father, Ezzelino II, married Adelaide degli Alberti, the Counts of Mangona. Cunizza was born about 1198, and did not die till after 1279, in which year she made a will leaving all her possessions to the sons of Count Alessandro Alberti of Mangona. She would seem to have been given in marriage, for political reasons, to the chief of the Guelph faction at Verona, Rizzardo Bonifacio. She is described by Benvenuto as having been notorious for her lasciviousness in early life,\* but Benvenuto is supported by nearly all the other Commentators in bearing witness to her kindness of heart, charitableness, and other good qualities. Scartazzini urges that, while Dante was evidently ac-

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\* "Ista Cunitia soror olim Eccelini de Romano tyranni crudelissimi ; recte filia Veneris, semper amorosa, vaga, de qua dictum est capitulo VI Purgatorii, qualiter habebat rem cum Sordello Mantuano ; et cum hoc simul erat pia, benigna, misericors, compatiens miseris, quos frater crudeliter affligebat." (Benvenuto). (See note on Sordello in *Readings on the Purgatorio*, 2nd edition, vol. i, pp. 208, 209). All the Commentators agree as to the looseness of her morals, except the *Ottimo*, who says of her : " Questa donna visse amorosamente in vestire, canto, e giuoco, ma non in alcuna disonestade o inlicito atto consentì : ed usò sua vita in godere, secondo quello che dice Salomone nell' Eccles."

quainted with Cunizza's sins, he must have been equally acquainted with her sincere penitence, and that at Florence he would beyond a doubt have heard more of her subsequent good deeds than of her former failings. In Dante's times lascivious lives were very common, and mercy and lovingkindness very rare; therefore it might well be presumed that the tradition of those days would more readily preserve the record of Cunizza's good deed of liberating the slaves, than the memory of her many amours.\* The most severe view of Cunizza's transgressions could not have made Dante forget the words of St. Peter (1 *Pet.* iv, 8): "Above all things have fervent charity among yourselves: for charity shall cover the multitude of sins."

Bartoli is at a loss to understand how so great a sinner, as Cunizza was known to be in her promiscuous amours, should have been by Dante represented as being in the full enjoyment of bliss in Paradise, without having undergone a previous long expiation in Purgatory, for Cunizza was alive in 1279, and from 1279 to 1300, the supposed date of Dante's vision, 21 years only had elapsed. He is quite inclined to agree with the supposition of Troya (*Veltro Allegorico*), that Dante may have seen and known Cunizza in the

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\* Casini observes that after 1260, when the fortunes of her family had fallen, on the deaths of Ezzelino III, and Alberico, Cunizza went to live at Florence, and while dwelling in the house of the Cavalcanti made her will, in which she set at liberty many captives enslaved by her brothers, but specially excepted some of these, who had betrayed her brother Alberico to his death. The fullest account of Cunizza's life is told by Rolandino, *Liber Chronicorum* (ap. Muratori, *Rerum Ital. Script.* viii, 173). See also Giamb. Verci, *Storia degli Ecelini*, Bassano, 1779, iii, 496, Doc. cclxxvii.

house of the Cavalcanti in her extreme old age, sincerely penitent for her former sins, which she was expiating by continual prayers and vigils. Bartoli contends that by far the most cogent reason of all for Dante to have represented Cunizza in Paradise was, that he "cared but little for objective justice, and often substituted for it his sovereign will." Bartoli thinks that Cunizza is selected by Dante, because he could find no other spirit into whose mouth could so peculiarly well be put the words he wanted to say about the *Marca* of Treviso; of the horrible massacres that were inflicted upon the people of Padua; of the murder of Rizzardo da Camino; and the cruelties of Alessandro Novello, the wicked Bishop of Feltre (*l'empio pastore di Feltre*, ll. 52, 53). Scartazzini observes that in the same way that Charles Martel censures his brother Robert, and predicts the woes and misfortunes of his kindred, so does Cunizza in like manner foretell the coming sorrows that were to befall her native land.

Ed ecco un altro di quegli splendori\*  
Ver me si fece,† e il suo voler piacermi

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\* *splendori*: In *Par.* iii, 109, Piccarda de' Donati speaks of the spirit of the Empress Constance as

" . . . quest'altro splendor, che ti si mostra  
Dalla mia destra parte."

and *Par.* xiv, 95:

"M'apparvero splendor dentro a due raggi."

and *Par.* xxi, 31, 32:

"Vidi anco per li gradi scender giuso  
Tanti splendor," etc.

† *Ver me si fece*: Compare *Purg.* viii, 52:

"Ver me si fece, ed io ver lui mi fei."

and *Inf.* viii, 32:

"Dinanzi mi si fece un pien di fango."

and *Par.* viii, 31:

"Indi si fece l'un più presso a noi."



Significava nel chiarir di fuori.\*

15

And behold, another of those radiant forms approached me, and by its outward brightening signified the will it had to please me.

Dante does not venture to address the spirit without the leave of Beatrice, but she with a glance from her eyes gives him permission. He asks Cunizza to read in his thoughts what is his desire, and to satisfy it. She delightedly assents.

Gli occhi di Beatrice, ch'eran fermi  
Sopra me come pria,† di caro assenso  
Al mio disio certificato fermi.

—“Deh metti al mio voler tosto compenso,  
Beato spirto,”—dissi,—“e fammi prova‡ 20  
Ch'io possa in te rifletter quel ch'io penso.”—

Onde la luce che m'era ancor nuova,  
Del suo profondo, ond'ella pria cantava,§

\* *nel chiarir di fuori*: Cesari (*Bellezze*, vol. iii, p. 152) says that, as Dante had got to describe the same affection of heavenly love towards himself exhibited by all the Saints he meets, he could only, for the sake of his reputation as a poet, go on describing the same act with different forms of expression. The same may be observed with reference to his relation of how he always waited for Beatrice's permission before addressing any spirit, of her gracious assent, and of her action in expressing her approval.

† *come pria*: “idest, sicut prius fecerant quando primo loquutus fui Carolo supra.” (Benvenuto).

‡ *fammi prova*, et seq.: Poletto interprets this: “mostrami per effetto, che il mio desiderio (*quel ch'io penso*), dipinto in Dio si riflette in te, senza bisogno ch'io tel dichiarai.” (See lower down, l. 61: *su sono specchi*) etc. Compare *De Vulg. Eloq.* i, 2, ll. 13-21: “Cum igitur angeli ad pandendas gloriosas eorum conceptiones habeant promptissimam atque ineffabilem sufficientiam intellectus, qua vel alter alteri totaliter innotescit per se, vel saltem per illud fulgentissimum speculum, in quo cuncti repraesentantur pulcerrimi atque avidissimi speculantur: nullo signo locutionis indiguise videntur.”

§ *ond'ella pria cantava*: The spirits, among whom was

Seguette, come a cui\* di ben far giova :

The eyes of Beatrice, that were fixed upon me as before, gave to my desire the assurance of her sweet assent. "O blessed spirit," said I, "give a speedy compliance with my wish, and afford me proof that what I think I can have reflected in thee." Where-upon the light, which was as yet new (*i.e.* unknown) to me, from out of its depth, whence it had been singing before, made reply as to one upon whom it is delightful to confer a benefit.

Cunizza first describes the *Marca Trivigiana*, the land of her birth, and then adds that she is sister to Ezzelino III.

—"In quella parte della terra prava  
Italica, che siede tra Rialto

25

Cunizza, were singing *Osanna*, when Dante encountered them immediately after his ascent into Venus (*Par.* viii, 28-30):

"E dentro a quei che più innanzi appariro,  
Sonava *Osanna*, sì che unque poi  
Di riudir non fui senza disiro."

\* *come a cui*, et seq.: Casini remarks that this simile says with efficacious brevity that which is expressed more at length in *Purg.* xxxiii, 130-132:

"Com' anima gentil che non fa scusa,  
Ma fa sua voglia della voglia altrui,  
Tosto ch' ell' è per segno fuor dischiusa."

The idea has been imitated by Fazio degli Uberti, *Dittamondo*, lib. iii, cap. xviii :

"Poi siccom' uom, che pensa e s' argomenta  
D' altrui piacer, mi disse," etc.

and by Frezzi, *Quadriregio*, lib. i, cap. xi :

"Come persona a compiacere disposta  
A chi la prega, così Palla fece," etc.

† *quella parte*: Cunizza is here describing the *Marca Trivigiana*, which was bordered on the south by the Duchy of Venice (here indicated by its principal island, Rialto), and on the North by the Alps of the Trentino in which the Brenta takes its rise, and the Alps of the Cadore from which the Piave flows, and which, Pietro di Dante records, is bounded (on the west) by the Adige, and (on the east) by the Tagliamento.

E le fontane\* di Brenta e di Piava,  
 Si leva un colle,† e non surge molt' alto,  
 Là onde scese già una facella,‡  
 Che fece alla contrada un grande assalto. 30  
 D' una radice nacqui ed io ed ella ;  
 Cunizza fui chiamata, e qui refulgo,  
 Perchè mi vinse il lume d' esta stella.§

\* *fontane*: the sources of the rivers. Compare *Purg.* xxviii, 121-124:

“ L' acqua che vedi non surge di vena  
 Come fiume ch' acquista è perde lena ;  
 Ma esce di fontana salda e certa.”

† *un colle*: The Castello da Romano stands on a hill about 3 kilometres to the North East of Bassano. It was the birth-place of the tyrant Ezzelino III, whom Dante mentions in the river of boiling blood (*Inf.* xii, 110), where he is called Azzolino. The castle in his time was a place of some importance. It is in the territory of Vicenza, on the Brenta, situated near the high road that leads from Padua to Bassano, Feltre, and Udine.

‡ *facella*: Some Commentators profess to see a marked distinction between *face*, a torch, and *facella*, a small firebrand, and think that Dante wished to imply, by this designation of the ferocious tyrant Ezzelino, that he was of small political power and importance, though in his own neighbourhood he spread fire and sword. Pietro di Dante alone among the Commentators relates a tradition prevalent in the Marca Trivigiana that Ezzelino's mother before his birth dreamed that she should bring forth a firebrand: (*Mater cujus Azzolini, dum partui ejus esset vicina, somniabat quod parturiebat unam facem igneam, quae comburebat totam Marchiam Trevisanam: et ita fecit sua horribili tyrannide. Et tangit hoc auctor, dum dicit de facella*). Scartazzini observes that, as none of the other Commentators mention this dream, it has been doubted as to whether the dream owes its origin to Dante's verse, or Dante's verse to the tradition of the dream, but Scartazzini thinks Pietro di Dante must certainly have heard the tradition; the more so that the Trevisian chroniclers of that time record that Pietro the son of Dante died at Treviso, and was buried in the first cloister of Santa Margherita there (*cf.* G.B. Rambaldi, *Dante e Trevigi. Memorie storiche.* Treviso, 1868).

§ *mi vinse il lume d' esta stella*: On this see Buti: “cioè mi signoreggiò la influenza di questo pianeta, che non mi lassò

“ In that part of the sinful land of Italy that lies between Rialto (*i.e.* Venice) and the sources of the Brenta and the Piava, there rises a hill, and it does not rear itself very high, in that place whence there once descended a firebrand (Ezzelino), which made a great devastation of the country round. From the same root (*i.e.* from the same parents) both it and I were born ; Cunizza was I named, and here (in the sphere of Venus) I shine again, because the splendour (*i.e.* the influence) of this star overcame me.

Benvenuto observes that Cunizza next anticipates a tacit question that might be put to her, namely, as to how she comes to have saved her soul and to be living an everlasting life among the Blessed, if, as she admits, in her life-time the influence of Venus had such dominion over her.

Ma lietamente a me medesma indulgo

La cagion di mia sorte, e non mi noia,

35

Che parria forse forte al vostro vulgo.

But with joy do I pardon to myself the cause of (this) my lot, and—which to your common herd may perchance seem a hard thing—it does not distress me.

Cunizza and her companions no longer repent for their former sins ; that time passed away when they were washed in Lethè ; but they rejoice in the Divine Power, which, while it placed them under the influence of the planet Venus, at the same time enabled them to be saved. The common herd would not be able to comprehend that the Blessed can recollect their former sins, and yet feel no remorse, only thankfulness to God

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montare a maggior grado : e ben dice *mi vinse—Quia sapiens dominabitur astris* ; et ella non fu savia e lasciossi signoreggiare a la influenza della costellazione, benchè poi se ne pentì e fecene penitenzia.”

for the joy of their Salvation. Casini thinks that Dante's conception in the above passage was to indicate the state in which the souls of the Blessed find themselves with reference to their past lives, a conception in perfect agreement with that of St. Augustine (*De Civit. Dei*, xxii, 30: "Voluntas libera, ab omni malo liberata et impleta omni bono, fruens indesinenter æternorum jucunditate gaudiorum, oblita poetarum, tamen nec ideo suae liberationis oblita, ut liberatori sit ingrata." Casini observes, with reference to this doctrine, that Cunizza's words signify: "Although, when in the world below, I was under the mastery of worldly love, yet here in Paradise I am justified in taking delight in my strong disposition to love, which, by turning itself into love for God, has procured for me my present Blessedness; and far from being to me an occasion of grief (*non mi noia*): and it is just this fact, as to how amorous passion has become for me a beginning of Blessedness, that is difficult for ordinary minds to understand."

Cunizza has now finished talking about herself, and, wishing to say more about the Marca Trivigiana, turns the conversation to one of her companions in bliss, Folco or Folchetto of Marseilles. She alludes to the bright record of his good deeds which he has left behind him, but chiefly in order that she may pass on thence to denounce his fellow-citizens in that district, as well as those of the adjoining territories.

Di questa luculenta e cara gioia  
Del nostro cielo, che più m'è propinqua,  
Grande fama rimase, e pria che moia,



Questo centesim' anno anco s' incinqua,\* 40  
 Vedi se far si dee l' uomo eccellente,  
 Sì ch' altra vita la prima relinqua! †  
 E ciò non pensa la turba presente,  
 Che Tagliamento ed Adice richiude, ‡  
 Nè per esser battuta § ancor si pente. 45

Of this gleaming and precious jewel of our heaven (Folco of Marseilles), who is nearest to me, great fame has remained, and before it die, this hundredth year must yet have recurred five times (*i.e.* Folco's fame, dating from 1300, will last many centuries). See (then) if Man should not strive after excellence, so that his first life may leave a second! And thus thinks not the present multitude (namely, the inhabitants of the Marca Trivigiana), whom the Tagliamento and the Adige shut in, nor, for all that they have been scourged, do they yet repent.

Bartoli (*op. cit.*, vol. vi, part ii, pp. 148-151) thinks that Dante has recorded the existence of Folco for reasons analogous to those that made him represent

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\* *s' incinqua*: There are three ways of explaining this word. I follow the old Commentators, namely, that the century will be quintuplicated, *i.e.* that 500 years, by which is to be understood an indefinite time, shall pass, before Folco's fame shall have died out. Vellutello thought this too long a period, and understood it to mean that this year one thousand three hundred shall have become one thousand five hundred before, etc. Others, following the *Ottimo*, understood the words to mean that, before the century then begun should have terminated, the fame of Folco would have been quintuplicated. The first of these interpretations, which is the most simple, is much to be preferred.

† *relinqua*: This means that the first mortal life of the body may leave behind it the second almost immortal life of renown.

‡ *richiude*: Ferrazzi (*Manuale Dantesco*, vol. iv, p. 415) says that the Tagliamento and the Adige enclose the populations of the Marca Trivigiana, of the territories of Vicenza, Padua, Treviso, Feltre, and Belluno.

§ *battuta*: "*idest*, flagellata per Eccelinum, qui Marchiam, viridarium voluptatum fecit quasi heremum solitudinis desertæ." (Benvenuto).

Cunizza in heaven, namely, for the sake of making him the mouthpiece of certain opinions. One might wonder that, dying as Folco did in 1231, after a dissolute youth, he should so soon have got into Paradise. But it must be remembered that Folco, after his amours with Adelasia di Barral and other ladies, turned to religion and became Bishop of Toulouse. Bartoli thinks Dante would feel that his denunciation of the Pope and Cardinals, who, from their avarice, from their love of the golden florin, no longer follow the Gospel and the Fathers, but only the Decretals, would come with tenfold force if put into the mouth of a Bishop. Anyhow Bartoli thinks it strange that Dante should have failed to notice the part that Folco took in the Crusade against the Albigenses, and should have made of this sanguinary bishop one of the Saints of his Paradise.

Bartoli is however excessively severe against Dante, for having, as he considers, made history subsidiary to his own passions of love, hate, gratitude, political reminiscences, which are all tumultuously though magnificently reflected in his verses. One key-note he thinks dominates over all others—abhorrence of all his contemporaries of every degree, of every party, of every country, but especially of those in Tuscany. Guelphs and Ghibellines are placed by him promiscuously in Hell and in Purgatory. Not a single one does he represent in Paradise; an exclusion evidently intentional on his part. Only three women (Piccarda, Cunizza, and Rahab); a prince (Charles Martel) who died very young; a troubadour (Folco of Marseilles); a councillor of the Count of Provence (Roméo); an

ancestor of his own (Cacciaguida); an aged King of Sicily (William II); many Saints and theologians, and no one else. [Bartoli seems to have forgotten Justinian.] Dante still looks forward with some lingering hopes for his country, and these hopes of his are founded upon the advent of some reformer of the world, of some *Veltro* who shall slay the she-wolf, of a leader, of a Messenger of God; and his hopes are also for himself, for his Poem, that he may be able to overcome the cruelty of the wolves that shut him out of the fair sheep-fold, Florence. But these hopes render his hatred all the more bitter, and especially against his countrymen. Of the seventy-nine persons represented by him in Hell, thirty-two are Florentines and forty-three Tuscans; numbers which become eloquent if compared with those of personages from other parts of Italy, namely, three from Padua, four from Bologna, one from Rimini, one from Ravenna, one from Ferrara, one from Marca Trivigiana, one from Parma, one from Novara, one from Brescia, one from Cremona, one from Pavia, two from Faenza, three from Sardinia, and one from Capua. In Purgatory there are barely four Florentines, and fifteen Tuscans. In Paradise two only (Piccarda de' Donati and Cacciaguida).

In the six *terzine* that now follow, Cunizza predicts the misfortunes that will befall her native land and the adjoining territory; the massacres impending upon Padua (see *Readings on the Inferno*, footnote on *Inf.* xii, 110; vol. i, p. 400); the violent death of Riccardo da Camino; and the treachery and cruelty of the Bishop of Feltre. All these predictions, Scar-

tazzini remarks, are a *vaticinium post eventum*, or history in the garb of prophecy.

Ma tosto fia che Padova al palude  
Cangerà l'acqua che Vicenza bagna,  
Per esser\* al dover le genti crude.

But ere long it will come to pass that Padua will change the water in the marsh that leaves Vicenza, because the (two) populations are rebellious against duty.

On the above *terzina* it has been remarked by Ferrazzi (*Manuale Dantesco*, vol. iv, p. 415), and by Scartazzini in his Leipzig Commentary (1882), that rarely has it happened that a passage in Dante has been disputed with such conspicuous learning, and at the same time with such exceptional courtesy towards each other, by the champions of the different *theses*; and, to discuss it properly in all its bearings, a whole book rather than a commentary would be requisite. The more common interpretation is: "Soon will it happen that the Paduans, by reason of their stubbornness against duty, will change to the colour of blood the waters of the marsh which the river Bacchiglione forms near Vicenza:" The interpretation of Prof. Filippo Mercuri is: "The Paduans will deflect the waters of the Bacchiglione by breaking down the dikes, as they did to inundate Vicenza, for the reason that *le genti*, by which is meant the Guelphs of Padua, are stubborn and restive against their duty, *i.e.* against their sub-

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\* *Per esser*: Casini observes that the censure is evidently as much intended for the Vicentines for having deflected the course of the Bacchiglione, as for the Paduans, who had provided for their needs by the waters of the Brenta; because these hydraulic operations demonstrated the tenacity of the fraternal hatred of the two cities, and their persistence in the error of their municipal hatreds.

mission to Henry VII, and his Vicar General Cangrande della Scala." Professor Gloria: "Soon shall it happen that the Paduans will change the water of the Bacchiglione into the Marsh of Brusegna, by substituting for it the water of the Brenta, to be able to go on with the war, that is, that they may not be constrained by the failure of water to make terms with the people of Vicenza."

But preferable by far to the above views, appear to me those advocated by Prof. Mgr. Poletto in his own commentary, as well as in the Appendix volume (vol. viii) to his *Dizionario Dantesco*, in which (pp. 275-289) he has introduced a monograph by his friend the Abbate Bortolan entitled *Il Bacchiglione*, being a comment upon this *terzina*. Extremely difficult is it to give, within the limits of a work like the present, anything like an adequate digest of so learned, and, to me, so convincing an argument. Bortolan begs his readers to begin by turning back to where Cunizza, citing the example of Folco of Marseilles, who had been converted from a licentious life to a holy one, adds: See then if Man should not strive after excellence, so that his first life may leave behind it a second one. But those people who live between the Adige and the Tagliamento are by no means striving after excellence, and Cunizza enumerates their delinquencies, beginning by this disputed passage. This, observes Bortolan, should be studied with the assistance of the chronicler Ferreto of Vicenza, who is said to have been the first person that ever commented on Dante, even before Boccaccio began his public lectures on the *Commedia*, and while Dante's own sons, Pietro



and Jacopo, were almost compelled to disavow their father's work, as being a book likely to draw down on their heads the vengeance of princes still living, who were either censured or ridiculed by Dante's powerful pen.

Bortolan, on the authority of Ferreto, shows that, in the frequently occurring struggles between Padua and Vicenza, the first thought of the Vicentines was to deprive Padua of water by deflecting the river Bacchiglione (*l'acqua che Vicenza bagna*) from its ordinary channel, by causing it to flow through the Bisato canal towards Longare; and with this intent they prepared dams and dikes. This so exasperated the Paduans, that when Aimon, Bishop of Geneva, was treating with them at Barbano for the surrender of Padua to the Emperor Henry VII, the Paduans expressly stipulated that the following clause should be inserted in the treaty, namely, that the Emperor's emissary *Bachilionis fluvium, quem Vicentini in Paduanorum offensam jacturamque gravem ex consuetu prisci meatus alveo deflectentes in alterum labi non sinunt, in pristinum restaurari faciat.* When however the Bishop, in total ignorance of the circumstances, and deeming the condition to be one of no importance, attempted to impose it upon the Vicentines as the will of the Emperor, such a tumult arose that, had he not taken refuge in the fortified Palace of the Bishop of the City, he would scarcely have escaped with his life. In vain did an Imperial edict command *decursus aquarum per solitos alveos versus Paduam nequaquam per Vicentinos impediti.* Though the Paduans read it with joy, the Vicentines treated it with

contempt. And here it is, that they showed themselves *crudi al dovere*. The Paduans, in their turn, showed themselves *crudi*, devastating the whole country round right up to the very walls of Vicenza, provoking reprisals even more fearful. But the efforts of the Paduans were wholly directed to turning their water back into its old channel from the fen of Lozzo, into which it was then being discharged, by gaining possession of the great dam at Longare, and breaking it down. In this, after suffering a sanguinary defeat at the hands of the Vicentines, who had called in Cangrande della Scala to their assistance, they (the Paduans) were finally successful in 1312. Reprisals followed reprisals, and the territories of the two States were respectively ravaged by fire and sword. Hence, as Bortolan concludes, Paduans and Vicentines alike were very far indeed from *farsi eccellenti, e relinquere la prima vita*. Bortolan, it should be mentioned, takes *prima vita* as the accusative after *relinquere*; but I follow Benvenuto, who says: "idest, ut prima vita, scilicet temporalis, relinquat aliam perpetuam per vitam famam": and he quotes from Quinctilian: *Quoniam denegatur nobis diu vivere, relinquamus aliquid, quo nos vixisse testemur*.

The fate of Riccardo da Camino is next foretold.

E dove\* Sile e Cagnan s'accompagna,

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\* *dove*: At Treviso is the confluence of the two rivers mentioned in the text. Of them the chronicler Ferreto (quoted by Ferrazzi, vol. v, p. 437) wrote in the following verses, about 1329, or soon after:

"Flumina magna duo decorant nitidissima limphis,  
 Fontibus innumeris Cagnanus crescit ab Arcto,  
 Non procul a muris, quos lubens molliter intrat.  
 Maxima pars fluvii, multos suscepta per arcus

Tal \* signoreggia e va con la testa alta, 50  
 Che già per lui carpir† si fa la ragna.

Scinditur in rivos, et cunctas urbis in oras,  
 Unde molitorum rota plurima volvitur amni :  
 Pars tamen hinc illinc fossas interfluit urbis.  
 Inferiora Silus, Cassacorba missus ab axe  
 Occiduo veniens, urbis secat amne profundo ;  
 Et subito cursu flumen se jungit utrumque,  
 Adriacoque mari socio velut amne carinas,  
 Fertque suum nomen Silus, haud Cagnanus in aequor.”

These two rivers are again mentioned together in *Convito* iv, 14, i, 116.

\* *Tal* : Riccardo da Camino, Lord of Treviso, Feltre and Belluno, is said to have been the son of the *buon Gherardo* (*Purg.* xvi, 124; and *Conv.* iv, 14, ll. 118-120); he married Nino Visconti's daughter (*Giovanna mia*, see *Purg.* viii, 71); and some assert that he married secondly, Verde daughter of Alboino della Scala. He succeeded his father in the lordship of Treviso in 1306, and was slain, according to some by a half witted servant, according to others by a ruffian (*ribaldo*), who had been suborned for that purpose by Altiniero degli Azzoni, who was playing chess with Riccardo in a *loggia* in the palace at the time the assassin struck him. According to Muratori (*Rer. ital.* xii, 783) Altiniero is said to have completed with his own hand this assassination, which he had deliberately planned as an act of vengeance for an insult offered to his wife's honour by Riccardo. According to Benvenuto the crime was planned by Riccardo's brother and kinsmen, and they would seem both to have bribed the murderer, whose name, according to Benvenuto, was Ribaldo, and then to have hurriedly slain him afterwards (*Dominus Rizardus de Camino . . . quum una die luderet ad scachos, subito transfixus est gladio ab uno Ribaldo sicario desperato, praesentibus fratre et consanguineis ejus. Et continuo sicarius trucidatus ab illis fertur dixisse istud verbum: hoc non fuit in pacto. Ipse vero Rizardus moriens dicebat manu et nutu ne occiderent eum, ut sciretur quare hoc fecerat, cum tamen fratre et suis procurantibus hoc factum esset.* The *Falso Boccaccio* says that the murder was instigated by the *Signoria* of Treviso, and that the murderer was *un loro consorto pazzo* who stabbed Messer Riccardo when playing at chess (*giuchando a tavole*) and that the *Signoria* was present, pretending great grief and indignation, slew the assassin, so that in that way the wise man and the madman died together, and to their colleagues remained increased greatness but much shame.

† *carpir* : Tommaséo (*Dizionario dei Sinonimi*, p. 824, no.

And (at Treviso) where Sile and Cagnano join their streams, one lords it and bears his head on high, for entrapping whom the net is even now being made.

On this Benvenuto says: *jam textitur fraus ad circumveniendum ipsum, sicut avis capitur rete: est enim ragna quoddam genus retis, quo capiuntur aves.*

The next allusion by Cunizza is to Alessandro Novello, Bishop of Feltre. He was the brother of Prosavio Novello, Bishop of Treviso. Alessandro, whose episcopate lasted from 1298 to 1320, in the year 1314 yielded up at the request of Messer Pino della Tosa, the Pontifical Vicar at Ferrara, three Ferrarese gentlemen who had sought shelter at Feltre, whose names were Lancilotto, Caruccio, and Antoniolo

2762) defines the precise meaning of *carpire*, among other words signifying, to catch, to take, to ensnare: "*Carpire*, oggidì, vale: prendere di furto, e nel traslato prendere in modo non legittimo e non onesto." Prof. Isidor Del Lungo (in *Dante ne' tempi di Dante, ritratti e studi*, Bologna, 1888, p. 325) says of the *net . . . being made*: "Ragna, veramente; che vuol dire, rete da uccellare: perchè, quell' agguato domestico, teso su quella loggia, dove giuocavano a sacchi la vittima e l'offesa che ha ordita la propria e l'altrui vendetta, e un povero idiota n'è strumento come zimbello alla tesa [*like the decoy bird at the spot where the fowler's net is spread*], rende tutta la imagine della cosa significata da Dante." The primary meaning of *ragna* is "a fowler's net," and figuratively "a stratagem, or deception." The word occurs in the *Rime*, in the Canzone (XV) beginning *Io son venuto al punto della rota* (st. 2):

"Ed Amor, che sue ragne

Ritira al ciel per lo vento che poggia."

and Pulci, *Morgante Maggiore*, canto x, st. 126:

"Perchè già tese mi parvon le ragne

E' tradimenti ma pur non pensai

Che tanto ingrata fussi quella gente."

*Dar nella ragna* is to fall into a trap. *Ragna* sometimes is used instead of *ragno* a spider; in fact Dante so uses it in *Purg.* xii, 44, though the more general reading is *aragna*. *Ragna* for *ragnatelo*, a spider's web is of more rare occurrence.



da Fontana, and these were promptly beheaded, says Benvenuto, in the market-place of Ferrara, a number of their adherents being likewise hanged as rebels. Benvenuto relates the terrible retribution that Riccardo inflicted upon the Bishop for his treachery. He speaks of the *defectum sceleratum Episcopi, qui fuit natione placentinus (i.e. of Piacenza), qui bene luit poenas dignas: nam de mandato domini Rizardi prædicti fuit tantum percussus cum sæculis sabuli* [bags of sand], *quod emisit omnia viscera et sanguinem per egestionem; et populus etiam luit, qui venit de libertate in servitutem sub tyrannide ipsius Rizardi.*

Piangerà Feltro ancora la diffalta\*

Dell'empio suo pastor, che sarà sconcia†

Sì che per simil non s'entrò in Malta.‡

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\* *diffalta*: The primary meaning of the word is (1) "default;" and hence it comes to mean (2) "breach of faith, of a promise," and (3) "trespass, fault, crime." Of (2) There is an example in Giov. Villani, ix, 267: "Il re si tornò in Francia . . . veggendo la diffalta che gli aveano fatta i baroni della Magna;" and a footnote says that *diffalta* = *mancamento di parola*, and the word is derived from *fallire*. Compare for (3) *Purg.* xxviii, 94-96:

"Per sua diffalta qui dimorò poco;

Per sua diffalta in pianto ed in affanno

Cambiò onesto riso e dolce gioco."

The poet Giusti in his *Scritti vari in Prosa e in Verso*, p. 300, has: "*diffalta*: mancanza di fede, non stare ai patti." *Diffalta* in the present passage may mean either a crime or a breach of faith, but as the Bishop's crime was a gross breach of faith the distinction is unimportant.

† *sconcia*: Compare *Inf.* xviii, 57, where Venedico Caccianemico speaks of the "disgraceful tale" of his crime as *sconcia novella*. Want of space prevents my discussing this word farther.

‡ *Malta*: There is a great difference of opinion as to where this prison La Malta was. Some have tried to maintain that it was at Rome; others that it was on the Lago di Bolsena, but there is no trace of such a prison there, nor even a place of that name, only a small village and a river called Marta, and an island in the lake called Isola Martana. A more plausible opinion is



Troppo sarebbe larga la bigoncia \*

55

Che ricevesse il sangue Ferrarese,

E stanco chi il pesasse ad oncia ad oncia,

Che donerà questo prete cortese †

that it was La Malta at Cittadella in the province of Padua, which prison had been constructed (says Poletto) by Ezzelino III, not for the confinement of real criminals, but for unfortunate and innocent victims of his cruelties. This is further supported by Muratori, who, in his *Antiq. it.* iv, 1139 (*Chronicon Patavinum*) writes: "tunc factus fuit mortalis carcer in Cittadella nominatus la Malta." But both Poletto and Scartazzini agree that this prison was opened at the capture of Padua in 1256, and the miserable prisoners liberated. These were 300 in number, and so blinded, after their long seclusion from light, on being brought out into the sunshine, that they were unable to see their way. This prison no longer existed in the time of Dante, and moreover its inmates had been *innocent* victims of Ezzelino, whereas by the word *sconcia* Cunizza shows that the inmates of La Malta were really guilty of hideous crimes. Scartazzini and Poletto endorse the view of Ignazio Ciampi (*Un Municipio italiano all'età di Dante Al.* in the *Giornale, Arti e Lettere*, p. 52) who quotes from Nicolò della Tuccia, *Cronaca inedita di Viterbo*, 1235: "I Viterbesi fecero una prigione oscurissima in fondo di torre, allato alla porta di ponte Tremoli, la quale era chiamata la Malta, ove il Papa metteva i suoi prigionieri," and they feel convinced that this is the La Malta intended. The sense seems to lend itself to this idea, Cunizza practically saying: Here is a Pastor of the Church guilty of crimes so enormous that none of his cloth more guilty was ever thrust into the prison for priests at La Malta.

\* *bigoncia*: A wine vat in which grapes are left to ferment. In that useful book, *Prontuario* di Giacinto Carena, Turin, 1853, part ii, *Vocabolario Metodico d'Arti e Mestieri*, p. 382, I find: "*Bigoncia*, vaso a doghe (*i.e. staves*), largo pochi palmi, alto circa due volte tanto; per lo più tondo, talora ovale, cerchiato di legno, fondo uguale alla bocca, o di poco minore. Serve a riporvi uve, vino, grano, civaie [*all vegetables that are contained in pods, such as peas, beans, lentils, etc.*], e altro. La Bigoncia talora non ha nè manichi nè maniglie, frequentemente ne tien luogo il prolungamento di due opposte doghe oltre l'orlo della bocca, ciascuna con foro circolare da passarvi tre o quattro dita delle mani."

† *cortese*: "Intendi l'amara ironia; cortese e liberale di sangue cristiano, *per mostrarsi di parte*, buon partigiano guelfo." (Fraticelli.)

Per mostrarsi di parte ; e cotai doni  
Conformi fieno al viver del paese.

60

Feltre too shall weep at the breach of faith of her infamous Pastor, which shall be of such enormity, that for like crime none ever entered into La Malta. Exceeding broad would be the vat that should contain the blood of the Ferrarese, and weary would he grow who would weigh it ounce by ounce, which this courteous (*ironical for cruel*) priest shall bestow as a gift to prove his partisanship (with the Guelphs); and gifts such (as his) will be quite in character with the usage of the country.

The people of Feltre had the reputation of being both disloyal and bloodthirsty.

Cunizza now anticipates a question which Dante might have put to her as to how she was able to foresee and predict future events. This she explains, and then disappears.

Su sono specchi,\* voi dicete Troni,  
Onde rifulge a noi Dio giudicante,  
Sì che questi parlar ne paion buoni.”—

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\* *Su sono specchi*, et seq.: In these concluding words of her prediction, Cunizza wishes to give Dante a guarantee of its truth. Hence she tells him that these great facts have been known to her in God by means of the Order of Angels called “Thrones,” which, according to a doctrine laid down by Dante, in *Convito* ii, 6, l. 109 et seq., and repudiated by him in *Par.* xxviii, 97 et seq., are the Motor Intelligences of the Heaven of Venus; and they are called mirrors, she says, because they receive light from God, and transmit it to the spirits in Heaven. “Dicendo se talia praevidere in thronis angelicis, sic dictis secundum Gregorium, quia tanta divinitate replentur ut in eis sedet Deus, et per eos sua judicia decernat atque informet.” (Pietro di Dante.) St. Gregory (*Homil.* 34, quoted from Poletto) writes: “Throni quoque illa agmina sunt vocata, quibus ad exercenda judicia semper Deus omnipotens praesidet.” The question is treated at length by St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. cviii, art. 5), beginning: “Ordo Thronorum habet excellentiam prae inferioribus ordinibus,” etc. By *su* we are to understand, up in the *Primum Mobile* or Crystalline Heaven.

Qui si tacette, e fecemi sembiant  
 Che fosse ad altro volta, per la rota  
 In che si mise, com'era davante.

65

Up above there are mirrors, you call them Thrones, from which God Judicant (*i.e.* in Judgment) shines out on us, so that these utterances seem right to us." Here she was silent, and to me wore the semblance of having turned away to other things, by the wheel (*i.e.* the circle of revolving spirits) into which she re-entered as she had been before.

Poletto thinks Cunizza's last words were spoken in some sort of way as a corrective of anything she may have said before, which from its too great freedom might have given a shadow of offence to Dante.

*Division II.* The spirit of Folco of Marseilles now comes forward, and shows his good-will by his increased brilliancy. Dante does not wait for the acquiescence of Beatrice, of which he is assured beforehand, but at once addresses himself to Folco, observing that as God is All-Seeing, and the Blessed in Heaven discern everything in Him, therefore the spirits here present must know everyone's desires. Why then, he asks Folco, does he not satisfy Dante's desire, before Dante makes it known? From Folco's answer we shall see that what Dante wanted was to know Folco's name.

L'altra letizia, che m'era già nota  
 Preclara cosa,\* mi si fece in vista

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\* *m'era già nota Preclara cosa*: see l. 37, whereby we see that Cunizza had already told Dante that of the bright spirit nearest to her great fame remained; therefore, Dante says that Folco was already known to him as something illustrious. Most Commentators put a comma after *nota*, which completely alters

Qual fin balascio\* in che lo sol percota.  
 Per letiziar lassù fulgor s'acquista, 70  
 Sì come riso qui; ma giù s'abbuia  
 L'ombra di fuor, come la mente è trista.

The other glad spirit, whom I already knew to be something illustrious (in fame), came into my view like a choice ruby smitten by the Sun. From rejoicing there above (in Heaven) effulgence is acquired, as is laughter here (on Earth); but below (*i.e.* Hell) the shade grows darker outwardly in proportion as the soul is sad.

Dante speaks.

—"Dio vede tutto, e tuo veder s'inluia,"—†

the sense. The *Oxford Dante*, Witte, Scartazzini, Poletto, and Casini, read, as I have followed them in doing, *mi si fece in vista*: This is a perfectly common, every-day idiom in Tuscany= "presented itself to my view;" not "made itself."

\* *balascio*: I borrow the following from Longfellow. The *Balascio* (in French *rubi balais*) is supposed to take its name from the place in the East where it is found. Chaucer, *Court of Love*, i, 78-81:

"No sapphire of Inde, no rube riche of price,  
 There lacked then, nor emeraude so grene,  
 Balais Turkis, ne thing to my devise  
 That may the castel maken for to shene."

The mystic virtues of this stone are thus enumerated by King, *Antique Gems*, p. 419: "The *Balais Ruby* represses vain and lascivious thoughts, appeases quarrels between friends, and gives health of body. Its powder taken in water cures diseases of the eyes and pains in the liver. If you touch with this gem the four corners of a house, orchard or vineyard, they will be safe from lightning, storms, and blight." In *Par.* xv, 85, Dante addresses his ancestor Cacciaguida as *vivo topazio*; and in *Purg.* xxxi, 116, the eyes of Beatrice are called *gli smeraldi*; in *Par.* ii, 34, the Moon is spoken of as *eterna margarita* (pearl).

† *s'inluia*: In a review in the "Standard" of July 13th, 1897, on my second edition of *Readings on the Purgatorio*, it is remarked: "He (Dante) had the immense advantage of writing in a language still in process of formation, and was thus at liberty to use the inflections and variations of the different dialects that still composed it." Here we have the verb *inluarsi*



Diss' io,—“ beato spirto, sì che nulla  
 Voglia di sè a te puote esser fuia.\*  
 Dunque la voce tua, che il ciel trastulla  
 Sempre col canto di quei fochi pii †

75

formed by Dante, to suit his own purpose, from *in lui* (Blanc says) which expresses “trasfondersi, profundarsi con la meditazione in una cosa.” I have ventured to translate *s' inluia sè*, “is so steeped in Him.” The *Gran Dizionario*, which reads *illuia*, for *inluia*, after quoting this line, and the words *m' intuassi*, and *l' immii* in l. 81, observes: “Certe lingue fanno verbi da' pronomi; e anche noi *Qualificare* da *Quale*. Besides, *inluarsi*, *intuarsi*, and *immiarsi* in these three *terzine*, we must notice *inlearsi* in *Par.* xxii, 127:

“E però prima che tu più t' inlei,” etc.

\* *fuia*: The *Gran Dizionario* is somewhat vague and not altogether satisfactory in its interpretation of this word, to which it gives a different sense in each of three passages where it occurs in the *Divina Commedia*; namely, *anima nera* in *Inf.* xii, 90; *meretrice* in *Purg.* xxxiii, 44; and *oscura* in the present passage. I very much prefer the explanation of Cesari, which is too long to quote in full, but which meets with the entire approval of Scartazzini, Poletto and Casini. Cesari corrects a former version of his own, wherein he derived *fuia* from the Latin *furvus*, dark, gloomy; and is certain that in all the above cited three passages it means *ladra*, *rapace*, and that Dante has used *fuja* for *fura* in the same way that one can write *danajo* for *danaro* (money), and *pajo* for *paro* (a pair). “Dante dice allo spirito; Tu vedi tutto in Dio, *sè che nulla* (mia) *voglia puote essere a te fuja di sè*; che torna a dire; *non può a te rubar sè medesima* (da che *esser ladra di sè*, importa *rubar sè*) . . . via più simile al *fuja di sè*, abbiamo *furarsi ad uno*, nel senso medesimo.” This last sentence reminds me of a popular song at Florence in which a young girl is supposed, in terror at the first feelings of love, to entreat Love to fly from her:

“Vanne, Amore, a me ti fura,  
 Son piccina ed ho paura,” etc.

(Away, Love, steal thyself away from me,  
 I am but a little thing, and am afraid of thee.)

† *fochi pii*: The Seraphim. Compare *Isaiah* vi, 2, 3: “Above it stood the Seraphims: each one had six wings; with twain he covered his face, and with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly. And one cried unto another, and said, Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts; the whole earth is full of His glory.” Casini observes that both Angels and Saints are often



Che di sei ali facean la cuculla,\*  
 Perchè non satisface ai miei disii?  
 Già non attenderei io tua domanda,  
 S' io m' intuassi, come tu t' immii."—

80

"God seeth all things, and thy sight," said I, "Blest Spirit, is so steeped in Him, that never can will of His be stolen away (*i.e.* be hidden) from thee. Wherefore does thy voice—which to the Heavens gives delight in never-ending unison with those Blessed Flames (the Seraphim) who of their six wings make themselves a cowl (*i.e.* veil their faces)—not satisfy my desires (by revealing thy name)? Indeed, I would not await thy demand, were I in thee as thou art in me."

This last line means, if I could see into thy thoughts as thou canst see into mine; or, as Longfellow explains it, if I *in-theed* myself as thou *in-meest* thyself; in the same way that *s' inluia* (l. 73) is equivalent to *in-Hims-itself*.

Folco† now replies, first informing Dante that his native place is situated on the shores of the Mediter-

styled *fochi*. Compare *Par.* xviii, 108: *quel distinto foco*; xx, 34: *dèi fochi, ond' io figura fommi*; xxii, 46:

"Questi altri fochi tutti contemplanti  
 Uomini furo."

\* *cuculla*: = a monastic cowl. Compare *Par.* xxii, 76-78:

"Le mura che soleano esser badia,  
 Fatte son spelonche, e le cocolle  
 Sacca son piene di farina ria."

† Folco, better known as Folchetto, of Marseilles, was one of the Troubadours of Provence. The fullest account of him is given by the *Ottimo*, which states that he was the son of a Genoese merchant named Anfuso, who had settled at Marseilles. Petrarch alludes to him in the *Trionfo d' Amore*, iv, terz. 17:

"Folchetto, ch' a Marsiglia il nome ha dato,  
 Ed a Genova ha tolto."

He is said to have been born in 1160, and to have died in 1231. He is first heard of as a Troubadour at the court of Alphonse I

anean ; but, in telling this, he makes use of an expression (says Casini) which has raised a great deal of controversy among the interpreters of this passage, which, of itself, is clear enough : The Mediterranean, the greatest of the inland seas into which the waters of the ocean, supposed to surround the earth, spread themselves, (the Mediterranean we say) extends so far eastwards, that where it ends (*i.e.* roughly speaking, at Jerusalem), it has for its meridian that same circle, which, where it started (at Gades), formed its horizon. In other words, it extends for 90 degrees of longitude, so that the sun is, *at the same moment*, on its meridian at Jerusalem (noon), and on its horizon at Gades (sunrise). So in the case supposed by Dante, in *Purg.* xxvii, 1-3, it was sunrise at Jerusalem and midnight at Gades (Ibero). But the real point of discussion is, observes Casini, how ever Dante came to imagine that the Mediterranean extends from west to east for 90 degrees, whereas in reality it only extends for 42 degrees. Some think he was led into this error by the astronomers and geographers of his time ; others again strive to justify his words, as though he had wished to say that it is noon at the eastern extremity

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Count of Provence ; and afterwards at that of Barral da Beaux Count of Marseilles. Here he loved, and possibly was loved by, Adelais, the beautiful wife of that Prince, and he wrote many verses in her honour. He had, however, for some reason or other, to quit the Court of Marseilles. After the death of Adelais, he became a Cistercian Monk, and then Abbot, and in 1205 Bishop of Toulouse. His ferocious extermination of the Albigenses has gained him an unenviable notoriety. Bartoli (*loco cit.*) thinks that Dante has introduced Folco into his Heaven of Venus, for reasons analogous to those which made him select Cunizza.

of the Mediterranean when the sun is just rising at the western extremity.

Antonelli thinks the description of the Mediterranean in this passage is magnificent.

—“La maggior valle\* in che l'acqua si spanda,”—

Incominciaro allor le sue parole,

—“Fuor di quel mar che la terra inghirlanda,

Tra i discordanti liti,† contra il sole 85

Tanto sen va che fa meridiano

Là dove l'orizzonte pria far suole.

Di quella valle fu' io littorano,‡

Tra Ebro e Macra,§ che per cammin corto

Lo Genovese parte dal Toscano. 90

\* *valle*: “Ogni mare è a guisa di valle ripiena d'acqua. Questa valle è il Mediterraneo che sta fuori del mare Oceano, il quale credevasi che *inghirlandasse*, cioè stesse tutto intorno alla terra.” (Cornoldi.) In the long discussion of Antonelli of this passage which I have not quoted, he remarks on the word *valle*, that Strabo was the first to originate the idea that the Ocean flows round all the continents, and formed four principal gulfs; but that Dante opens this passage with a conception which appears to be wholly his own, and which seems almost like a discovery in our times, namely, that the so-called basins of the seas are nothing more than valleys a great deal more depressed than on the mainland.

† *discordanti liti*: The discordant shores are Christian Europe to the north, and Mussulman Africa to the south. Compare Virg. *Æn.* iv, 628:

“Litora litoribus contraria.”

‡ *littorano*: Buti says of the word: “cioè, abitatore della piagge, ma non à ancora dichiarato di quale.”

§ *Tra Ebro e Macra*: The Ebro flows into the Mediterranean at about 1 degree E. long., at Tortosa, between Barcelona and Valencia. The Magra flows into the Gulf of Spezia at about 9 degrees E. long. Its course is a short one of 64 kilomètres. Marseilles lies about 5½ degrees E. long., and is therefore about mid-way between the Ebro and the Magra. The Ebro is mentioned by Dante as the Ibero, in *Purg.* xxvii, 2, 3:

“Là dove il suo Fattore il sangue sparse,  
Cadendo Ibero sotto l'alta Libra.”

The other river is sometimes called by Dante, Magra (the

Ad un occaso quasi e ad un orto\*

Buggea siede e la terra† ond'io fui,

Che fe' del sangue suo già caldo il porto.

"The greatest of the valleys in which the water expands," his words then began, "excepting that sea (the ocean) which engarlands the earth, between discordant shores extends against the sun (*i. e.* from west to east) so far, that it makes its meridian there where before it used to make its horizon. I was a dweller on the coast of that valley (at a place midway) between the Ebro and the Magra, which (latter) with its short course divides the Genoese from the Tuscan territory. With nearly the same setting and the same rising of the sun (*i. e.* at the same longitude) is situated Buggea (in Africa) and the city (Marseilles) whence I was, which on one occasion made the harbour warm with its blood.

The Spirit then names himself as Folco, and while avowing that in life he followed the influence of the planet Venus, and humbly comparing himself with personages in history who had been guilty of sinful love, he tells Dante at the same time that in Paradise

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modern name of it) and sometimes Macra, as here. Compare *Inf.* xxiv, 145 :

"Tragge Marte vapor di val di Magra," etc.

and *Purg.* viii, 115-117, where Conrad Malaspina says :

" . . . Se novella vera

Di Valdimacra, o di parte vicina

Sai, dilla a me, che già grande là era."

\* *occaso . . . e . . . orto* : Compare *Purg.* xxx, 1, 2 :

"Quando il settentrion del primo cielo,

Che nè occaso mai seppe nè orto," etc.

Folco is explaining that the city (*terra*) where he was born, namely, Marseilles, has nearly the same longitude as Buggea (called now Bougie by the French) a city in Algeria, so that at each place the sun rises and sets at the same time.

† *terra* : On the frequent use of *terra*, in Dante's time, to signify "city," and its occasional use in the provinces even now in the same sense, see *Readings on the Inferno*, vol. ii, pp. 400, 401, where I have discussed the question in full.

their former sins, which were washed away in Lethè, no more cause them contrition, for they are forgotten; and he and his companions are merely filled with gladness, at the thought that God placed them on Earth under the respective planetary influences of the Spheres of Heaven.

Folco mi disse quella gente a cui	
Fu noto il nome mio,* e questo cielo	95
Di me s' imprenta, † com' io fei di lui ;	
Chè più non arse la figlia di Belo, ‡	
Noiando ed a Sicheo ed a Creusa,	
Di me, infin che si convenne al pelo ; §	
Nè quella Rodopeia, che delusa	100
Fu da Demofoonte, nè Alcide	
Quando Iole nel cor ebbe richiusa.	

\* *Fu noto il nome mio*: Cunizza had already told Dante at l. 37, *et seq.*, that Folco had left a name behind him that would last for centuries.

† *s' imprenta*: Buti observes that in life Folco followed the influence of the planet Venus, under the dominion of love; now the praise of his life returns to the Informative Virtue of that planet.

‡ *figlia di Belo*: Dido was the widow of Sichæus, to whom, by her passion for Æneas, she was unfaithful; and Creusa, the living wife of Æneas, was the really injured party. Phyllis, called *Rodopea* from Mount Rhodope in Thrace, of which her father was king, was deserted by Demophoon son of Theseus king of Athens. Hercules, through his infatuation for Iole, daughter of the King of Thessaly, aroused the jealousy of Dejanaira his wife, who compassed his end by sending him the shirt of Nessus. The *Ottimo* on this says: "E pare che egli voglia intendere, che Folco indifferentemente amò maritate, e vergini, e vedove, e gentili, e populesche [*peasant-girls*]; vedove per Dido, vergini per *Phyllis*, gentili [*women of noble blood*] per le predette, populesche per Iole." The *Ottimo* was apparently unaware of Iole's royal birth.

§ *infin che si convenne al pelo*: "idest, usque ad tempus quo coepi canescere." (Benvenuto). "Cioè d'essere innamorato: lo pelo canuto dimostra la vecchiezza, e però dimostra che si debba lassare tale amore." (Buti).



Non però qui si pente, ma si ride,  
 Non della colpa, ch' a mente non torna,  
 Ma del valore\* ch' ordinò e provide. 105  
 Qui si rimirat nell' arte che adorna  
 Cotanto effetto, e discernesì il bene  
 Per che al mondo di su quel di giù torna.

That people to whom my name was known called me  
 Folco, and this heaven (of Venus) bears the impress

\* *valore*: Compare *Par. i*, 106-108:

“Qui veggion l' alte creature l' orma  
 Dell' eterno valore, il quale è fine  
 Al quale è fatta la toccata norma.”

† *Qui si rimirat*, et seq.: These three lines are of very difficult interpretation. Some read *con tanto* for *cotanto*: *affetto* for *effetto*; *il* for *al*: *modo* for *mondo*, and, as Scartazzini observes, the changes between one of these variants and another are so easily effectuated, that it is exceedingly difficult to decide upon the right readings; and furthermore be it remarked, the differences of opinion among the Commentators as to the meanings of the several words, and the interpretation of the two sentences in these three lines, are so marked, that whatever readings one may have selected, and whatever version one may give of the passage, will assuredly not be such as to escape criticism. The great *crux* to me is that several Commentators read *al* (*mondo*) and explain it as *il* (*mondo*). If one reads *il mondo*, then *torna* is a verb active, and means, “sways, guides, causes to turn, governs.” But I follow the Oxford text, which reads *al mondo*, and I therefore understand *torna* as does Costa, “nel senso del latino *congruere*.” My translation of the line follows the explanation of Daniello, where two alternative interpretations are given, of which I prefer the second, because the first of the two gives to *torna* the sense of “returns,” and we have already had *torna* with that same sense in the previous *terzina*, and were it to have that sense now, a distinct rule of poetry would be violated which prescribes that “the same word must not rhyme to itself in the same sense.” The following are Daniello's comments: “Discernesì il Bene, il sommo bene, cioè Dio, mediante il quale (1st interpretation) il mondo di Giù (cioè l' anime de' mortali) tornano [*returns*] a quel di Su, cioè al cielo nostra vera patria; —ovvero (2nd interpretation, which I adopt) al mondo di Su, cioè al lume, e alla virtù delle stelle, che è la forma; il mondo di Giù, l' elementare, che è materia, *Torna*, s' adatta [*i.e. is made to harmonize*], come il sigillo che imprime la forma nella cera.”

of me, as I (on Earth) did of it ; for the daughter of Belus (Dido), she who wronged Sichaeus and Creusa, was not more consumed (with love) than was I, as long as it befitted my (unwhitened) hair ; nor she of Rhodope (Phyllis), who was beguiled by Demophoon, nor Alcides when he had shrined Iole in his heart. Yet here we repent not, but we smile, not for the fault, which returns not to our memory, but for the Divine Power Which ordained (the influence of the planets upon us) and provided (at the same time for our salvation). Here we contemplate the skill (of the Creator) which makes beautiful (*i.e.* which brings about) so great a result, and we discern the goodness (of God) by means of which the (material) world below is brought into harmony with the world above.

“St. Augustine expands this thought (*Civ. Dei*, xxii, 30, 4) by distinguishing between experimental and theoretical knowledge. ‘The soul then shall have an intellectual remembrance of its past ills, but so far as regards sensible experience they shall be wholly forgotten. For a skilled physician knows indeed professionally all diseases, but experimentally only those from which he has himself suffered. As, then, the knowledge of evil is twofold, the one by mental insight, the other by sensible experience, in two ways it can be forgotten. The skilled and learned (physician), through his neglect of his profession, may forget sufferings ; the patient, through his escape from them. And in this latter way will the saints forget their past ills, for their deliverance from them will be so complete, that they will be entirely blotted out of their experience. But their intellectual knowledge, which will be great, will keep them acquainted not only with their own past woes, but with the eternal sufferings of

the lost. Were they indeed to become unconscious of their past miseries, how could they, as the Psalmist says (*Psalm lxxxviii*, 2), sing for ever the mercies of God . . . In that city of God there will be free will, one in all and indivisible in each, freed from all evil and filled with all good, enjoying indefectibly the sweetness of eternal bliss, oblivious of sins, oblivious of sufferings, and yet not so oblivious of its deliverance as to be ungrateful to its Deliverer.'” (Hettinger, *Dante's Divina Commedia*, edited by Henry Sebastian Bowden, of the Oratory. London, 1887, p. 204, footnote on the present passage.)

*Division III.* Folco now names Rahab, and draws a contrast between the zeal of her, who favoured the cause of God entrusted to Joshua in the Holy Land, and the perfect indifference of Pope Boniface VIII, who takes no pains to recover it from the Infidels. He inculcates the accursed Lily stamped upon the florin of Florence as the cause of the Pope's thoughts being turned to Avarice and Simony instead of to the Holy Sepulchre, and assigns to the same cause the neglect and disuse of the Holy Scriptures and the Gospels, whose place is usurped by the Decretals, the collection of the constitutions and traditions of the Papal See.

Ma perchè le tue voglie tutte piene

Ten porti, che son nate in questa spera,                    110  
Procedere ancor oltre mi conviene.

Tu vuoi saper chi è in questa lumiera,  
Che qui appresso me così scintilla,  
Come raggio\* di sole in acqua mera.

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\* *Come raggio*, et seq. : Compare Ovid, *Artis Amatoriæ*, ii, 721, 722 :

Or sappi che là entro si tranquilla\*

Raab,† ed a nostr' ordine‡ congiunta,

Di lei nel sommo grado si sigilla.§

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“Adspicies oculos tremulo fulgore micantes,

Ut sol in liquida saepe refulget aqua.”

Compare Dante's *Canzone* beginning *Amor, che muovi tua virtù dal cielo*, st. 2 :

“Ed hammi in fuoco acceso,

Com'acqua per chiarezza foco accende.”

\* *si tranquilla*: Compare St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. xxix, art. 2): “Necesse est quod omne appetens appetat pacem, inquantum scilicet omne appetens appetit tranquillè et sine impedimento pervenire ad id quod appetit, in quo consistit ratio pacis, quam Augustinus (*De Civit.* lib. xix, cap. 13) definit *tranquillitatem ordinis* . . . Una quidem [pax] perfecta, quæ consistit in perfecta fruitione summi boni, per quam omnes appetitus uniuntur quietati in uno; et hic est ultimus finis creaturæ rationalis.”

† *Raab*: On this see Pietro di Dante: “In quo etiam coelo esse nominat illum Raab, de qua dicitur Josue secundo, quæ dum esset meretrix in terra Jerico, et Josue successor Moysis obsideret dictam terram, et misisset duos exploratores in dictam terram, dicta Raab, quia inquirebantur, dimisit eos per funem de domo sua, quæ erat juxta muros.” (For the story of Rahab see *Joshua* ii; and vi, 22-25).

‡ *ordine*: “Per donum gratiæ homines mereri possunt tantam gloriam, ut angelis aequentur secundum singulos angelorum gradus; quod est homines ad ordines angelorum assumi.” St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. cviii, art. 8).

§ *Di lei . . . si sigilla*. See ll. 95, 96, where Folco says: “and this heaven bears the impress of me, as I of it.” The meaning here is intended to be similar. Compare *Par.* vii, 67-69:

“Ciò che da lei senza mezzo distilla

Non ha poi fine, perchè non si move

La sua impronta, quand' ella sigilla.”

See also my note on that passage. Some read *di lui*; some interpret the line that Rahab “impresses her light upon the Empyrean;” others, that “the company of souls (*nostr' ordine*) is adorned and bears the impress of her (Rahab);” others again: “this our company bears the impress of her radiance, who is in the highest grade or degree of blessedness.” Although the construction with *lei* is somewhat harsh, it is supported by l. 96 (*sup.*), as also by xx, 102.

But that thou mayest bear away thy wishes all fulfilled, which have had birth in this sphere, I must needs proceed yet a little farther. Thou wouldst know who is in this luminary, which here beside me sparkles so brilliantly, as a ray of sun in limpid water. Learn then that therein Rahab is at rest, and she being joined to our Order, (in the Sphere of Venus), it bears the impress of her in its highest grade.

As we have before noticed, it is the spirit of Folco that is still talking to Dante, but Benvenuto, probably through inadvertence, designates *Cunizza* as the speaker, although he omits to describe the cessation of Folco's speech, or the resumption of *Cunizza's*. Folco tells Dante how it happened that Rahab, after a life of sin, was raised to a life of blessedness, and declares that she was the first of the souls saved by Christ that was placed in the Heaven of Venus, when He descended into Hell, and despoiled *Limbo* of many of its possessions.

Da questo cielo in cui l'ombra s'appunta \*

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\* *l'ombra s'appunta*, etc.: According to the cosmography of the Ptolemaic system, the point of the cone, which is formed by the shadow of the Earth, fell upon the Sphere of Venus. Compare Milton, *Par. Lost*, iv, 776-777:

“Now had night measur'd with her shadowy cone  
Half way up hill this vast sublunar vault.”

“Dicunt aliqui astrologi quod umbra terrae de nocte surgit in altum versus coelum, et fit acuta et venit usque ad speram Veneris: utrum ista opinio sit vera aut non, non est presentis speculationis.” (Serravalle.) “Col dirci che nel cielo di Venere si appunta l'ombra che fa il nostro mondo, viene a farci conoscere che il Poeta teneva esser quel cielo tanto remoto dalla terra quanto si estendeva l'ombra terrestre, che ha la forma di cono e termina quindi in punta, in virtù del maggior diametro del corpo solare illuminante rispetto alle dimensioni del corpo illuminato. Ora è da sapere che Tolomeo determina in 268 semi-diametri terrestri la lunghezza dell'asse del cono ombroso, fatto



Che il vostro mondo face, pria ch' altr' alma  
Del trionfo \* di Cristo fu assunta.

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By this heaven, in which the shadow that your world  
casts, has its (extreme) point, was she first received  
before any other soul of Christ's Triumph.†

dalla terra coll' intercettare i raggi del sole ; ma non trovo che stabilisca la distanza di Venere da noi, come hanno supposto i comentatori sull' asserzione del Vellutello. Trovo anzi al capo primo del libro dell' Almagesto, che il grande maestro nella scienza degli astri diffida implicitamente di giungere a tale determinazione, perchè ripetutamente afferma non esser sensibile o apprezzabile nei pianeti minori, Mercurio, Venere, ecc . . la *diversità d' aspetto*, o la *parallasse*, come diciamo adesso, dal quale elemento la questione delle distanze planetarie dipende. L' astronomo arabo Geber, che di poco precedette il nostro poeta, ne riprende Tolomeo come di contraddizione, perchè, Tolomeo stesso ammettendo per il sole *una parallasse* di quasi tre minuti, molto più grande doveva essere quella di Mercurio e di Venere se, a norma del tolemaico supposto, si trovano questi due astri più vicini del sole alla terra. Ma ciò che non fece Tolomeo, si eseguì dagli Astronomi celebratissimi, arabi pur essi, Albategno e Alfragano, l' uno nel nono e l' altro nel decimo secolo dell' èra nostra; dai quali, o direttamente o indirettamente, può aver quindi attinto il Poeta questa notizia che sta a dovere per il grado a cui era in quel tempo l' astronomia. Perciocchè, assegnando essi alla minima distanza di Venere dalla terra 166 semidiametri terrestri, e circa 1100 alla massima, ben si vede che tra questi limiti penetra il nostro cono d' ombra, esteso per semidiametri 268 ; del quale perciò può dirsi che nel cielo di quell' astro *s' appunta*. Ma, o abbia il Poeta nostro desunta questa cognizione dagli Arabi, delle cui dottrine si mostra bene informato, o l' abbia dedotta da Tolomeo, siccome poteva fare ; è certo che anco per tale proposizione si dimostra valentissimo astronomo." (The above encomium upon Dante's astronomical learning, and explanation of the passage in the text, is by the astronomer Antonelli, at the end of this Canto in Tommaséo's Commentary).

\* *alma Del trionfo* : Poletto observes that before Man's Redemption, "Spiriti umani non eran salvati" (*Inf.* iv, 63); therefore, all the Blessed who obtained their salvation through Christ, may be called *trionfo di Cristo* of Him who triumphed over Death and Hell; hence are the Blessed (*Par.* xxiii, 19, 20) rightly called: "Le schiere del trionfo di Cristo."

† In a letter to "The Academy" of 22 Sept. 1894, Mr. Paget Toynbee discusses *Rahab's Place in Dante's Paradise*, as men-

Folco next draws a contrast between her and the Pope, to the prejudice of the latter.

Ben si convenne\* lei lasciar per palma  
 In alcun cielo dell'alta vittoria  
 Che s'acquistò con l'una e l'altra palma ;

tioned in the present passage: "Some surprise has been expressed at the position in Paradise assigned by Dante to the harlot Rahab, whom he places in the Heaven of Venus, and describes as having been the first soul (of those destined for that sphere) released by Christ from *Limbo*. Apart, however, from the fact that through her marriage with Salmon (*Joshua* vi, 25 ; *Matt.* i, 5) she became the ancestress of Christ—a fact insisted on by Petrus Comestor in his *Historia Scholastica* (Liber Josue, cap. v), and that she is especially mentioned both by St. Paul (*Heb.* xi, 31), and St. James (*James* ii, 25), it may be noted that, by the Fathers, Rahab was regarded as a type of the Church, the 'line of scarlet thread' which she bound in her window (*Joshua* ii, 21) being typical of the blood of Christ shed for remission of sins. This view is expounded as follows by Isidore of Seville, with whose writings Dante was certainly familiar: 'Ex impiorum perditione unica domus Raab, tanquam unica Ecclesia, liberatur, munda a turpitudine fornicationis per fenestram confessionis in sanguine remissionis . . . Quae ut salvari possit, per fenestram domus suae, tanquam per os corporis sui, cocum mittit, quod est sanguinis Christi signum pro remissione peccatorum confiteri ad salutem.' (*Questiones in Vetus Testamentum*—in Josue, cap. vii, §§ 3, 4). Petrus Comestor, with whose works Dante was also familiar, alludes to this same interpretation in the passage of his *Historia Scholastica* referred to above."

\* *Ben si convenne*, et seq. : I follow the explanation given by Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, pp. 62, 63): "Dante here says that Rahab was the first-fruits in glory of the triumph of Christ, and he adds that it was well that such a palm or trophy should be found in heaven of the lofty victory that was to be gained by the uplifting of the one and the other hand, because she forwarded the first glory gained by Joshua in the Holy Land, *i.e.* of course the capture of Jericho. The interpretation is of course very much disputed. Does this victory gained by the uplifted hands refer to what goes before or to what follows? In the former case the uplifted hands will be those of Christ on the cross, in the latter those of Joshua, Dante remembering the panegyric pronounced upon him in *Ecclus.* xlvi, 1, *seq.*, and especially verse 3, 'Quam gloriam adeptus est *in tollendo manus*

Perch' ella favorò\* la prima gloria  
 Di Josuè in sulla Terra Santa,  
 Che poco tocca al papa la memoria.†

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*suas,' i.e.* by the power of prayer. This was most remarkably the case in respect of the capture of Jericho, the *prima gloria* here mentioned by Dante. We should naturally compare with this metaphor the incident in *Exod.* xvii, 10-13, where the hands of Moses were stayed up by Aaron and Hur till Joshua's victory over the Amalekites was complete. Scartazzini contends very strongly for the reference to Joshua as against the view generally held; and certainly he remarks that Rahab was in no special or exceptional sense a trophy of Christ's victory, as she was that of Joshua. But in ll. 119-20, Dante has actually declared her to have been 'a kind of first fruits' of Christ's victory, and by that statement we must be guided here. It must indeed be admitted that 'duplices tendens ad sidera palmas' (*Æn.* i, 93) is a most familiar description of the act of prayer. Still I cannot doubt myself that the reference to Christ and not to Joshua is the correct one." Poletto in his commentary on this passage is also strongly of the same opinion.

\* *favorò: Favorare* for *favorire* is found among the old writers. G. Villani uses it in the following two passages: lib. viii, cap. 58, "Amava i Fiamminghi, e per favorarli disse alla moglie . . . : io temo che il Re di Francia non riceva vergogna e pericolo a questo." And lib. viii, cap. 63: "E con questo favorava i Fiamminghi i suoi ribelli."

† *poco tocca . . . la memoria:* Benvenuto says: "scilicet, Bonifacii, qui tunc sedebat et faciebat guerram cum christianis non cum saracenis, ut plene dictum est Inferni capitulo XIX; et tamen debuisset facere bellum cum saracenis, quia habebat tunc materiam." The passage referred to is in *Inf.* xvii. Petrarch (*Trionfo della Fama*, ii, *terzine* 47, 48), writes in the same sense:

"Questo (di ch' io mi sdegno e 'ndarno grido)  
 Fece in Gerusalem con le sue mani  
 Il mal guardato e già negletto nido.  
 Ite superbi, o miseri Cristiani,  
 Consumando l' un l' altro, e non vi caglia  
 Che 'l sepolcro di Cristo è in man di cani."

Casini remarks that the fact of having mentioned the Holy Land suggested to Dante an invective, which he puts into the mouth of Folchetto, himself a bishop and persecutor of heretics, against the popes and cardinals who were ever seeking how to heap up riches, instead of attending to matters of religion.

Full meet it was to leave her in some heaven as a palm of the lofty victory which was gained with the one palm and with the other ; because she lent her aid to the first glorious exploit of Joshua in the Holy Land (a matter) which but little stirs the memory of the Pope.

Having thus spoken of the Pope's neglect of the Holy Land, he passes on to say that it is due to the avarice of the whole priesthood, who have been so corrupted by the circulation of the golden florin of that devil-founded city, Florence, that they, the Pastors of the Church, have been transformed into rapacious wolves. For this accursed greed of gain all religious study has been thrust aside, and the books of ecclesiastical law, as offering opportunities for amassing wealth, are alone diligently conned by the fathers of the Church.

La tua città, che di colui è pianta\*  
 Che pria volse le spalle al suo fattore,  
 E di cui è la invidia tanto pianta,†

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\* *pianta* : The *Gran Dizionario*, under § 7 of this word, gives the following signification, *Opera, Fondazione*, and quotes this identical passage. Compare also (with a somewhat similar meaning) where it occurs in *Purg.* xx, 43-45 :

“Io fui radice della mala pianta,  
 Che la terra cristiana tutta aduggia  
 Sì che buon frutto rado se ne schianta.”

Scartazzini observes that Mars, the patron of Florence (*Inf.* xiii, 144), was by the Fathers of the Church considered to be a demon, as all other pagan divinities.

† *tanto pianta* : On this and the alternate readings see Dr. Moore's *Textual Criticism*, pp. 453, 454 : There is little doubt that *tanto pianta* is correct here, and not *tutta quanta*, as advocated by Dr. Barlow. The reason he gives in its favour tells against it, viz. : that it avoids the repetition of the same word *pianta*, though in a different sense, in two successive rhymes. But if the sense be different, this is by no means uncommon in Dante, and there is another and a still stronger case only four



Produce e spande il maledetto fiore\* 130  
 Ch'ha disviate le pecore e gli agni,  
 Perocchè fatto ha lupo del pastore.  
 Per questo l'Evangelio e i Dottor magni  
 Son derelitti, e solo ai Decretali †

or five lines above, where *palma* occurs twice, and it is not even a different part of speech, but the same substantive in both cases, though in a different sense. It is not unlikely that the desire to avoid such repetition may have prompted the change to *quanta* here. Possibly, too, there was a blundering sense of an impropriety in the combination 'tanto pianta,' as indicated by the slightly supported variants *tanta pianta* and *tutta pianta*. *Tanto plorata* is a specimen of the more audacious style of emendation. Doubtless Dante had in his mind the well-known passage in *Wisdom* ii, 24: 'Invidia autem diaboli mors introivit in orbem terrarum.' Also the idea of the ruin wrought in the world by the envy of the devil may be illustrated by the allusive reference to Eve in *Par.* xiii, 39, 'Il cui palato a tutto il mondo costa.' The weight of authority among the early Commentators is, as appears (in list) above, in favour of *tanto pianta*."

\* *fiore*: The golden florin of Florence was stamped with the lily, which was the device of the banner of the State, and *fiore* is used figuratively here to signify that coin. Giov. Villani (ix, 171) relates how this florin was counterfeited by Pope John XXII: "Papa Giovanni (nel 1322) fece fare in Avignone una nuova moneta d'oro fatta del peso e lega e conio del fiorino d'oro di Firenze senza altra intrasegna, se non che dal lato del giglio diceano le lettere il nome del papa Giovanni; la qual cosa gli fu messa a grande riprensione, a fare dissimulare sì fatta moneta come il fiorino di Firenze."

† *solo ai Decretali si studia*: Dante utters a similar cry of lamentation in his Epistle to the Cardinals (*Epist.* viii, 114-121): "Jacet Gregorius tuus in telis aranearum; jacet Ambrosius in neglectis clericorum latibulis; jacet Augustinus; abjectus Dionysius, Damascenus et Beda; et nescio quod *Speculum*, Innocentium, et Ostiensem declamant. Cur enim? Illi Deum quaerebant, ut finem et optimum; isti census et beneficia consequuntur." The *Speculum Juris* was written by Bishop Guglielmo Durante in 1296; the Innocentius alluded to is Pope Innocent IV (1243-1254); author of the *Apparatus*, a comment on the first five books of the Decretals; Cardinal Enrico Ostiense is referred to in *Par.* xii, 83. Scartazzini says that the first five books of the Decretals were compiled by order of Gregory IX in 1234. Boniface VIII added a sixth book. The Decretals introduced



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Si studia sì che pare ai lor vivagni.\*  
 A questo intende il papa e i cardinali :  
 Non vanno i lor pensieri a Nazzarette,  
 Là dove Gabbriello aperse l' ali.

Thy city, which hath been planted by him (Satan) who first turned his back upon his Maker, and whose envy has caused so much weeping, brings forth and spreads abroad the accursed flower (*i. e.* the lily stamped on the florin) which has led astray both the sheep and the lambs (*i. e.* old and young) because it has made a wolf of the shepherd. For this the Gospel and the great Doctors (the Fathers of the Church) are laid aside, and only to the Decretals is such great study given, which it shows upon their (well-thumbed and annotated) margins. To this (greed of gain) both Pope and Cardinals give all their application: their thoughts travel not to Nazareth, there whither Gabriel directed his flight (*lit.* opened his wings).

Folco finishes by foretelling better days, when Rome and its many sacred spots, consecrated by the blood

a new system of discipline, in character with the ignorance and poverty of thought of the times. Lana contemptuously calls them: "scienza lucrativa e contumeliosa . . . imperquello che ogni parte con fallace si puòe subtentare, e di vero non se ne ha espressa veritate."

\* *vivagni*: Casini says that, beyond a doubt, this alludes to the habit prevalent in the 13th century of making marginal annotations and comments on the text of the Decretals, which, having only been recently arranged, afforded food for various and often very conflicting interpretations: the result of which was that, in that century, doctors of canonical law swarmed, especially in the schools of Bologna. *Vivagno* means the border or edge of anything; hence Lana, Benvenuto and some other old Commentators, have tried to prove that the allusion is to the embroidered edges of the rich apparel of cardinals and prelates. Benvenuto says of *vivagni*: "idest, vestibus eorum sumptuosus, variatis: vivagnum enim vocatur extremitas panni, per quod pannus cognoscitur." In *Inf.* xiv, 123, Dante speaks of the hardened margin of the Phlegethon as *questo vivagno*.

of the martyrs, shall be delivered from the immoral government of the Pontiffs. Some see in this prediction an allusion to the death of Boniface VIII. (*Inf.* xix, 53; *Purg.* xx, 86); some think it alludes to the transfer of the papal seat to Avignon; but both Scartazzini and Casini prefer to see here the hope expressed of the future mysterious liberator, who would cleanse Italy from the foul impurities that defiled its fair soil.

Ma Vaticano e l'altre parti elette  
 Di Roma, che son state cimiterio  
 Alla milizia\* che Pietro seguette,  
 Tosto libere sien dell' adulterio."†

But Vatican and other chosen spots of Rome, which have been the burying-place of the soldiery that followed Peter, shall soon be delivered from this adultery."

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\* *milizia*: The glorious body of martyrs and saints, who died for the Christian Faith, following the example of St. Peter, who is believed by the Roman Catholic Church to have died a martyr at Rome. Compare Bishop Heber, *St. Stephen's Day*:

"A noble army, men and boys,  
 The matron and the maid,  
 Around the Saviour's throne rejoice  
 In robes of white arrayed.  
 They climbed the steep ascent of Heaven  
 Through peril, toil, and pain.  
 O God to us may Grace be given  
 To follow in their train!"

† *adulterio*: The rapacity of the Pontiffs was the principal cause of the evil government of the Church, and in *Inf.* xix, 1 *et seq.*, Dante rebukes them for their prostitution of holy things:

"O Simon mago, o miseri seguaci,  
 Chè le cose di Dio, che di bontate  
 Deono essere spose, e voi rapaci  
 Per oro e per argento adulate."

END OF CANTO IX.

## CANTO X.

ASCENT TO THE FOURTH SPHERE.—THE HEAVEN OF THE SUN, OR THE HEAVEN OF WISDOM AND KNOWLEDGE.—THE THEOLOGIAN AND FATHERS OF THE CHURCH.—ST. THOMAS AQUINAS.—BOETHIUS; AND THE SCHOOLMEN.

THE last Canto ended with one of those outbursts of indignation, which Dante was but seldom able to suppress, against Boniface VIII, whom he regarded as the principal cause of the great misfortune of his life—his exile from Florence. The present Canto begins with an exordium addressed to the reader, introductory of the ascent from Venus to the Sun.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

*In the First Division*, from v. 1 to v. 27, Dante describes the wonderful order of the Heavens.

*In the Second Division*, from v. 28 to v. 51, he relates his ascent into the Heaven of the Sun.

*In the Third Division*, from v. 52 to v. 81, he describes the bright spirits of personages of enlightened wisdom and knowledge that had their abode in the Heaven of the Sun.

*In the Fourth Division*, from v. 82 to v. 148, the spirit of St. Thomas Aquinas declares himself to Dante, and mentions some of the more eminent of his companions in this Sphere.

*Division I.* Dante, in *Convito* ii, 14, ll. 123-153, makes the Heaven of the Sun the symbol of Arithmetic, *i.e.* the first Science of the Quadrivium.

Guardando\* nel suo figlio con l'amore  
 Che l'uno e l'altro eternalmente spira,  
 Lo primo ed ineffabile valore,  
 Quanto per mente o per loco† si gira  
 Con tanto ordine fe', ch'esser non puote

5

\* *Guardando*, et seq.: These opening lines of the Canto are in full agreement with those of St. Thomas Aquinas, who (*Summ. Theol.*, pars i, qu. xlv, art. 6) writes: "Creare non est proprium alicui personae, sed commune toti Trinitati . . . . Deus Pater operatus est creaturam per suum Verbum, quod est Filius; et per suum amorem, qui est Spiritus sanctus . . . . sicut natura divina, licet sit communis tribus personis, ordine tamen quodam eis convenit, inquantum Filius accipit naturam divinam a Patre, et Spiritus sanctus ab utroque; ita etiam et virtus creandi, licet sit communis tribus personis, ordine tamen quodam eis convenit. Nam Filius habet eam a Patre, et Spiritus sanctus ab utroque. Unde creatorem esse attribuitur Patri, ut ei qui non habet virtutem creandi ab alio. De Filio autem dicitur (*Joan.* i, 3): *Per quem omnia facta sunt*, inquantum habet eamdem virtutem, sed ab alio. Nam haec praepositio, '*per*,' solet denotare causam mediam sive principum de principio. Sed Spiritui sancto, qui habet eamdem virtutem ab utroque, attribuitur quod dominando gubernet et vivificet quae sunt creata a Patre per Filium." And again, *ibid.* qu. xxxii, art. 1: "Virtus creativa Dei est communis toti Trinitati. Unde pertinet ad unitatem essentiae, non ad distinctionem personarum."

† *per mente o per loco*: Some read *o per occhio*. On this see Moore, *Textual Criticism*, pp. 454-455: "The substitution of *occhio* for *loco*, which is found in a small number of MSS., was probably intended to supply a better antithesis to *mente* . . . the appropriateness of the . . . *facilior lectio* (*l'occhio*) is merely superficial, and disappears on a closer examination of the passage, for *si gira* suits *loco* much better than *occhio*. The 'eye' is not the sphere in which the objects of the external world in any sense move or 'revolve' (*si gira*). They revolve in *space* just as the objects of thought may be said to revolve in the *mind*. It is not therefore a question of the organ or instrument of perception, bodily or mental, but of the sphere of existence of the objects of sense or of thought. The antithesis is the familiar one between τὰ γενητὰ (*loco*) and τὰ νοητὰ (*mente*), and

Senza gustar\* di lui chi ciò rimira.

Contemplating His Son with the Love which both the One and the Other eternally breathe forth, the First and Ineffable Power (God the Father), created with so much order all that revolves through the mind or through space, that there can be no one who contemplates (all) this without tasting of Him.

Antonelli (*ap.* Tommaséo) calls these lines a sublime introduction, in which the Poet prepares the readers for his instantaneous passage from Venus to the Sun, and for the contemplation of the lofty matters that he will describe within that *great luminary*. Dante begins by saying that God the Father, the Primal Might, created the universe through the Son, and in the Holy Spirit. (Let us make Man in *Our* image). God the Father, who has of Himself the creative power (says Scartazzini), looking into His Divine Son, Who is the Wisdom, the thought, the Word,

the distinction thus briefly indicated is the same as is described with more pomp by Wordsworth in the lines:

‘Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,  
And the round ocean, and the living air,  
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man.’

. . . It is curious to note that *loco*, after appearing in the first four Editions, in the *Edizione Nidobeatina* (1477), and the early Spanish translation of Febrer (1428), seems to have been almost entirely displaced by *occhio* in later editions, if I may judge from my having found it in two only (Witte and Scartazzini) out of twenty-five such that I have consulted here.” I notice that in Casini’s commentary, published after Dr. Moore wrote the above, the reading is *loco*.

\* *Senza gustar*, et seq. : On this Pietro di Dante: “Sed, ut dixi, videndo opera ejus gustamus, idest asserere debemus ipsum esse; unde Psalmista: *gustate et videte quoniam suavis est Dominus* . . . Et Boëtius in *III Consolationis*, *Pros.* viii: ‘Respicite coeli spatium, firmitudinem, celeritatem et aliquando desinite vilia mirari. Quod quidem coelum non his potius est, quam sua, qua regitur ratione, mirandum.’”



the Logos, of the Father,\* and from Him taking the manner of creating in combination with Love, namely: with the Holy Ghost, Who with eternal spiration proceeds from the Father and the Son (*filiouque*), these three, Who are the Holy Trinity, formed all things, both visible and invisible, with so much order, that no one who considers that order, can fail to taste something of the mighty works of God.

Dante now invites his Readers to look up with him and behold the higher spheres, and especially at that point where the two opposite motions intersect each other, namely, the diurnal or equatorial from east to west, and the planetary or zodiacal from west to east. In that way Dante fixes our attention to the two equinoctial points, where the contact of the two forces, moving in opposite directions, takes place.

Leva dunque, lettor, all' alte rote†

\* "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him; and without Him was not anything made that was made . . . He was in the world, and the world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not." (*John* i, 1-10). Dean Plumptre remarks that Dante's theology is an echo of this text as also of *Col.* i, 16; and *Heb.* i, 2; and of the Nicene and Athanasian creeds.

† *L' alte rote*: In *Purg.* viii, 16-18, the spirits in the Flowery Valley, singing the Compline Hymn are described as gazing upon the spheres above:

"Avendo gli occhi alle superne rote":

See also in *Purg.* xxiv, 88-90, Forese de' Donati's prophecy of the fate of his brother Corso (a *vaticinium post eventum*) which he concludes by saying:

"Non hanno molto a volger quelle rote

(E drizzò gli occhi al ciel), che ti fia chiaro

Ciò che il mio dir più dichiarar non puote."

And in Beatrice's speech to the Angels in the Terrestrial Paradise (*Purg.* xxx, 109-111):

Meco la vista dritto a quella parte  
 Dove l'un moto e l'altro si percote ;\*  
 E lì comincia a vagheggiar nell' arte 10  
 Di quel maestro, che dentro a sè l'ama  
 Tanto che mai da lei l'occhio non parte.

Raise then with me thy gaze, O Reader, directed to the lofty wheels (*i.e.* Spheres of Heaven), at that point where the one motion (the Equator) encounters the other (the Zodiac); and there begin to contemplate with love the art of that Architect, Who in Himself so loves it (His work) that never does He move His eye from it.

He then refers to the inclination of the Zodiac.

Vedi come da indi si dirama†  
 L'obliquo cerchio che i pianeti porta,  
 Per soddisfare al mondo che li chiama ; 15

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“ Non pur per opra delle rote magne,  
 Che drizzan ciascun seme ad alcun fine,  
 Secondo che le stelle son compagne,” etc.

\* *si percote*: Cesari (*Bellezze*) admiringly exclaims: “Notate aggiustato parlar di Dante [*the precision of Dante's language*]. Erano nel sole, e'l sole in Ariete. Or questo è un de' due punti, o perni [*axes*], l'altro la Libra, dove l'equatore s'incrocicchia col zodiaco. Nel zodiaco vanno obliquamente i pianeti; e parallele all'equatore le stelle, come sanno gli astronomi: pertanto questi due moti si incidavano per obliquo nel sole.”

† *si dirama*: Compare with this Dante's own words in *Convito*, iii, 5, ll. 124-142: “Segnati questi tre luoghi di sopra questa palla [*the terrestrial globe*], leggiermente si può vedere come *il sole la gira*. Dico adunque che'l cielo del sole si rivolge da Occidente in Oriente, non dirittamente contra lo movimento diurno, cioè del dì e della notte, ma tortamente contra quello. Sicchè il suo mezzo Cerchio, che ugualmente è intra li suoi Poli, nel qual è il corpo del sole, sega in due parti opposte il Cerchio delli due primi Poli, cioè nel principio dell'Ariete e nel principio della Libra; e partesi per due archi da esso, uno verso Setten-trione e un altro verso Mezzogiorno. Li punti delli quali archi si dilungano ugualmente dal primo Cerchio da ogni parte per ventitrè gradi e un punto più; e l'uno punto è 'l principio del Cancro, e l'altro è 'l principio del Capricorno.”

E se la strada lor\* non fosse torta,  
 Molta virtù nel ciel sarebbe in vano,  
 E quasi ogni potenza quaggiù morta.

Behold how from that point (of the Equator) there branches off the oblique Circle (the Zodiac) which bears the planets, to satisfy the world that calls upon them ; and if their pathway were not inflected, many an influence in Heaven would be to no purpose, and down here (on Earth) almost every power would be extinct.

Dante argues (remarks Antonelli) that if the Ecliptic coincided with the Equator, and ran parallel to the Zodiac, then, by the fact alone of the Sun remaining constantly perpendicular above the line of the Terrestrial Equinox, and not even taking into account the influences that were believed to emanate from the other planets, every potentiality would in truth be nearly dead (*ogni potenza quaggiù morta*) ; for in the regions nearest to the Equator we should have a perpetual summer and an excessive accumulation of heat, which would render them uninhabitable and incapable of vegetation ; the zones we now call temperate would have a perpetual incipient spring, and would never bring grain crops and fruits to maturity, while the polar regions would be for ever plunged into perpetual winter ; and thus the whole Earth, by the equalization of its days and nights, would be a miserable place to dwell in, and unfit for the evolution of those precious germs which a Beneficent Creator has im-

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\* *se la strada lor* : "È dottrina d'Aristotile che *secundum accessum et recessum solis in circulo obliquo fiunt generationes in rebus inferioribus.*" (Brunone Bianchi). Aristotle says that generation and decay take place under the oblique circle of the Zodiac. See also *Conv.* ii, 15, ll. 122-157.

planted in men and things here on Earth. And if the obliquity of the Zodiac was sensibly much greater or less than what is now seen, in both cases everything would be changed relating to climates; and thence would result grave alteration in the distribution of light and heat, of the hours of night and day, of vapours and dews, of rain and wind, of ice and snow, not to mention the real and solemn facts which Dante might be indicating.

E se dal dritto più o men lontano

Fosse il partire, assai sarebbe manco

20

E giù e su\* dell'ordine mondano.

And if the departure from the straight line had been of greater or lesser distance, much of the mundane order both below and above (*i.e.* in the two terrestrial hemispheres) would be defective.

Dante then points out to the Reader, whom he figures as sitting at the Banquet (*Convito*), that the dainties set before him are but a foretaste of the succulent and

\* *giù e su*: Compare *Purg.* iv, 61-66:

“Ond' egli a me: ‘Se Castore e Polluce  
Fossero in compagnia di quello specchio,  
Che su e giù del suo lume conduce,

Tu vederesti il Zodiaco rubecchio.

Ancora all' Orse più stretto rotare,

Se non uscisse fuor del cammin vecchio.”

On this Dr. Moore writes to me: “I cannot but think that *Purg.* iv, 63, strongly favours the interpretation of “the two hemispheres. The two passages are very much alike, and it is the inclination of the Ecliptic that just causes the different climatic conditions of the two Hemispheres.” Casini and Poletto take the same view, interpreting *giù e su*: “nei due emisferi terrestri, tra i quali il sole continuamente sale e discende.” A large number of distinguished Commentators however understand *giù e su* to mean “On Earth and in the Heavens;” while Lana, followed by a few moderns, thinks it means “the two poles.”

nutritious food which is to follow. Let the Reader fall to, and nourish himself.

Or ti riman, lettor, sopra il tuo banco,  
 Dietro pensando a ciò che si preliba,\*  
 S'esser vuoi lieto assai† prima che stanco.  
 Messo t'ho innanzi; omai per te ti ciba; 25  
 Chè a sè torce tutta la mia cura‡  
 Quella materia ond'io son fatto scriba.

Remain now, Reader, upon thy bench (*i.e.* seated at table), pursuing in thought that which is set before thee, if thou wouldst be much delighted before (thou art) wearied. I have set before thee (the repast): henceforth feed thyself; since the matter of which I have been made the scribe recalls to itself the whole of my attention.

*Division II.* After inviting the Reader to contemplate with admiration the Wisdom of the Creator in having so wondrously arranged the oblique motion

\* *si preliba*: The common rendering of this, is "to have a foretaste" (*pregustare*); but Buti takes it as a synonym of *Messo t'ho innanzi* in l. 25: "cioè a la materia che io òne messo inanti, che è materia da essere pensata con diletto." Casini says that this interpretation is by no means devoid of etymological foundation, as the verb *libare*, signifies "to sprinkle the altar with a drink offering," and hence comes to mean "to offer, to present," *prelibare* "to set before any one."

† *assai*: This must be taken with *lieto*, not with *prima*. Benvenuto: "*Se vuoi esser assai lieto pria che stanco*; quasi dicat: talis est materia inchoata, quod si exerceas tuum ingenium circa cognitionem ejus recipies magnam delectationem antequam intellectus tuus sit fatigatus," etc. Buti explains the sentence in the same way.

‡ *a sè torce tutta la mia cura*: "idest, trahit totam intentionem et operationem meam ad se, principale thema, quasi dicat: non intendo docere astrologiam, quia habeo prosequi materiam poeticam de Deo; nam, teste philosopho, poetæ fuerunt primi theologizantes de Deo." (Benvenuto).



of the Sun and the planets throughout the Zodiac, with the direct motion of the Fixed Stars parallel to the Equator, in such wise, that every part of the surface of the Earth could enjoy the benefits of celestial influences, Dante goes on to describe his entrance into the Sun, which was just then in Aries. He confesses however that, even though he should have recourse to intellect and experience (*uso*, l. 43), he still would not be able to relate it in such language that his readers shall realize what the interior of the Sun was, where things could not be distinguished by any difference of colour—for everything shone with the Sun's radiance—but could only be distinguished by the greater or lesser intensity of their light.

Antonelli says that, according to the system of astronomy followed by Dante, the Sun, being borne along every day in the general revolving motion of the spheres from east to west, and every day revolving in the very centre of the Zodiac from west to east, with a motion continuously ascending or descending in relation to the Equator, it follows of necessity that, from these two continuous motions, the Sun is describing within the surface of its sphere a continuous line of a spiral form like a vine training round a stick, or like a snail who advances but one pace in a day . . . . But if Dante had stopped here, he would have left the position of that Planet (the Sun) very undetermined; since from it spirals are formed in all its motions in relation to the Equator, so Dante suggests as a determinant element, *In che più tosto ognora s' appresenta* (l. 33).

Lo ministro maggior della natura,  
 Che del valor del cielo il mondo imprenta,  
 E col suo lume il tempo ne misura, 30  
 Con quella parte che su si rammenta  
 Congiunto, si girava per le spire \*  
 In che più tosto ognora s'appresenta :  
 Ed io era con lui ; ma del salire †  
 Non m'accors' io, se non com' uom s'accorge, 35  
 Anzi il primo pensier, del suo venire.

The mightiest Minister of Nature (*i.e.* the Sun), who imprints the World with the power of Heaven, and with his light measures out the time for us, conjoined with that part which has been mentioned above (namely, the Sign of Aries into which the Sun had entered), was circling along the spirals in which con-

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\* *le spire*: See Cesari, *Bellezze*, p. 172. "Le spire sono l'andar del sole a chiocciola [*i.e.* fatto a maniera di vite, a screw], sempre acquistando dell'equatore verso il tropico del Cancro; nel qual suo procedere leva ogni dì più presto. Spiego quest' *ognora per sempre*, come avverbio; e così cesso [*I put a stop to*] gli strolagamenti che ci fanno taluni." Compare *Convito*, iii, 5, ll. 142-151: "Convien che *Maria* veggia nel principio dell'Ariete, quando il sole va sotto il mezzo Cerchio de' primi Poli, esso sole *girare il mondo* intorno giù alla terra, ovvero al mare, come una mola, della quale non paia più che mezzo il corpo suo: e questo veggia venire montando a guisa d'una vite d'un torchio [*the screw of a wine, linen, or printing press*], tanto che compia novantuna rota e poco più." Dr. Moore says to me that the *spire* "in which he (the Sun) constantly presents himself earlier" denote of course the *Spring* months, since after the Summer Solstice he constantly presents himself, or rises, later. Compare too, in the above quotation from the *Convito* and its continuation, the words *montando* and *discendere*. (ll. 149 and 158.)

† *ma del salire*: Dante describes the instantaneous velocity of his ascent from Venus into the Sun, by comparing it to the quickness of thought. This is well explained by the *Ottimo*, who says that Dante found himself in the Sun, but only knew that he had come there without being aware of the act of coming; just like a thought that comes into a man's mind, but the thinker does not know of its coming, until it is actually present in him. Our first motions are not subject to our own control.

tinually (*i.e.* on each successive day) he presents himself earlier : and I was with him (*i.e.* had reached the Sun); but of the ascent I was not conscious, otherwise than a man is conscious, before the beginning of a thought, of its coming.

This means that, before the thought itself has become conscious, he is aware that it has already come, or is already formed within him. Like the wind, "he cannot tell whence it cometh," till he feels that it is already present.

After an outburst of rapture at the glorious brightness that Beatrice had assumed, Dante says that in vain would he attempt to describe the splendour of the souls that were brighter than the Sun itself.

O Beatrice,\* quella che s'ì scorge †

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\* *O Beatrice*: There is here a very important difference of reading, which considerably alters the sense of ll. 37-40. The reading I follow is that of Dr. Moore's Oxford Text, the Foligno, Jesi, Mantua, and Naples editions, the *Ottimo*, the *Anonimo Fiorentino*, Cornoldi, Fraticelli, and others. The reading most generally adopted is *È Beatrice, quella* = "It is Beatrice who," etc., and this is followed by a full stop after *sporge*, l. 40, running into the sense of the lines succeeding it. Others again read *È Beatrice* = "And Beatrice," etc. Scartazzini observes that the diversity of the interpretations is more important than that of the readings, for *E* may either mean *È* = "it is"; or *E*, copulative particle; or *Eh*, an interjection.

† *s'ì scorge*: I have here departed from the Oxford text, which reads *si scorge*. On this Scartazzini remarks: "Ma qui non finiscono le difficoltà. Cosa significa la frase *si scorge*?" (N.B. He reads *s'ì scorge*). Gli antichi e molti moderni prendono qui *scorgere* nel senso di *vedere, bsservare*, etc., e spiegano: 'Che si vede sempre più luminosa, quanto più sale.' Così, *Ottimo*, Benvenuto, Buti, Landino, Vellutello, Venturi, Poggiali, Cesari, Gregoretti, Benassuti, Mariotti, etc. Altri, prendono *scorgere* nel senso di *condurre, guidare*, etc., e spiegano: 'Che così guida di alto in più alto cielo.' Così Daniello (il quale legge *CI scorge*), Lombardi, Costa, Borghini, Br. Bianchi, Fraticelli, Andreoli, Trissino, e Camerini." This last is the interpretation I follow.

Di bene in meglio sì subitamente  
 Che l'atto suo per tempo non si sporge,  
 Quant'esser convenia da sè lucente ! 40  
 Quel ch'era dentro al sol dov'io entra' mi,\*  
 Non per color † ma per lume parvente,  
 Perch'io lo ingegno, l'arte e l'uso chiami,  
 Sì nol direi che mai s'immaginasse,  
 Ma creder puossi, ‡ e di veder si brami. 45  
 E se le fantasie nostre son basse  
 A tanta altezza, non è maraviglia,  
 Chè sopra il sol non fu occhio ch'andasse.§

O how radiant must Beatrice have been in herself, she who thus guides one from good to better so instantaneously, that her action does not extend over (a space of) time! As to what was in the Sun wherein I entered, distinguishable not by colour but by (variety of) light, even should I summon (to my aid) genius, art, and experience, I should not be able

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\* *entra' mi*: Trissino explains the words *al sol dov'io entra' mi* as "dentro alla sfera del Sole, nella quale io sono entrato," the *mi* being merely redundant.

† *Non per color*: Dante, in attributing this excessive splendour to the spirits of the great Doctors of Theology, is alluding to the words of the prophet Daniel xii, 3 (*Vulgate*): "Qui autem docti fuerint, fulgebunt quasi splendor firmamenti; et qui ad justitiam erudiunt multos, quasi stellae in perpetuas aeternitates." See also *Convito* iii, 15, ll. 189-195.

‡ *Ma creder puossi*, etc. Compare *Par.* i, 70-72, where Dante, with somewhat similar thoughts, says that human language will not suffice to describe the act of "transhumanization":

"Trasumanar significar *per verba*  
 Non si poria; però l'esempio basti  
 A cui esperienza grazia serba."

Compare *Convito* iii, 4, ll. 17-22: "Non pure a quello ch'io intendo, sufficiente non sono, perocchè la lingua mia non è di tanta facondia, che dir potesse ciò che nel pensiero mio se ne ragiona."

§ *sopra il sol non fu occhio ch'andasse*: A more powerful light than that of the Sun has never been looked upon by mortal eye: and therefore imagination cannot picture any greater light.

so to describe it, that it could be ever (even) conceived, but believe it one may, and let us (mortals) long to behold it (hereafter in Paradise). And if our imaginative faculties are (too) lowly for such sublimity, it is no marvel, for never was there an eye that could go beyond the Sun.

Dante ends by declaring that the Spirits in this Fourth Sphere were as radiant as Beatrice. Talice da Ricaldone remarks on the appropriateness of that description, seeing that these were the great Doctors, who by their writings made Theology (Beatrice) to shine in the World.

Tal era quivi la quarta famiglia  
 Dell'alto padre che sempre la sazia, 50  
 Mostrando come spira e come figlia.\*

Such then in this place was the fourth family of the Supreme Father, Who for ever satisfies them, showing them how He breathes forth (the Holy Ghost) and how He begets (the Son).

Scartazzini observes that the Schoolmen were not able to conceive any greater delight than in tracing out fine-drawn and subtle distinctions, teaching that celestial bliss principally consisted in possessing an intelligence that far surpassed the intelligence of Earth, able to contemplate and understand things that on Earth men sought to comprehend in vain. And first among the theological mysteries was that of the Holy Trinity. In Heaven, God gratifies them by allowing them to penetrate the mystery of how, from Eternity, He beget

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\* *come spira e come figlia*: This of course alludes to the doctrine of the Trinity. "Mostrando *come figlia*, come genera la seconda persona della Trinità, e come la prima e la seconda *spirano* la terza." (Fratlicelli.) And Casini: "facendo veder loro come da lui sia generato il Figlio, e da entrambi lo Spirito Santo; che è il grado più alto della cognizione teologica."



the Divine Son, and how from them both proceeds (also from Eternity) the Holy Ghost. Hence the intuition (though only for a moment) vouchsafed to Dante, of the mystery of the Trinity, is the supreme and culminating point of his whole Vision in *Par.* xxxiii, *ad finem.*

*Division III.* Beatrice suggests that Dante should render thanks to God for having elevated him to the Sun. He at once offers up a prayer of thanksgiving with such fervour, that for a while he forgets the presence of Beatrice. So far from her being displeased at this, she smiles her delight with such rapture, that the radiance of her beaming eyes shook him out of his entranced concentration on God, and broke up his attention to gaze upon the various objects around him.

E Beatrice incominciò:—"Ringrazia,  
Ringrazia il Sol degli Angeli, ch' a questo  
Sensibil t' ha levato \* per sua grazia."—

And Beatrice began: "Render thanks, render thanks to the Sun of the Angels, Who by His Grace has raised thee to this (Sun, which is) perceptible."

Dante immediately obeys.

\* *a questo Sensibil l' ha levato*: The Sun in which Dante finds himself is called *sensibile* to distinguish it from the spiritual Sun of the Angels. Compare *Convito* iii, 12, ll. 52-59: "Nullo sensibile in tutto 'l mondo è più degno di farsi esempio di Dio, che 'l sole, lo quale di sensibile luce sè prima e poi tutti i corpi celestiali ed elementali allumina; così Iddio Sè prima con luce intellettuale allumina, e poi le celestiali e l'altre intelligibili." Compare also *Inf.* ii, 13-15:

"Tu dici che di Silvio lo parente,  
Corruttibile ancora, ad immortale  
Secolo andò, e fu sensibilmente."

Cor di mortal non fu mai sì digesto *	55
A devozione, ed a rendersi a Dio †	
Con tutto il suo gradir cotanto presto,	
Com' a quelle parole mi fec' io ;	
E sì tutto il mio amore in lui si mise,	
Che Beatrice eclissò nell' obbligo. ‡	60
Non le dispiacque § ; ma sì se ne rise,	

\* *digesto*: See this word in the *Gran Dizionario*, § 3, where it is said to have the metaphorical sense: "Disposto e bene ordinato," and the present passage is quoted in illustration. Buti: "*sì digesto*; cioè sì disposto: imperò che lo cibo digesto si dice disposto al nutrimento del corpo, e così, digesto si dice lo cuore umano quando è disposto, a *divoziane*," etc. Venturi (*Simil. Dant.*, p. 153, sim. 260) says of *digesto*: "Il significato materiale di questa voce non discorda dal morale, essendo la digestione l'ultima perfezione del cibo preparato al nutrimento."

† *rendersi a Dio*: Compare *Convito* iv, 28, ll. 41-43: "(La nobile Anima) già essendo a Dio renduta e astrattasi dalle mondane cose e cogitazioni, vedere le pare coloro che appresso di Dio crede che sieno." And *ibid.*, ll. 48, 49: "Rendesì dunque a Dio la nobile Anima." Compare also *Inf.* xxvii, 83:

"E pentuto e confesso mi rendei."

‡ *eclissò nell' obbligo*: Compare *Par.* iii, 7-9:

"Ma visione m' apparve, che ritenne  
A sè me tanto stretto per vedersi,  
Che di mia confession non mi sovvenne."

Benvenuto suggests that this means that the studious man ought sometimes to pause and desist from his speculations on Holy Scripture, giving himself up instead to prayer to God.

§ *Non le dispiacque*: Cesari remarks that any earthly lover other than Beatrice would have felt mortified at being forgotten, even for a little while; not so with her, whose whole being was perfect and entire in its love for God; and she felt greater delight at Dante loving Him than herself. The laughing of her eyes took such expressiveness, that it seemed to say to Dante, "Gaze up there"; and yet, having aroused him from his too great concentration upon God, she turned his attention to other objects, namely to the spirits in the Sphere of the Sun, and whom Dante would never have noticed had he continued so wholly absorbed in God. So did the Three Divine Maidens in *Purg.* xxxii, 1-9, divert his too concentrated gaze from Beatrice herself to the other objects around her:

"Perch' io udia da loro un: 'Troppo fiso.'"

Che lo splendor degli occhi suoi ridenti  
Mia mente unita in più cose divise.

Never was heart of mortal so disposed to devotion, nor so prompt to render itself up to God with all its good-will as at these words I became; and my Love absorbed itself so wholly in Him that it eclipsed Beatrice in oblivion (*i.e.* it caused me to forget her). It did not displease her; but she smiled so joyfully thereat, that the radiance of her laughing eyes (broke up and) divided upon several objects my mind which was concentrated upon one.

Although Scartazzini thinks *in più cose* to mean that Dante's attention, from being absorbed in God, was turned back to Beatrice after his momentary forgetfulness of her, I confess that I much prefer the more usual interpretation which understands *più cose* as the several blessed spirits surrounding them. If it was Beatrice alone, why should Dante's mind be divided (*divise*)?

The spirits of the twelve great Theologians dwelling in Blessedness now come into view. They are clothed in radiance of exceeding brilliancy, and are singing hymns, the sweetness whereof surpasses the glory of their Light.

Io vidi più fulgor vivi e vincenti \*

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\* *vincenti*: Some Commentators attempt to show that *vincenti* means "surpassing the radiance of their companions," but Cesari says that Dante is here clinching (*ribadisce*) what he had before indicated in ll. 41-44:

"Quel ch'era dentro al sol dov'io entra' mi,  
Non per color ma per lume parvente.

Si nol direi che mai s'immaginasse."

and adds: "Quei fulgori convenivano essere di luce così smagliante, che *vincesse* quella del sole nel qual erano: altrimenti Dante non gli avrebbe potuti raffigurare, rimanendo affogata in quel pelago di lume la loro parvenza, se non era sfolgorantissima,

Far di noi centro e di sè far corona,\* 65  
 Più dolci in voce che in vista lucenti.

I beheld many Effulgences vivid and surpassing  
 (the light of the Sun) make of us a centre and of  
 themselves a chaplet, more sweet (were they) in  
 voice even than resplendent in visage.

Dante here, by way of a simile, compares the brilliant circle of the Blessed spirits around him to the Halo round the Moon. This is one of the many instances quoted of his versatile far-reaching *erudition*. See *Readings on the Inferno*, vol. i, pp. 364, 365, where in a note on *Inf.* xi, 101, the vast extent of Dante's knowledge of Physical Science, as demonstrated in his works, is enlarged upon.

Così† cinger la figlia di Latona

e nondimeno il loro cantar era sì dolce, che vinceva tanta forza di luce smagliante ; magnifica amplificazione di quel canto."

\* *di sè far corona* : The circle or ring formed by the spirits of the Theologians is here compared to a chaplet. In *Inf.* xvi, 20, 21, the shades of the three great Florentines are said to form a wheel :

"quando a noi fur giunti,

Fenno una rota di sè tutti e trei."

*Corona* (a chaplet) in this line ; *ghirlanda* (a garland) in l. 92 ; and *serto* (a wreath) in l. 102, all mean the same thing, namely, something circular, such as the ring which these twelve Saints formed round Dante and Beatrice. *Corona* is the regular word in modern Italian for the chaplet or rosary, on which the Roman Catholics "tell their beads" (in Italian *dire la corona*). *Corona*, as a king's crown, is by no means the primary signification of the word.

† *Così*, et seq. : Benvenuto's explanation to the students in his class at Bologna is very clear : "Hic autor . . . dicit quod ipse et Beatrix stabant in illa corona sicut luna quando est rotunda, et est aliquid praegnans vaporibus, et facit circa se unum circum longè per dimidium diametrum, circa unum brachium. Unde dicit : *Noi vedem talvolta la figlia di Latona*, idest, lunam quando est vaporibus tenuissimis circulata, *cinger così*, idest, facere circum circa se, sicut faciebant illae animae circa

Vedem tal volta, quando l'aere è pregno  
Sì che ritenga il fil che fa la zona.

Thus at times do we see the daughter of Latona (*i.e.* Diana or Luna, the Moon) girded about (with a halo), when the air is so teeming (with vapour) that it retains the thread that makes her zone (*i.e.* holds back the light from following its natural direction).

Modern Science has established the fact that the formation of some halos, and certainly all *coronae*, is due to refraction of light from globules of water suspended in the atmosphere; while that of encircling halos is generally attributed to the presence of minute snow crystals in the upper strata of the air.

Dante having described the rotatory movement of the spirits around him, now relates the ineffable beauty of their singing, and, to account for its incomprehensibility, he says that in Heaven there are many things so precious, that they can neither be manifested nor described.

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nos. Et dicit quod hoc non fit semper, sed quando est ita praegnans aer vaporibus, quod filum quod facit illum circulum se conservat et retinet; et non sit ita spissus ille vapor, quod celet corpus lunae, quia tunc non apparet talis circulus; unde dicit: *quando l'aere è pregno*, scilicet nubibus, *sì che ritenga il fil che fa la zona*, idest circulum exteriorem qui cingit eam. Zona enim est cintura; et ille circulus stat circa lunam ad modum cinturae, cum corpus lunare est totum rotundum ex omni parte; ideo bene talis circulus metaphorice appellatur cintura ab autore. Quomodo autem luna dicitur filia Latonae positum est et expositum subtiliter in Purgatorii capitulo." Benvenuto alludes to *Purg.* xxix, 76-78:

"Sì che l'ì sopra rimanea distinto  
Di sette liste, tutte in quei colori,  
Onde fa l'arco il sole, e Delia il cinto (*i.e. the Halo*)."

Compare also *Par.* xxviii, 22-24:

"Forse cotanto quanto pare appresso  
Alo cinger la luce che il dipigne,  
Quando il vapor che il porta più è spesso."

See also Venturi, *Simil. Dant.*, p. 24, Sim. 38.



Nella corte del ciel\* ond' io rivegno, 70  
 Si trovan molte gioie care e belle  
 Tanto che non si posson trar del regno,†  
 E il canto di quei lumi era di quelle;  
 Chi non s' impenna‡ sì che lassù voli,  
 Dal muto aspetti quindi le novelle. 75

In the Celestial Court whence I have returned, are found many jewels so precious and beautiful that they cannot be taken forth out of the Realm, and the song of those Lights was of such; let him who does not take wings so as to fly up thither, await from thence the tidings from a dumb man.

All speech is powerless to give even a conception of the sweetness of that singing to him who has not heard it, which sweetness Benvenuto understands to mean the delights of the speculative science which was practised by those learned men in their lives, but which is far beyond the ignorant, who cannot be expected to comprehend that source of pleasure.

Poi sì cantando quegli ardenti soli  
 Si fur girati intorno a noi tre volte,  
 Come stelle vicine ai fermi poli;§

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\* *Nella corte del ciel*, etc.: Compare *Par.* i, 4-6:

"Nel ciel che più della sua luce prende  
 Fu' io, e vidi cose che ridire  
 Nè sa, nè può chi di lassù discende."

† *trar del regno*: Poletto says that Dante has taken this metaphor from the laws of certain countries, which forbid objects of rarity and value being exported from the kingdom.

‡ *Chi non s' impenna*: "idest, qui non ponit sibi pennas et alas, sicut feci ego, et videre volet coelum sicut ego, certe nunquam posset intelligere (quasi dicat: possem frustra loqui tibi, quia si quis vult cognoscere, oportet quod volet supra, et videre et audire); nunquam poterit scire dicere cantum illum. Et hoc totum est magnificare scientiam sacram; nam quis posset scire cantum unicus Doctoris, ne dum omnium?—dicamus Augustini, qui fecit circa mille volumina librorum."—(Talice da Ricaldone).

§ *poli*: I have preferred here to adopt the more general reading which places a semi-colon after *poli*, instead of following

Donne mi parver non da ballo sciolte,\*  
 Ma che s'arrestin tacite, ascoltando 80  
 Fin che le nuove note hanno ricolte.

When, singing thus, those blazing Suns had wheeled around us three times like stars that are near to fixed poles; they seemed to me as ladies not released from the dance, but who pause for a moment in silence, listening until they have caught the notes of a new strain.

Benvenuto says the spirits moved three times round in praise of the Trinity. Buti thinks it is an allegory, implying that the spirits of the Blessed circle round the human mind in three ways:

- (a) According to its memory.
- (b) According to its intellect.
- (c) According to its will.

Dante and Beatrice were standing still like the poles, and the spirits were dancing round them. Casini observes, that rightly to understand this simile, which is one of the most beautiful and effective in the

Dr. Moore who reads it with a full stop. I cannot reconcile myself to this latter, for to me *Poi . . . si fur* seems imperatively to require a clause after it. Mr. Butler translates "those blazing Suns whirled about us," but *si fur* requires "had whirled," etc. Mr. Norton translates "After those burning suns . . . had circled," etc., which seems to make out the sense better. Dr. Moore kindly writes to me approving the altered punctuation.

\* *Donne mi parver non da ballo sciolte*: In *Purg.* xxxi, 103-104, Dante describes how Matelda, after his immersion in Lethe, conducted him into the dance of the four damsels who represented the cardinal virtues:

"Indi mi tolse, e bagnato mi offerse  
 Dentro alla danza delle quattro belle."

and *ibid.* 131, 132, the dance of the three who personated the theological virtues is described:

"P'altre tre si fero avanti,  
 Danzando al loro angelico caribo."

Dantesque poem, it becomes necessary to know what were the rules that governed the dances of women in the time of Dante. People danced, especially in Tuscany, to the singing of ballads (*Ballate*): the dance, as soon as ever the circle was formed, began by either the (female) leader, or the dancers, singing *la ripresa* or the initial *strofa* of the *Ballata*, to which *ripresa* one entire circling round corresponded; the dance then proceeded, the leader singing a stanza, consisting of two *mutazioni* (changes) and one *volta* (round), the dancers performing a half round in one direction (first *mutazione*), then a half round in the contrary direction (second *mutazione*), and then one entire round (*volta*); then all the dancers recommenced singing the *ripresa*, and while doing so executed another complete round: the second stanza was gone through in the same way, both with dancing and singing, and so on with every other stanza up to the conclusion both of poem and dance. After this explanation, it can be well understood that Dante is comparing the posture of the twelve theologians to that of a circle of female dancers, who, after they have done singing one stanza, pause in their singing without interrupting their dance, but in readiness to recommence the song so soon as they shall hear their leader's voice take up again the strains of the ensuing stanza. Seen under this aspect, the comparison acquires a new beauty, because in a few masterly touches Dante represents to us the situation, fleeting as it is; he even makes us perceive the suspension of the movement of the dancers, as well as at the same time their readiness to recommence their dance; thereby making

us understand that the garland, formed by the twelve Blessed ones, had for one instant made a pause in its dance at the sight of Dante, and would, after a very brief interval (see ll. 145-148), recommence it.

*Division IV.* Dante is now accosted by the twelve great Theologians; and the first to address him is St. Thomas Aquinas, who tells him that, as he and his companions can read the desire that is in Dante's heart to know who they all are, Dante need not detail his wishes; they know them already, and seeing how privileged he is by God, they cannot help gratifying them. St. Thomas Aquinas names in turn the theologians and philosophers who compose the heavenly garland, formed by themselves, who are the flowers of Paradise.

E dentro all'un senti' cominciar:\*—"Quando

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\* *senti' cominciar*: The speaker is St. Thomas Aquinas, of the family of the Counts of Aquino, born about 1226 in the castle of Rocca Secca near Aquino, a town about half way between Rome and Naples. After being educated by the Benedictine monks of Monte Cassino, he entered the Order of the Dominican Preaching Friars. Having eluded the forcible opposition of his own family, he eventually succeeded in reaching the Dominican convent at Cologne, and there became a pupil of Albertus Magnus. His habits in study were so silent, that in the convent he was known as the "Dumb Ox;" but to this, his Master Albert retorted that "this Ox would one day fill the world with his bellowing." In 1252 he was sent to the University of Paris, where he and his friend St. Bonaventura, the Franciscan, obtained their degree of doctor in 1257. After lecturing for four years at Paris, Aquinas was summoned by Pope Urban IV, in 1261, to Italy to lecture at Rome, Bologna, and Pisa. It was at this period that he wrote the greater part of his works. His scholars styled him "the Angelic Doctor." Although the Archbishopric of Naples was offered to him, he chose rather to continue in a life of poverty with freedom to study. His writings display intellectual power of the highest

Lo raggio della grazia, onde s' accende  
 Verace amore, e che poi cresce amando  
 Moltiplicato, in te tanto risplende, 85  
 Che ti conduce su per quella scala,  
 U' senza risalir nessun discende,\*  
 Qual ti negasse il vin della sua fiala  
 Per la tua sete, in libertà non fora,  
 Se non com' acqua ch' al mar non si cala. 90  
 Tu vuoi saper di quai piante s' infiora  
 Questa ghirlanda, che intorno vagheggia  
 La bella donna ch' al ciel t' avvalora.†

And from within one (of these Suns) I heard begin :  
 " Since the radiance of grace, from which is en-  
 kindled true Love, and which afterward grows mul-  
 tiplied by loving, shines in thee so wondrously, that  
 it is conducting thee upwards (*i.e.* up the ascent of  
 Paradise), by that stair where none descends with-

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order ; his *Summa Theologiae*, almost the first complete work on Theology that was ever written, remains substantially the standard authority in the Roman Church ; and at the Council of Trent was the only work that was placed upon the table by the side of the Bible. Towards the latter end of the year 1273, Gregory X summoned Aquinas to the Council that was to meet at Lyons, to effect the Union between the Latin and Greek Churches, desiring him to defend the Papal cause. Though suffering from fever, Aquinas set out, but was unable to proceed farther than the Cistercian abbey of Fossa Nuova, where he sunk under his malady on the 7th March 1274, at the age of 49. After his death he was canonized by John XXII in 1323, and proclaimed a Doctor of the Church by Pius V in 1567.

\* *senza risalir nessun discende* : " Nessuno torna a contemplazione della vita beata, a la quale è montamento co la scala di virtù mentre che è stato in questa vita, che non vi torni dopo questa vita ; imperò che senza grande grazia da Dio conceduta non si fa si fatto montamento, e però non può essere a chi ha gustato si fatti dilette, che non ritenga sempre lo desiderio d' essi, lo quale tenendo si conviene che la sua vita sia santa e buona." (Buti). Compare too *Purg.* ii, 91, 92 :

" Casella mio, per tornare altra volta  
 Là dove son, fo io questo viaggio."

† *t' avvalora* : " Ti dà forza per salire al ciel " (Cornoldi).



out again re-ascending, whosoever would deny to thee the wine out of his vial for (quenching) thy thirst, would not be more at liberty (to do so) than water that returns not (*i.e.* that should try not to return) to the sea. Thou wouldst know with what blossoms is enflowered this garland, which all around her gazes with delight at the beautiful Lady who gives thee the strength for (ascending to) Heaven.

St. Thomas Aquinas first speaks of himself, and then names the master he followed—Albertus Magnus.

Io fui degli agni della santa greggia  
 Che Domenico\* mena per cammino,      95  
 U' ben s'impingua se non si vaneggia.  
 Questi che m'è a destra più vicino,†  
 Frate e maestro fummi, ed esso Alberto‡  
 È di Colonia, ed io Thomas d' Aquino.

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\* *Domenico*: On St. Dominic and the Dominican Friars see *Par.* xii, 46 et seq. The words in the present *terzina*, *U' ben s'impingua se non si vaneggia*, are abundantly explained in *Par.* xi, 19—139.

† *a destra più vicino*: St. Thomas Aquinas invites Dante to let his eye follow close after his (St. Thomas's) description of the Saints in the circle. He begins by Albertus Magnus, who is on his immediate right, and finishes with Maitre Sigier (*l.* 133 et seq.), who is on his immediate left; so that after this latter has been noticed by Dante, St. Thomas remarks that his eye will naturally return to look upon St. Thomas himself, thereby completing the circle.

‡ *Alberto . . . di Colonia*: Albertus Magnus, of the noble family of the Counts of Bollstädt in Swabia, was born in 1193. After studying at Padua, he taught at Ratisbon and at Cologne; and here Thomas Aquinas was his pupil. In 1154 he became Provincial of the Dominican Order in Germany. Although made Bishop of Ratisbon in 1260, he retired in 1262 to his convent at Cologne to devote himself to literature, and there composed many of his works. His knowledge of chemistry and mechanics was so great that he became suspected of being a magician. He was not so much famed for originality as for being a faithful follower of Aristotle. He did more than those before him to bring about that union of Theology and Aristotelianism which was the basis of scholasticism. He wrote a

I was one of the lambs of the holy flock which Dominic leads upon that way, where they will thrive well if they go not astray. This one who is nearest to me on my right hand, was my brother and my master, and he was Albert of Cologne, and I Thomas of Aquino.

After telling Dante to note the spirits of his Blessed companions in succession, as he names them each in their turn, St. Thomas Aquinas points out two more of them, namely, the Benedictine monk Gratian, and the celebrated Peter Lombard.

Se sì di tutti gli altri esser vuoi certo,	100
Diretro al mio parlar ten vien col viso *	
Girando su per lo beato serto :	
Quell' altro fiammeggiare esce del riso	
Di Grazian, † che l' uno e l' altro fôro	
Aiutò sì che piace in Paradiso.	105
L' altro ch' appresso adorna il nostro coro,	

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*Summa Theologiae*, (not of course that by his celebrated pupil), the *Summa de Creaturis*, and many other works. He died, after a period of dotage, in 1280.

\* *viso* for *vista* is too common an expression of Dante to require explanation.

† *Grazian*: Gratian, according to some, was born at Chiusi, but according to others, at a place in the territory of Orvieto called Carrara—not the Tuscan town and mountains celebrated for their white marble—at the latter end of the eleventh century. He became a Camaldolese Benedictine monk in the monastery (Casini thinks) of Classe near Ravenna, and from there passed into that of S. Felice near Bologna. At this latter place, about 1140, he composed the celebrated *Decretum Gratiani*, which Pietro di Dante describes as “*Decretum ad utrumque forum canonicum et civilem respiciens*”; and called otherwise *Concordantia discordantium canonum*. This work put into intelligible order the texts of Holy Scripture, the apostolical canons and those of the Councils of the Church, the rules of the Fathers which had fallen into desuetude, as well as the Decretals of the Popes; in short it professed to demonstrate the perfect harmony between civil and ecclesiastical law, as a secure base for the right interpretation of canon law.

Quel Pietro \* fu, che con la poverella  
Offerse a Santa Chiesa suo tesoro.

If thou wouldst be informed of all the others in the same manner (as I have told thee of myself and my master), follow thou behind my speaking with thy look, turning it upward over the blessed Wreath: That other flaming splendour issues from the smile of Gratian, who lent such aid both to the one and the other forum (*i.e.* showed the Civil and the Ecclesiastical Law to be in such agreement) that his work gives pleasure in Paradise. The next after him who adorns our choir was that Peter (Lombard), who, like the poor widow, offered his treasure to Holy Church.

Solomon is the next. It was a matter of doubt in the Middle Ages among Theologians as to whether his soul was saved or not.†

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\* *Quel Pietro*: Peter Lombard was born of very poor parents at Lomello in the territory of Novara about the beginning of the twelfth century. After pursuing his studies at Novara and at Bologna, we find him about 1147 at Rheims, and afterwards at Paris, of which city he became Bishop in 1158, and died there in 1164. Of profound learning in philosophical and theological science, he was generally styled *Magister Sententiarum* from his *Sententiarum Libri* iv, an arranged collection of sentences from St. Augustine and other fathers, on points of Christian doctrine, with objections and replies collected from authors of repute. The work was the subject of many commentaries, amongst others one by Aquinas, and Poletto says "Quest' opera . . . fu come la norma di tutte le somme teologiche posteriori." At the beginning of the work Peter Lombard very humbly offers it as a poor tribute to Holy Church, such as was offered by the poor widow (*Luke* xxi, 1-4, *Vulg.*): "cupientes aliquid de tenuitate nostra cum paupercula in gazophylacium Domini mittere." (This explains ll. 107, 108).

† Michele Scherillo (*Alcuni Capitoli della Biografia di Dante*, Torino, 1896, pp. 301, 302) writes on this conflict of opinions: "Restò agl' interpreti delle Scritture il decidere. E pur troppo i più autorevoli sono per la dannazione: come Tertulliano, san Cipriano, ed il nostro sant' Agostino . . . Per la dannazione pare propenda anche Brunetto Latini, che scrive (*Tresors*, 55): 'Salemmons fu fils au roi David, hom glorieux, plains de toutes

La quinta luce, ch'è tra noi più bella,  
 Spira di tale amor,\* che tutto il mondo 110  
 Laggiù ne gola † di saper novella.  
 Entro v'è l'alta mente u' s'è profondo  
 Saper fu messo, che se il vero è vero,  
 A veder tanto non surse il secondo.

The fifth light, which is the most beautiful amongst us, breathes forth so much love, that all the world down there hungrily craves to learn tidings (as to whether he was saved). Within it is the lofty mind in which such profound wisdom was placed, that, if truth be truth, there never rose a second to know so much.

The sixth spirit is that of Dionysius the Areopagite, who was supposed to be the author of a work on the Celestial Hierarchy.

Appresso vedi il lume di quel cero ‡ 115

sapiances, riches de tresor, et de très haute chevalerie. Diex l'ama au commencement; mais puis il le haï, porce que il aora les idles; et ce fist il par amor!'. . . Propendono più o meno risolutamente per la salvazione in vece san Gregorio Taumaturgo, san Girolamo e Ruperto." Scherillo goes on to say that the more modern theologians inclined rather to the opinions of these last, on account of certain leaden tablets discovered at Granada whereon in Arabic characters, attributed by the Spanish doctors to St. James, a verse was inscribed stating that Solomon repented and was saved. Subsequent examination however proved these tablets to be spurious.

\* *spira di tale amor*: Solomon's book of the Canticles—in the Vulgate *Canticum canticorum*—Song of Solomon in the A.V., is remarkable for celebrating passionate love, but whether earthly or spiritual, is a question that has ever been a mystery to biblical exegesis.

† *ne gola*: Some read *n' ha gola*. *Golare* = *desiderare*. In *Par.* iii, 91-93, we find *gola* (the substantive) used to express "wish, longing":

"Ma s'è com'egli avvien, se un cibo sazia,  
 E d'un altro rimane ancor la gola,  
 Che quel si chiede, e di quel si ringrazia," etc.

‡ *il lume di quel cero*, et seq.: The personage, whose radiant form is compared to a wax torch, is the spirit of Dionysius the

Che giuso in carne più addentro vide  
L'angelica natura e il ministero.

Next behold the lustre of that wax-torch, who when down in the flesh, acquired a deeper insight of the Angelic nature and its Ministry.

Orosius is the seventh spirit alluded to, though not named. Such is the opinion of the *Ottimo*, Buti, and all modern Commentators. Lana, Pietro di Dante, the *Codice Cassinese*, and the *Anonimo Fiorentino*, think that the allusion is to St. Ambrose (Archbishop of Milan, 340-397), but, as Poletto points out, Dante would hardly have described one of the four greatest Doctors of the Church as displaying less radiance (*piccioletta luce*) than Gratian. Benvenuto is not certain whether St. Ambrose or Orosius is meant. One modern Commentator attempted to prove that this personage is Lactantius Firmianus of Nicomedia, who was tutor to Crispus, the son of Constantine the Great, and died in A.D. 330.

Nell' altra piccioletta luce ride  
Quell' avvocato\* dei tempi cristiani,

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Areopagite, an Athenian who was converted by St. Paul (*Acts* xvii, 34); he was the first Bishop of Athens, and suffered martyrdom, as is generally admitted by historians. He was erroneously believed to have been the author of many works, and notably the famous book *περὶ τῆς οὐρανόθεν ἑραρχίας*, which after being translated into Latin by Johannes Erigena, became the text-book in the Middle Ages of angelic lore.

\* *Quell' avvocato*: Paulus Orosius, who lived about the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth centuries, was a Spanish Priest of Tarragona. It is said to have been at the instigation of St. Augustine that he wrote his *Historiarum libri VII, adversus paganos*, a universal history from primitive times down to A.D. 417. So highly was this work prized in the time of Dante, that in the *De Vulg. Eloq.* ii, 6, ll. 78-85, Dante mentions Orosius among the most distinguished of the heathen prose writers: "Et fortassis utilissimum foret ad illam [memoriam] habituandam



Del cui latino Augustin\* si provvide.

120

Within the next little light smiles that defender of Christian times, of whose Latin Augustine availed himself.

One might naturally expect that Dante, who held Boëthius in such deep reverence, should give him a prominent place in this illustrious group ; and he does so by mentioning him as the Eighth Spirit of the twelve, in words that seem to emphasize the importance of the personage to be introduced on the sacred scene.

Or se tu l'occhio della mente trani †

regulatos vidisse poetas, Virgilium videlicet, Ovidium in *Metamorphoseos*, Statium atque Lucanum ; nec non alios qui usi sunt altissimas prosas, ut Tullium, Livium, Plinium, Frontinum, Paulum Orosium, et multos alios, quos amica solitudo nos visitare invitat." It is remarkable that while Dante places among the Theologians men like Gratian, Dionysius, and Bede, he only refers casually to St. Augustine (of Hippo), and does not even mention Gregory VII. Poletto quotes the following from Franciosi (*Scritti Danteschi*, p. 14): "Se dal tacere potessimo togliere argomento di non curanza o di spregio, dovremmo dire che il Nostro curasse ben poco il grande Agostino, non avendone tocco se non di volo e senza lode : eppure vediamo che cercò il suo maggior volume con grande studio, e che ne trasse, non ch'altro, il principio sommo della sua *Commedia*, la partizione delle due città terrestre e divina, secondo che l'amore s'appunti nell'uomo o in Dio."

\* *Augustin* : Of Orosius St. Augustine in *Epist.* clxvi (*De Origine Animae Hominis*) speaks in the following laudatory terms : "Ecce venit ad me religiosus juvenis, catholicâ pace frater, aetate filius, honore compresbyter noster Orosius, vigil ingenio, promptus eloquio, flagrans studio utile vas in domo Domini esse desiderans, ad refellendas falsas perniciosasque doctrinas, quae animus Hispanorum multo infelicius, quam corpora barbaricas gladius, trucidarunt." St. Augustine's greatest work, *De Civitate Dei*, is in wonderful harmony with Orosius.

† *trani* : *Tranare* is identical with *trainare* (French *trainer* ; Provençal *trahinar*). See Donkin's *Etymological Dictionary of the Romance Languages*, London, 1864, s. v. *Traino*. Compare also Giov. Villani, lib. vii, cap. 39 : "e fecelo *tranare*, e poi im-

Di luce in luce, dietro alle mie lode,  
 Già dell'ottava con sete rimani.  
 Per vedere ogni ben dentro vi gode  
 L'anima santa, che il mondo fallace 125  
 Fa manifesto\* a chi di lei ben ode.  
 Lo corpo ond'ella fu cacciata giace  
 Giuso in Cieldauro,† ed essa da martiro

piccare." The word is quite obsolete, nor was it of very frequent use among the early writers.

\* *L'anima santa, che il mondo fallace Fa manifesto*: This is the spirit of Anicius Manlius Severinus Boëtius (generally known as Boëthius), the great Roman statesman and philosopher, who belonged to a powerful and illustrious family, and was born about A.D. 470. His father, Flavius Manlius Boëtius, was consul in 487, and the son, after being brought up under the care of men of rank, and arriving at erudition of the highest order, in philosophy, mathematics and poetry, became in his turn consul in 510. Theodoric, king of the Goths, thought so highly of his talents, that he appointed him *Magister Officiarum* at his Court in Rome in the year 500. His prosperity deservedly continued for a considerable time, and his two sons attained to consular dignity in 522. In the later years of Theodoric's reign however, when that monarch had become mistrustful in his old age, he allowed himself to be influenced by the accusations of jealous courtiers, and cast Boëthius into prison on suspicion of treason. In the castle of Pavia Boëthius languished for many months, and was finally put to death under cruel tortures in the year 524. While in prison he wrote his celebrated *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*, in which the author holds a conversation with Philosophy, who shows him the mutability of all earthly fortune, and the insecurity of everything save virtue. It is written in Latin that is said to be worthy of the best models of the Augustan age. Boëthius was one of Dante's favourite authors. In *Conv.* ii, 13, Dante mentions that, from the *Philos. Consol.* and the *De Amicitia* of Cicero, he derived his greatest consolation after the death of Beatrice.

† *in Cieldauro*: The body of Boëthius was interred in the Basilica of San Pietro in Ciel d'oro (contracted into *Cieldauro-S. Pietri in Coelo Aureo*) at Pavia. From fear of desecration the spot was carefully concealed, and only in 722, two hundred years afterwards, was it discovered by Luitprand, King of the Longobardi, who caused a sepulchre to be erected both for Boëthius as well as for St. Augustine. The circumstance is mentioned by Petrarch in a letter to his friend Boccaccio (*Epist. de Rebus*

E da esilio venne a questa pace.\*

Now if thou drawest the vision of thy mind from light to light, following upon my praises, then thou art already waiting with thirst for the eighth (*i.e.* to hear who the Eighth Spirit is). Within there is rejoicing in the vision of all good the holy soul (of Boëthius), which makes manifest the world's deceitfulness to whoso gives good heed to it. The body from which it was hunted lies below (*i.e.* on Earth) in Cieldauro, and it (the spirit) came from martyrdom and exile to this peace.

St. Isidore, the Venerable Bede, and Richard de St. Victor are grouped together as the Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Spirits.

Vedi oltre fiammeggiar l'ardente spiro  
D' Isidoro, di Beda, e di Riccardo †  
Che a considerar fu più che viro.

130

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*Senilibus*, lib. v, p. 874 in the folio edition, Basle, 1554): "Vidisses ubi sepulchrum Augustinus, ubi exilii senilis idoneam sedem, vitaeque exitum Severinus [Boëthius] invenit, urnisque nunc geminis, sub eodem tecto jacent, cum Luitprando rege, qui ipsum Augustini corpus e Sardinia in hanc urbem transtulit, devotum piisque consortium clarorum hominum. Putes Augustini vestigia Severinum sequi, ut viventem ingenio et libris his praesertim, quos post illum de Trinitate composuit, sic defunctum membris ac tumulo."

\* *venne a questa pace*: Compare the words of Dante's ancestor Cacciaguada, who (*Par.* xv, 145-148) tells Dante that he was slain by the Saracens, and then came into Eternal Peace:

"Quivi fu' io da quella gente turpa  
Disviluppato dal mondo fallace,  
Il cui amor molte anime deturpa,  
E venni dal martiro a questa pace."

In this quotation we have the double parallel of *il mondo fallace* and *venni a questa pace*.

† *Isidoro*: Isidore of Seville, one of the most distinguished ecclesiastics in the early part of the 7th century, was born either at Seville or Carthage, probably about A.D. 560. He succeeded Leander as Archbishop of Seville in the year 600, and completed the great work begun by his predecessor, which is

Further on see the burning aspiration of Isidore, of

now known as *Liturgia Mozarabica secundum Regulam Beati Isidori*. His episcopate was chiefly remarkable for two half-ecclesiastical half-civil councils held at Seville in 618, and at Toledo in 633, under his presidency, the canons of which are said to have formed the basis of the constitutional law of the Spanish kingdoms, both for Church and for State. He died in 636, and was afterwards canonized.

*Beda* or *Baeda*, usually known as "The Venerable Bede," was an Anglo-Saxon monk, born at Monkwearmouth about 673, and brought up in the Benedictine abbey there. He afterwards entered the monastery at Jarrow, and remained there until his death in May 735. His is the greatest name in the ancient literature of England. His industry was enormous, besides Latin, Greek, classical as well as patristic literature, he studied Hebrew, Astronomy, and Medicine; he wrote homilies, lives of saints, hymns, works on chronology and grammar, and commentaries on the Old and New Testament. Besides his profound reading, and industry in writing, he also found time for a considerable amount of teaching. His most valuable work is the *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, an ecclesiastical history of England, from which we derive most of our information on the ancient history of England, down to nearly the end of Bede's life. Bede is said to have been the father of our national education, for he taught 600 scholars at Jarrow. He doubtless possessed a special charm for Dante, for, says Mr. Plummer, in the able and interesting preface to his masterly edition of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*: "Throughout the works of Bede, the characteristic which strikes us most is the simple and unfeigned piety of the writer." (Oxonii, 1896, i, lxxv.)

*Riccardo*: This refers to Richard of St. Victor, generally known as the "*Magus Contemplator*." He was of Scottish origin. He was called "of St. Victor" from having been a monk in the monastery of that name near Paris, of which he became Prior. In the early days of his residence there, he studied under the celebrated Hugh of St. Victor. He died in 1173. He is said to have been *vir pietate et eruditione conspicuus. Theologiae mysticae peritissimus*. In *Epist.* x, § 28, ll. 552-554, Dante says of him: "Et ubi ista invidis non sufficient, legant Ricardum de sancto Victore in libro *de Contemplatione*." Milman (*Lat. Christ.* vol. vi, p. 440) says that the system of the St. Victorians is the contemplative philosophy of deep-thinking minds in their profound seclusion . . . and is that of men following out the train of their own thoughts, not perpetually crossed by the objections of subtle rival disputants. Its end is not victory, but the inward satisfaction of the soul.

Bede, and of Richard (de St. Victor) who in his contemplation was more than man.

The Twelfth and last of the sacred Ring is Maître Sigier, who wrote and lectured on Logic in the *Rue de Fouarre* or Street of Straw in Paris. Longfellow remarks that Dante, moved perhaps by some pleasant memory of the past, pays the old scholastic street, which is said to have been the cradle of the University, the tribute of a verse.

Questi onde a me ritorna il tuo riguardo,  
È il lume d'uno spirto, che in pensieri  
Gravi a morir gli parve venir tardo.

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Essa è la luce eterna di Sigieri,\*  
Che, leggendo nel vico degli strami,†  
Sillogizzò invidiosi veri.”—

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\* *Sigieri*: Casini says that there is a great disparity of opinion as to the identity of this personage, whom some consider to have been Sigier of Courtray, but both he and Scartazzini think it is Sigier of Brabant, another person altogether, who is referred to. This latter was born in the first half of the thirteenth century, was a pupil of Robert de Sorbon, the founder of La Sorbonne, was a great teacher in the University of Paris, and was afterwards put to a cruel death on a charge of heresy at Orvieto in 1283. Some describe him as a great supporter of the teaching of Aquinas, others as its chief opponent.

† *vico degli strami* is *la Rue de Feurre*, or *Fouarre*, O. Fr. for *foin*, called by Petrarch (*Sen.* ix, 1) *fragosus Straminum Vicus*. This is a street at the back of the Sorbonne, near Place Maubert, and in it were the Schools of Philosophy, in which Dante in all probability studied and himself taught. Scartazzini says that *leggendo nel vico degli strami* is equivalent to saying that Sigier lectured in the University of Paris. In a letter to “The Academy” of March 13th, 1886, Mr. Paget Toynbee writes: “From a passage in the *Paradiso* (x, 133-138) it has been commonly concluded that Dante attended the lectures of Siger de Brabant, a professor of the University of Paris, in the Rue du Fouarre, in which case Dante must have been in Paris previous to his exile from Florence, for Siger died between 1277 and 1300. We learn, however, from an Italian poem of the thirteenth century by Durante, called *Il Fiore*, lately discovered



This one from whom (as the last in the Circle) thy look returneth to me (who am next to him) is the effulgence of a spirit to whom in his profound meditations death appeared to come tardily. It is the Eternal Light of Sigier, who, lecturing in the Street of Straw did syllogize unpalatable truths."

The twelve great Theologians having been named by St. Thomas Aquinas, their spirits now resume their interrupted movement and song.

Indi come orologio, che ne chiami

Nell' ora che la sposa di Dio surge

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A mattinar\* lo sposo perchè l'ami,

Che l'una parte l'altra tira ed urge,†

at Montpellier, that Siger came to Italy; for it is there stated that he died 'by the sword,' *i.e.* probably was executed, at Orvieto, (where the court of Rome was about that time). Consequently as M. Paris remarks in a notice of the above-mentioned poem, in order to account for Dante's acquaintance with Siger, it is no longer necessary to assume that he visited Paris." On the two above notes see A. F. Ozanam (*Dante et la Philosophie Catholique*, Paris, 184, p. 319-323); and Lubin (*Commedia di Dante*, Padova, 1881, pp. 52, 53).

\* *mattinar*: This has been usually interpreted as "to chant mattins," but Borghini (*sopra un Falso Vellutello*, in *Studi su Dante*, p. 254) whose definitions of the precise signification of Tuscan expressions and idiom are unrivalled, says that although to render *mattinar* as *dire mattutino* can just be tolerated, yet it must be remembered that mattins was not the only Office that was recited in the night time: whereas *mattinate* and *serenate* properly signify songs of love chanted by night to ladies; and beyond a doubt this is what Dante had in his mind; the more so as he was always ready to take his similes most aptly from scenes of daily life. Borghini adds: "il che non solo è facile ad intendere, ma ha ancor seco una propria e singolar efficacia, che diletta col ridurli a memoria quell'usanza, che non può l'uditore, e comprende più col senso che non suonano le parole; e tutto questo in simili esposizioni si perde, e l'arguzia del poeta non si vede."

† *una parte l'altra tira ed urge*: The clock alluded to here is an *orologio a sveglia con cariglione*, and of it Antonelli (*ap. Tommaséo*) says: "Il tirare e l'urgere, cioè spingere d'una e d'altra parte, deve riferirsi nell'orologio alla codetta del bat-

Tin tin sonando con sì dolce nota,  
 Che il ben disposto spirto d'amor turge;  
 Così vid' io la gloriosa rota 145  
 Moversi e render voce a voce in tempra\*  
 Ed in dolcezza ch'esser non può nota,  
 Se non colà dove gioir s'insempra.

Then like the clock, which calls us at the hour when the Bride of God (the Church) is wont to rise to chant night-songs to her Spouse that He may love her, which (clock) draws and urges forward the various parts, chiming forth *Tin Tin*, with so sweet a note, that the well-disposed heart swells with love; so beheld I the glorious wheel moving, and returning voice to voice with a modulation and a sweetness that cannot be comprehended save in that place (Heaven) where joy reigns for ever.

Benvenuto, in genuine admiration of this appropriate comparison, remarks that, as those learned doctors were in the habit of rising in the night hours to pursue their studies, so did holy men rise to recite the night Offices of the Church; the more so, that it is in the night that the mind can turn more readily to meditation and contemplation.

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taglio, fatto bicipite nell'interno della campana, or tirata ed ora spinta dal semplice ordigno messo in moto di va e vieni dal movimento della ruota a ciò destinata."

† *in tempra*: "Proportionaliter conformare voces eorum in cantu." (Benvenuto).

END OF CANTO X.

## CANTO XI.

THE FOURTH HEAVEN, THE SPHERE OF THE SUN  
(*continued*).—THE VANITY OF WORLDLY CARES.  
—ST. THOMAS AQUINAS RELATES THE LIFE OF  
ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI.—DEGENERACY OF THE  
MONASTIC ORDERS.

IN this Canto Thomas Aquinas, a Dominican, sings the praises of St. Francis. In the next Canto, Bonaventura, a Franciscan, will sing those of St. Dominic. In these two founders of religious Orders Dante probably was contemplating two real reformers of the Church; the one, St. Dominic, being conspicuous for doctrine, and the other, St. Francis, for charity. Dante by no means intended (observes Tommaséo) to praise the war which the Dominicans waged with fire and sword against heretics, but rather was commending the war of argument opposed to error. His praise, however, of St. Francis is more earnest and more poetical. The love of poverty is sketched in a picture of womanly tenderness; and Tommaséo thinks that, if Avarice be the she-wolf, then Poverty must be the legitimate bride.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

*In the First Division*, from v. 1 to v. 12, Dante deplores and censures the shiftiness with which men give their minds to the attainment of many ends,

mostly different from each other, and neglect the one true one of Eternal Happiness.

*In the Second Division*, from v. 13 to v. 27, St. Thomas Aquinas, who is again introduced on the scene, tells Dante he can see that two doubts are disturbing his mind.

*In the Third Division*, from v. 28 to v. 117, St. Thomas, to elucidate the first of these doubts,\* speaks in enthusiastic praise of the beauty of the life of St. Francis.

*In the Fourth Division*, from v. 118 to v. 139, he denounces the life of the Friars of his own Order, so fallen from their pristine sanctity.

*Division I.* Lombardi says that the first twelve lines are but a digression, in which Dante utters an exclamation of contemptuous pity for men bound down to earth by the cares of this world, and from that cause prevented from elevating their thoughts and aspirations to that Heaven where Dante is now in the enjoyment of celestial bliss.

O insensata cura † dei mortali,  
 Quanto son difettivi sillogismi ‡  
 Quei che ti fanno in basso batter l'ali!

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\* Not until we reach canto xiii, do we read the solution of Dante's second doubt, in ll. 31-111.

† *O insensata cura*, et seq.: Compare Lucretius ii, 14:  
 "O miseris hominum menteis! o pectora coeca!"  
 and Persius i, 1:

"O curas hominum! O quantum est in rebus inane!"

‡ *difettivi sillogismi*: "Sono difettivi li nostri sillogismi, però ch'elli non conchiudono vero, in ciò che le proposizioni sono false, e però falso conchiudono." (*Ottimo*). Compare *Convito* iv, 9, ll. 57-60: "Perchè noi volessimo che 'l sillogismo con falsi principii conchiudesse verità dimostrando, non conchiuderebbe." Compare too, *Par.* xxiv, 91-96, where Dante

O insensate care of mortal men! How inconclusive are those syllogisms (*i.e.* how erroneous is the reasoning) which make thee beat thy wings in downward flight!

Dante, having passed the above general censure, confirms it by showing in detail what are the most conspicuous among the affairs of men. Prominent among these are the study of the Law, of Physics, of Theology, Ambition, Statecraft, Greed of Adventurers for Booty, Acquisition of Wealth, Pleasures of the Flesh, and total idleness.

Chi dietro a iura, e chi ad aforismi\*  
 Sen giva, e chi seguendo sacerdozio,† 5  
 E chi regnar per forza o per sofismi,‡

avows that the mere statements in Holy Scripture are to him a syllogism more convincing than any other process of reasoning:

“Ed io; ‘La larga ploia  
 Dello Spirito Santo, ch’è diffusa  
 In sulle vecchie e in sulle nuove cuoia,  
 È sillogismo che là m’ha conchiusa  
 Acutamente sì che in verso d’ella  
 Ogni dimostrazion mi pare ottusa.”

\* *aforismi*: The *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates is the work by which “the Father of Medicine” is best known. The use of the expression in this passage is intended to signify: “the study of Medicine.”

† *seguendo sacerdozio*: Dr. Moore writes to me: “I have found *seguendo sacerdozio* erased in some MSS. It was evidently thought improper to mention this with depreciation!”

‡ *regnar . . . per sofismi*: “Cioè per dolo e per inganno; questo è quando la cittade è commessa al governo di alquanti pochi, li quali per persuasioni e per pulite dicerie ingannano tutta l’altra cittadinanza, trasportando il bene comune in sua propria utilitate.” (*Ottimo*). Casini remarks that Dante, when he wrote these lines, certainly had in his mind the great army of intriguers and traffickers in public offices, such as were Corso Donati, Baldo d’Aguglione, and Fazio da Signa, with many others like them, whose sinister deeds we find recorded in the pages of Dino Compagni, the chronicler of the faction of the Bianchi.



E chi rubare, e chi civil negozio,\*  
 Chi nel diletto della carne involto,  
 S' affaticava,† e chi si dava all' ozio;  
 Quando da tutte queste cose sciolto,‡ 10  
 Con Beatrice m' era suso in cielo  
 Cotanto gloriosamente § accolto.

\* *civil negozio*: Compare *Convito* I, i, ll. 30-34: "La cura famigliare e civile, la quale convenevolmente a se tiene degli uomini il maggior numero, sicchè in ozio di speculazione essere non possono."

† *S' affaticava*: Buti sums up well the heads of Dante's general censure: "Ecco che ha contato lo nostro autore nuove cure e sollicitudini che gli uomini mondani pigliano ingannati dall' amore mondano, cioè dei beni mondani, cioè li judici delle leggi canoniche e civili, li medici della fisica e della cirugia, li cherici degli ordini ecclesiastici e de' benefici, li signori di signoria, li rubbatori in rubbare, li artefici nei loro artificii, li carnali e lussuriosi nei diletti carnali e lussurie, e li pigri ne l' ozio; onde ha toccato quasi tutte le diversità degli esercizi degli uomini mondani."

‡ *da tutte queste cose sciolto*: Poletto remarks that, at first sight, this confession might seem almost too arrogant and audacious; but let readers turn their thought back to the concluding verses of *Purgatorio*, xxvii:

"Liberò, dritto e sano è tuo arbitrio,  
 E fallo fora non fare a suo senno."

Let them also remember that in *Par.* i, 139-141, Beatrice had already made for Dante the same confession:

"Maraviglia sarebbe in te, se privo  
 D' impedimento giù ti fossi assiso,  
 Come a terra quiete in foco vivo."

As regards *sciolto*, Tommaséo, followed by others, compares it with Virg. *Æn.* iv, 652:

"Accipite hanc animam, meque his exsolvite curis."

and Horace, *I Sat.* vi, 128-130:

"Haec est  
 Vita solutorum misera ambitione gravique:  
 His me consolor victurum suavius."

§ *gloriosamente*: It is necessary, for the accentuation of the verse, to read this adverb as though it were two words: *gloriosa—mente*; as also in *Inf.* xxi, 6:

"E vidila mirabil—mente oscura."

So also Petrarch, Part iv, Canz. 1, st. 4:

"Nemica natural—mente di pace."

Some were going after the law, some after aphorisms (of Hippocrates, *i.e.* after medicine), and some were following the priesthood, some (aspiring) to rule by force or by sophistry, and some were wearying themselves in plundering, some in state affairs, some were ensnared by the delights of sensuality, and some were giving themselves up to indolence; when I, disengaged from all these matters, was being received with Beatrice in so glorious a manner up in Heaven.

*Division II.* The Blessed ones now suspend their movement, and the spirit of St. Thomas Aquinas, increasing in brilliancy, again addresses Dante, telling him that he can read in his thoughts the existence of two doubts, as to the meaning of expressions used by St. Thomas in the last canto. The first of these is where (x, 96) he said of the Order of St. Dominic: *U' ben s' impingua se non si vaneggia*: and the second where (l. 114) he said of Solomon, *A veder tanto non surse (or nacque) il secondo*. The signification of the first of these he proceeds to elucidate, and his speech lasts to the end of the canto.

Poi che ciascuno fu tornato ne lo\*  
 Punto del cerchio in che avanti s'era,  
 Fermossi † come a candellier candelo. 15  
 Ed io senti' dentro a quella lumiera  
 Che pria m'avea parlato, sorridendo  
 Incominciar, facendosi più mera:

After that each of them had returned to that point of the circle in which he had been before, he stood still like a candle in a candlestick. And from within

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\* *ne lo* for *nello*: We find a similar composite rhyme in *Inf.* vii, 28, where *pur li* is made to rhyme to *burli*.

† *Fermossi*: Others read *fermo sl*, or *fermi sl*.



the Light Eternal, I discern thy thoughts, whence thou causest them (*i.e.* how they originate). Thou art in doubt, and art desirous that my words should be better explained to thee in language so open and so extended, that it may be reduced to the level of thy perception (in the passage) where I said just now: '*U'ben s'impingua,*' and that other where I said: '*Non nacque il secondo;*' and here it is necessary that a clear distinction be made.

*Division III.* The explanation of the doubts now commences, and Dante with consummate art makes St. Thomas Aquinas, a Dominican, relate the life and dwell upon the praises of St. Francis of Assisi; while in the next canto we shall find Bonaventura, a Franciscan, singing the praises of St. Dominic. Each blames the degeneracy into which his own Order has fallen.

La provvidenza, che governa il mondo  
 Con quel consiglio nel quale ogni aspetto  
 Creato è vinto\* pria che vada al fondo, 30  
 Perocchè andasse ver lo suo diletto  
 La sposa di colui, ch'ad alte grida  
 Disposò lei col sangue benedetto,†

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\* *ogni aspetto Creato è vinto*, etc. : Compare with this Dante's own words in *Convito* iv, 5, ll. 1-4 : "Non è maraviglia se la divina Provvidenza, che del tutto l'angelico e l'umano accorgimento soperchia, occultamente a noi molte volte procede," and *ibid*, ll. 69-72 : "Oh ineffabile e incomprendibile Sapienza di Dio . . . ed oh istoltissime e vilissime bestiuole che a guisa d'uomini pascete, che presumerete contro a nostra Fede parlare ; e volete sapere, filando e zappando, ciò che Iddio con tanta prudenza ha ordinato ! Maledetti siate voi e la vostra presunzione, e chi a voi crede." Compare also *Rom.* xi, 33 : "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!" See also St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. xii, art. 7).

† *ad alte grida . . . sangue benedetto* : Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, p. 63, § 30) observes : "It would hardly be worth while

In sè sicura ed anco a lui più fida,\*

Due Principi ordinò in suo favore,

35

Che quinci e quindi le fosser per guida.

The Providence which rules the world with that counsel in which all created sight is vanquished until it has penetrated its depth, in order that towards her Beloved might go the (Church) Bride of Him, Who crying with a loud voice espoused her with His sacred blood, (she) secure in herself, and even still more trustful in Him, ordained two Princes for her own behoof, who on either side of her should be her guides.

St. Francis in rendering her more full of faith by means of his ardent love, and St. Dominic in fortifying her through his profound wisdom and learning.

L' un fu tutto serafico † in ardore,

pointing out the passing yet obvious reference to *St. Matt.* xxvii, 46-50 (*Clamavit Jesus voce magna . . . iterum clamans voce magna*), or to the parallel passages in SS. Mark and Luke, except that some old Commentators (Pietro di Dante, and to some extent Benvenuto) have explained the *alte grida* to refer to the cries of the Jews, 'Crucify Him! Crucify Him!' The reference given above, especially when taken in connexion (as Scartazzini points out) with the idea expressed in *Acts* xx, 28 (*Ecclesiam Dei quam aquisivit sanguine suo*) leaves no doubt, I think, as to the true interpretation of the passage." Compare too *Par.* xxxi, 2, 3, where Dante calls the Saints in Heaven

"la milizia santa,

Che nel suo sangue CRISTO fece sposa."

\* *a lui più fida*: I have with some hesitation translated *fida* "trustful;" as the antithesis between "secure in herself," and "yet more faithful to him," seems rather to halt. See *Gran Dizionario*, s. v. *fido* (adj) § 10: "Nel senso del latin. *Fisus*, e dell'italiano *Fidente*." It is so used by Boccaccio in *Filocolo* v, 336: "Ciò che tu ne consiglierai, faremo, fidi che altro che il nostro onore non sosterresti."

† *L' un fu tutto serafico*, et seq.: The distinction so definitely laid down here by Dante between the attributes of the Seraphim and Cherubim is evidently derived by him from the following passage of St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. lxiii,



L'altro per sapienza in terra fue  
 Di cherubica luce uno splendore.  
 Dell'un dirò, perocchè d' ambo e due 40  
 Si dice l'un pregiando, qual ch' uom prende,  
 Perchè ad un fine fur l' opere sue.

The one (St. Francis) was all seraphic in fervency, the other (St. Dominic) for wisdom was on earth a splendour of cherubic light. I will speak (only) of one (the former), since by praising the one one speaks (equally) of both, whichever one takes, because their deeds were to one end (*i.e.* the support and guidance of the Church).

The life of St. Francis of Assisi\* is now told. Long-

art. 7): "Cherubim interpretatur *plenitudo scientiae*, Seraphim autem interpretatur *ardentes*, sive *incendentes*. Et sic patet quod Cherubim denominetur a scientia, quae potest esse cum mortali peccato; Seraphim vero denominatur ab ardore charitatis, quae cum peccato mortali esse non potest. Et ideo primus angelus peccans non est denominatus Seraphim, sed Cherubim." Mr. Butler remarks that these distinctive characters of each of the two great Orders have been more or less maintained by them since. The Franciscans have attended more to good works, the Dominicans to doctrine.

\* St. Francis was born 1182 at Assisi, where his father was a wealthy merchant. The family name was Bernardone. His baptismal name was John, but having learned French in the interest of his father's trade, he became known as *Il Francesco* (the Frenchman). He was brought up in affluence and luxury, and was in early life remarkable for his love of gaiety and ostentatious prodigality; he was distinguished for prowess in arms, but, being taken prisoner in the war between Assisi and Perugia, he passed a year in confinement in the latter city. It was about that time that a severe illness turned his thoughts from earth, and he resolved to obey the precepts of the gospel, and devote himself to poverty, which he styled "his Bride." He exchanged clothes with a beggar and ever afterwards wore the meanest attire. He began to visit hospitals, and used to kiss the sores of lepers, and minister to their wants. In a supposed vision in the Church of San Damiano, he seemed to hear a voice thrice saying to him: "Francis, seest thou not that my house is in ruins; go and restore it for me." In obedience to this call he sold some merchandize of his father's and devoted

fellow says that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the facts of history and the myths of tradition ; but through all we see the outlines of a gentle, beautiful and noble character. " All living creatures were to him brothers and sisters. To him the lark was an emblem of the Cherubim, and the lamb an image of the Lamb of God. He is said to have preached to the birds."

Assisi is first described, lying as it does between the Tupino (a river running from the Apennines past Foligno into the Tiber) and the Chiascio, or Chiassi, the source of which is in a hill, near Gubbio, upon which St. Ubald had his hermitage before he was called to be Bishop of Gubbio. The Chiassi then flows past Assisi and Perugia, and runs out into the Tiber near Rosciano.

Intra Tupino\* e l'acqua che discende  
 Del colle eletto del beato Ubaldo,  
 Fertile costa d'alto monte pende. 45  
 Onde Perugia sente freddo e caldo  
 Da porta Sole, e dietro le piange

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the money to the restoration of the church. He then arrayed himself in a tunic of coarse brown cloth, girt with a hempen cord. His example was followed by two of his fellow-townsmen, Bernardo Quintavalle, and Pietro Cattano. These were in time followed by others, and in 1210, the brotherhood having now increased to eleven in number, the foundation was laid of the great Franciscan Order. In 1219 his convent was moved to Alvernia, in the deepest solitudes of the Apennines. Worn out by his many labours and macerations, St. Francis died in October, 1226, and was buried at Assisi.

\* *Intra Tupino*, et seq. : "Auctor subdit describendo Assisium, quod est in valle Spoliti inter duo flumina, scilicet Topinum et Clusum, qui venit de montibus Eugubii, cujus sanctus Ubaldus est patronus, quia fuit episcopus ejus civitatis." (Talice da Ricaldone.)

Per grave giogo Nocera\* con Gualdo.

Between Tupino, and the water that descends from the hill chosen by the blessed Ubaldo, there hangs the fertile slope of a high mountain (Monte Subasio), from which Perugia feels the cold and heat from Porta Sole, and behind her Nocera and Gualdo bewail their heavy yoke.

Porta Sole is the gate of Perugia looking towards Assisi, and Viterbo. By cold and heat is meant that in summer it receives the rays of the sun reflected back from Monte Subasio, and from this mountain itself Porta Sole in winter receives icy winds. Nocera and Gualdo, in the time of Dante, suffered much from the oppression of Perugia, under whose dominion they were.

Di questa costa† là dov' ella frange  
 Più sua rattezza, nacque al mondo un sole,      50  
 Come fa questo tal volta di Gange.

From this slope at the point where it breaks its steepness most (*i.e.* at Assisi), there rose on the world a sun (St. Francis), as at times does this one (the real Sun, rise) forth from the Ganges.

The Ganges was for Dante the extreme east of the world. (See *Purg.* ii, 5; and xxvii, 4). Dante supposed the sun to rise in the far east with a splendour unknown in Europe.

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\* *Nocera*: "Non intelligas de illa quae est in Apulia." (Talice da Ricaldone). Nocera and Gualdo were small towns in the neighbourhood of Perugia.

† *questa costa*: Assisi is situated on the western side of Monte Subasio, where the mountain slope is more gentle, or, in Dante's words breaks its steepness most. Casini relates that Bernardo da Bessa, a companion of St. Bonaventura, wrote a compendium of the life of St. Francis by Tommaso da Celano, which compendium commences with these words: "Quasi sol oriens in mondo beatus Franciscus vitâ, doctrinâ et miraculis claruit."

Però chi d'esso loco fa parole  
 Non dica *Ascesi*,\* che direbbe corto,  
 Ma Oriente, se proprio dir vuole.

Wherefore whosoever will speak of that place, let him not say 'Ascesi,' which would say too little (*lit.* speak short), but (rather) 'The East, if he would say it aright.

The old way of writing Assisi was 'Ascesi' (which in Italian makes a pun upon the words with the sense of 'I ascended') as being the proper name of the place where St. Francis was born, and bearing also the sense of rising, mounting, etc., from the verb *ascendere*. Dante works this out, by saying that it would be too little to describe St. Francis, whom he has styled "a sun," as having risen at Assisi; the place should rather be spoken of as "the East," because there rose this wonderful sun of Christian Truth.

The piety of which St. Francis gave evidence in early life is next described; so great was it, that the world seeing such virtue displayed in so young a man, began to take heart of hope that virtue, so long abandoned on earth, was about to return. His love of poverty, which he wooed as a lover woos his mistress, brought him into hostility with his father.

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\* *Ascesi* et seq.: On this see Dr. Moore, *Studies in Dante*, pp. 63, 64, § 31: "There is no doubt primarily . . . a play on the words *Ascesi* (as if from *ascendere*) and *Oriente*. The meaning beyond this to be attributed to *Oriente* is, I think, determined by *St. Luke* i, 78, 'visitavit nos *Oriens* ex alto,' i.e. 'the dayspring from on high hath visited us.' This continues the metaphor of l. 50, 'nacque al mondo un sole,' and moreover the expression would be specially familiar to a reader of the Vulgate, as it occurs in two well-known prophecies of *Zechariah* iii, 8, and vi, 12, 'servum meum Orientem,' and 'Oriens nomen ejus'—in both which cases our version has 'the Branch.'"

Non era ancor molto lontan dall' orto, 55  
 Ch' ei cominciò a far sentir la terra  
 Della sua gran virtute alcun conforto ;  
 Chè per tal donna giovinetto in guerra  
 Del padre corse,\* a cui, com' alla morte,  
 La porta del piacer nessun disserra ; 60  
 Ed innanzi alla sua spirital corte,  
*Et coram patre*† le si fece unito ;  
 Poscia di dì in dì l' amò più forte.

He was not yet very far from his rising (*i.e.* birth), when he began to make the earth feel some comfort from his great virtue; for while yet a stripling he incurred the wrath (*lit.* war) of his father for a certain Dame (namely, Poverty), to whom, as unto death, no one unlocks the gate of pleasure (*i.e.* no one willingly courts poverty), and in presence of his spiritual court, and *coram patre* he united himself to her, after which from day to day he loved her more ardently.

St. Francis, before the tribunal of the Bishop of Assisi and in his father's presence, renounced his inheritance and took a vow of poverty, taking as it were, poverty

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\* *in guerra Del padre corse*: Observe the force of *del*. St. Francis did not run into strife *with* his father (*col padre*) but ran into the displeasure *of* his father (*in guerra del padre*). Like a true Christian, he suffered his father's wrath, but he did not make strife.

† *coram patre*: The old Commentators all relate this episode. "Presente lo vescovo, della cui diocesi era, rifiutò al padre ogni ereditate e ogni possessione di temporal ricchezze." (Lana.) "Per queste parole dice che dinanzi al vescovo d'Ascesi, san Francesco rifiutò il retaggio del suo padre e isposò per sua sposa la povertà." (*Falso Boccaccio*). Some have attempted to prove that *coram patre* means "before his spiritual father, *i.e.* the Bishop," but Lombardi justly points out that "leggendosi nella Vita di Francesco che rinunziò ad ogni terreno avere, e dispogliossi in presenza del Vescovo d' Assisi e del proprio genitore, diviene chiaro che per *la sua spirital corte* dee intendersi il Vescovo d' Assisi coll' assistente suo clero; e che per *patre* il carnale, e non lo spirital padre."



for his bride. Her first bridegroom had been Jesus Christ, and from His death until her union with St. Francis, poverty had remained despised and rejected.

Questa, privata del primo marito,  
 Mille cent'anni e più\* dispetta e scura 65  
 Fino a costui si stette† senza invito ;  
 Nè valse udir che la trovò sicura  
 Con Amiclate, ‡ al suon della sua voce,  
 Colui ch' a tutto il mondo fe' paura ;

\* *Mille cent'anni e più*: The actual date when St. Francis renounced the world and embraced poverty was A.D. 1207, that is 1174 years after that poverty had become widowed by the death of her First Spouse Jesus Christ.

† *dispetta e scura . . . stette*: Benvenuto points out that this is a palpable exaggeration: "Sed hic nota, quod autor videtur dicere falsum, quia multi sancti patres et heremitae dilexerunt paupertatem et despexerunt mundum propter Christum, et antiquitus et moderniter, sicut Benedictus, Macarius, Bernardus, Petrus Damianus, de quibus dicitur infra . . . Dicendum breviter, quia nullus tantum et in totum amavit paupertatem tam perfecte, tam generaliter, tam volenter."

‡ *la trovò . . . con Amiclate*: Amyclas was a poor Dalmatian fisherman living on the coast of the Adriatic; who found himself so secure in his poverty, that he habitually slept with open doors while the country was being over-run by the turbulent soldiery of the two armies during the civil war between Caesar and Pompey. He remained perfectly undisturbed on being unexpectedly visited by Caesar himself. Lucan, *Phars.* v, 519 *et seq.*, must have suggested this passage to Dante:

"Haec Caesar bis terque manu quassantia tectum  
 Limina commovit: molli consurgit Amyclas,  
 Quem dabat, alga, thoro. Quisnam me naufragus, inquit,  
 Tecta petit? aut quae nostrae fortuna coegit  
 Auxilium sperare casae? Sic fatus ab alto . . .  
 Securus belli: praedam civilibus armis  
 Scit non esse casas. O vitae tuta facultas  
 Pauperis angustique lares! O munera nondum  
 Intellecta Deum! quibus hoc contingere templis,  
 Aut potuit muris, nullo trepidare tumultu  
 Caesarea pulsante manu?"

Compare *Conv.* iv, 13, ll. 110-121, where the above passage in Lucan is cited almost word for word.

Nè valse esser costante, nè feroce,\*  
 Sì che, dove Maria rimase giuso,  
 Ella con Cristo salse † in sulla croce.

She, widowed of her first husband for eleven hundred years and upwards slighted and unknown, had remained unwooed until his time (*i.e.* of St. Francis); nor aught did it avail her to hear that he (Cæsar) who struck terror into all the world, found her with Amyclas, unmoved at the sound of his voice; nor aught did it avail her to be so constant and undaunted that she mounted on to the cross with Christ, while Mary remained at the foot of it.

Cornoldi observes that Poverty may be said to have

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\* *feroce* is here used in the sense of courageous, and means that Poverty remained undauntedly constant in her love of Christ. The *Gran Dizionario* quotes the word in this passage as meaning "Liberalmente deliberato e fermo." And in Murray's *New English Dictionary*, s. v. *fierce*, I find, § 2: "High-spirited, brave, valiant," and § 5, *b* "*dial.*, *Brisk*, lively, vigorous." In Classical Latin *ferox* is sometimes used in a good sense. See Dictionaries, though not *all* the definitions appear conclusive. In the Midland Counties we sometimes find the word "*fierce*" used to express courage, hardihood. I remember a father saying sorrowfully to me about the death of his infant child: "He was very *fierce* only the day before."

† *salse*: I follow the Oxford text in this reading, and Dr. Moore has kindly given me his notes on the subject. "It is remarkable that all the Commentators whose opinions can be traced, *e.g.* Ott., Buti, Daniello, Vellutello, Landino (Lana is doubtful), adopt *salse*, whereas the MS. authority is *pianse*. This opposition between the MSS. and the Commentators occurs in 7 or 8 other cases in the D.C., and in every instance (with perhaps one exception) the Commentators are undoubtedly correct. *Salse* is 'difficilior lectio.' This bold metaphor too was more likely to be altered into the safe and commonplace *pianse* than vice versa. The phrase *con Cristo pianse* is not at all happy, nor is *Povertà pianse*. *Salse* gives proper antithesis to *rimase giuso*, not so *pianse*. The idea of Poverty mounting the Cross with Christ is a commonplace in early Franciscan literature, *e.g.* *Commercium Paupertatis cum S. Francisco*, and *Fioretti di San Francesco d'Assisi* (p. 43). This Canto has several other expressions evidently copied from, or suggested by these works." See also Dr. Moore's *Studies in Dante*, p. 86.

mounted on to the Cross when Jesus Christ was nailed to it naked.

Thomas Aquinas now, in order not to keep Dante's mind any longer in doubt, drops the allegory, and states that in plain language he means by the one lover, St. Francis, and by the other, Poverty. He points out that the world, edified by the perfect accord and joy evidenced by their union, became inspired by holy thoughts, so that other men of distinction were led to follow the wonderful example of St. Francis, and to devote themselves to a life of poverty.

75

Ma perch' io non proceda troppo chiuso,\*  
 Francesco e Povertà per questi amanti  
 Prendi oramai nel mio parlar diffuso.  
 La lor concordia e i lor lieti sembianti,  
 Amore e meraviglia e dolce sguardo  
 Facean esser cagion di pensier santi ;†  
 Tanto che il venerabile Bernardo ‡

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\* *troppo chiuso*, i.e. troppo oscuro. Compare *Purg.* xii, 85-87:  
 "Io era ben del suo ammonir uso,  
 Pur di non perder tempo, sì che in quella  
 Materia non potea parlarmi chiuso."

† *cagion di pensier santi*: Scartazzini says that, though the construction of these three lines is obscure, yet the sense is quite clear, namely, that the example set by St. Francis was wholesome and edifying, an example moreover that many others were led to follow. Some (including Costa, Giuliani, and Poletto) read *Amore a meraviglia*. Casini quotes the following from Bonaventura, *Vita*, p. 751: "Faciebat namque sancta paupertas . . . ipsos ad omnem obedientiam promptos, robustos ad labores et ad itinera expeditos. Et quia nihil terrenum habebant, nihil amabant, nihilque timebant amittere, securi erant ubique, nullo pavore suspensi, nulla cura distracti, tamquam qui absque mentis turbatione vivebant, et sine sollicitudine diem crastinum et serotinum hospitium exspectabant."

\* *Bernardo Si scalzò prima*: This is Bernard of Quintavalle, surnamed *il venerabile*, who was the first follower of St. Francis.

Si scalzò prima, e dietro a tanta pace 80  
 Corse, e correndo gli parv' esser tardo.  
 O ignota ricchezza,\* o ben ferace! †  
 Scalzasi Egidio, scalzasi Silvestro, ‡  
 Dietro allo sposo ; sì la sposa piace.

He must not be confused with St. Bernard who was abbot of Clairvaux (*Chiaravalle*). The Bernard we are speaking of was a rich citizen of Assisi, of whom the *Ottimo* says: "E 'l primo fu frate Bernardo, pietra di questo edificio, bene ardente del Signore, lo quale li molti beni che ebbe non alli parenti, ma alli poveri diede, ed in santa vita e chiara morte ei di miracoli risplendè." See also Serravalle: "Venerabilis Bernardus, primus sotius Sancti Francisci, qui fuit doctor juris civilis, discalciavit se, idest voluit ire discalciatus, sicut Franciscus. Vel sic distribuit omnia bona, dans illa pauperibus; et sic discalciavit se prius, quia fuit primus sotius Sancti Francisci."

\* *O ignota ricchezza*: Serravalle goes on: "Nota quod dum Romani dilexerunt paupertatem, totum mundum acquisierunt, spernentes divitias, sicut patet de Fabritio et multis aliis. Postquam dilexerunt divitias, mundum perdidierunt, et ceperunt inter se certare, facti sunt vitiosi."

† *ferace*: Others read *verace*. On this Dr. Moore (*Textual Criticism*, pp. 462, 463) writes: "The common reading *ferace* (found by Dr. Moore in 128 MSS.) is no doubt the true one, though a considerable number of MSS. (41) have substituted the better known and more obvious word *verace*. It need scarcely be pointed out how the context both preceding and following is an expansion of the idea of *ferace*. See especially ll. 78-81, 83 *et seq.*, and 94, where the abundant fruits of the example of St. Francis are set forth . . . Out of 30 editions, I have found *ferace* only in *Jesi*, *Mantua*, *Witte*, and *Scartazzini*. There is no trace of *verace* in any of the early Commentators, *ferace* being explained by all the four who notice the passage, viz.: Benvenuto (*idest bonum fertile et multiplex*), Buti, Landino, and Vellutello (the two last paraphrasing by *ciò fertile et abbondante*."

‡ *Egidio . . . Silvestro*: Egidio or Gillio (Giles) was the third follower of St. Francis, the second being one Pietro who is not mentioned by Dante. Egidio was a native of Assisi, and died in 1272, leaving a work called *Verba Aurea*. Tommaso da Celano (Thom. Celanus, *Vita Francisci*, p. 691) speaks of him as "vir simplex et rectus ac timeus Deum, qui longo tempore durans, sanctè, justè, ac piè vivendo, perfectae obedientiae sanctaeque

But that I may not proceed in language too veiled, henceforth take Francis and Poverty for these lovers in my diffuse narrative. Their concord, their glad-some countenances, made their love, their wonder (at each other), and their sweet contemplation to be the cause of holy thoughts (in men); so much so that the venerable Bernard (of Quintavalle) first bared his feet, and ran after such great peace, and, as he ran, it seemed to him that he was slow of foot. O unknown riches, O prolific good! Egidius (next) bares his feet, and Sylvester bares his feet (also), following after the bridegroom (St. Francis); so well does the bride (Poverty) please them.

The progress of the Order is further recounted; its foundation and its provisional approval by Pope Innocent III, as also the perfect indifference with which St. Francis, the son of a rich father, presented himself in poverty before the haughty Pontiff.

Indi sen va quel padre e quel maestro

85

Con la sua donna, e con quella famiglia

Che già legava l'umile capestro ;\*

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contemplationis nobis dedit exemplum." Bonaventura (*Vita*, p. 748) says: "sanctus pater Ægidius, vir utique Deo plenus et celebri memoria dignus." Of *Silvestro* Bonaventura (*ibid.*) says: "honestae conversationis viro." The *Ottimo* relates that, while he was still a secular priest, he saw in a dream a golden cross issue from the mouth of St. Francis; the summit of which touched the skies, and its arms girded the world on either side. The deep impression on him caused by this vision made him renounce the world forthwith, and become a perfect follower of St. Francis. A story is also told of his contrition at having insisted on payment for some stone he had sold to St. Francis for the repairs of the Church of San Damiano, and the remorse he felt for his greed of gold, when St. Francis instantly paid him.

\* *capestro*: In *Inferno*, xxvii, 91-93, Guido da Montefeltro, while bitterly reviling Boniface VIII for having led him into giving fraudulent counsel, further reproaches him for not respecting the cord that Guido wore as the emblem of the Franciscan Order:



Nè gli gravò \* viltà di cor le ciglia,  
 Per esser fi' † di Pietro Bernardone,  
 Nè per parer dispetto a meraviglia. 90  
 Ma regalmente ‡ sua dura intenzione  
 Ad Innocenzio aperse, e da lui ebbe  
 Primo sigillo § a sua religione.

“Nè sommo officio, nè ordini sacri  
 Guardò in sè, nè in me quel capestro  
 Che solea far li suoi cinti più macri.”

See also *Par.* xii, 130-132.

\* *gravò*: Benvenuto says: “Non inclinavit frontem ejus ad terram prae verecundia, *per esser figlio di Pier Bernardone* idest quamvis esset filius ditissimi hominis.” Talice da Ricaldone; “licet esset filius Petri Bernardoni, magni civis et divitis, non ex hoc erubuit sequi vestigia paupertatis.” The *Anonimo Fiorentino*, Scartazzini, and Casini also take this interpretation; but many Commentators understand that St. Francis went before the Pope unabashed at his father being a man of low birth.

† *fi'*: a common form of *figlio* among the early writers.

‡ *regalmente*: “Con animo regio ed invito.” (Landino). “Sed realiter, idest sicut unus rex aut filius regis, suam duram, idest firmam, intentionem Innocentio . . . qui tunc erat Papa, aperuit . . . et ab eo habuit primum sigillum, idest confirmationem, suae religionis. Per sigillum aliqui intelligunt privilegium, et volunt dicere quod papa Innocentius, sub cujus pontificatu Sanctus Franciscus cepit Ordinem suum, dedit ipsi Sancto Francisco privilegium, quo Ordo Sancti Francisci habuit firmitatem. Sed postea Honorius tertius confirmavit Regulam isti Beato Francisco; qui Honorius tertius successit Innocentio *quarto* (sic). Demum Gregorius canonizavit Sanctum Franciscum juxta illam antiphonam: ‘Cepit sub Innocentio, cursumque sub Honorio perfecit gloriosum, succedit hiis Gregorius, magnificavit amplius miraculis famosum.’” (The above is by Serravalle, himself a Franciscan friar, who however, throughout the paragraph, wrongly styles Innocent as the Fourth instead of the Third). Compare *Purg.* xxx, 70:

“Regalmente nell’atto ancor proterva,” etc.

§ *Primo sigillo*: Cesari (*Bellezze*, vol. iii, p. 209) points out that the Order of St. Francis was stamped with three seals: “Vedremo a questa religione por tre sigilli: due da due Papi, e ’l terzo da Cristo con le *stimate*.” See below, ll. 106-108, where the *stigmata* are called *l’ultimo sigillo*.

Thenceforth went his way that Father and that Master with his bride (*i.e.* St. Francis with Poverty), and with that family who were now girding on the humble cord ; nor did any cowardice of heart weigh down his brow, from being the son of Pietro Bernardone, nor from seeming marvellously scorned (in his lowly garb). But with the dignity of a king he unfolded to Innocent his stern resolve, and from him received the first seal (*i.e.* official recognition) for his Order.

The increase in the numbers of the Franciscans is next told, and the solemn and definite confirmation of their Order by Pope Honorius III in 1223.

Poi che la gente poverella crebbe\*

Dietro a costui, la cui mirabil vita

95

Meglio in gloria del ciel si canterebbe,†

Di seconda corona redimita‡

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\* *crebbe*: The *Ottimo* says that St. Francis, after that the Order had been so greatly augmented, submitted to Pope Honorius that there were some Friars who were unable to endure the extreme rigour of the rule (*non poteano sì aspra vita mantenere*), whereupon the Pope authorized him to relax it when necessary. Others say (adds the *Ottimo*), that he conceded to them the authorization to administer the Sacraments of the Church, as well as the faculty of becoming prelates, when so appointed.

† *Meglio in gloria del ciel si canterebbe*: Brunone Bianchi explains this to mean that the admirable life of St. Francis would be more worthy to be chanted by Angels and Saints in the glory of the Heavens, rather than by the Friars on earth. Therefore *in gloria del ciel* must not be translated "to the glory of Heaven," though Benvenuto does so understand it (*ad gloriam gratiæ divinæ*). See Moore's *Studies in Dante*, p. 86, as to the statement that Da Carbonara makes on the authority of Prudenano.

‡ *seconda corona*: Pope Honorius, in 1223, confirmed the permission to found the Order of Franciscans or Minor Friars, which Pope Innocent III had provisionally granted in 1214. The consent of Honorius is said to have been obtained through the mediation of Cardinal Ugolino, afterwards Pope Gregory IX.

Fu per Onorio dell' eterno spiro  
La santa voglia d' esto archimandrita :\*

After that these poor folk (*i.e.* the Minorite friars devoted to poverty) multiplied, following him whose admirable life were best to be chanted in the glory of the Heavens, the holy purpose of this Archimandrite (*i.e.* Abbot of many monasteries) was by the Eternal Spirit through Honorius crowned with a second diadem.

Thomas Aquinas then relates the unsuccessful mission of St. Francis to the Saracens in 1219, his return to Italy, and his settlement in the Monastery of Alvernia. Tradition says that in company with twelve of his brethren he went to the East at the time of the Fifth Crusade. At Ptolemais he was taken prisoner by the Saracens, or according to others at St. Jean d'Acre. He boldly preached Christ and his Apostles before the Soldan, who, while wholly unconverted by his arguments, was much impressed by the miracles which St. Francis was said to have performed. Owing to these he was honourably entertained, and set at liberty, though Tommaso da Celano relates that his courteous treatment by the Soldan had been preceded by much cruelty on the part of the Saracen soldiery. It was after this that St. Francis retired to Alvernia, and there, according to tradition, while absorbed in prayer, he was said to have received in his hands and feet the *stigmata* of Christ. This was the third and final seal of the Order of the Franciscans.

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\* *archimandrita*: Lubin says that this was a title in the Greek Church for one who had the supervision of many convents, and corresponds to the title of "Provincial" in the Western Church. Compare *De Mon.* iii, 9, ll. 123-125: "Juvat quippe talia de Archimandrita nostro in laudem suae puritatis continuasse." And *Epist.* viii, § 6: "nomine solo archimandritis."

E poi che,\* per la sete del martiro, 100  
 Nella presenza del Soldan superba  
 Predicò Cristo e gli altri che il seguiro ;  
 E per trovare a conversione acerba  
 Troppo la gente, per non stare indarno,  
 Reddissi al frutto dell'italica erba ; 105  
 Nel crudo sasso intra Tevero ed Arno  
 Da Cristo prese l'ultimo sigillo,†  
 Che le sue membra due anni portarno.

And after that, through thirst of martyrdom, in the  
 haughty presence of the Soldan, he had preached

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\* *E poi che*, et seq.: The mission of St. Francis to the East is thus related by Tommaso da Celano (*op. cit.* lib. i, cap. 4, § 23) where, after saying that in 1212 St. Francis called together all his followers, he adds: "Et plura eis de regno Dei, de contemptu mundi, de abnegatione propriae voluntatis et proprii corporis subjectione pronuncians, binos illos in partes quatuor segregavit, et ait ad eos: 'Ite cautissimi, bini et bini per diversas partes orbis, annunciantes pacem hominibus, et poenitentiam in remissionem peccatorum. Et estote patientes in tribulatione, securi, quia propositum suum et promissum Deus adimplebit. Interrogantibus humiliter respondete, persecuentibus benedicite, vobis injurientibus et calumniam referentibus gratias agite: et pro his regnum vobis paratur aeternum.'" Further on Tommaso da Celano relates that St. Francis, after having been ill-treated by the Saracen soldiery, "Soldano honorifice plurimum est susceptus."

† *l'ultimo sigillo*: Scartazzini says that the legend of the holy *Stigmata* is related in practically the same language by the earliest biographers of St. Francis, namely, Tommaso da Celano, the *Tres Socii*, and Bonaventura, who state that, in the year 1224, St. Francis was on Mount Alvernia for the purpose of fasting for forty days. He besought Our Lord that He would vouchsafe to him the grace of being enabled to have as much corporeal sensation as possible of the sufferings of His Passion. This prayer was heard. Christ appeared to him in the form of a Seraphim, and immediately St. Francis found upon his own hands and feet the print of the nails, and in his right side the wound of the spear. Although these wounds caused St. Francis excruciating suffering, his heart was filled with exuberant gladness. Lana says that he carried these wounds for two years, and his brethren only discovered them after his death.

Christ and the others that followed Him (*i.e.* the apostles and martyrs); and, because he found the (Saracen) people too unripe for conversion, (and) in order that he might not remain there to no purpose, he returned to the harvest of the Italian crop;\* on the rocky ridge between Tiber and Arno (*i.e.* on the heights of Alvernia in the Casentino), did he receive from Christ the final seal, which his members bore during two years.

The edifying death of St. Francis concludes the account of a beautiful life in which self was wholly yielded to God; poverty was cherished as an inestimable treasure; and riches despised as mere dross.

Quando a colui ch'a tanto ben sortillo,†  
 Piacque di trarlo suso alla mercede, 110  
 Ch'ei meritò nel farsi pusillo,‡  
 Ai frati suoi, sì com' a giuste erede,§  
 Raccomandò || la sua donna più cara,  
 E comandò che l'amassero a fede;

\* St. Francis returned to preach in Italy, so as to make the seed that he had sown there bear fruit.

† *sortillo*: Compare Petrarch, *Trionfo della Fama*, i, l. 61:  
 "Perch' a sì alto grado il ciel sortillo."

‡ *pusillo* must by no means be taken as the same as *pusillanimo* (cowardly). It means "poor, humble, of low estate;" also "petty-minded;" and the *Gran Dizionario* quotes several passages from the works of the celebrated Jesuit preacher of the 17th century, Padre Segneri, where it is used in that sense.

§ *giuste erede*: *Erede* is the plural of *ereda*, which word we find Dante using in *Inf.* xxxi, 116:

"Che fece Scipion di gloria ereda."

Compare also *Purg.* vii, 118. Compare Giov. Villani, lib. iv, cap. 20, where it says of the Countess of Canossa: "E alla perfine, morto il padre e la madre della Contessa Matelda, ella rimasa ereda si diliberò di maritare." See also Nannucci, *Teorica de' nomi*, p. 217 et seq.

|| *Raccomandò*: On this Bonaventura (p. 781) relates: "Horâ denique sui transitus propinquante, fecit fratres omnes existentes in loco ad se vocari, et eos consolatoriis verbis pro sua morte demulcens, paterno affectu ad divinum est hortatus amorem. De



E del suo grembo \* l'anima preclara 115  
 Mover si volle, tornando al suo regno,  
 Ed al suo corpo non volle altra bara.†

When it pleased Him Who chose him for so much good, to draw him up on high to the recompense which he had merited in making himself of low estate, to his brotherhood as to his lawful heirs, he commended his most dear lady (Poverty), and commanded them to love her faithfully; and from her bosom his illustrious soul willed to depart, returning to its realm, nor for his body would he have any other bier.

Dionisi interprets this: "The Seraphic St. Francis died in the bosom of poverty, which was his most dearly beloved lady. From thence his soul flew up to Heaven, and the corpse remained in the bosom of the said poverty; that was his bier, nor would he have any other."

*Division IV.* St. Thomas Aquinas, after having thus briefly sketched out the principal incidents in the life of St. Francis, now returns to the solution of Dante's first doubt, which was as to St. Thomas's meaning when he said (x, 94-96) that the lambs of

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patientia et paupertate et sanctae romanae ecclesiae fide servandis sermonem protraxit, ceteris institutis sanctum Evangelium anteponens."

\* *suo grembo*: i.e. "In grembo della povertà."

† *non volle altra bara*: I follow, as is seen above, this interpretation of Dionisi (*La Div. Com. di D. Al. di G. J. de' Dionisi*, Parma, 1795, 3 vols. folio). But some think this alludes to the circumstances of St. Francis's death, when he caused himself to be stripped naked, and laid on the bare earth, and sprinkled with ashes, as a token that, even when dying, he was faithful to Poverty, to whom he had devoted his life. Anyhow the two interpretations come to the same in the end.

the Dominican flock fattened wonderfully if they did not go astray. He tells Dante that when he considers the greatness and holiness of St. Francis, he may also imagine what was the greatness and holiness of St. Dominic, to whose Order St. Thomas himself belonged. St. Dominic, as a colleague of St. Francis, had been predestined by God to steer the bark of the Church. But the Dominicans now seek for honours and prelacies instead of keeping faithfully their original vow.

Pensa\* oramai qual fu colui che degno  
 Collega fu a mantener la barca †  
 Di Pietro in alto mar per dritto segno! 120  
 E questi fu il nostro patriarca; ‡  
 Per che qual segue lui com' ei comanda,  
 Discerner puoi che buone merce carca.  
 Ma il suo peculio § di nuova vivanda

\* *Pensa* et seq.: Casini explains this well: "Se tale fu san Francesco, imagina qual fosse san Domenico, che gli fu dato come collega a salvare la Chiesa in mezzo ai pericoli delle eresie, indirizzandola alla pratica della pura fede."

† *mantener la barca*: Compare *Convito* iv, 4, ll. 50-60: "Siccome vedemo in una nave, che diversi uffici e diversi fini di quella a uno solo fine sono ordinati, cioè a prendere lo desiderato porto per salutevole via: dove, siccome ciascuno ufficiale ordina la propria operazione nel proprio fine, così è uno che tutti questi fini considera, e ordina quelli nell' ultimo di tutti: e questi è il nocchiere, alla cui vece tutti ubbidire deono. E questo vedemo nelle religioni (*i.e.* in the religious Orders) e negli eserciti." In *Epist.* vi, 1, ll. 13, 14, Dante speaks of the Church as *navicula Petri*.

‡ *il nostro patriarca*: St. Thomas Aquinas, being himself a Dominican, naturally calls St. Dominic "our" patriarch, as having been the founder of the Order.

§ *il suo peculio*: The Dominican Order,—*peculio* is from the Latin *peculium*. Compare *Purg.* xxvii, 82, 83:

"E quale il mandrian che fuori alberga,  
 Lungo il peculio suo queto pernotta."

È fatto ghiotto sì ch' esser non puote  
 Che per diversi salti\* non si spanda;  
 E quanto † le sue pecore remote  
 E vagabonde più da esso vanno,  
 Più tornano all' ovil di latte ‡ vote.

125

Reflect now what man was he (St. Dominic) who was the worthy colleague (of St. Francis), to keep the bark of Peter (*i.e.* the Church) on the deep sea upon the right course! And this man was our Patriarch; hence, whosoever follows him in the way that he commands (*i.e.* according to the rule of the Dominican Order), thou mayest see with what good merchandise he loads his ship. But his flock has become so greedy after new pasturage (*i.e.* honours and dignities), that it is not possible but that they be scattered about in wooded mountain glades widely different; and the more his sheep wander afar and astray from him, so much the more empty of milk do they return to the fold.

St. Thomas sadly remarks that, though the Order is not wholly destitute of worthy brethren, yet their number is small.

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\* *salti* is derived from the Latin *saltus*, which amongst other significations has that of woodland, or mountain, pastures. *Salto* in modern Italian means "a forest" only. "Est enim saltus locus herbosus et montuosus, sicut saepe patet apud antiquos autores." (Benvenuto). Cornoldi understands this *terzina*: "Ma ora il suo gregge (*peculio*) d'altro cibo è ghiotto, e però deve sbandarsi fuori dall' ovile o dal chiostro in luoghi pericolosi." Compare *Ezek.* xxxiv, 6: "My sheep wandered through all the mountains, and upon every high hill."

† *quanto*, et seq.: "Quanto più i dominicani s'allontanano ed errano fuori della regola del fondatore, ritornano all'ordine tanto più manchevoli di quella dottrina teologica, che lor bisogna a confermare nei cristiani la fede intepidita." (Casini). "Quanto più si dilungano dalla regola dell'ordine, più sono vôte del nutrimento della regola." (*Ottimo*).

‡ *latte*: Compare I *Pet.* ii, 2: "As newborn babes, desire the sincere milk of the word, that ye may grow thereby." And I *Cor.* iii, 2: "I have fed you with milk, and not with meat."

Ben son di quelle\* che temono il danno, 130  
 E stringonsi al pastor; ma son sì poche,  
 Che le cappe fornisce poco panno.

Some (sheep, *i.e.* Dominicans) indeed there are who fear harm and keep close up to the shepherd; but they are so few, that (but) little cloth will furnish them with cowls.

St. Thomas Aquinas concludes the Canto by telling Dante that if he has carefully followed his speech, and grasped its full signification, he will easily see what has been the object of St. Thomas's figure of words, namely, that St. Dominic guides his Order by a path in which it can derive the greatest profit from the practice of Virtue, or following the figure, get fat; provided always that it doth not give itself up to vanity, and become a slave to ambition and greed, in which latter case it will only get puffed up, a very different thing from being fattened.

Or se le mie parole non son fiocche,†  
 Se la tua audienza è stata attenta,  
 Se ciò ch'ho detto alla mente rivoche, 135  
 In parte fia la tua voglia contenta,  
 Perchè vedrai la pianta onde si scheggia,‡  
 E vedrai il coreggier§ che argomenta,  
 'U' ben s'impingua, se non si vaneggia.'—

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\* *quelle* in the feminine agrees with *pecore* understood.

† *fiocche*: the *primary* meaning of *fioco* is, one who has an impediment to the voice caused by damp, or catarrh that has attacked the uvula, and the adjective is as much used in speaking of the voice, as of the words uttered by that voice. Hence it may mean either "hoarse, feeble, or indistinct." Dr. Moore writes to me that he doubts whether there is a single passage in Dante where *fioco* means "hoarse."

‡ *si scheggia*: The tree at which St. Thomas had been hewing was, metaphor apart, his own Order of Dominicans. Compare *Is. li, 1*: "Hearken to me, ye that follow after righteousness, ye that seek the Lord: look unto the rock whence ye are hewn."

§ *coreggier*: This means a Dominican friar, from the thong

Now if my words be not indistinct, if thy hearing has been attentive, if thou recall (also) to thy memory that which I have spoken, thy desire will in part be satisfied (*i.e.* thou wilt have had the answer to the first of thy doubts) because thou wilt discern the tree from which they have been split off (*i.e.* thou wilt understand at what object my words of reproof have been uttered), and thou wilt see how the wearer of the thong reasons (*i.e.* what the Dominican friar means when he says, as I did above) 'where they will thrive well if they go not astray.'"

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of leather (*coreggia*) which the Order had adopted as a girle. The Franciscans from the *corda* were called *cordiglieri* (cordeliers): See *Inf.* xxvii, 67, 68, where Guido da Montefeltro tells Dante that he quitted the profession of arms to don the cord in a Franciscan cloister:

"Io fui uom d'arme, e poi fui cordelliero,  
Credendomi, sì cinto, fare ammenda."

Another reading is *corregger*. It may be noted that "*corrigia*" in the Vulgate is equivalent to "shoe's latchet" in *Gen.* xiv, 23, and *Is.* v, 27.

END OF CANTO XI.



## CANTO XII.

THE FOURTH HEAVEN, THE SPHERE OF THE SUN  
(*continued*).—THE SECOND GARLAND OF GLORIFIED SOULS.—BONAVENTURA, A FRANCISCAN, CELEBRATES THE PRAISES OF ST. DOMINIC, AND CENSURES THE DEGENERACY OF THE FRANCISCANS. — BONAVENTURA NAMES TWELVE SPIRITS, INCLUDING HIMSELF.

WE are to suppose that Dante and Beatrice have remained in the centre of the garland of spirits described in the last Canto, and in this position they are to behold still greater wonders.

Benvenuto divides this Canto into four parts.

*In the First Division*, from v. 1 to v. 21, a second garland of blessed spirits appears, enclosing the first one.

*In the Second Division*, from v. 22 to v. 105, St. Bonaventura relates the life of St. Dominic.

*In the Third Division*, from v. 106 to v. 126, he censures and laments the degeneracy of his Franciscan brethren.

*In the Fourth Division*, from v. 127 to v. 145, St. Bonaventura names in order the glorious spirits forming the second and outer garland, of whom he is one

*Division I.* The text sufficiently describes the whole action of the scene.

Sì tosto come l'ultima parola\*  
 La benedetta fiamma per dir tolse,†  
 A rotar cominciò la santa mola ;‡  
 E nel suo giro tutta non si volse  
 Prima ch'un'altra di cerchio la chiuse, 5  
 E moto a moto, e canto a canto colse ;§  
 Canto, che tanto vince nostre Muse,  
 Nostre Sirene,|| in quelle dolci tube,  
 Quanto primo splendor¶ quel ch'ei refuse.\*\*

\* *l'ultima parola*: This refers to *vaneggia*, the last word of the previous canto.

† *per dir tolse*: This is equivalent to *prese a dire*. Scartazini says that the use of the particle *per* instead of *a* is not without authority nor example.

‡ *santa mola*: The Commentators mostly agree that the comparison of the movement of the garland of spirits to that of a mill-stone is by no means to be taken as indicative of their speed, but of their horizontal gyration. The *Gran Dizionario*, referring to this passage, says of *mola*, § 5: "l'usò Dante a significare, Una schiera d'anime beate, che, facendo cerchio al poeta gli si giravano intorno." Compare *Par.* xxi, 80, 81:

" . . . del suo mezzo fece il lume centro,  
 Girando sè come veloce mola."

compare also *Convito*, iii, 5 *passim*, where Dante likens the diurnal movement (according to the Ptolemaic system) of the sun to that of a mill-stone.

§ The *Gran Dizionario*, s.v. *cogliere* § 9, says of *colse* in this particular passage: "Per far corrispondere," which I have translated: "adjusted."

|| *nostre Muse, Nostre Sirene*: These, says Casini, "sono secondo i più degli interpreti i poeti e le cantatrici (as for instance Virgil is called *nostra maggior Musa* in *Par.* xv, 26), cioè quelli che più dolcemente usano dell'umana favella; secondo altri, sarebbero proprio le Muse e le Sirene della mitologia."

¶ *Quanto primo splendor*: Dante has a decided liking for this simile. See *Purg.* xv, 16; *Par.* i, 49-51; *Par.* xxxiii, 127, et seq.

\*\* *refuse*: Dante uses *rifondere* for *riflettere* in *Par.* ii, 88-90:

'Ed indi l'altrui raggio si rifonde  
 Così, come color torna per vetro,  
 Lo qual diretto a sè piombo nasconde."

So soon as the blessed flame (*i.e.* St. Thomas Aquinas) had commenced uttering the final word of his speech, the holy mill-stone (*i.e.* circle of spirits) began to revolve; and in its gyration had not made one complete circuit, before another (garland of spirits) enclosed it in a circle, and adjusted motion to motion, and song to song; a song that as much surpasses (that of) our Muses, our Sirens, in those melodious pipes (*i.e.* voices), as the primal splendour (the Sun) that (ray) which it reflected.

Tommaséo desires our special attention to the evident difference of the praises of the two men and their two Orders. First, round Dante and Beatrice is formed the circle of the Dominicans, and round *it* the garland of the Franciscans like a double rainbow; and as in the motions of the heavens the farthest off is the most rapid, as well as the most divine, so here the Franciscans, to make the gyrations harmonize with those of the Dominicans, must perforce make them more rapid. Dante compares the two choirs of spirits to the concentric circles of a double rainbow, and their chanting to the voice of the echo, because the voices of the encircling choir repeated the voices of the encircled one.

Come si volgon per tenera nube \*

10

Due archi † paralleli e concolori,

\* *tenera nube*: "Questo *tenera*, val *molle*, come *spugna*; et è in uso anche a' Latini." (*Cesari*). "Si nubes est tenera, idest non grossa." (*Post. Cass.*). Compare *Lucretius* ii, 144, 145:

"Et variae volucres, nemora avia pervolitantes  
Aëra per tenerum, liquidis loca vocibus opplent."

and *Ibid.* i, 207, 208:

"Semine quando opus est rebus, quo quaeque creatae  
Aëris in teneras possent proferrier auras."

† *Due archi*, etc.: "Nella 31 del xxv *Purg.* il Poeta accennò in generale alla natura dei fenomeni lucidi degli aloni (*Halos*) e

Quando Junone a sua ancella \* iube,  
 Nascendo di quel d'entro quel di fuori,†  
 A guisa del parlar di quella vaga,‡  
 Ch'amor consunse § come sol vapori;

15

dell'iride; qui specialmente a quest'ultima descrivendola quando ci si presenta più bella in arco duplice e ben determinato." (Antonelli *ap.* Tommaséo.)

\* *sua ancella*, i.e. Iris, the daughter of Thaumas, the messenger of the Gods in general, though more especially so of Juno. Compare *Purg.* xxi, 49-51:

"Nuvole spesse non paion, nè rade,  
 Nè corruscar, nè figlia di Taumante,  
 Che di là cangia sovente contrade."

Compare also Ovid, *Metam.* i, 270, 271:

"Nuntia Junonis, varios induta colores,  
 Concipit Iris aquas, alimentaue nubibus affert."

† *Nascendo di quel d'entro quel di fuori*: "Avendo posto mente il nostro attento osservatore, che l'arco esteriore è meno vivace dell'interiore, e inversamente colorato, ha supposto che quel di fuori nascesse per riflessione da quel di dentro, prendendo similitudine dall'esempio dell'eco; . . . ma veramente e l'uno e l'altro arco si origina dal sole nelle stesse circostanze generali di *tenerrezza* di nube, cioè di nuvolo disteso risolvendosi in pioggia; senonchè nei raggi dell'estremo segue una doppia riflessione." (Antonelli *ap.* Tommaséo.)

‡ *A guisa del parlar di quella vaga*: i.e. In the same way that the sound of the echo is produced by the reflection of the voice. Echo was the daughter of Aër and Tellus. She awoke the wrath of Juno by becoming the confidant of Jupiter's amours, and was by that goddess deprived of the power of speech, except that of repeating the last syllables of words spoken by other people. Pan was one of Echo's admirers. After being punished by Juno, she fell in love with Narcissus; but being despised by him, she pined away with grief, and was transformed into a stone, which repeated people's words. Casini observes that Dante makes use here of a second simile included in the principal one, and, as if that were not enough, adds a third to elucidate the vanishing of Echo; and this is not, he thinks, a superfluity, as Tommaséo contends, but a wealth of phantasy, by means of which Dante obtains in the very brevity of his diction the most marvellous effects of art, in turning the reader's attention to the most varied phenomena.

§ *consunse*: This word is said by Venturi (*Simil.* 35) to epi-

E fanno qui la gente esser presaga,\*  
 Per lo patto che Dio con Noè pose,  
 Del † mondo che giammai più non si allaga :  
 Così di quelle sempiterne rose  
 Volgeansi circa noi le due ghirlande, 20  
 E sì l'estrema all'ultima rispose.‡

As within a tender (*i.e.* moist and transparent) cloud two bows parallel and of like hues make their curve, when Juno gives the order (to descend) to her handmaid (Iris), the exterior (bow) taking its birth from the inner, like the speech of that wanderer (*i.e.* the Nymph Echo), whom love consumed as the sun (consumes) the vapours; and they (the two rain-bows) make men on earth to be prescient, by reason of the covenant that God established with Noah, respecting the world, that nevermore shall it be submerged by a flood: in like manner were the two garlands of those sempiternal roses revolving round us, and in like manner did the outermost one correspond to the innermost.

The subjoined diagram will greatly facilitate the reader's comprehension of the double garland of spirits that forms the subject of this Canto, and will

tomize admirably the long account of Ovid (*Metam.* iii, 339-510), and especially illustrates Ovid's word *attenuant* in ll. 396, 397:

"Attenuant vigiles corpus miserabile curae:  
 Adducitque cutem macies."

\* *fanno . . . la gente . . . presaga*: Men have a foresight on seeing the rainbow, that the bow that God has set in the heavens is a sure token that "the waters shall no more become a flood to destroy all flesh." (*Gen.* ix, 15.)

† *Del* stands here for the Latin *de*, and is equivalent (says Scartazzini) to *quanto al mondo, circa al mondo, i.e.* "with respect to the world, as regards the world."

‡ *rispose* (says Tommaséo) is equivalent to *corrispose*, in the Latin sense of proportion. "Dice, che le due ghirlande di quelle anime beate si volgeano intorno di Beatrice e di Dante; e così rispose quella streama, cioè di fuori, a quell'ultima, cioè di dentro." (*Ottimo*.)



at the same time illustrate Dante's description of the inner garland, first mentioned in *Par. x*, 64 *et seq.*



St. Thomas Aquinas had commenced the enumeration of his companions from his right. Poletto thinks it most probable that St. Bonaventura did the same. Only we must remember that St. Bonaventura was behind Dante, who, on hearing his voice (ll. 29, 30) executed a *volte-face* (*mi fece . . . volgermi al suo dove*), and therefore No. 1 in the outer circle is not in the same direction as No. 1 in the inner circle, and so with the other numbers respectively.

*Division II.* Dante describes how the dance and the song suddenly cease, and how one of the spirits, who, we learn, is St. Bonaventura, a Franciscan, from the outer garland commences to praise St. Dominic;

Dante, on hearing the voice, turns to it as quickly as does the magnetised needle to the polar star. Before Bonaventura recounts the life of St. Dominic, he explains that the motive which induces him to do so is celestial love.

Poichè il tripudio e l'alta festa grande,  
 Sì del cantare e sì del fiammeggiarsi,\*  
 Luce con luce gaudiose e blande,†  
 Insieme a punto‡ ed a voler quietârsi, 25  
 Pur come gli occhi ch'al piacer che i move  
 Conviene insieme chiudere e levarsi,  
 Del cor dell'una delle luci nuove  
 Si mosse voce, che l'ago§ alla stella

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\* *fiammeggiarsi*: This, thinks Scartazzini, means that each spirit was rivalling in brilliancy with its companions in token of Holy Love. Compare *Par.* xv, 73-75:

“L'affetto e il senno,  
 Come la prima Equalità v'apparse,  
 D'un peso per ciascun di voi si fenno.”

† *gaudiose e blande*: Cesari, full of admiration of this passage, exclaims: “Queste espressive e vibrante e dolci parole, di *tripudio, festa, fiammeggiarsi, gaudiose e blande*, comprendono ed imprimono ne' lettori un sentimento di dolce allegrezza con qualche scotimento; perchè al tutto si pare quella danza non iscapestrata (*disorderly*), ma modesta, e tuttavia giubilante.”

‡ *a punto*: “Come gli occhi al cenno della volontà si aprono e si chiudono, così in un punto solo ristettero quelle luci.” (Cornoldi). “Nella stessa guisa che gli occhi si chiudono o si levano a guardare con atto simultaneo, secondo che li muove il desiderio.” (Casini). Compare *Par.* xx, 146-148:

“io vidi le due luci benedette,  
 Pur come batter d'occhi si concorda,  
 Con le parole mover le fiammette.”

§ *ago*: Scartazzini says that Dante, in the most graceful manner, likens his own eagerness, to turn quickly round towards this new brilliant spirit, to the recent discovery of a great Italian genius. It is to Flavio Gioja, a pilot on the Amalfitan coast, to whom we owe the compass in its practical serviceable form, although the use of the magnetic needle has been attributed to ages far more remote, and even the Etruscans have been credited

Parer mi fece in volgermi al suo dove ;\* 30  
 E cominciò :—“ L' amor che mi fa bella †  
 Mi tragge a ragionar dell' altro duca,  
 Per cui del mio sì ben ci si favella.  
 Degno è che dove l' un, l' altro s' induca,  
 Sì che com' elli ad una militaro, 35  
 Così la gloria loro insieme luca.

After that the dance and the great and exalted festivity, both of the singing and the flaming forth, light with light blithe and tender, together at the same instant, and with one single will had come to rest, even as the eyes which at the volition that moves them must perforce shut and raise themselves together, (then) from the heart of one of the new lights (*i.e.* from one of the spirits in the garland that had last come into view) there came a voice which made me, in my turning to its whereabouts, resemble the (magnetized) needle (darting round) to the (polar) star; and it began: “The Love that makes me beautiful prompts me to discourse about the other leader (St. Dominic), by whom (*i.e.* through his follower Aquinas) such good is spoken to us of mine. It is right that where one is, the other should be

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with the discovery of Britain by the help of a needle that always pointed to the north. Anyhow the use of the compass was known to several Italian writers that lived before Dante, such as Guido Guinicelli, Matteo di Rieco da Messina, and Pier delle Vigne.

\* *dove*: Compare *Par.* iii, 88, 89:

“Chiaro mi fu allor com' ogni dove  
 In cielo è Paradiso.”

I have translated *al suo dove* “to its whereabouts.” Compare Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, act ii, scene 1:

“Thou sure and firm-set earth,  
 Hear not my steps, which way they walk, for fear  
 Thy very stones prate of my whereabouts.”

† *mi fa bella*: In *Purg.* ii, 75, we read that the newly arrived spirits in Purgatory are so astounded on ascertaining, by seeing him breathe, that Dante is a living man, that they flock around him, and quite forget that they must hasten to their purgation:

“Quasi obbliando d' ire a farsi belle.”

introduced, so that as together they waged their warfare, so together their glory should shine forth.

The meaning of the last six verses is that, as by the mouth of St. Thomas Aquinas it is Dominic himself who has spoken in such high praise of St. Bonaventura's leader, St. Francis; so it is meet that St. Francis shall in his turn speak in praise of his fellow-soldier St. Dominic, by the mouth of a Franciscan, St. Bonaventura.

Before narrating the life of St. Dominic, St. Bonaventura premises, by remarking incidentally, that God of His Infinite Grace provided the Church, while it was yet but weak and vacillating, with two great leaders, namely Francis and Dominic.

L' esercito di CRISTO,\* che sì caro  
 Costò a riarmar,† dietro all' insegna  
 Si movea tardo, suspicioso e raro ;‡  
 Quando lo Imperador che sempre regna,§

40

\* *L' esercito di Cristo* : The Church—The Christian people.

† *riarmar* : This carries on the metaphor of the *esercito*. Giuliani reads *riamar*, which he compares with *Par.* xxxiii, 7. Compare *Convito* iv, 5, ll. 16-23: "Volendo la smisurabile Bontà divina l' umana creatura a sè riconformare, che per lo peccato della prevaricazione del primo uomo da Dio era partita e deformata, eletto fu in quell' altissimo e congiuntissimo Consistoro divino della Trinità, che 'l Figliuolo di Dio in terra discendesse a fare questa concordia."

‡ *tardo, suspicioso e raro* : "Dice che l' oste di Cristo, cioè li Cristiani si moveano tardi, sospettosi e radi dietro alla insegna. Nota tre difetti, tarditade cioè, lentezza, e pigrezza in operare ; *sospettoso*, nota vacillitade ed inconstanza circa la fede ; *rado*, cioè poca gente andava in quell' oste, la quale oste costò così cara a riarmarla. Oh quanto sangue innocente e giusto si spese per riarmarla! tutti i santi libri ne sono pieni." (*Ottimo*).

§ *lo Imperador che sempre regna* : Compare *Inf.* i, 124 :

" . . . quello Imperador che lassù regna." and *Par.* xxv, 41: "lo nostro Imperadore." And *Convito* iii, 12,

Provide alla milizia ch'era in forse,\*  
 Per sola grazia, non per esser degna ;  
 E com'è detto, a sua sposa soccorse  
 Con due campioni, al cui fare, al cui dire  
 Lo popol disviato si raccorse.

45

The army of Christ, which it cost so dear to re-equip, was marching after its banner (the Cross) slowly, full of doubt, and with thin ranks, when the Emperor (God), Who reigns for ever, made provision for His soldiers that were in jeopardy (from doubts as to Divine Succour), of His Grace alone, not through its deserving ; and, as has been said (see xi, 35) He sent to the succour of His Bride two champions, at whose deeds, at whose words, the people rallied who had gone astray.

God created Man armed with the panoply wherewith to resist the arts of the adversary. By sin Man found himself disarmed, so that he was unable any more to save and defend himself. But Christ the Redeemer by His precious blood equipped him afresh in the panoply of God, and set him to march, as a soldier of Christ, after the Cross, the Standard of Man's redemption. But the ranks of the army were full of doubts,

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ll. 114-116: "O nobilissimo ed eccellentissimo cuore, che nella sposa dell'Imperadore del Cielo s'intende!"

\* *in forse*: See *Gran Dizionario*, s. v. *forse*, § 4: "Con la particella *In avanti vale In dubbio, in timore, in pericolo.*" Compare *Inf.* viii, 109-110:

"Così sen va, e quivi m'abbandona

Lo dolce padre, ed io rimango in forse." (*i.e.* in doubt and fear). And *Inf.* xvii, 94-96:

"Ma esso che altra volta mi sovvenne

Ad altro forse, tosto ch'io montai,

Con le braccia m'avvinse e mi sostenne."

And Boccaccio, *Decam. Giorn.* v, nov. 9: "Rimasa fuor della speranza d'aver il falcone, e per quello della salute del figliuolo entrata in forse." The note on this passage in Boccaccio mentions the use by Petrarch of the verb *inforsare* in the sense of *mettere in forse*.



by reason of the heresies introduced into the Church, and the combatants were but lukewarm and indifferent, when their enthusiasm was suddenly aroused by the two fiery warriors whom God set at their head to lead them forth to victory.

St. Dominic's birthplace is first mentioned by Bonaventura.

In quella parte\* ove surge ad aprire  
 Zeffiro dolce le novelle fronde,†  
 Di che si vede Europa rivestire,  
 Non molto lungi al percoter dell' onde,  
 Dietro alle quali, per la lunga foga,‡ 50  
 Lo sol tal volta§ ad ogni uom si nasconde,

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\* *In quella parte*: In Spain, where the west wind rises, which carries the spring into the whole of Europe, not far from the Bay of Biscay, was the birthplace of St. Dominic. The ancients believed in the fecundating powers of the Zephyr, or, as it was also called, the Favonian wind. Compare Ovid, *Metam.* i, 63, 64:

"Vesper, et occiduo quae littora sole tepescunt,  
 Proxima sunt Zephyro." And *ibid.*, 107, 108:  
 "Ver erat aeternum, placidique tepentibus auris  
 Mulcebant Zephyri natos sine semine flores."

and Lucretius i, 10, 11:

"Nam, simul ac species patefacta est verna diei,  
 Et reserata viget genitabilis aura Favoni."

† *novelle fronde*: Compare *Purg.* xxxiii, 143, 144:

"Rifatto sì, come piante novelle  
 Rinnovellate di novella fronda."

‡ *foga*: the literal sense of this word is "impetuous course." The *Gran Dizionario* is very precise in denying that it has any connection with *focus*, as some translators have supposed: "Impeto, Furia, Andamento, o Operamento sollecito, frettoloso, senza riposo. Non da *Focus*, ma da *Fuga*, che dicesi per Moto rapido anche non di chi scappa." Compare *fougue* and *fougeux* in French.

§ *tal volta* (*i.e. sometimes*): "Quando siamo verso il colmo della state, e perciò non sempre (*tal volta*), rispetto all' Italia il sole andando per la lunga sua foga o corso, si nasconde al di là dell'acque dell'Oceano nella direzione del lito, non lungi dal quale siede Callaroga." (Cornoldi).

Siede la fortunata Calaroga,\*  
 Sotto la protezion del grande scudo,  
 In che soggiace il leone e soggioga.

In that region (Spain in the West) where the gentle Zephyr rises to open the young leaves, with which (the whole of) Europe is seen to attire herself anew, not very far from the beating of the waves (*i.e.* not far from the shores of the Atlantic)—behind which, during the time when his course is long (*i.e.* in the longest days), the Sun conceals himself at times from every man—is situated highly-favoured (*i.e.* happy) Calaroga, under the protection of the mighty shield, within which the Lion is subjected and subjugates.

Mr. Haselfoot explains that during the summer solstice the sun sets in the Atlantic directly opposite the West coast of Spain. Dante says that he then conceals himself from all men's sight, because the other hemisphere was supposed to consist entirely of ocean, and to be uninhabited.

Having defined Calaroga in Spain as the place of St. Dominic's birth, St. Bonaventura expatiates upon that saint's infancy, his early virtues, and the curious legend about his mother's dream.

Dentro vi nacque l' amoroso drudo† 55  
 Della fede cristiana, il santo atleta,

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\* *Calaroga*, anciently called Calagurris, but now known as Calahorra, was a city in the dominion of the Kings of Old Castile, in whose arms were quartered two castles and two lions, one lion being above one of the castles, and the other lion beneath the other castle, and that is the meaning of the lion subject and the lion subjugating. Alfonso VIII was King of Castile (1158-1214) at the time that St. Dominic was born (1170).

† *drudo*: This word in modern Italian signifies "a paramour," nor could it, I imagine, be used nowadays except in a bad sense, in which Dante also uses it, in *Inf.* xviii, 134, and *Purg.* xxxii,

Benigno ai suoi, ed ai nemici crudo ; \*

E come fu creata, fu repleta

Si la sua mente di viva virtute,

Che nella madre lei fece profeta. †

60

Therein (at Calaroga) was born the ardent lover of the Christian Faith (Dominic), the holy champion, gentle to his own (the Faithful), and pitiless to his enemies (*i.e.* to Infidels and Heretics); and as soon

155. But, as the *Gran Dizionario* shows, "Il primo senso, è di *Fedele, Vassallo*," and the *Gran Dizionario* then quotes the following from the life of St. Anthony: "Sforzatevi di mantenervi sempre fedeli drudi del Barone missere Jesù Cristo." In its secondary signification *drudo* = *Amante, Vago*. And (3) "Per amante disonesto; ed oggi si usa soltanto in questo senso." Many words have considerably modified their original meaning since Dante's time, just as in old English, the words "knave," "wench," etc. meant nothing disparaging. In the present passage, according to the *Gran Dizionario*, we are to take St. Dominic as "non solo come amatore, ma come Fedele."

\* *ai nemici crudo*: St. Dominic waged a cruel exterminating war against the Albigenses. In his *Studies in Dante*, p. 16, Dr. Moore writes: "In *Par.* xii, 57, we are rather startled to find a line the exact resemblance of which to Euripides, *Medea*, l. 809, can hardly be accidental. Compare βαρείαν ἐχθρόις καὶ φίλοιςιν εὐμενῇ with 'Benigno ai suoi ed ai nemici crudo.' Such a sentiment, however, may well have occurred in a Latin form in a collection of 'Elegant Extracts.'"

† Rohrbacher (*Histoire universelle de l'Eglise catholique*, Paris, 1849; 29 vols. 8vo, xvii, l. 71): relates that Dominic's mother beheld in a dream the fruit of her womb in the form of a dog which held a lighted torch in its mouth, and fled forth from her to set the whole world on fire. Feeling much disturbed at a presage, of which she could not understand the import, she used to go frequently to pray at the tomb of St. Dominic of Silo, formerly abbot of the monastery of that name, not far from Calaroga, and as a thank-offering for the consolations she so obtained, gave the name of Dominic to the son who had been the object of her prayers. The dream of St. Dominic's mother afterwards formed the subject of the arms of the Dominican Order. The dog seen in the dream is said to have been black and white, and hence the habit assumed by the Order. The word "Dominicani" has lent itself to a play on the words "Domini canes."

as his soul was created, it was so filled with living power, that it (that power) while he was still in (the womb of) his mother made her prophetic.

An allusion is now made to a second dream, in which Dominic's godmother thought she saw one star upon the child's brow, and another on the nape of his neck, which two stars illuminated the East and the West. This second dream took place after Dominic's baptism; the first one, dreamed by his mother, before his birth.

Poichè le sponsalizie\* fur compiute  
 Al sacro fonte intra lui e la fede,  
 U' si dotâr di mutua salute; †  
 La donna ‡ che per lui l'assenso diede,  
 Vide nel sonno il mirabile frutto 65  
 Ch'uscir dovea di lui e delle erede; §  
 E perchè fosse quale era in costruito, ||

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\* *le sponsalizie*: "Poi che al sacro fonte del battesimo si fece sposo della Fede." (Daniello.) Dr. Moore suggests to me that there is perhaps an intentional parallel here between the marriage of St. Dominic and Faith, and that of St. Francis and Poverty.

† *mutua salute*: Tommaséo explains this to mean that Dominic undertook to fight for the security of the Faith, and the Faith promised Dominic Eternal Salvation.

‡ *La donna*: Not the mother, but the godmother. "Illa matrona, quae in baptismo dicti sancti Dominici dedit assensum abrenuntiando Satanae, ut fit in tali actu, somniavit ante dictum puerum in fronte portare quamdam stellam, quae lumen et directionem ad portum salutis denotat." (Pietro di Dante.) In the above commentary, as in that of Benvenuto, we see that only one star is mentioned in the dream, but others state that one star was seen on the child's brow, and another on the nape of his neck.

§ *erede*: Compare l. 112 of the last Canto, where the heirs of St. Francis are spoken of as *Ai frati suoi, sì com' a giuste erede*. Therefore the *le erede* of St. Dominic are the Friars of his Order.

|| *perchè fosse . . . in costruito*: "idest in loquela vel nomine

Quinci si mosse spirito a nomarlo  
Del possessivo\* di cui era tutto.

Dominico fu detto; ed io ne parlo  
Sì come dell' agricola† che CRISTO  
Elesse all' orto suo per aiutarlo.

70

After that the espousals had been completed at the sacred Font between him and the Faith (at his Baptism), where they dowered each other (*i.e.* by exchanging pledges) with mutual security; the lady, who on his behalf had given assent (when the Bap-

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talis . . . *qual era, scilicet in re et facto.*" (Benvenuto.)  
" affinché fosse nella costruzione del nome quel ch' egli era in sè stesso, cioè *del Signore* (Dominicus) nel nome, come del Signore era in tutto sè." (Brun. Bianchi.)

\* *possessivo*: The possessive adjective of *Dominus*, the Lord, is *Dominicus*, whence we get *Domenica*, the Lord's Day; the Dominical letter, etc. The following is from Casini: " Appare qui manifesta la tendenza di Dante a ricercare una particolare significazione nei nomi propri delle persone: il poeta nostro professava la dottrina che *nomina sunt consequentia rerum* (*Vita Nuova*, § xiii, ll. 20, 21); e perciò nel nome di Beatrice trovava specialmente l' idea della beatitudine (*Vita Nuova*, § i, ll. 5-8); e nel nome e nel soprannome della donna dei Cavalcanti il concetto di una precorritrice (*Vita Nuova*, § xxiv, ll. 15-39); e si compiaceva di antitesi come quella tra *non savia* e *Sapìa* (*Purg.* xiii, 109); e forse anche tra *Scesi* e *Oriente* (*Par.* xi, 53, 54). Così qui per il nome Domenico, e più innanzi (xii, 79-81) per quelli dei suoi genitori; al qual proposito è da avvertire che Dante potè trarre l' idea di queste significazioni dai biografi del santo, perchè in Bartolommeo da Trento si legge, p. 559: ' Dominicus, qui Domini custos vel a Domino custoditus etymologicatur vel quia praecepta Domini custodivit, vel quia Dominus custodivit eum ab inimicis,' et in Teodorico d' App., p. 556: ' Generatur a patre Felice; parturitur, nutritur, fovetur a Johanna Dei gratia matre; renascitur et Dominico nomine insignitur, gratiae alumnus, divinitatis cupidus, aeternaeque felicitatis heres futurus.' "

† *agricola* . . . *orto*: We find the simile of the Church again compared to a garden further on in this Canto (l. 104):

" Onde l' orto cattolico si riga."

Compare also *Par.* xxvi, 64, 65:

" Le fronde onde s' infronda tutto l' orto  
Dell' ortolano eterno," etc.



tizing Priest asked the sponsor 'Wilt thou be baptized?'), beheld in her sleep the marvellous fruit that was to issue forth from him and from his heirs (*i.e.* the Dominicans); and in order that in the construction (of his name) he might be what he (actually) was (*i.e.* God's own), a spirit went forth from thence to give him the name of the possessive of Him to Whom he wholly belonged. Dominic was he called; and of him I speak even as the tiller of the earth, whom Christ elected to His garden (the Church) to assist him.

Benvenuto says that, in the earlier part of this Canto, it was pointed out that the army of Christ stood in great need of assistance, and Benvenuto (commenting on l. 37 *et seq.*) remarked that its greatest need was of competent leaders, and therefore two were called forth, St. Francis to combat vice, and St. Dominic to combat heresy.

St. Dominic's devoted love to God and to Man is next shown.

Ben parve messo e famigliar di CRISTO ; \*  
 Chè il primo amor che in lui fu manifesto  
 Fu al primo consiglio † che diè CRISTO. 75  
 Spesse fiata fu tacito e desto

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\* *CRISTO*: It will be observed that the word *CRISTO* is here repeated three times, rhyming to itself, as though (observes Scartazzini) no other word is worthy of being made to rhyme to so great a name. The same thing occurs again in *Par.* xiv, 104, 106, 108; in *Par.* xix, 104, 106, 108; and in *Par.* xxxii, 83, 85, 87. Compare also, in *Purg.* xx, 65, 67, 69, where the word *am-menda* is three times repeated; and in *Par.* xxx, 95, 97, 99, the word *vidi*.

† *primo consiglio*: The first counsel given by Christ is that cited in *St. Matt.* xix, 21, where our Lord says to the rich young man: "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven, and come and follow me."

Trovato in terra \* dalla sua nutrice,†  
Come dicesse: 'Io son venuto a questo.'‡

Both the messenger and the friend of Christ in good sooth he showed himself; for the first love that was manifested in him was for the first counsel that Christ gave. Many a time was he discovered by his nurse silent and sleepless on the ground, as though he would say: 'To this end am I come.'

Legends relate that while Dominic was yet but a stripling, and ardently devoted to study, he sold all his books and what little else he had, in order to give the proceeds to the poor. On his friends remonstrating with him for thus depriving himself of the means of pursuing his studies, he answered: "I will not study upon dead skins (*i.e.* parchments), and let men die of hunger." For there was a great famine at the time. It is also related of him, that seeing a woman weeping because she had not wherewithal to pay the ransom

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\* *Trovato in terra*: Casini remarks that, although the fact is recorded of St. Dominic by his early biographers that he habitually left his bed and passed the night in prayer, he thinks Dante must have seen the work of Vincent de Beauvais, who (*Spec. hist.* xxix, 94) speaks of this forsaking of his couch by a child as a wonderful act of humility and penitence: "Nato igitur ex piis parentibus et religiose viventibus, in illa puerili aetate sua cor ei senile jam inerat, et sensus veneranda canities tenella sub facie latitabat: cum enim esset adhuc puerulus, nondum a *nutricis diligentia* segregatus, *deprehensus est saepe* lectum dimittere, quasi jam carnis delicias abhorreret, et eligebat potius *ad terram* occumbere."

† *nutrice* is properly a wet-nurse. A dry nurse is *bambinaja*.

‡ *Io son venuto a questo*: "Ipse Dominicus *fu trovato in terra dalla sua nutrice tacito*, scilicet, sine planctu, quia scilicet, non ceciderat casualiter, sicut saepe solet accidere infantibus, *e desto*, idest, vigil, non dormiens, sicut aliquando pueri inveniuntur: et dicit, *come dicesse: io son venuto a questo*, scilicet, ad istum statum humilitatis, velut si diceret sibi ipse Dominicus: Terra es, et in terram reverteris." (Benvenuto.)

of her brother who had been taken prisoner by the Moors, Dominic offered to sell himself as a slave to supply her need.

St. Bonaventura enthusiastically apostrophizes the parents of such a son as St. Dominic.

O padre suo veramente Felice!\*

O madre sua veramente Giovanna,† 80

Se interpretata val come si dice!

O Felix (*i.e.* happy) in very truth his father! O Joanna (the grace of God) in very truth his mother, if (Joanna) interpreted has the sense men say!

Little did Dominic reckon, says Bonaventura, the profitless science taught in the Decretals, or the empiricisms of so-called medical experts, but by diligent study he became in a marvellously short time a profound scholar in Christian learning. He tended the vineyard of the Lord (the Church), guarding and cultivating it, while at the same time he eliminated from it the weeds of false doctrine, and fortified it by the reasonings of Sacred Theology. But when he had arrived at great distinction, and might have abused the confidence with which he was treated by the great dignitaries of the Church, instead of asking aught for himself in the way of riches or honours, as would have been done by the modern prelates in the

\* *Felice*: The father of Dominic was, according to some, though not all, Felice de Guzman, and Dante takes his name in the double sense of a proper name, and also as meaning "happy, blessed," in that he was the father of such a son as Dominic.

† *Giovanna*: Dante was not acquainted with Hebrew, but Casini says that the theologians of the Middle Ages, had taken the Hebrew word meaning "full, abounding in, the grace of Jehovah," and interpreted it *domini gratia*. Dominic's mother was Giovanna d'Asa.

time of Dante, he only asked permission to fight for the Faith.

Non per lo mondo, per cui mo s'affanna  
 Diretro ad Ostiense\* ed a Taddeo,†  
 Ma per amor della verace manna,‡  
 In picciol tempo gran dottor si feo,

85

\* *Ostiense*: Enrico di Susa, generally known as the Cardinal Ostiense from having been made Bishop of Ostia in 1261, was a great canonical jurist, who was born at Susa in the 13th century. He studied under Jacobo Balduini at Bologna, and later became himself a teacher there of Canon Law in that University; and it is further stated that he taught at Paris, and in England afterwards, where Henry III, *il re della semplice vita* (*Purg.* vii, 130) held him in great favour. His principal works were his *Commentaria in Decretales*, and the *Summa Ostiensis*, well known as text books in the law schools. He died in 1271. He is alluded to here as though he personified "the Decretals," as Benvenuto is particular in explaining: "Per hoc notat decretalia."

† *Taddeo*: Although some have attempted to prove that this personage was one Taddeo Popopoli, a jurist of Bologna, it is now generally admitted that the allusion is to Mastro (*Doctor*) Taddeo degli Alderotti, a medical man of great reputation, who died at Bologna in 1303. He made a translation of Aristotle's Ethics, which is censured by Dante in *Convito* i, 10, ll. 70-73. There can be little doubt from the following comment by Pietro di Dante, that by *Ostiense* Dante implied the study of Law, and by *Taddeo* the study of Medicine: "Dominicus . . . effectus est scientia infusiva magnus Doctor, non circa jura, sequendo Dominum Henricum Cardinalem Ostiensem in suis summis et lecturis Decretalium, et non etiam circa medicinalia, sequendo Magistrum Thaddeum physicum in suis scriptis, pro quibus totus mundus anhelat, allegando:

'Dat Galenus opes, dat sanctio Justiniana;  
 Ex aliis paleas, ex istis collige grana.'

in *Par.* xi, 4, Dante had said:

"Chi dietro a iura, e chi ad aforismi," etc.

and of that verse the present passage is a direct comment.

‡ *verace manna*: Compare *St. John* vi, 56-58: "He that eateth my flesh, . . . even he shall live by me. This is that bread which came down from heaven: not as your fathers did eat manna, and are dead: he that eateth this bread shall live for ever." Compare also *Purg.* xi, 13:

"Dà oggi a noi la cotidiana manna."

Tal che si mise a circuir la vigna,\*  
 Che tosto imbianca, se il vignaio è reo;  
 Ed alla sedia che già fu benigna  
 Più ai poveri giusti (non per lei,  
 Ma per colui che siede, che traligna),† 90  
 Non dispensare o due o tre per sei,‡  
 Non la fortuna di prima vacante,  
 Non *decimas* § *quae sunt pauperum Dei*,

\* *circuir la vigna*: Dominic tended the vineyard of the Lord, the Church, guarding it and cultivating it, eliminating from it the weeds of false doctrine, and fortifying it by the reasonings of sacred Theology and the Christian Faith. Compare *Jerem.* ii, 21; and *Isaiah* v, the whole chapter.

† *non per lei, Ma per colui . . . che traligna*. Dante distinguishes between the blameless Papal dignity, and the guilty dignitary, Boniface VIII. The fault did not lie with the Papal Throne and Office, but with its then unworthy occupant, who did not exercise his mission of Christian love, as it was his sacred duty to do.

‡ *due o tre per sei*: "Non domandò dispensazione di dare due o tre, quando doveva dare sei, imperò che molti sono che ciò addomandono." (Lana). Compare also *Conv.* iv, 27, ll. 117-127: "Ahi malastrui e malnati! che disertate vedove e pupilli, che rapite alli meno possenti, che furate ed occupate l'altrui ragioni; e di quello corredate conviti, donate cavalli e arme, robe e danari; portate le mirabili vestimenta; edificate li mirabili edifici e credetevi *Larghezza* fare! E che è questo altro fare che levare il drappo d'in su l'altare, e coprirne il ladro e la sua mensa?" See also Cornoldi on this passage: "Domenico alla Santa Sede, la quale a cagione del Papa presente, al dir di Dante, ha lasciato di essere benigna coi poverelli, non dimandò facoltà di dare due o tre per guadagnare sei; non dimandò le rendite del primo beneficio vacante, non le decime che sono dei poveri; ma dimandò facoltà di combattere per la fede che è il seme dal quale nacquero queste ventiquattro piante che in due concentriche ghirlande ti circondano." Scartazzini says that from 1215 Dominic had been soliciting the approval of his Order, and that after the repeated petitions of himself, and of others on his behalf, Innocent III relaxed in his favour the edict of the Lateran Council prohibiting the foundation of any new Order, and confirmed that of the Dominicans by word of mouth only. In 1216 Honorius III gave it his solemn confirmation.

§ *Non decimas*, et seq.: Scartazzini remarks that these utter-



Addomandò; ma contro al mondo errante  
 Licenza di combatter per lo seme,  
 Del qual ti fascian ventiquattro piante.

95

Not for the world, for the love of which men labour now a days in following Ostiense and Taddeo (*i.e.* Law and Medicine), but for the love of the true manna (*i.e.* Theology), in a short time he became a teacher so mighty, that he began to go about that vineyard (the Church), which soon grows white (*i.e.* withers away) if the vinedresser be guilty (of negligence); and from the (Papal) Seat which in old time used to be more bountiful to the righteous poor—not by any fault of its own, but by (that of) him who sitteth thereon, and is degenerate—he (Dominic) besought not to dispense two or three for six (*i.e.* he did not entreat for a dispensation to be allowed to pay one third or one half only of the sum due to the poor), nor yet the fortune of the first vacant benefice, *non decimas quae sunt pauperum Dei* (*i.e.* the tithes which belong to God's poor); but (he begged) for permission to fight against the erring world on behalf of that seed (the Faith), twenty-four plants of which (*i.e.* the twice twelve spirits of the two garlands) environ thee.

St. Dominic's onslaught against heresy is next described; and an allusion is made to the different branches of his order which soon sprung up.

.Poi con dottrina e con volere insieme\*

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ances in Latin occur not unfrequently in the *Divina Commedia*, but only in the mouths of popes, Angels, doctors of the Church, or blessed spirits. It is the language of the sanctuary. Biagioli in reply to Venturi who had criticized the sentence as but poor Latin, says that the words are in the true style of those Canonists who discuss the question of tithes, and "se [Dante] avesse composto questo verso coll' aureo stile di Virgilio, ovvero in volgare, e' non porterebbe impresso quel vigore e autorità, che questa, quasi formula dall' uso consecrata, seco impronta."

\* *con dottrina e con volere insieme*: Poletto remarks that we have here the three requisite characteristics of a true apostle;

Con l'offizio apostolico si mosse,  
 Quasi torrente \* ch'alta vena preme,  
 E negli sterpi † eretici percosse 100  
 L'impeto suo, più vivamente quivi  
 Dove le resistenze eran più grosse.‡

the necessary equipment of profound learning, zeal for the salvation of souls, and the equally necessary authority of the Church to exercise that ministry.

\* *Quasi torrente*: The simile of the torrent falling headlong from a great height demonstrates the fiery zeal with which St. Dominic betook himself to his work. Of the words *ch'alta vena preme*, Cesari (*Bellezze*, p. 235) says that the word *preme* is most powerfully descriptive of the impetuosity given to the torrent by the sheer weight or concussion of the rivulet swollen by heavy rain which, falling from the summit of a lofty mountain, sends forth its waters with irresistible force. Cesari thinks Dante had in his mind the following passage of Lucretius (lib. i, 282-284):

“Ac quom mollis aquae fertur natura repente  
 Flumine abundantanti, quem largeis imbribus auget  
 Montibus ex alteis magnus decursus aquaī.”

Compare also Virg. *Æn.* ii, 304-306:

“In segetem veluti cum flamma furentibus Austris  
 Incidit, aut rapidus montano flumine torrens  
 Sternit agros, sternit sata laeta boumque labores.”

† *sterpi*: Buti says that *sterpo* is a bastard wood which does not bear fruit, and that is what the heretics are. “Li Cattolici sono arbori fruttuosi, li Eretici sono sterpi pungenti e nocivi e venenosi, li quali sono da tagliare e da ardere. E quivi più forte percosse, dove erano li avversarii con maggiore resistenza: dove il pericolo è maggiore, quivi si dee avere maggiore cautela.” (*Ottimo*). This agrees with *Purg.* xiv, 95: “venenosi sterpi.” The *Gran Dizionario* specifically defines *sterpo* as the accidental shoot from a fallen trunk or a lopped-off branch.

‡ *Dove le resistenze eran più grosse*: “idest, ubi erant majores haeretici, vel ratione scientiae vel potentiae: non enim fecit sicut quidam moderni inquisitores, qui non sunt audaces nec solertes, nisi contra quosdam divites denariis, pauperes amicis, qui non possunt facere magnam resistantiam, et extorquent ab eis pecunias, quibus postea emunt episcopatum.” (Benvenuto). *Quivi dove* refers to Provence, or more especially to the territory round Toulouse, where Dominic most cruelly persecuted the Albigenses, a people of the most blameless lives, and in his so-called apostolical office, says Scartazzini, he by no means imi-

Di lui si fecer poi diversi rivi,\*  
 Onde l'orto cattolico si riga,  
 Sì che i suoi arbuscelli stan più vivi.

105

Then (fortified) with doctrine and firm will together with the apostolical office (granted him by the Pope) he moved forward like a torrent which some lofty source forcibly urges, and his impetuous attack dashed in among the worthless shoots of heresy, with the greater vehemence in those places where the resistance was the most obstinate. Of him were made thereafter various rills, by which the Catholic garden is irrigated, so that its shrubs are growing with greater vigour.

*Division III.* Bonaventura having with much commendation related the life of St. Dominic, now proceeds to censure that of the Dominicans of his Order who have derogated from his example and precepts. Bonaventura says: "Now that I have told you what the life of St. Dominic was, you may judge how great must have been that of St. Francis." His arguments are the same as those used by St. Thomas Aquinas, and as the latter went on to censure his

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tated the apostles, who neither persecuted nor slew anyone. Upon the beautiful lives of the Albigenses, see Anelli, *Storia della Chiesa*, l. 883 et seq. The story of Dominic's ferocious persecutions is told by J. J. Barrau et B. Darragon, *Histoire des croisades contre les Albigeois*, Paris, 1840.

\* *poi diversi rivi*: Casini observes that St. Dominic being compared to a torrent, the rills (*rivi*) emanating from him must mean his followers, whose preaching made the Catholic Church fruitful, confirming the Faithful in their creed, and, to preserve the metaphor, irrigated the Catholic garden (*P' orto cattolico*) and made its shrubs green. Scartazzini says that *rivi* does not refer to the Inquisitors, as the *Postillatore Cassinese* interprets, but to the different Orders that followed Dominic, of which there were three, namely, the preaching Friars, the monastic Virgins, and the Tertiaries.

Dominican co-religionaries, so does Bonaventura reprove the derogation of the Franciscans. And be it remarked that, at the time of the Vision, Bonaventura was the General of the Franciscan Order. He begins by describing St. Francis and St. Dominic as the two wheels of the chariot of the Church, who defended it in its *civil* war, that is, war waged by the discords of the heretics who are of the same congregation as christians, and who, instead of defending the common Faith, divide and rend it.

Se tal fu l'una rota della biga,\*  
 In che la Santa Chiesa si difese,  
 E vinse in campo la sua civil briga,  
 Ben ti dovrebbe assai esser palese  
 L'eccellenza dell'altra, di cui Tomma 110  
 Dinanzi al mio venir fu sì cortese.  
 Ma l'orbita† che fe' la parte somma

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\* *biga*: This means the chariot of the Church, of which St. Dominic was one wheel, and St. Francis the other. Compare *Purg.* xxix, 107, 108, where the chariot of the Church is spoken of as two-wheeled:

“Un carro, in su due rote, trionfale,  
 Ch'al collo d'un grifon tirato venne.”

Scartazzini points out that some modern Commentators have chosen to understand *biga* as a chariot with two horses, instead of with two wheels, but that all the old Commentators understand wheels. Of *biga*, the *Ottimo* says: “Biga si è il carro di due rote.” Lana is more explicit: “Sono carriole che hanno solo due ruote, e sono appellate altresì brozze [*? birocci* from *bis and rota*], e carreggiarsi con esse legna.”

† *l'orbita*: “*L'orbita* è qui la rotaja [*rut*], la riga segnata in terra, e vale, La norma dell'esempio de' primi Santi dell'Ordine, è abbandonata, per forma che ogni bontà e intristita, presa l'immagine del vino sano e grande, che produce la gromma, e del reo che la muffa.” (Cesari, *Bellezze*, vol. iii, p. 236). As to the disorder in which the *Frați Minori* had sunk, see Lana, who lived in that time, and was a witness of their dissensions: “Qui tocca fra Bonaventura alcuna cosa dello disordine ch'è in li *Frați Minori*, e dice ch'elli sono tanto cresciuti in numero e in

Di sua circonferenza, è derelitta,  
Sì ch'è la muffa\* dov'era gromma.

If such was the one wheel of the two-wheeled chariot in which the Holy Church made her defence, and did in the field overcome her civil strife, it should indeed be made evident to thee the excellence of the other wheel (*i.e.* St. Francis) about whom Thomas (Aquinas) before my coming was so courteous (in relating his life). But the wheel's track, which the highest part of its circumference made, is abandoned, so that the mouldiness is where the crust was.

This means: "The rule of St. Francis is already deserted; and the lees of the wine are turned into mouldiness." Casini feels certain that, in the above lines, Dante is alluding to the schism in the Franciscan Order that was taking place between the so-called *spirituali* or followers of Pier Giovanni Olivi (1247-1297), the great champion of the strictest observance of the Franciscan Rule of poverty, on the

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novitadi di vita che quasi quello ordine haefatto moto circolare, e vae mo contra quelli che in principio elli andava, sì che quelli che sono moderni gittano cioè contradiceno alli antichi e primi. Or qui *latenter* l'autore tocca di quella setta che fue tra essi, che si appellavano *Frati della povera vita*; e però dice: dov'era in principio la gromma, cioè la fraternitade e la unitade, mo si gli è la muffa, cioè la discordia e la divisione."

\* *muffa*: This image is taken from wine-casks which, when well cared for, produce the crust in the wine [*gromma*] which tends to its preservation, but if neglected, allow the mouldiness to come in which spoils the wine. Benvenuto, remarking on the appropriateness of the simile, adds: "gromma enim est solida, sapida, odorifera et bona, ita quod conservat vinum; muffa vero est lubrica, insipida, foetida, mala, et inficit omne vinum quantumcumque de se bonum. Ita a simili: in primis fratribus erat virtus quae est vere solida, delectabilis et bona, quae conservat animum et salvat; in modernis vero est vitiositas, quae est lubrica, amara, infamis et mala, quae infirmat et depravat omnem animum quantumcumque de se sanum et bonum: est autem gromma crusta quae fit in vasis ex vino, quae alio nomine dicitur tartarum (or, in the Este MS. of Benvenuto, *tarsum*.)"



one hand ; and, on the other, the *conventuali*, who, taking a broader interpretation of the Rule, were not opposed to the possession and enjoyment of worldly goods, and the acquisition of spiritual dignities. This discord was going on with varying vicissitudes during the whole of Dante's life-time ; and he clearly discerned the mischief it would do to the sanctity of the Order, and the great extravagance there was in either of these two extreme doctrines.

Bonaventura points out that those Franciscans who are more advanced in the path of virtue find themselves in opposition to those who are more backward, and hence the fierce dissensions among them. They will find out, when it is too late, the evil consequences of their disunion, for a whole section of the Friars will before long be banished from the Order.

La sua famiglia, che si mosse dritta	115
Coi piedi alle sue orme, è tanto vòlta,	
Che quel dinanzi a quel dietro gitta ;*	
E tosto si vedrà della ricolta	
Della mala coltura, quando il loglio	
Si lagnerà† che l'arca gli sia tolta.	120

\* *quel dinanzi a quel dietro gitta*: The interpretation of this line which finds most favour among the Commentators is that of Lombardi. It is, that the Franciscans now set the point of their feet on that spot where St. Francis set his heel, showing that they were walking in precisely the opposite direction to that of their founder. I prefer, however, to follow Casini, who says : "Credo che Dante abbia voluto dire che quelli dei francescani che sono più innanzi nel cammino della virtù si trovano in contrasto con quelli che son più indietro, insomma che c'è vivissima lotta fra *spirituali* e *conventuali*." Casini does not think that Lombardi's interpretation gives the full rendering of the thought in Dante's mind, which is wholly upon the discord then existing among the Franciscans.

† *quando il loglio Si lagnerà*: This of course alludes to the parable in *St. Matt.* xiii, 30: "Let both grow together until the

His family (the Franciscans) that had set out in the right way with feet planted in his footprints, has so much turned round, that it casts him who is in front upon him who is behind; and soon shall it be seen by the harvesting how bad has been the tillage, when the tares shall complain that the granary has been taken from them.

Yet, if any one were to examine one by one the individual friars of the Order, he would still find a few that are faithful to the rule of their founder.

Ben dico, chi cercasse a foglio a foglio

Nostro volume,\* ancor† troveria carta

U'leggerebbe: 'Io mi son quel ch'io soglio.'‡

harvest: and in the time of harvest I will say to the reapers, Gather ye together first the tares, and bind them in bundles to burn them: but gather the wheat into my barn." The more general explanation is, "quando il traviato frate si lagnerà che gli sia tolto il Paradiso per essere sepolto nell'Inferno;" but Casini, after remarking that the passage is one of very difficult interpretation, as far as history goes, thinks, as Dante is evidently alluding to some circumstance of a date not much later than 1300, and to which Ubertino da Casale and Matteo d'Acquasparta were strangers (ll. 124-126), that Dante's words may well refer to the Constitution of John XXII (in April 1317) against the *spirituali*, when, on the question being discussed whether the Franciscans should "habere granaria et cellaria," it was decreed that the matter should be one for the decision of the superiors of the convents, and a sharp rebuff was thereby given to the *spirituali*, and a warning conveyed to them to adhere strictly to their original profession of poverty.

\* *a foglio a foglio Nostro volume*: The volume is the Franciscan Order, and its leaves are the Friars.

† *ancor*, etc.: This passage reminds one of I *Kings* xix, 18, where Jehovah says to Elijah: "Yet I have left me seven thousand in Israel, all the knees which have not bowed unto Baal," etc.

‡ *son quel ch'io soglio*: Equivalent to, "Io sono quale solevano essere i francescani primitivi." Casini in a note on *Inf.* xxvii, 48, "Là dove soglion, fan de'denti succhio," explains the line: "dove solevano già per l'addietro," and remarks that the persons of the present tense of the verb *solere* were often

Ma non fia da Casal, nè d'Acquasparta,\*  
 Là onde vegnon tali alla scrittura, 125  
 Che l'un la fugge, e l'altro la coarta.

Still I affirm that whoever should search through our volume leaf by leaf (*i.e.* should investigate our Order friar by friar) would yet find some page (*i.e.* some brother) on which might be read: 'I am what I used

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used by early Italian writers with the sense of the imperfect: thus Pier delle Vigne (quoted in the *Gran Dizionario*) says of a woman no longer living:

"Quella ch'io amare e servir soglio."

and Pacino Angiollieri (in Nannucci's *Manuale della Letteratura del Primo Secolo*, vol. i, p. 221), after the death of the lady of his love, exclaims:

"Lasso! che spessamente il giorno miro  
 Al loco, ove madonna suol (*used to*) parere,  
 Ma non la veggio sì come già soglio [*as I was wont to do*  
*in times gone by*]."

Compare *Inf.* xvi, 67, 68:

"Cortesia e valor di' se dimora  
 Nella nostra città sì come suole?"

\* *Ma non fia da Casal, nè d'Acquasparta*, et seq.: Bonaventura has just said that there are some few faithful friars still left, but, he adds, it is not among the two extreme parties that they will be found, and he names their respective leaders. The former of these Fra Ubertino da Casale, also called *de Italia*, was chiefly known as a zealot for the most narrow and strict interpretation of the rule of St. Francis. He was a disciple of Pier Giovanni Olivi, and on the death of Olivi in 1297, succeeded him as the head of the *Spirituali*. Pietro di Dante says of him: "Composuit libellum vocatum *Proloquium de potentia Papae*, coarctando scripturam. Dicendo quod ad hoc ut Papa esset, Papa vere debeat habere quae Petrus habuit." Serravalle calls Fra Ubertino "magister in Theologia, valens homo . . . magnus sillogizator, subtilis sophista." Cardinal Matteo d'Acquasparta was General of the Minor Franciscan Friars, and is notorious for the lax manner in which he administered the discipline of the Order. He was a very prominent figure in Dante's time. In 1297 he was sent by Boniface VIII to Florence, and succeeded in obtaining the assistance of 100 knights to support the pope in his war against the Colonnas. In 1300 the pope sent him back to Florence, during the time that Dante was one of the *Priori*, to try and bring about a peaceful settlement of the feuds of the *Neri* and *Bianchi*.

to be (*i.e.* I follow the original rule of St. Francis). But it will not be from Casale nor from Acquasparta whence there come such to the writing (*i.e.* to the rule written by St. Francis), inasmuch as the one evades it, and the other narrows it (*i.e.* makes it even more stringent).

*Division IV.* In Canto x, 91, St. Thomas Aquinas had said to Dante: *Tu vuoi saper di quai piante s' infiora questa ghirlanda*, and then began to name the blessed spirits, one by one, that were his companions in the innermost garland. Then, in Canto xii, 4, the second, or outer, garland made its appearance. Bonaventura reads Dante's thoughts, and proceeds to gratify his unexpressed wish to know who these last spirits are, by naming first himself, and then his companions of the outermost garland.

It will be noticed that, while these two garlands contain many of their followers, yet St. Francis and St. Dominic are not themselves there. They are placed far up above, among the petals of the Heavenly Rose, though St. Francis alone is mentioned by name. (See *Par.* xxxii, 34-36).

First comes Bonaventura himself, the great schoolman, with whom are named two obscure but holy friars.

Io son la vita di Bonaventura\*  
Da Bagnoregio, che nei grandi offici  
Sempre posposi la sinistra cura.

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\* *Bonaventura*: The real name of St. Bonaventura was Giovanni di Fidanza. He was born in 1221 at Bagnorea in Tuscany; he entered the Franciscan Order in 1243 and became General of it in 1256. In 1265 he declined the offer of Clement IV to create him Archbishop of York, but in 1272 was made a

Illuminato\* ed Augustin son quici, 130  
 Che fur dei primi scalzi poverelli,  
 Che nel capestro a Dio si fero amici.

I am the soul of Bonaventura of Bagnoregio, who in my high offices always put last the care of the left hand (*i.e.* I always made the care of temporal affairs secondary to spiritual ones). Here are Illuminato and Agostino, who were among the earliest bare-footed poor (*i.e.* Franciscan friars), who in the (cincture of the) cord made themselves beloved by God.

Then follow Hugh of St. Victor, the mystic; Petrus Comestor, the historian; Peter of Spain, the logician; Nathan, the prophet; Chrysostom, the preacher; Anselm, the statesman; Donatus, the grammarian; Rabanus, the theologian; and Joachim, the seer.

Ugo da san Vittore † è qui con elli,

cardinal and Bishop of Albano. He died at Lyons in 1274. Bonaventura was an ardent advocate of the worship of the Virgin Mary. Sixtus IV, himself a Franciscan, pronounced his canonization in 1482, and a hundred years afterwards Sixtus V, by a bull written in 1587, decreed that St. Bonaventura should be placed in the same rank of Saintship as St. Dominic, and be venerated as one of the great masters of theology. Bonaventura is known as the Doctor Seraphicus, a name that seems to mark his place among the great mystic theologians.

\* *Illuminato* da Rieti, and *Agostino* were two Franciscan friars of great sanctity, but of small reputation otherwise. The former went in the train of St. Francis in his mission to the Holy Land, and the latter became the head of his Order in the Terra di Lavoro.

† *Ugo da san Vittore*: Hugo de St. Victor was a Fleming born at Yprès in 1097. He entered the celebrated monastery of St. Victor at Paris in 1133, and died in 1141. He wrote several works in which he attacked Rationalism, the most important of which are *Auditio didascalica*; *De sacramentis fidei christianae*; *De laude caritatis*, and others. St. Thomas Aquinas considered these to be works of the greatest authority. Richard de St. Victor and Peter Lombard were among the pupils of Hugh.



E Pietro Mangiadore,\* e Pietro Ispano,†  
 Lo qual giù luce in dodici libelli; 135  
 Natan‡ profeta, e il metropolitano  
 Crisostomo, ed Anselmo, e quel Donato§

\* *Pietro Mangiadore* is better known by the name of Petrus Comestor. He was a Frenchman, born at the beginning of the twelfth century at Troyes, where in 1147 he became Dean of the Cathedral; and 1164 was appointed Chancellor of the University of Paris. He died in the monastery of St. Victor in 1179. The most notable of his many works is his *Historia scholastica*, which is a recompilation of the biblical books.

† *Pietro Ispano* was by birth a Portuguese, the son of a physician of Lisbon, was born about 1226, became Archbishop of Braga, and in 1273 was made a Cardinal and Bishop of Frascati. In 1276 he was elected Pope, and took the title of John XXI: He was killed by the fall of the papal palace at Viterbo in 1277. He studied medicine in his youth, and wrote a work entitled *Thesaurus pauperum*, but later on wrote the great work on Logic *Summulæ logicae*.

‡ *Natan*: The only apparent reason why Dante has introduced Nathan among the great, is, in the opinion of the old Commentators, because he said to David: "Thou art the man!" *Philaethes* thinks that he and St. Chrysostom are put side by side, because both spoke bitter truths to the Great Ones of the earth. "L'autore lo mette fra questi dottori perchè palesò lo suo peccato a David, come questi altri hanno fatti palesi li vizi e le virtù nelle loro opere che hanno scritto." (Buti).

§ *Crisostomo*: John, from his great eloquence surnamed Chrysostom (*i.e.* Golden Mouth), was born at Antioch in 347, ordained priest in 386, elected Patriarch and Metropolitan Bishop of Constantinople in 398. In 403 he was deposed from his high office, and died in banishment on the shores of the Black Sea in 407. Longfellow says of him that "his whole life . . . his austerities as a monk, his fame as a preacher, his troubles as Bishop of Constantinople, his controversy with Theophilus of Alexandria, his exile by the Emperor Arcadius, his triumphant return, his second banishment, and his death—is more like a romance than a narrative of facts." His works are exceedingly voluminous, consisting chiefly of commentaries, homilies, and liturgies.

*Anselmo*: Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury in 1093, was by birth a Piedmontese, born at Aosta in 1033, his religious education took place in the Abbey of Bec in Normandy, of which he became abbot in 1078. He was made Archbishop of Canter-

Ch' alla prim' arte degnò por la mano ;  
 Rabano\* è qui, e lucemi da lato  
 Il Calabrese abate Gioacchino, †  
 Di spirito profetico dotato. 140

bury by William Rufus. He wrote a celebrated treatise on the Atonement, entitled *Cur Deus homo?* and the tract *De Veritate* is said to be the groundwork of his theory of knowledge. His two greatest works however are the *Monologion* and *Proslogion*. Many have held that Anselm may be reckoned the earliest of the schoolmen who, in his works, found their first impulse to justify Scripture and the Church by reason. Anselm's dealings with King William Rufus show him to have been a profound statesman. No better account of his life can be read than the Essay by Dean Church.

*Donato*: Ælius Donatus flourished about the middle of the fourth century, and was a grammarian who taught at Rome. He wrote a commentary on Virgil, and the *Ars Grammatica*, a work of great repute in the middle ages. Dante calls the work he put his hand to *la prim' arte*, for Grammar being the first of the seven liberal arts taught to children, was in those days termed "*First Art*."

\* *Rabano*: Rabanus Maurus, a learned theologian, was born at Mayence about 776, was brought up in the Monastery of Fulda, and afterwards studied at St. Martin's at Tours. He was made Abbot of Fulda in 822, Archbishop of Mayence in 847, and died in 856. He left many works of theology and biblical exegesis.

† *Il Calabrese abate Gioacchino*: Gioacchino da Celico in Calabria was born about 1150, and having during a pilgrimage to the Holy Land vowed himself to a monastic life, he entered the Cistercian monastery of Sambucina about 1158. He was for a short time Abbot of the monastery of Corazo, but soon left that dignity in order to devote himself to biblical study. He then, in search of a more austere life, founded a monastery at a place called Santa Flora, a wild and remote spot among the mountains, and there he passed the remainder of his life in study and contemplation. He died in 1202. It is said that the multitude revered him as a person divinely inspired, and equal to the most illustrious prophets of ancient times. Among other prophecies that were current of his, Pietro di Dante refers to the following one, which announces the birth of Antichrist in 1260, and attributes it to Joachim :

"Cum decies seni fuerint et mille ducenti  
 Anni, qui nato sumunt exordia Christo,

Hugh of St. Victor is here with them, and Pietro Mangiadore, and Peter of Spain who down below (on earth) shines in twelve volumes; Nathan the prophet, and Chrysostom the Metropolitan, and Anselm, and that Donatus, who to the first art (*i.e.* Grammar) designed to put his hand; here is Rabanus, and at my side beams with radiance Joachim the Abbot of Calabria, (who was) endowed with the spirit of prophecy.

In conclusion Bonaventura explains to Dante that St. Thomas Aquinas had induced him to make this panegyric of St. Dominic, whom he terms a Paladin, because in the romances of chivalry the twelve champions of Charlemagne are called Paladins.

Ad *invegiar*\* cotanto paladino

Tunc Antichristus nequissimus est oriturus.

Haec Cistercensis Joachim praedixit, et anno

Quo Saladinus sanctam sibi subdidit urbem."

*Philalethes* thinks Dante may have thought this prophecy to have been fulfilled by the Papal throne being held, at the time, or thereabouts, by Boniface VIII.

\* *invegiar*: The only meaning of this word given by the dictionaries is *invidiare*, but none of the best Commentators so understand it in this passage. Casini interprets the *terzina* thus: "To celebrate the praises of St. Dominic, that energetic champion of the Faith, I, Bonaventura the Franciscan, have been impelled by the example of the Dominican St. Thomas, who has proclaimed the praises of St. Francis." Casini adds: "Questo è certamente il senso della *terzina*, ma gran difficoltà nell'interpretazione letterale adduce il verbo *inveggiare*, che essendo foggiato [*formed*] sul nome *inveggia* (*Purg.* vi. 20), significa propriamente *invidiare*." Most of the modern Commentators think the explanation in the *Ottimo* is the best: "Prendi questo *inveggiare* cioè *invidiare*, in buona parte: buona è la invidia che procede in avanzare alcuno in bene operare." As Poletto points out, Envy in a bad sense cannot exist among the Blessed, and therefore to envy in a holy way is to recognize adequately one's neighbour's merits, which produces a holy emulation, and therefore signifies neither more nor less than "to praise, to celebrate." Nearly all the Old Commentators, including the precise Buti, so understand the passage.

Mi mosse la infiammata cortesia  
 Di fra Tommaso, e il discreto latino;\*  
 E mosse meco questa compagnia.”— 145

To celebrate so great a paladin the impassioned  
 courtesy and the modest words of Brother Thomas  
 moved me ; and with me set in motion all this com-  
 pany (*i.e.* my eleven companions).”

\* *discreto latino*: *Latino* is here simply voice, speech, or words.  
 In the *Canzoniere*, Ballata IV (beginning *Fresca rosa novella*)  
 Dante uses it for the singing of the birds :

“E cantinne gli augelli  
 Ciascuno in suo latino  
 Da sera e da mattino  
 Sulli verdi arbuscelli.”

See notes on *Par.* iii, 63 ; and *Par.* xvii, 35.  
*Discreto* has in this passage, says the *Gran Dizionario*, the sense  
 of “prudentemente moderato.”

END OF CANTO XII.

## CANTO XIII.



THE FOURTH SPHERE: THE HEAVEN OF THE SUN  
(*continued*).—ST. THOMAS AQUINAS RESUMES  
HIS SPEECH.—HE DISCOURSES ON THE WISDOM  
OF SOLOMON, WHICH IS SECOND ONLY TO THAT  
OF ADAM AND CHRIST.—THE CAPRICIOUS IN-  
TERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE BY CERTAIN  
SCHOLASTIC REASONERS CENSURED.

THERE has been no change in the position of Dante and Beatrice. They are in the same spot they occupied in the last two Cantos, with the double garland of spirits around them.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into three parts.

*In the First Division*, from v. 1 to v. 27, Dante compares the two garlands of saints to some of the brightest stars in heaven. (I explain at l. 25 why I have somewhat altered the divisions.)

*In the Second Division*, from v. 28 to v. 111, St. Thomas Aquinas solves the second of Dante's two doubts (mentioned in Canto XI), namely, that referring to Solomon.

*In the Third Division*, from v. 112 to v. 142, St. Thomas gives to Dante a sort of general precept of warning as to the solution of doubts, and as to the answering of questions.

*Division I.* In his progress throughout Paradise the conversations of Dante with the Blessed spirits



are alternated with their songs and their dances, and so now, as soon as St. Bonaventura has finished speaking, the twenty-four spirits of the double garland at once break forth into renewed melody and rhythmic measures. Dante, wishing to give a tolerably intelligible idea of this wondrous spectacle, seeks a simile in the stars, and invites his reader to picture to himself the fifteen stars of greatest magnitude; to add to these the seven stars of the Great Bear and the two brightest of the Little Bear; and having thus got, in all, twenty-four stars of the greatest brilliancy, with them to construct in imagination two circles equal to one another, each of twelve stars, and let one of these circles surround and contain the other; let them then move at equal pace to one another, only in opposite directions. When the reader shall have noted this, he will then have a faint shade of an idea (*avrà quasi l'ombra della vera costellazion*, ll. 19, 20) of what was the movement of those twenty-four Blessed Saints in the Heaven of the Sun.

Immagini chi bene intender cupe\*

Quel ch'io or† vidi (e ritenga l' image,‡

Mentre ch'io dico, come ferma rupe)§

Quindici stelle che in diverse plage||

\* *cupe*: From the Latin verb *cupere*, "to desire." It is only used by Dante in this one passage.

† *or*: The Italian Commentators say that *or* must here be translated "a questo punto."

‡ *image*, for *imagine*. Compare *Purg.* xxv. 26:  
"Guizza dentro allo specchio vostra image."

§ *come ferma rupe*: Compare *Purg.* v. 14:  
"Sta come torre ferma che non crolla."

|| *plage*: Compare *Par.* xxiii, 10-12:  
"Così la Donna mia si stava eretta

Lo cielo avvivan di tanto sereno,\* 5  
 Che soperchia dell' aere ogni compage;†  
 Immagini quel Carro‡ a cui il seno

Ed attenta, rivolta inver la plaga [*region*]  
 Sotto la quale il sol mostra men fretta."

Compare also *De Vulg. Eloq.* i, 8, ll. 3-4: "Per universa mundi climata climatunque plagas." A few lines further down (17-19) Dante explains that this means "regions." Compare again *Quaest. Aq. et Terr.* § 19, ll. 35-36: "Patet . . . per astrologos climata describentes, et per cosmographos regiones terrae per omnes plagas ponentes."

\* *sereno*: This means here, "brilliancy, radiance." In *Par.* xix, 64, 65, Dante uses it to describe God, the Author of all Light:

"Lume non è, se non vien dal sereno  
 Che non si turba mai."

† *compage*, which in its primary sense signifies, "Congiunzione, Concatenazione, etc." (See *Gran Diz.*) in this passage is interpreted "densità, spessezza." Benvenuto renders the line: "idest, vincunt omnem aliam aggregationem aeteris, sive sit gallasia, sive quaecumque alia constellatio." Daniello explains it well: "Ogni composizione ed aggregato dell'aria, perciocchè la foltezza e densità dell'aere non ci vieta il poterle vedere." See also Nannucci, *Teorica dei Nomi*, p. 76, et seq.: "Abbiamo alcuni nomi femminini che finiscono in *O*, usati da' poeti, e che si presero di netto dal nominativo singolare della terza declinazione de' Latini, come *imago, compago*, etc., i quali si terminarono anch' essi in *E* per parità di cadenza con quelli delle altre declinazioni, ch'ebbero la stessa uscita, e si disse *image, compage*, etc."

‡ *Immagini quel Carro*, etc.: "idest, illam constellationem quae dicitur ursa major vel minor, et appellatur currus similitudinariae, quia constat ex stellis septem, quarum quatuor sunt quasi quatuor rotae pares in curru, duae tamquam boves, septima sicut bubulcus ducens currum, et istae stellae moventur circa nostrum polum septemtrionalem, et sunt perpetua apparitionis." (Benvenuto). Compare Dante, *Canz.* xv (which begins *Io son venuto al punto della rota*), st. 3:

"Fuggito è ogni augel, che 'l caldo segue,  
 Dal paese d' Europa, che non perde  
 Le sette stelle gelide unquemaì."

and Boëthius, *Phil. Consol.* lib. iv, metr. 6 (ed. Peiper, p. 115):

"Nec quae summo vertice mundi  
 Flectit rapidos Ursa meatus

Basta del nostro cielo e notte e giorno,  
Sì ch' al volger del temo non vien meno ;

Let him imagine, who desires rightly to understand that which I at this juncture saw—and while I am speaking, let him keep the image before him as an immovable rock—(let him, I say, imagine) the fifteen stars which in divers regions animate the heavens with a brilliancy so great, that it irresistibly forces its way through every density of the atmosphere; (then) imagine that Wain for which the bosom of our heaven (*i.e.* the field of our Northern Hemisphere) suffices both night and day, so that in the turning of its pole it disappears not;

Benvenuto says that the Wain, *i.e.* the Great Bear, illuminates our hemisphere by day and by night, and mariners always make use of it to find the north. The Wain describes so small a circle in its revolutions, that it never passes out of view, or sets, as do other stars. To understand the next few lines it may be remarked that, in the Little Bear, the stars take the form of a horn, whose commencement is near the extreme point of the axis of our earth, round which the *Primum Mobile*, according to the Ptolemaïc system, revolves. The two most brilliant stars of the Little Bear form the mouth at the broad end of the horn: the small end being the Pole Star.

Immagini la bocca di quel corno,\*

10

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Numquam occiduo lota profundo  
Caetera cernens sidera mergi  
Cupit oceano tinguere flammās.”

\* *bocca di quel corno*: Longfellow observes that the constellation of the Little Bear as much resembles a horn as it does a bear. Of this horn the Pole Star forms the smaller end. Of *bocca*, Brun. Bianchi remarks: “le due stelle dell’ Orsa minore, le più vicine al polo, le quali poste una di qua ed una di là da esso polo, formano quasi un’apertura, una bocca di quel

Che si comincia in punta dello stelo  
 A cui la prima rota va dintorno,  
 Aver fatto di sè due segni\* in cielo  
 (Qual fece la figliuola di Minoi†  
 Allora che sentì di morte il gielo). 15  
 E l'un nell'altro aver li raggi suoi,  
 Ed ambo e due girarsi per maniera,  
 Che l'uno andasse al prima e l'altro al poi,‡

corno, di quello spazio in figura di corno, che ha il suo centro in punta dell'asse mondiale, in cui si gira la prima ruota, cioè il primo cielo rotante, detto il *Primo Mobile*."

\* *segni*: Used here to signify, "Constellations." Dante uses it again in the same sense in *Par.* xxii, 110, 111:

"io vidi il segno

Che segue il Tauro, e fui dentro da esso."

† *figliuola di Minoi*, i.e. Ariadne, who being deserted by Bacchus, and dying of grief, the god changed her garland into the constellation known as her crown. The story is told by Ovid, *Metam.* viii, 174-182: compare also Chaucer, *The Legend of Ariadne of Athens* (in the *Legend of Good Women* at the end):

"And in the signe of Taurus men may see,  
 The stones of her crowne shine clere."

And Spenser, *Faërie Queene*, book vi, canto x, st. 13:

"Looke! how the crowne, which Ariadne wore  
 Upon her yvory forehead that same day

Being now placed in the firmament,  
 Through the bright Heaven doth her beams display."

‡ *al prima . . . al poi*: It is exceedingly difficult to decide which of two interpretations of this passage to prefer. Scartazzini frankly confesses himself unable to decide, as the expression is to him quite obscure. The most generally accepted rendering, and the one preferred by Casini, is that the two constellations were circling in directions contrary the one to the other. I rather prefer, however, the following interpretation by Brunone Bianchi, who, after giving the more general rendering, adds: "Ma convien ricordare ciò che è detto al verso 3, *et seq.*, di canto xii, cioè che queste due ghirlande facevano il medesimo moto, e spiegare così: girarsi quei segni per maniera che l'uno andasse *al prima*, dinanzi, e l'altro *al poi*, dietro di quello." There is a passage in the *Convito* iv, 2, ll. 47-49:

Ed avrà quasi l'ombra della vera  
 Costellazion,\* e della doppia danza, 20  
 Che circolava il punto dov' io era ;  
 Poi ch' è tanto di là da nostra usanza,  
 Quanto di là dal mover della Chiana †  
 Si move il ciel che tutti gli altri avanza.

Let him (next) imagine the mouth of that horn, which commences at the point of the axle round which the first wheel (*i.e.* the *Primum Mobile*) revolves, to have made of itself two signs (*i.e.* Constellations) in the heavens, such as the daughter of Minos (Ariadne) did, when she felt the chill of death, and that one (of these signs) has its rays contained within the other, and that both the twain rotate in such a manner, that the one should go first and the other after; and he will then have as it were a shadow of the true constellation, and of the double dance, which was circling round the point at which I was; because it (the reality) is as far beyond our usage, as the motion of that heaven that outstrips all the others (*i.e.* the *Primum Mobile*) is swifter than the movement of the Chiana.

The *Primum Mobile* was the most rapid of all the heavens in the velocity of its gyrations, and Dante compares it with the sluggish Chiana to mark an extreme contrast.

Dante then draws another contrast between the

which seems to confirm this: "Il tempo secondochè dice Aristotile nel quarto della *Fisica*, è numero di movimento secondo *prima e poi*."

\* *vera Costellazion*: This signifies the twenty-four blessed spirits, who were moving round Dante in the two concentric garlands [*nella doppia danza*.]

† *Chiana*: A river in the territory of Arezzo, which at the present day runs through an artificial channel; but in Dante's time it was a sluggish stream, nearly stagnating in the marshes of Valdichiana. The district is now celebrated for its magnificent oxen.



song of these Saints, a song of the greatest mystery of the Christian Faith, and the wild ritual of the ancients in honour of Bacchus and Apollo.

Lì si cantò\* non Bacco, non Peana,† 25  
 Ma tre Persone in divina natura,  
 Ed in una persona ‡ essa e l' umana.

Not Io Bacchus, not Io Paeon did they sing there,  
 but Three Persons in Divine Nature, and in One  
 Person (united) that and the human.

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\* *Lì si cantò*, et seq.: It is somewhat remarkable that Benvenuto makes his first division end with a semi-colon at l. 21, in the middle of the sense. I have taken the liberty of making a slight alteration, and begin my second division after a full stop, and after the conclusion of the song of the saints.

† *non Bacco, non Peana*: The Thebans used to celebrate the praises of Bacchus upon Mount Cithaeron; and Apollo was worshipped with song and sacrifice both at Delos and in Lycia. Scartazzini dryly remarks that it was perhaps hardly necessary to remind us that it is not the custom in Paradise to chant hymns in honour of the gods of the heathen!

‡ *in una persona*: i.e. in the person of Our Lord Jesus Christ, in Whom the Divine Nature was conjoined with the human in one person. Some read *sustanzia*, which however Dr. Moore only found in 12 MSS., while he found *persona* in over 200. In *Textual Criticism*, pp. 463, 464, he writes: "The overwhelming majority of MSS. here read correctly *persona*. Possibly some pedantic copyist thought the occurrence of *una persona* immediately after *tre Persone* either inelegant or inconsistent. *Persona* is theologically correct, and embodies the truth which Dante still more explicitly states in *Purg.* xxxi, 81, "Ch' è sola una persona in due nature!" *Sustanzia* would be theologically incorrect, unless (as Scartazzini suggests) *sustanzia* be taken as equivalent to *persona*, as is the case in some ancient theological writers. This however is improbable, since Dante carefully distinguishes the words in a passage of the *Convito* (ii, 6, ll. 59, 60). 'Conciossiachè la Maestà Divina sia in Tre Persone, che hanno una Sustanza.' The rare reading *in una natura*, which I find only in two MSS., would clearly land Dante in the monophysite heresy at once. Observe how carefully he distinguishes *persona* and *natura* in *Par.* vii, 40-45. There is no trace of *sustanzia* in the old Commentators, while *Ott.*, *Anon. Fior.*, Benvenuto, Buti, Landino, Vellutello, Daniello, and Serravalle recognize *persona*."

*Division II.* During a cessation of the dance and song, St. Thomas Aquinas again becomes the spokesman for the spirits in the two garlands, who desire to give to Dante the solution of his second doubt. In *Par. x, 112, et seq.*, St. Thomas had said that, in the mind of Solomon, such profound wisdom had been implanted, that never had a second arisen who discerned so much. This had aroused in Dante's mind a doubt (xi, 24-26), for it seemed to him that the wisdom of Adam and of Christ was more profound than that of the ancient King of Israel. Now St. Thomas proceeds to explain this doubt away, and he tells Dante that in truth both Adam and Christ were wiser than Solomon, because God operated in them directly, not by means of the Celestial Influences, which have their greatest power in the *Primum Mobile*, but get weaker as they descend from sphere to sphere; and are resisted by mortal matter. But even this does not disprove the truth of *A veder tanto non surse il secondo*, for it does not say that Solomon was wiser than all *men* on the earth, but wiser than all the kings of the earth.

Compiè il cantare\* e il volger sua misura,  
Ed attesersi a noi quei santi lumi,  
Felicitando sè† di cura in cura.

30

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\* *Compiè il cantare*, et seq.: "Auctor . . . describit quietationem motus et cantus animarum dictarum coronarum, quem motum et cantum exprimit per unam comparationem pulcram et propriam; quae comparatio stat in hoc, quod motus et cantus illarum coronarum [*garlands*] superavit tantum motum et cantum nostrarum dantiarum, quantum motus firmamenti excedit motum unius stagni mortui . . . Cantus duravit tantum quantum circumlatio, et ita finivit simul secum pariter." (Benvenuto).

† *Felicitando sè*: Cesari (*Bellezze*) exclaims: "Bello! Fino

Ruppe il silenzio nei concordi numi\*  
 Poscia la luce, in cui mirabil vita  
 Del poverel di Dio† narrata fumi,  
 E disse:—"Quando l'una paglia è trita,‡  
 Quando la sua semenza è già riposta,  
 A batter l'altra dolce amor m'invita.

35

The singing and the dance completed its measure, and those holy lights (then) turned their attention to us, gathering gladness to themselves (in passing) from the care (of praising God) to the care (of satisfying my desire). Then that luminary (St. Thomas) from within which the wondrous life of God's own poor one (St. Francis) had been related to me, broke the silence among those Saints united (in heart), and said: "Now that one straw (*i.e.* ear of corn) has been threshed out, now that its grain is safely garnered, sweet Love invites me to thresh out the other.

That is to say: "Now that thy first doubt as to *U' ben s'impingua* has been explained away, I will proceed to explain away thy second doubt, about Solomon."

a quel punto quelle anime s'erano letiziate lodando Dio: or passano a letiziarsi, sfogando la lor carità al nostro servizio—parlar riciso e serrato, ma proprio e pieno di senso."

\* *numi*: "Propriamente *Dei*, qui per *Beati*." (Scartazzini). "Quelli beati spiriti si possono chiamare iddii per partecipazione de la beatitudine, la quale è quello che è la divinità." (Buti). Compare *Par.* v, 122, 123:

"Di' di'

Sicuramente, e credi come a Dii."

† *poverel di Dio*: "Il glorioso poverello di Cristo, messer San Francesco." (*Fioretti di S. Francesco*, ap. Poletto).

‡ *trita*: "Spiegare il vero è quasi liberar dalla paglia il grano che sarà nutrimento." (Tommaséo). "Parla di cotale già fatta dichiarazione come di grano di già battuto e riposto; e della dichiarazione ch'è ora per fare, come di grano ancor da battersi; e giudiziosamente; imperocchè siccome per la battitura sciogliesi e traggessi il grano dalla scorza e paglia che lo nasconde, così per la dichiarazione sciogliesi e traggasi il senso dall' oscuro parlare che lo tiene celato." (Lombardi).

Tu credi che nel petto,\* onde la costa  
 Si trasse per formar la bella guancia,  
 Il cui palato a tutto il mondo costa,  
 Ed in quel che, forato dalla lancia, 40  
 E poscia e prima † tanto satisfece,  
 Che d'ogni colpa vince la bilancia,  
 Quantunque alla natura umana lece  
 Aver di lume, tutto fosse infuso  
 Da quel valor che l'uno e l'altro fece: 45  
 E però ammiri ciò ch'io dissi suso, ‡  
 Quando narrai che non ebbe il secondo  
 Lo ben che nella quinta luce è chiuso.

\* *nel petto*: From the body of Adam God took a rib to fashion the body of the fair Eve (*Genesis*, ii, 21, 22), and she by eating of the forbidden fruit was the cause of so much woe to the human race. (Scartazzini.) See *Purg.* xxix, 23-30:

"buon zelo  
 Mi fe' riprender l'ardimento d'Eva,  
 Che, là dove ubbidia la terra e il cielo,  
 Femmina sola, e pur testè formata,  
 Non sofferse di star sotto alcun velo;  
 Sotto il qual, se devota fossè stata,  
 Avrei quelle ineffabili delizie  
 Sentite prima, e più lunga fiata."

Both the beauty of Eve, and the deep wound that her sin inflicted upon the human race are alluded to in *Par.* xxxii, 4-6:

"La piaga che Maria richiuse ed unse,  
 Quella [*Eve*] ch'è tanto bella da' suoi piedi  
 È colei che l'aperse e che la punse."

† *poscia e prima*: There are different interpretations of this line, which I understand: "Before Our Lord's death and after it." Scartazzini, after dealing with other opinions, says that he thinks it sufficient to simply recollect the sentence in the Apostles' Creed: "Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead"—that was *prima*; while "and buried. He descended into Hell"—that was *poscia*. Some think the words mean that Our Lord made satisfaction both for all sin committed before His death, and for all sin committed after it.

‡ *suso*: St. Thomas refers to his words about Solomon in *Par.* x, 112-114, whom he described as being in *la quinta luce*:

"Entro v'è l'alta mente u'sì profondo  
 Saper fu messo, che se il vero è vero,  
 A veder tanto non surse il secondo."

Thou believest that in the breast (of Adam), from which was taken out the rib to form the lovely face (*lit.* cheek, of Eve), whose taste costs the whole world (so dear), and in that (of Christ) which pierced by the spear, both after and before (*i.e.* in His descent into Hell after death, and in His Passion and Crucifixion before death) made satisfaction so great that it outweighs the balance of every sin, (thou believest, I say) that in so far as it is permitted to human nature to possess light, it was all infused (into Adam and into Christ) by that Power Who created both of them: and therefore thou dost marvel at what I said above (*Par.* x, 112), when I related that the excellence that is enclosed in the fifth light (*i.e.* Solomon) never had a second (*i.e.* never had another like him).

St. Thomas points out to Dante that Dante's opinion is quite in consonance with St. Thomas's former words, both harmonizing in truth. The substance of what he now begins to say, is as follows: All creation proceeds from God, Triune and One, by the emanation of His Excellence into the Angelic bodies.

Ora apri gli occhi a quel ch'io ti rispondo,\*

E vedrai il tuo credere e il mio dire

50

Nel vero farsi come centro in tondo.†

Ciò che non more,‡ e ciò che può morire,

\* *quel ch'io ti rispondo*: The whole substance of the long exposition, that St. Thomas Aquinas now makes to Dante, will be found in the *Summa*, pars. i, qu. xciv, throughout the four Articles which relate to Adam; and in pars. iii, questions ix-xii, concerning the knowledge of Christ.

† *Nel vero farsi come centro in tondo*: Compare Boëthius, *Philos. Consol.* iii, pros. xi, ll. 110-112: "Nimum . . . o alumne laetor, ipsam enim mediae veritatis notam Mente fixisti."

‡ *Ciò che non more*, et seq.: Lana explains that the Angels, human souls, heaven, and the elements, are what die not, while that which can die are the individual forms of things corporate. But Scartazzini prefers to take it "*in senso universalissimo*": "Ogni incorruttibile e corruttibile creatura." These



Non è se non splendor di quella idea\*  
 Che partorisce, amando, il nostro Sire ;  
 Chè quella viva luce che sì mea † 55  
 Dal suo lucente, che non si disuna  
 Da lui, nè dall' amor che a lor s' intrea, ‡  
 Per sua bontate § il suo raggiare aduna,

all are nothing but a ray reflected from the great Idea which God generates in His Love.

\* *idea*: This Scholastic term is thus explained by St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* i, qu. xv, art. 1): "ἰδέα Graece, Latine forma dicitur. Unde per ideas intelliguntur formae aliquarum rerum praeter ipsas res existentes. Forma autem alicujus rei praeter ipsam existens ad duo esse potest, vel ut sit exemplar ejus cujus dicitur forma, vel ut sit principium cognitionis ipsius, secundum quod formae cognoscibilium dicuntur esse in cognoscente . . . Quia mundus non est casu factus, sed est factus a Deo per intellectum agente, necesse est quod in mente divina sit forma ad similitudinem cujus mundus est factus." Professor Norton has an excellent note here: "The creation of things eternal and things temporal alike is the splendid manifestation of the idea which the triune God, in his love, generates. The living Light in the Son, emanating in its lucent source in the Father, in union with the love of the Holy Spirit, the three remaining always one, pours out its radiance through the nine Orders of the Angelic Hierarchy, who distribute it by means of the Heavens of which they are the Intelligences."

† *mea* is from *meare* (from the same verb in Latin), *i.e.* flows, proceeds, is derived. Compare *Par.* xv, 55, 66:

"Tu credi che a me tuo pensier mei  
 Da quel ch'è primo,"

and *Par.* xxiii, 79, 80:

"Come a raggio di sol, che puro mei  
 Per fratta nube," &c.

Some read *s' innea*, or *s' inèa*, instead of *sì mea*.

‡ *s' intrea*: Scartazzini says that Dante invented the verb *intrearsi* to express the indivisibility of the Holy Trinity. Il *Lucente* is the Father, la *viva luce* the Son, l' *amore* the Holy Spirit. In *Inf.* iii, 6, we find "Il Primo Amore."

§ *bontate* . . . *Quasi specchiato*: "Il Verbo è luce interna in-creata, che pure rimanendosi una, viene alle creature a manifestarsi come in altrettanti specchi. Come lo splendore del sole si ravvisa negli specchi nei quali imprime la sua immagine, così lo splendore del Verbo si ravvisa nelle creature che sono sue

Quasi specchiato, in nove sussistenze,  
Eternalmente rimanendosi una.

60

Open now thine eyes to that which I answer thee, and thou wilt perceive that thy belief and my words have place in the truth as the centre in a circle. That which cannot die, and that which can die, are naught else but the beaming of that Idea to which our Sovereign Lord in His Love gives birth (*i.e.* things both corruptible and incorruptible are the emanation of Love in the Mind of God); for that living Light (God the Son) Which so streams forth from Its radiant source (God the Father), that It is not disunited from It, nor from the Love (God the Holy Ghost) Which with Them forms the Trinity, (that Living Light, I say, Jesus Christ) by Its Goodness collects, as in a mirror, Its rays into nine Subsistencies (*i.e.* the nine Orders of the Heavenly Hierarchy), Itself for all eternity remaining One.

In the next six lines St. Thomas points out that, through the Nine Angelic Hierarchies, the emanation of the excellence of God descends even down to things corruptible. The Essential and Eternal Light, the Source of Informative Virtues, reflected from Sphere to Sphere, and becoming enfeebled by these reflexions, is only able to produce in the lowest Sphere of all, creatures that are imperfect, and of limited existence. The last potencies are the things least capable of impression by the energy which God transmits from Sphere to Sphere, from the *Primum Mobile* downwards, and which energy He allows to become so attenuated as it descends, that in its final stage on the earth, it can only produce things cor-

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imagini. Il Verbo rimane eternalmente una sola persona o sussistenza, quantunque le specchiate imagini sieno moltissime." (Cornoldi).

ruptible and of short duration, such as animals and plants ; called by Dante mere contingencies.

Quindi discende\* all'ultime potenze  
Giù d'atto in atto tanto divenendo,  
Che più non fa che brevi contingenze ;†

\* *Quindi discende*, et seq. : The following remarks are extracted from Dr. Moore's *Studies in Dante*, p. 110 : "The Divine Essence is here represented as entering into the several orders of Being in a constantly diminishing degree, as they are removed in a descending scale from the Divine Source of all Being . . . The idea is an Aristotelian one. For Dante's language, if not derived from, bears an interesting resemblance to, Aristotle, *De Mundo*, cap. vi, 397, b. 27 seqq." Compare *Par.* ii, 121-124 :

"Questi organi del mondo così vanno,  
Come tu vedi omai, di grado in grado,  
Che di su prendono, e di sotto fanno."

and *Conv.* iv, xxi, ll. 44 et seq.

"There is also a passage in Albertus Magnus, *Phys.* lib. ii, Tr. i, ch. 5, which so closely corresponds with the ideas, and almost with the language of Dante, in these and several other passages, that it is worth transcribing, especially as he is a writer with whom Dante shows himself often to have been familiar. Further, this is the very chapter in which Albertus discusses the distinction between *Natura Universalis* and *Natura particularis*, which is repeated several times by Dante, and which he seems to have derived from this chapter. At any rate I have not been able to discover any other source for it. Albertus quoting (and it is true, in certain respects impugning) the doctrine of Hermes Trismegistus, says this: '. . . quod natura egrediens est vis egrediens a prima causa per motum coeli, quae quia est processio quaedam facta a prima causa quae movet primum causatum, est virtus principians motum : et quia per motum coeli egreditur, est ipsa virtus incorporabilis particularibus, et *diversificatur in illis secundum diversitatem recipientium*, et efficitur nobilior et minus nobilis, et efficacior et minus efficax, *secundum quod est propinquior et remotior a prima causa*, ex qua in inferiora procedit."

† *contingenze* : St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* i, qu. lxxxvi, art. 3) defines the exact meaning of the term : "Contingens est quod potest esse et non esse." It is therefore in direct opposition to *necessitas*, and *brevi contingenze* mean corruptible things of short and uncertain duration. Compare St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summa contra Gentiles*, iii, 72) : "Ex causis autem proximis

E queste contingenze essere intendo

Le cose generate, che produce \*

65

Con seme, e senza seme il ciel movendo.

Thence (*i.e.* through these nine Subsistencies) It descends downwards to the last potencies from influence to influence, becoming so much lowered (in energy), that It makes nothing further save brief contingencies; and these contingencies I understand to be things generated, such as the moving heaven produces with seed and without seed.

By seed are generated all organic things, the human species, animals, plants, etc.; without seed all inorganic substances.

But St. Thomas shows next that there is a great diversity in the material of contingent or temporal things, and the heavenly influence which shapes them, and they are receptive of the Divine Idea either more or less according to their dispositions, and for that reason men are of varying intellects.

La cera † di costoro, e chi la duce,

Non sta d'un modo, e però sotto il segno

Ideale poi più e men traluce:

aliqui effectus dicuntur necessarij vel contingentes; non autem ex remotis causis. Nam fructificatio plantae est effectus contingens propter causam proximam, quae est vis germinativa quae potest impediri ac deficere . . . non omnes effectus qui providentiae subduntur erunt necessarij sed plurimi sunt contingentes." Scartazzini points out that what Dante intended by *contingenze* he himself explains with the utmost precision and lucidity in the lines that follow (64-66).

\* *che produce*, et seq.: The whole theory of the generation of seed in the Terrestrial Paradise, and its dissemination upon the Earth, is described in *Purg.* xxviii, 103-117.

† *La cera*, et seq.: Compare *Par.* viii, 127-129:

"La circular natura, ch' è suggello

Alla cera mortal, fa ben sua arte,

Ma non distingue l' un dall' altro ostello."

Compare also *Convito* iii, 7, ll. 11-16: "La divina bontà in tutte

Ond' egli avvien ch' un medesimo legno, 70  
 Secondo specie, meglio e peggio frutta;  
 E voi nascete con diverso ingegno.

The wax (*i.e.* ductile matter) of these, and that which moulds them (*i.e.* the Heavenly Influence), are not always uniform, and therefore under the signet (*i.e.* impress) of the (Divine) Idea it (the wax) shines thereafter with greater or less intensity: whence it comes to pass that one and the same tree, according to its kind, bears better or worse fruit; and you (mortals) are born with diverse intellect.

If the material were absolutely perfect, and always fit to receive the impression, and the Heavenly Influence at its highest point of energy, instead of being attenuated by its gradual descent through the several spheres, all created things would display the entirety of the Divine Idea, of which, as it happens, Nature can show but a dim shadow. Here Mr. Norton remarks that Nature, the second Cause, never transmits the whole of the Creative light.

le cose discende; e altrimenti essere non potrebbero; ma avvenchè questa bontà si muova da semplicissimo principio, diversamente si riceve, secondo più o meno, delle cose riceventi." In *Par.* i, 40-42, Dante, speaking of the Sun's influence upon the earth, adds:

"Con miglior corso e con migliore stella  
 Esce congiunta, e la mondana cera  
 Più a suo modo tempera e suggella."

Compare too *Convito* iii, 7, ll. 46-88. In *Purg.* viii, 112, 113, we find *lucerna* used in combination with *cera*, the former to signify Divine Grace, and the latter man's free will acting in concurrence with it:

"Se la lucerna che ti mena in alto  
 Trovi nel tuo arbitrio tanta cera," etc.

In *Inf.* xxv, 61, 62, the interchanging forms of man and serpent are compared to easily-moulded wax:

"Poi s' appiccar, come di calda cera  
 Fossero stati, e mischiar lor colore."



Se fosse \* a punto la cera dedutta,  
 E fosse il cielo in sua virtù suprema,  
 La luce del suggel parrebbe tutta ; 75  
 Ma la natura la dà sempre scema,  
 Similmente operando all' artista,  
 Ch' ha l' abito † dell' arte, e man che trema.

If the wax were worked up to the exact point (of

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\* *Se fosse*, et seq.: "Cioè se la disposizione del cielo fosse a produrre uno agricola, e la materia fosse a ciò disposta, allora nella ditta cera, cioè materia, apparerebbe tutta la forma del sigillo, cioè quella virtù celeste, e sarebbe perfetto agricola." (Lana.) Compare *Par.* i, 127-129:

"Ver è che, come forma non s' accorda  
 Molte fiata alla intenzion dell' arte,  
 Perch' a risponder la materia è sorda ;" etc.

Venturi (*Simil. Dant.*, p. 198, sim. 340) observes that the passage we are discussing completes the above quoted simile in *Par.* i, of which he says: "Là, all' intenzione dell' arte non risponde la materia che è sorda ; qui, non risponde la mano dell' artista che è manchevole. Ma in questa mano che trema si vorrà egli intendere solamente quella che è resa impotente per naturale infermità ? Non crediamo ; e ci pare che in essa s' adombri anco lo sgomento [*timidity*] profondo, di cui non vanno scevre le anime grandi, come si sa di Lionardo e di Michelangiolo : sgomento che fa tremare la mano, ed è alla stanca mente riposo, e spesso umiltà feconda di opere immortali." In Michelangiolo's Sonnet lxxxiii, *Parallelo tra l' arte della Scultura e l' arte di amare*, see the opening lines :

"Non ha l' ottimo artista alcun concetto  
 Ch' un marmo solo in sè non circoscriva  
 Col suo soverchio, e solo a quello arriva  
 La man che obedisce all' intelletto."

† *l' abito* : The word here seems to have the same meaning as in several passages in the *Convito*. Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, p. 154) says that this beautiful comparison of nature to an artist with an unsteady hand, may have been suggested by Aristotle. (*Phys.* II, viii, 199a, 33). Compare *Convito* iii, 12, ll. 14-18: "È uno studio, il quale mena l' uomo all' abito dell' arte e della scienza ; e un altro studio, il quale nell' abito acquistato adopera." See also *Convito* iii, 13, ll. 95-101: "Onde, avvegnachè all' abito di quella per alquanti si vegna, non vi si viene sì per alcuno, che propriamente abito dire si possa ; perocchè il primo studio, cioè quello per lo quale l' abito si genera, non può quella perfettamente acquistare. È qui si vede l' ultima sua lode."

perfection), and were the heaven at its highest disposing influence, the lustre of the seal would then be manifested in full; but Nature ever turns out it (the lustre) imperfect, doing her work like the artist, who has the skill of his art, and yet a hand that trembles.

Tommaséo says that by *la man che trema* are meant those mundane elements which do not precisely correspond to the excellence of the divine influence.

But, St. Thomas goes on to say, this absolute perfection does occur, when the being is directly created by God, as was notably the case with Adam, and with Christ, who were endowed with perfect wisdom.

Però se il caldo amor\* la chiara vista

Della prima virtù dispone e segna,

80

Tutta la perfezion quivi s'acquista.

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\* *Però se il caldo amor*, et seq.: Among the many ways suggested of rendering this intensely difficult passage, I have preferred to take that of Daniello, who is followed by Lombardi, Biagioli, *Philaethes*, Witte, Longfellow, Scartazzini, Poletto, and by the most modern of all the Commentators, Casini. Daniello says: "Havendo dimostrato come le cose prodotte dalla mente divina per mezzo delle seconde cagioni, siano imperfette; hora concludendo e lodando l'opinion del Poeta, che in Adamo e in Cristo fosse ogni perfettione, dice che se 'l caldo Amor, se l' infiammata carità, e la chiara Vista, e il chiaro splendore, de la prima Virtù, cioè d' Iddio, toccando un'altra volta brevemente la Trinità, significando per la prima virtù, il padre, per la chiara vista, la sapienza del figliuolo, e il caldo amor, la carità dello Spirito santo." Scartazzini, who is also quoted by Casini, writes: "Il Poeta, avendo mostrato sin qui che quando Dio opera mediante le cause seconde, ossia quando opera la natura, l'effetto che ne viene non è mai nella pienezza della sua perfezione, passa a dimostrare che quando Dio opera immediatamente e da sè, senza valersi delle cause seconde o della natura, l'effetto che ne riesce è perfettissimo." This was the case (1) in the Creation of Adam; (2) in the Incarnation of the Son. For the former compare *Par.* xxvi, 82-84:

"Dentro da que'rai

Vagheggia il suo fattor l'anima prima  
Che la prima virtù creasse mai."

Così fu fatta già la terra degna  
 Di tutta l'animal perfezione ;\*  
 Così fu fatta la Vergine pregna.†  
 Sì ch' io commendo‡ tua opinione :  
 Che l'umana natura mai non fue,  
 Nè fia, qual fu in quelle due persone.

85

If however the fervent Love (*i.e.* God the Holy Ghost, the creative Spirit) disposes and imprints the perfect sight of the Primal Virtue (*i.e.* of God the Father), complete perfection is acquired there (*i.e.* in that substance, as in Adam and Christ). Thus (*i.e.* by such direct Divine operation) was earth made worthy to receive (in the person of Adam) the highest animal perfection ; thus again (*i.e.* by the direct operation of God) was the Virgin made pregnant. So that I commend thy opinion, that human nature never yet was, nor can be (as perfect) as it was in those two persons (Adam and Christ).

Up to this point St. Thomas Aquinas has at great length confirmed the truth of Dante's idea of the complete perfection both of Adam and of Christ.

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\* *tutta l'animal perfezione* : Compare *De Vulg. Eloq.* i, 5, ll. 10-15 : "Si ergo faber ille atque perfectionis principium et amator afflando primum hominem omni perfectione complevit, rationabile nobis apparet nobilissimum animal non ante sentire quam sentiri coepisse."

† *pregna* : "Nel formare della terra il primo uomo e nell'ingravidar della Vergine, in ambedue la virtù divina *dedusse la cera* appunto, ed operò *la virtù suprema de' Cieli* ; cioè, Iddio dispose la materia, e la virtù de' Cieli operò immediatamente colla mano di Dio : e l'opera fu perfetta. Stando dunque le cose sì come stanno, segue a dire San Tommaso a Dante ; tu ben dicesti, che Adamo e Cristo furono perfettissimi." (Cesari, *Bellezze*).

‡ *commendo*, et seq. : St. Thomas applauds and agrees with Dante's opinion (expressed in ll. 37-45), seeing that human nature never was, nor ever could be as perfect as it was in Adam and in Christ. "Hai ragione di dire che il primo uomo, in quanto uomo, fu perfettissimo, e così dell'umanità di Cristo bene si afferma." (Cornoldi.)

Now he deals with the objection that might be made, "How then, didst thou say, that the like of Solomon never lived?" This, St. Thomas remarks, would be the first question likely to be put to him by Dante.

Or s'io non procedessi avanti piuè,  
 'Dunque come costui fu senza pare?'  
 Comincerebber le parole tue.

90

Ma perchè paia ben ciò che non pare,  
 Pensa chi era, e la cagion che il mosse,\*  
 Quando fu detto, 'Chiedi,' a domandare.

Now if I were not to proceed further,—'How then was this other one without a peer?' would begin thy words. But in order that that which is not now apparent may appear clearly, consider who he was, and the cause that moved him to make his petition when it was said to him, 'Ask.'

Dante is to think of Solomon not so much as a man as a king. The cause that moved him to pray

\* *la cagion che il mosse*: See *I Kings*, iii, 5-9: "In Gibeon the Lord appeared to Solomon in a dream by night: and God said, Ask what I shall give thee. And Solomon said, Thou hast shewed unto thy servant David my father great mercy, according as he walked before thee in truth, and in righteousness, and in uprightness of heart with thee; and thou hast kept for him this great kindness, that thou hast given him a son to sit on his throne, as it is this day. And now, O Lord my God, thou hast made thy servant king instead of David my father; and I am but a little child: I know not how to go out or come in. And thy servant is in the midst of thy people, which thou hast chosen, a great people, that cannot be numbered nor counted for multitude. Give therefore thy servant an understanding heart to judge thy people, that I may discern between good and bad: for who is able to judge this thy so great a people?" Dante refers to this in *Convito* iv, 27, ll. 56-63: "Se ben si mira, dalla Prudenza vengono i buoni consigli, i quali conducono sè ed altri a buon fine nelle umane cose e operazioni. E questo è quel dono che Salomone, veggendosi al governo del popolo esser posto, chiese a Dio, siccome nel terzo libro delli Regi è scritto."

to God to grant him wisdom was the desire of rightly governing his kingdom and people, rather than that of the mere acquisition of scientific knowledge.

Non ho parlato sì che tu non posse  
 Ben veder ch'ei fu re, che chiese senno, 95  
 Acciocchè re sufficiente fosse ;  
 Non per saper lo numero\* in che enno  
 Li motor di quassù, o se *nesesse*  
 Con contingente mai *nesesse* fenno ;  
 Non *si est dare primum motum esse*, 100  
 O se del mezzo cerchio far si puote  
 Triangol sì ch'un retto non avesse.

I have not spoken so (obscurely) that thou canst not see clearly that he was a king, who asked for wisdom in order that he might be a capable king ; it was not

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\* *lo numero*, etc. : Casini says that the question as to how many were the Motor Intelligences existing in the heavens was a metaphysical problem which Dante alludes to in *Convito* ii, 5 and 6, where, after referring to the opinions held on the subject by Aristotle, Plato and others, he concludes that their number is innumerable and indeterminate. Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, pp. 116, 117) referring to ll. 97-102, says : "Of the four specimens given here by Dante of purely speculative questions which Solomon is commended for postponing to the desire for practical wisdom, the first three are evidently suggested by Aristotle, and the first possibly also by Plato (in view of the passage in *Convito* ii, 5, ll. 21, *et seq.*), while the last is a well-known geometrical theorem (*Euclid*, iii, 31). As to the first in the *Convito*, *l. c.*, Dante compares the views of Aristotle and Plato on the subject of the *primi movitori*, referring to two, as he thinks, somewhat inconsistent utterances of the former in the *De Coelo* and in the *Metaphysics* (see references in Index) ; while as to Plato, Dante seems to be referring to the *Timaeus*, p. 39 E. and 40 A. The second problem, whether from a syllogism with one necessary and one contingent premiss the conclusion can ever be otherwise than contingent, is discussed by Aristotle in the *Prior Analytics* I, xvi. The third problem, whether Motion is eternal or not, is dealt with by Aristotle in *Phys.* viii, ch. i, and ii, and he determines, in opposition to Plato, that both Time and Motion are eternal. For Plato's views on this subject, see *Timaeus*, 37 D, 38 B, etc."



to learn the number in which are the Motors here on high, or if *necesse* with a contingent ever made *necesse*. Not *si est dare primum motum esse* (whether one must concede that there is such a thing as a first motion), or if in a semi-circle a triangle can be drawn so that it have no right angle.

Solomon did not ask God to reveal to him how many are the Intelligences that move the Spheres; nor if a premiss necessarily true, coupled with only one contingency that is true, ever produced a necessarily true conclusion, a thing which Aristotle affirms, but Plato denies. He did not ask whether such a thing exists as a first motion, *i.e.* one that is not produced by another motion, a question which involves another as to whether the world was eternal. This principle again Aristotle affirms, while it is denied by Theologians. Solomon did not ask for ability to dive into the speculative problem whether the truths of Geometry (of which this is taken as a type) are absolutely immutable throughout the Universe. We have three highly speculative questions relating to Logic, Physics, and Geometry set in contrast with practical wisdom.

Onde, se ciò ch' io dissi \* e questo note,  
 Regal prudenza è quel vedere impari, †  
 In che lo stral di mia intenzion percote. 105

\* *ciò ch' io dissi*: This refers to St. Thomas's words about Solomon in x, 112-114:

“Entro v' è l'alta mente u' s'è profondo  
 Saper fu messo, che se il vero è vero,  
 A veder tanto non surse il secondo.”

† *è quel vedere impari*: There are two distinct readings and different interpretations in this passage. The point is, are we to read *è* (verb) or *e* (copula)? Are we to understand *impari* as an adjective *i.e.* “peerless,” or as the 2nd person of the present Indic. of the verb *imparare*, with the sense of “thou learnest?” I prefer the former of these, which is adopted by Moore, Norton,

E, se al *Surse*\* drizzi gli occhi chiari,  
 Vedrai aver solamente rispetto  
 Ai regi, che son molti, e i buon son rari.†

Wherefore if thou notest what I said (*i.e.* that Solomon was without a peer), and now this (namely, that the Wisdom he asked for was not speculative but kingly), (then) a kingly prudence is that peerless seeing at which the shaft of my intention strikes. And if to (the word) *surse* (*i.e.* arose) thou direct thine eyes clearly, thou wilt see that it has reference to kings only, who are many, but the good (Kings) are rare.

St. Thomas concludes his solution of Dante's second doubt.

Con questa distinzion ‡ prendi il mio detto,  
 E così potete star con quel che credi 110  
 Del primo padre e del nostro diletto.

Take my words with this distinction, and thus they can be consistent with what thou believest of the first father (Adam) and of our Well-Beloved (*i.e.* Christ).

Camerini, Brunone Bianchi, Fraticelli, Benvenuto, Blanc, Buti, Cesari, Cornoldi, and others. Scartazzini and Casini adopt the other reading and interpretation. Compare the use of *dispari* in *Purg.* xiii, 120:

"Letizia presi a tutte altre dispari."

\* *Surse*: In the *Vulgate* (*III Regum*, iii, 12) we find the origin of *surse* in the word *surrecturus*: "Ecce feci tibi secundum sermones tuos, et dedi tibi cor sapiens et intelligens, in tantum ut nullus ante te similis tui fuerit nec post te surrecturus sit."

† *regi* . . . *buon son rari*: In *Par.* xix, 112-114, Dante indignantly exclaims that heathen kings, who know not Christ, will rebuke the sins of kings professedly Christian, when the books are opened on the Day of Judgment:

"Che potran dir li Persi ai vostri regi,  
 Come vedranno quel volume aperto,  
 Nel qual si scrivon tutti i suoi dispregi?"

‡ *distinzion*: If, says St. Thomas, Dante takes his words in *Par.* x, in the sense of there being a vast difference between men invested with regal authority, and ordinary men, he will see that they are in perfect agreement with Dante's opinion as to the wisdom of Adam and of Christ.

*Division III.* St. Thomas Aquinas, having now solved this last doubt, gives Dante a precept of warning about the solution of doubts generally, and the answering of questions. He tells him that the wise man must be slow to answer questions put to him, must be slow in affirming and slow in denying any proposition, since in it that which may be true in one sense, may be false in another; he must therefore ponder and understand well, and be slow in coming to his conclusions, or he may find that he is running into the gravest errors, like so many whose opinions have been shown to be heretical.

E questo ti sia sempre piombo\* ai piedi,  
 Per farti mover lento, com' uom lasso,†  
 Ed al sì ed al no,‡ che tu non vedi;  
 Chè quegli è tra gli stolti bene abbasso, 115  
 Che senza distinzion afferma o nega,  
 Nell' un così come nell' altro passo;  
 Perch' egl' incontra che più volte piega  
 L' opinion corrente § in falsa parte,  
 E poi l' affetto || lo intelletto lega. 120

\* *ti sia . . . piombo*: "Cioè, che mai tu non sia subito e giudicare l' altrui detto per libero sì, o per libero no; ma sempre procedi con distinzione, considerando che si possono ad una medesima cosa avere diversi rispetti." (*Ottimo*.)

† *uom lasso*: Compare nearly the same simile in *Inf.* xxxiv, 83: "il Maestro, ansando com' uom lasso."

‡ *ed al sì ed al no*: It is by no means always clear whether one is to give an affirmative or a negative opinion.

§ *l' opinion corrente*: "L' opinione corrente, che non si ferma a distinguere, più volte piega a falsa parte che a la vera parte; e la cagione si è, che de le cose non certe è opinione: imperò che de le certe è scienza, e quando l' opinione si dirizza a la verità non è più opinione: imperò che diventa scienza, sicchè, stante l' opinione che è credere che così sia senza certezza, piega lo 'ntelletto a la falsità, per che a la verità non adiunge e però piegasi a quel che crede esser vero." (*Buti*.)

|| *l' affetto*, et seq.: Casini says: "La predilezione naturale che

And let this ever be as lead unto thy feet, to make thee move slowly, even as a weary man, both to the *yea* and the *nay* which thou seest not; for very low down among the fools is he, who without distinction affirms or denies, as well in the one case as in the other (*i.e.* both in the *yes* and in the *no*); for it often happens that a precipitate judgment leans in the wrong direction, and then self-love fetters the intellect (*i.e.* by causing it to retain its prejudices).

That which might seem to be the inertness of a weary intellect, is often only prudence and caution in arriving at safe conclusions as to truth. The wise man has from his experience many *pros* and *cons* in his mind to compare, while forming his judgment, and he will not therefore take any decisive step until he sees the truth clear before him. But he who knows little, and that little which he thinks he knows being often defective, finds no difficulty whatever in coming to an immediate conclusion, for he is led by his imagination. *The foolish think the majority must always be right. But there is no greater error; for those who think rightly are few in number.*

St. Thomas goes on to say that those who betake themselves to search out the truth, without being equipped with the proper logical methods for the acquisition of knowledge, are undertaking a work that is useless, nay more, that is hurtful, because when they bring their investigation to an end, not only will they find that they have failed to arrive at the truth, but they will find that they are entangled in error.

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ciascuno ha per il proprio giudizio tiene l' intelletto nell' errore, gl' impedisce di discernere la verità." Compare Cicero, *Academ.* iv: "Nihil est turpius quam cognitioni et perceptioni affectionem approbationemque praecurrere."

Vie più che indarno da riva si parte,  
 Perchè non torna tal qual ei si move,  
 Chi pesca per lo vero e non ha l'arte:  
 E di ciò sono al mondo aperte prove  
 Parmenide, Melisso, Brisso\* e molti

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\* *Parmenide, Melisso, Brisso*: Compare with this *De Mon.* iii, 4, l. 30 *et seq.*: "Quae duo Philosophus objiciebat contra parmenidem et Melissum, dicens: 'Qui falsa recipiunt, et non syllogizantes sunt.'" Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, pp. 117, 118) writes in reference to these two passages: "By putting together different passages (chiefly three) of Aristotle, we have the source of Dante's selection of these three names as types of false reasoners clearly disclosed. In *Phys.* III, i, 186a 7 *seqq.*) which Dante definitely quotes in *De Mon.* l. c. (though not quite accurately, since Aristotle's words are *καὶ γὰρ ψευδῆ λαμβάνουσι καὶ ἀσυλλόγιστοί εἰσιν αὐτῶν οἱ λόγοι*). Parmenides and Melissus are held up as examples of *ἐριστικῶς συλλογίζοντες*. To this we may add a passage in the *De Coelo*, iii, i (quoted by Mr. Butler) p. 298, b. 17, where Aristotle, speaking somewhat less harshly of them (*εἰ καὶ τᾶλλα λέγουσι καλῶς*), says that they were misled by attaching undue importance, (as we might say) 'to things of sense,' *διὰ τὸ μηθὲν ἄλλδ παρὰ τὴν τῶν αἰσθητῶν οὐσίαν ὑπολαμβάνειν εἶναι*. Both these philosophers are frequently mentioned with unfavourable criticism by Aristotle; Bryson not quite so often, but he is spoken of with great severity in *Soph. Elench.* xi (171 b. 16 *seqq.*, 172 a. 4) as not only a misguided, but a deliberately dishonest reasoner. His argument was not only *ἐριστικός*, but *ἀπατητικός καὶ ἄδικος*. It was therefore pre-eminently a case in which *l'affetto lo intelletto lega* (l. 120). And we know that Dante was acquainted with the *Soph. Elench.*, because in the *De Mon.*, in the sentence preceding that which is quoted above, he makes a definite quotation from that work (§ 18)."

*Parmenide*: Although Xenophanes is usually credited with having founded the Eleatic school of philosophy, Parmenides, who was born at Elea about B.C. 515, was the first who completely developed its doctrines, which were that "the One is God," and that God is self-existent, eternal, unchangeable, immovable, of the same substance throughout, and in every respect incomparable to man.

*Melisso*: Melissus of Samos was the last of the Eleatic philosophers, he lived about a century after Parmenides, and closely followed his doctrines.

*Brisso*: Bryson was born at Heraclea, and is but little known except as one of those who endeavoured to square the circle.



I quali andavano, e non sapean dove.  
 Sì fe' Sabellio\* ed Arrio,† e quegli stolti  
 Che furon come spade alle scritture  
 In render torti li diritti volti.

Much more than in vain does that man put forth from the shore, who fishes for the truth and has not the skill, because he does not return such as he set out; and of this are standing proofs to the world Parmenides, Melissus, Bryson, and many others who journeyed on (in searching after the truth) and knew not whither. Thus did Sabellius and Arius, and those fools who were as swords to the Holy Scripture, in giving back distorted reflections of the features that were straight.

The reflection of a face on the blade of a sword gives a distorted image, though Lombardi attempted the far-fetched interpretation that these heretics were like swords that mutilated the Scriptures in such wise as to make them seem favourable to those errors which they, in fact, distinctly condemn. But the interpretation I have followed is that of all the best Commentators, old and new.

St. Thomas sums up, by warning men not to be hasty in forming opinions as to the salvation or the perdition of others, and he especially refers to the ques-

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\* *Sabellio*: Sabellius was born at Pentapolis in Africa at the beginning of the 3rd century after Christ. He was the author of certain heretical doctrines, founded on the denial of the Holy Trinity, publicly condemned by the Council of Alexandria A.D. 261. He died about four years afterwards.

† *Arrio*: Arius, the celebrated heretic, was born in Libya about 280 A.D. and died at Constantinople in 336. He denied the Consubstantiality of the Word, and believed the Son to be equal in power with the Father, but of a different essence or nature. This error gave rise to the notorious Heterousian or Homoiousian controversy, that distracted the Church for three hundred years. The Arian heresy was condemned by the Council of Nicaea in 325.

tion as to the salvation of Solomon, a matter about which the greatest doubts were entertained.

Non sien\* le genti ancor troppo sicure 130  
 A giudicar, sì come quei che stima  
 Le biade in campo pria che sien mature ;  
 Ch'io ho veduto tutto il verno prima  
 Il prun mostrarsi rigido e feroce,  
 Poscia portar la rosa† in sulla cima ; 135  
 E legno‡ vidi già dritto e veloce  
 Correr lo mar per tutto suo cammino,  
 Perire al fine all' entrar della foce.‡

\* *Non sien*, et seq.: Compare I *Cor.* iv, 5: "Judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts." And *Convito* iv, 15, ll. 120-129: "Sono molti tanto presuntuosi, che si credono tutto sapere; e per questo le non certe cose affermano per certe: lo qual vizio Tullio massimamente abborre nel primo *degli Officii*, e Tommaso nel suo *Contra Gentili*, dicendo: 'Sono molti tanto di loro ingegno presuntuosi che credono col suo intelletto potere misurare tutte le cose, stimando tutto vero quello che a loro pare.'"

† *Poscia portar la rosa*, etc.: Compare Poliziano, *Rispetti Spicciolati*, lxxiv:

"Ogni pungente e venenosa ispina  
 Si vede a qualche tempo esser fiorita."

‡ *legno*: This word means many things *built of wood*, besides its primary signification of "wood." See *Gran Dizionario*, s.v. *legno*, § 10—"ship," and § 11—"carriage." Both these expressions are in common every day use in modern Italian. Dante uses *legno* in the sense of "ship" more than once. See *Par.* ii. 3:

"Retro al mio legno che cantando varca."  
 and *Inf.* iii, 93, where Charon says to Dante:  
 "Più lieve legno convien che ti porti."

§ *Perire . . . all' entrar della foce*: Compare Pulci, *Morg. Magg.* xxv, st. 276:

"Quanti gran legni si vede perire,  
 Disse il Poeta, a l' entrar della foce."  
 and Tasso, *Ger. Liber.* xi, st. 84:

"Ma qual nave talor, che a vela piene  
 Corre il mar procelloso e l' onde sprezza,

Let not people yet be too confident in judging, like him who values the corn in a field before it be ripe; for I have seen the briar show itself at first intractable and wild during the whole winter (and) afterwards bear the rose upon its top; and once saw I a ship upright and swift run her course over the sea during her entire voyage, (and) finally perish at the mouth of the harbour.

St. Thomas concludes the Canto with the remark that any simpleton must not presume to define what the Wisdom of God has determined as the ultimate end of all who die. The sinner may so repent on his death-bed as to be saved, and the just person by arrogant presumption and self-righteousness may after all lose his soul.

Non creda donna Berta o ser Martino\*

Per vedere un furare, altro offerere,

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Vedergli dentro al consiglio divino;†

Poscia in vista del porto, o su le arene,  
O su i fallaci scogli un fianco spezza.”

and Poliziano, *Ballata* xvi, ll. 10-12 :

“E' m' intervien, come spesso alle nave  
Che vanno vanno sempre con buon vento,  
Poi rompono all' entrar nel porto drento.”

See also in the *Rime* of Monte Andrea da Firenze, in the *Poeti del Primo Secolo della Lingua Italiana*, Florence, 1816, vol. ii, p. 34 :

“Dì, che gran nave, talora giunto a porto,  
Di gran tempesta pere, e va a fondo.”

Compare too *Conv.* iv, 28, ll. 55-59: “O miseri e vili che colle vele alte correte a questo porto: e là dove dovrete riposare, per lo impeto del vento rompete, e perdetevi voi medesimi là ove tanto camminato avete!”

\* *donna Berta o ser Martino*: Nearly equivalent to our “Tom, Dick and Harry.” Compare *Conv.* i, 8, l. 94: “Onde suole dire Martino.” And *Ibid.* iii, 11, l. 67: “Non diciamo Giovanni amico di Martino.”

† *Vedergli dentro al consiglio divino*: Mr. Wright, in a note on this passage in his translation, quotes the following from Burns, *Address to the Unco Guid*:

Chè quel può surgere, e quel può cadere.\*—”

Let not Dame Bertha nor Gaffer Martin (*i.e.* any wiseacre) imagine because they see one man steal, and another perform acts of worship (*lit.* make offerings), that they can see them within the counsels of Heaven ; for one of these may rise up and the other may fall.”

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Then gently scan your brother man,  
 Still gentler sister woman ;  
 Though they may gang a kennin' wrang,  
 To step aside is human :  
 One point must still be greatly dark,  
 The moving *why* they do it ;  
 And just as lamely can ye mark  
 How far perhaps they rue it.  
 Who made the heart, 'tis *He* alone  
 Decidedly can try us ;  
 He knows each chord—its various tone,  
 Each spring—its various bias.  
 Then at the balance let's be mute ;  
 We never can adjust it ;  
 What's *done* we partly may compute,  
 And know not what's *resisted*.

\* *e quel può cadere* : “ Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall.” (1 *Cor.* x, 12).

END OF CANTO XIII.

CANTO XIV.  

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THE HEAVEN OF THE SUN (*concluded*).—SOLOMON SPEAKS OF THE GLORIOUS APPEARANCE OF THE BLESSED AFTER THE RESURRECTION OF THE BODY.—ASCENT TO THE FIFTH SPHERE, THE HEAVEN OF MARS.—THE WARRIOR SPIRITS IN THE FORM OF A RADIANT CROSS.—THE HEAVENLY MELODY.—DANTE IN AN ECSTASY.

DE GUBERNATIS remarks that this Canto is woven throughout of the most minute and delicate threads, and is a gentle breath of seraphic poesy.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

*In the First Division*, from v. 1 to v. 33, Beatrice calls the attention of the Spirits to another doubt that is hidden in Dante's mind.

*In the Second Division*, from v. 34 to v. 84, the spirit of Solomon solves the doubt.

*In the Third Division*, from v. 85 to v. 108, Dante describes his ascent with Beatrice into the Sphere of Mars.

*In the Fourth Division*, from v. 108 to v. 139, the glorious spirits of the Soldiery of Christ, and the hymn they were singing, are mentioned.

*Division I.* As Dante and Beatrice stand in the centre of the two radiant garlands, Beatrice, as soon as St. Thomas Aquinas has finished speaking from



the outer rim, herself speaking from the centre, addresses the Spirits; and tells them that Dante will be anxious to know whether, after the general Resurrection, when they return to Heaven with their own bodies, having again become visible, the Light, which now enwraps them with its glory, will continue to shine around them with what might be too great an excess of radiance for their eyes to bear. Dante had not yet felt this doubt, but Beatrice foresaw that he would do so. A simile now suggests itself to Dante's mind, which Antonelli (*ap.* Tommaséo) thus explains: "The Poet, finding himself in the centre of the two crowns of glory, and Beatrice having commenced to speak as soon as Aquinas had ceased, this double wave of salutary wisdom moving from the rim to the centre, and back from the centre to the rim, as it passed between the Angelic Doctor and the Cherubic Lady, brought into the Poet's mind the analogous circumstance which occurs in a round vessel containing water, be it either from the surface or from the inside, when there will arise on the surface of the liquid an undulating movement from the circumference to the centre, and from the centre to the circumference. As this movement is really in the water, the water may in some sort be said to move; but one can hardly believe that to be the case by the translation of the aqueous molecules either to the centre or to the circumference; because, so far as that is concerned, they remain unchangeable, leaving their places only as regards the surface-level, that is to say, by rising and falling. This circumstance visibly renders greater the resemblance between the material and intellectual

fact, than by that which it is wished here to make understood."

Dal centro al cerchio,\* e sì dal cerchio al centro,  
 Movesi l'acqua in un ritondo vaso,  
 Secondo ch'è percossa fuori o dentro.

From the centre to the rim, and from the rim to the centre, the water moves in a round vessel, according as it is struck from without or from within.

After showing the application of the simile to the matter he wishes to discuss, Dante relates how Beatrice commences speaking to the twenty-four spirits in the double circle around her.

Nella mia mente fe' subito caso†  
 Questo ch'io dico, sì come si tacque 5  
 La gloriosa vita‡ di Tommaso,  
 Per la similitudine§ che nacque

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\* *Dal centro al cerchio*: Benvenuto explains this well: "Ad intelligentiam comparationis clare est prænотandum, quod auctor in ista litera aliud non vult dicere sententialiter in effectu, nisi quod sicut in vase rotundo pleno aqua, puta mastello [*i.e. a basin*, see Ducange], si sit percussus ab extra qua movetur a circumferentia ad centrum; et e converso, si sit percussus intus, aqua movetur e converso a centro ad circumferentiam; ita in proposito motus verborum incipit primo ab extra, scilicet a Thoma, qui erat in circumferentia, idest, in circulo interioris coronae, et venit ad centrum, idest ad autorem et Beatricem qui stabant in medio coronarum, tanquam centrum: postea motus coronarum incoepit a centro, scilicet, a Beatrice, et redivit ad circumferentiam, idest, ad Thomam." Casini notes that *dal centro al cerchio* answers to *percossa dentro*; *dal cerchio al centro* to *percossa fuori*.

† *fe' subito caso*: Most of the Commentators think *caso* stands for *caduta*, and that *fe' caso* is equivalent to *cadde*; but (with some of the oldest Commentators) the *Ottimo* interprets: "fece subito caso, cioè, dedusse in volere sapere," *i.e.* "made an impression," "aroused a doubt." Casini finds the interpretation difficult.

‡ *vita*: Compare *Par. xii*, 127:

"Io son la vita di Bonaventura" (*i.e.* the spirit).

§ *similitudine*: Scartazzini says that the simile is that the

Del suo parlare è di quel di Beatrice,  
 A cui s'ì cominciar dopo lui piacque :  
 —“A costui fa mestieri, e nol vi dice 10  
 Nè con la voce, nè pensando ancora,  
 D' un altro vero andare alla radice.  
 Ditegli \* se la luce, onde s' infiora  
 Vostra sustanzia, rimarrà con voi  
 Eternalmente s'ì com' ella è ora ; 15  
 E se rimane,† dite come, poi

voice of St. Thomas came from the circle of the spirits to the centre, where were Dante and Beatrice, while the voice of Beatrice proceeded in the contrary way, from the centre towards the rim of the circle, where the spirits were.

\* *Ditegli*, etc. : The question as to the intensity of radiance that would surround the spirits after the resurrection of their bodies, and as to the possibility of the human eye being able to gaze upon their glory, was a question much debated by the Schoolmen, and Dante was doubtless well acquainted with the following passage of St. Thomas Aquinas, where it is fully discussed (*Summ. Theol.*, pars. iii, Supplementum, qu. lxxxv, art. 1): “*Dicitur Matt. 13, 43: Fulgebunt justi, sicut sol in regno Patris eorum: et Sap. 3, 7: Fulgebunt justi, et tanquam scintillae in arundinetis discurrunt . . .* Quod corpora sanctorum fore lucida post resurrectionem, ponere oportet propter auctoritatem Scripturae, quae hoc promittit. Sed claritatis hujus causam quidam attribunt quintae (id. est, coelesti) essentiae, quae tunc dominabitur in corpore humano. Sed quia hoc est absurdum, ut saepe dictum est (qu. 84, art. 1), ideo melius est, ut dicatur quod claritas illa causabitur ex redundantia gloriae animae in corpus. Quod enim recipitur in aliquo, non recipitur per modum influentis, sed per modum recipientis. Et ideo claritas quae est in anima spiritualis, recipitur in corpore ut corporal. Et ideo secundum quod anima erit majoris claritatis secundum majus meritum, ita etiam erit differentia claritatis in corpore, ut patet per Apostolum, 1 *Corinth.* 15. Et ita in corpore glorioso cognoscetur gloria animae, sicut in vitro cognoscitur color corporis quod continetur in vase vitreo, ut Gregorius dicit super illud, *Job 28: “Non adaequabitur ei aurum, vel vitrum, loc. cit. in arg. 2).”* The above is the substance of the first of these two questions.

† *se rimane* : Here the second question is asked, namely, if the glory of the spirits after resurrection remains the same as it is now, how will the human eye be able to sustain it without injury. To this again we find a parallel in the *Summ. Theol.*,

Che sarete visibili rifatti,  
Esser potrà ch' al veder non vi nôi."—

Into my mind fell suddenly this which I say, so soon as the glorified spirit of Thomas was silent, from the similitude which was engendered by his speech, and by that of Beatrice, whom after him, it pleased to begin: "This man (*i.e.* Dante) has need,—and he tells it you not, neither with his voice, nor yet even in thought—of going to the root of another truth. Tell him if the light, wherewith your substance is enflowered, will remain with you to all eternity the same as it is now; and, if it do so remain, say how, after that ye have been again made visible (*i.e.* by the Resurrection of the body), it will be possible that it (the radiance) shall not injure your sight."

How will an organ so feeble as the human eye be able to bear such an excess of light, and not be destroyed? Mr. Butler remarks that in no case has Dante represented himself as able to discern any form or features, except possibly in that of Piccarda, and all that can at present be seen of the souls of the blessed is the light that surrounds them.

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pars iii, Supplementum, qu. lxxxii, art. 4: "Intensio luminis non impedit receptionem spiritualem speciei coloris, dummodo maneat in natura diaphani; sicut patet quod quantumcumque illuminetur aer, potest esse medium in visu: et quanto est magis illuminatus, tanto per ipsum aliquid clarius videtur, nisi sit defectus ex debilitate visus. Quod autem in speculo directe opposito radio solis non appareat species corporis oppositi, non est propter hoc quod impediatur receptio, sed propter hoc quod impediatur reverberatio: oportet enim, ad hoc quod forma in speculo appareat, quod fiat quaedam reverberatio ad aliquod corpus obscurum: et ideo plumbum vitro adjungitur in speculo: hanc autem obscuritatem radius solis repellit: unde non potest apparere species aliqua in speculo: hanc autem obscuritatem radius solis repellit: unde non potest apparere species aliqua in speculo. Claritas autem corporis gloriosi non aufert diaphaneitatem a pupilla, quia gloria non tollit naturam: unde magnitudo claritatis in pupilla magis faciet ad acumen visus quam ad ejus defectum."

The holy choir on hearing the words of Beatrice testify their joy by renewed dance and song like that so fully described in Canto x, ll. 76-81.

Come da più letizia pinti\* e tratti  
 Alla fiata† quei che vanno a rota 20  
 Levan la voce, e rallegrano gli atti ;  
 Così all' orazion‡ pronta e devota  
 Li santi cerchi mostrâr nuova gioia§  
 Nel tornear e nella mira nota.||

As by increased gladness urged and drawn on, they who are dancing in a ring all at once uplift their voices and animate their gestures ; so at that sudden and reverend petition (of Beatrice) the holy circles

\* *Come da più letizia pinti*, et seq. : Casini explains this well : "Come accade nel ballo che spinti e trascinati da letizia maggiore della solita tutti i danzatori insieme cantano con più vivacità e fanno segno d'allegrezza coi loro atteggiamenti. È una similitudine che si ricollega con quella del *Par. x*, 79-81, dipingendo con vivissimi tratti un'altra scena di danza, il momento cioè in cui i danzatori eccitati dalle parole della ballata esprimono un sentimento più lieto o un pensiero di maggior interesse cantano e si muovono con più vivacità, per dimostrazione della loro letizia."

† *alla fiata* : This is undoubtedly the correct reading, though some have contended for *alcuna fiata* ; but the overwhelming majority of MSS. and editions read *alla fiata*, and explain it *tutt' insieme*, like the French *à la fois*.

‡ *orazion* is here equivalent to "petition, prayer." "Orazione non intendere tu qui, quello ch'è ascendimento della mente a Iddio ; ma quella ch'è ordinazione di parole dimostrante convenevole e perfetta sentenza." (*Ottimo*.)

§ *nuova gioia* : Compare *Par. viii*, 46, 47 :

"E quanta e quale vid' io lei far piùe  
 Per allegrezza nuova che s'accrebbe," etc.

|| *mira nota* : *Mira* is an adjective, and the words are equivalent to "mirabile canto." Casini says that here, as in other passages, *miro* is never used except to express divine persons and things. Compare *Par. xxiv*, 36 : "questo gaudio miro ;" *xxviii*, 53 : "questo miro ed angelico templo ;" and *xxx*, 68.

"Ripfondavan sè nel miro gurgie."



manifested new delight in their gyrations and in their wondrous strain.

Here (observes Benvenuto) Dante, from what has just been said, goes on to censure the excessive display in the funereal grief of men on earth: seeing that what we are mourning for is our own selves, who are passing from this vale of tears to that great glory in Heaven.

Qual si lamenta\* perchè qui si moia 25  
 Per viver colassù, non vide quive  
 Lo refrigerio dell' eterna ploia. †

Whoso laments that one dies here (in the world), to live up there on high, has never considered the refreshment (up) there of the eternal rain (*i.e.* the happiness that springs from Divine Grace).

Dante means (says Benvenuto) "Whosoever laments having to die down here to live afterwards in Heaven, certainly laments because he has never been up into

\* *Qual si lamenta*, et seq. : Both Scartazzini and Casini seem to prefer the interpretation of this passage as given by the *Ottimo*: "Questo testo è chiaro e vero, dove dice che chi qua giù piange quando di questa misera vita si parte alcuno, li cui atti ragionevolmente sieno giudicati giusti, non ha veduta la gloria del Cielo." I notice that both the above-named Commentators think that *non vide quive* must be taken in the sense of "never considered," "turned his mind to." Casini says: "Chi si lamenta perchè muoiono al mondo gli uomini meritevoli dell' eterna vita, non ha mai considerato la felicità che nasce dalla grazia divina."

† *ploia* : Compare *Par.* xxiv, 91, 92 :

"La larga ploia

Dello Spirito Santo," etc.

on which passage Daniello comments: "La grazia che largamente piove dallo Spirito Santo in su le vecchie, in su le nuove cuoia, su le carte del libro della vecchia e nuova Scrittura." And Buti observes: "Ploja in francioso è a dire pioggia." I find in Littré, *Dictionnaire de la Langue Française*, v. s. *pluie*, among the etymological derivations, that the Provençal is *pluvia*, *ploia*, *plueia*; Catal. *pluja*, Latin, *pluvia*.

Heaven to see the joy which the everlasting rain of the beatific light produces in the Blessed; or, if he could only see the ineffable bliss of those that I (Dante) beheld, he would not weep for those who pass out of our wretched life into the vast life of eternal joy."

Dante, listening to the spirits, relates what was the burden of their song.

Quell' uno e due e tre\* che sempre vive,  
 E regna sempre in tre e due ed uno,  
 Non circonscritto,† e tutto circonscrive, 30  
 Tre volte era cantato da ciascuno  
 Di queglii spirti con tal melodia,  
 Ch' ad ogni merto saria giusto muno.‡

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\* *Quell' uno e due e tre*: " *Quell' uno che sempre vive e regna in tre* (cioè quell' uno Dio chè viverà e regnerà sempre in tre Persone); *quel due che vive sempre e regna in due* (quello di due nature divina ed umana, Gesù Cristo, che nelle medesime viverà e regnerà eternamente); *quel tre che vive sempre regna in uno* (quelle tre divine Persone che viveranno e regneranno sempre in unità di natura." (Lombardi.) Casini is of opinion that this comment of Lombardi's is the best of all that he has seen on this passage, because it so clearly brings forward the symmetrical parallelism of the expressions used by Dante to signify the Trinity. As Cary points out, this passage has been literally translated by Chaucer, *Troilus and Cresseide*, book v, last stanza:

"Thou one, two, and three, eterne on live,  
 That raignest aie in thre, two, and one,  
 Uncircumscript, and all maist circonscrive."

† *Non circonscritto*: Compare the opening words of the *Pater Noster* in *Purg.* xi, 1, 2:

"O Padre nostro, che nei cieli stai,  
 Non circonscritto," etc.

"Circumscriptus dicitur quando principium, medium, et finis potest assignari in loco, et sic corpus est in loci definitione; nam sic est hic, quod non alibi." (Pietro di Dante.) See also *Convito* iv, 9, ll. 30-33.

‡ *muno*: This is a Latinism, from *munus*, "a gift, a recompense." "*Mumus* è quello dono che viene nella offerta, o quello dono che si fa per via d'oblazione dalli principi." (*Ottimo*.)

That One and Two and Three (*i.e.* the Triune God) Who lives for ever, and ever reigns in Three, Two, and One, not circumscribed, and all things circumscribing, three times was chanted by those spirits with such (*i.e.* so sweet) a melody, as for every merit would be a just reward.

*Division II.* One of the spirits of the inner garland is now heard, who replies to the question put by Beatrice. With the one exception of Landino, who thinks this was Peter Lombard (*magister Sententiarum*), all the Commentators, ancient and modern alike, agree that the voice is that of Solomon, an opinion which seems to be confirmed by the passage where he is described, in *Par. x*, 109, as *la quinta luce, ch' è tra noi più bella*, and this seems to correspond with the present text, *nella luce più dia*. Solomon replies to the question asked by Beatrice in Dante's name, and tells him that, as long as the glory of Paradise lasts, so long will the spirits in it be endued with the same radiant vesture. And when they shall again be clothed upon with flesh (*II Cor. v. 2*), that same flesh in its turn will be re clothed with light, like a coal that gives forth flame, and by its glowing whiteness surpasses it: they will have their entire bodies, and the entire grace of God. Nor will the radiance be injurious to the eyes of their resuscitated bodies. For, by reason of the re-union of the flesh with the spirit, the Blessed, increasing in perfection, will increase also in vesture and in light of glory. And, on the other hand, the organs of the body being disposed and fortified for the express purpose of enabling them to endure superhuman delights, they

will perpetually enjoy them, instead of being fatigued by them.

Ed io udi' nella luce più dia \*  
 Del minor cerchio una voce modesta, 35  
 Forse qual fu dall' Angelo a Maria,  
 Risponder:—" Quanto fia † lunga la festa  
 Di Paradiso, tanto il nostro amore  
 Si raggerà dintorno cotal vesta.  
 La sua chiarezza seguirà l' ardore, 40  
 L' ardor la visione, e quella è tanta,  
 Quanta ha di grazia sopra il suo valore. ‡

And I heard in the divinest light in the lesser circle  
 a subdued voice, such perchance as was that of the  
 Angel (Gabriel) to Mary, reply:—" So long as the

\* *più dia*: The *Ottimo* explains this: "più divina e più splendente." Poletto quotes a marginal comment of Alfieri the poet, in his own copy of Dante: "Le voci *dius* et *divus* de' Latini non altro significano che *divino*; e siccome le creature tanto sono più *divine* quanto più son presso a Dio (cf. *Convito* ii, 4, l. 18), ne deriva anche che quanto a Dio son più vicine, *più* prendono *della sua luce* (*Par.* i, 4); perciò non han torto alcuni chiosatori, che qui spiegano *più divina*; e hanno ragione quelli che spiegano *più risplendente*." We find the same double signification of *dia* in *Par.* xxiii, 106-108:

"E girerommi, Donna del ciel, mentre  
 Che seguirai tuo figlio, e farai dia  
 Più la spera suprema, perchè gli entre."

See also *Par.* xxvi, 10, 11.

† *Quanto fia*, et seq.: The meaning of this amplified is that, for so long as the bliss of Paradise shall last, that is for all eternity, so long will the love of the spirits in it continue to manifest itself in the radiant glory in which they are enwrapped.

‡ *valore*: Scartazzini, Casini, and Poletto all agree that *valore*, as used here, signifies "merit." Compare the words in the *Book of Common Prayer*: "Not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences." We find the combination of *grace* and *merit* in *Par.* xxix, 61, 62:

"Perchè le viste lor furo esaltate  
 Con grazia illuminante, e con lor merto."

and *Purg.* vii, 19, where Sordello exclaims to Virgil:

"Qual merito o qual grazia mi ti mostra?"

festal joy of Paradise lasts, so long shall our love make to radiate around us such a vesture (*i.e.* the light with which we are clothed). Its brilliancy will be in proportion to the fervency of our love, our fervency (will be in proportion to) our vision (of God) and that vision is proportionate to the amount of grace it receives superior to its own merit.

Scartazzini explains this: "The radiant brilliancy of this vesture of light springs from the fervency of our love, and is in proportion to it; the amount of our love is in proportion to the amount of our Vision of God, which again is in proportion to the amount of Divine Grace vouchsafed to us. Therefore—to take it backwards—From Grace is generated the proportionate merit (*valore*); from the merit issues the Vision also in proportion; from the Vision proceeds the love also in proportion; and finally from the love the brilliancy of the vesture, also in proportion."

Solomon answers the second part of the question, and says that the spirits, after rising again, will possess a far keener sense of sight, and, therefore, the excess of their radiance, so far from injuring, will delight them.

Come la carne gloriosa e santa

Fia rivestita, la nostra persona

Più grata \* fia per esser tutta e quanta.

45

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\* *Più grata*: Brunone Bianchi (9th edition, Florence, 1886) comments thus: "*grata*, più bella, più splendente, e perciò affetta di maggior piacere, per essere nella sua integrità, cioè, in corpo ed anima, e conseguentemente più perfetta." Compare *Inf.* vi, 106-108:

" . . . Ritorna a tua scienza,

Che vuol, quanto la cosa è più perfetta

Più senta il bene, e così la doglienza."

In both these passages Dante is evidently referring to St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. xc, art. 4): "Anima, cum sit



Per che s'accrescerà ciò che ne dona  
 Di gratuito lume il Sommo Bene;  
 Lume ch' a lui veder ne condiziona:  
 Onde la vision crescer conviene,  
 Crescer l'ardor che di quella s'accende, 50  
 Crescer lo raggio che da esso viene.

When (at the Resurrection) our flesh glorified and made holy shall be clothed upon us again, then will our personality be more pleasing from being all complete. Wherefore that which the Supreme Good vouchsafes to us of light freely given will be increased; light which fits us for beholding Him: Hence our vision must needs increase, increase the fervency by which it is enkindled, increase the radiance which proceeds from that (fervour).

The glorious effulgence of the Blessed not only remains, but will be increased after the Resurrection; inasmuch as it is the effect of the Divine Grace which is imparted and received in greater quantity, the more that the being to receive it is in a state of perfection. Hence the soul re-united to its own body will be more perfect, and more fitted to receive, and consequently to reflect into the eternal radiance, the Light of Grace from within.

Solomon then makes the following comparison. From burning coal proceeds a flame, but the flame is not sufficient to conceal the glowing coal from

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pars humanae naturae, non habet naturalem perfectionem, nisi secundum quod est corpori unita." And *ibid.* (pars i, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. iv, art. 5): "Desiderium animae separatae totaliter quiescit ex parte appetibili, quia habet id quod suo appetitui sufficit; sed non totaliter requiescit ex parte appetentis, quia illud bonum non possidet secundum omnem modum, quo possidere vellet. Et ideo, corpore resumpto, beatitudo crescit, non intensive, sed extensive." Most of the Commentators understand: *più grata a Dio*. Others: "più grata a noi." Others again: "più grata a Dio ed a noi."

the eye. In like manner the risen and glorified body shall not be concealed by the radiance that it emits, and all the organs of our glorified bodies will be so fortified, that no excess of light will be able to injure our eyesight, when we look upon one another.

Ma sì come carbon \* che fiamma rende,  
 E per vivo candor quella soperchia  
 Sì, che la sua parvenza † si difende,  
 Così questo fulgor, che già ne cerchia, 55  
 Fia vinto in apparenza dalla carne  
 Che tutto dì la terra ricoperchia ;  
 Nè potrà tanta luce affaticarne,  
 Chè gli organi ‡ del corpo saran forti  
 A tutto ciò che potrà dilettarne.”— 60

But even as the coal that gives out flame, and in its glowing incandescence surpasses it so much, that its own appearance is maintained, so will this effulgence, which now envelops us, be overpowered in visibility

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\* *carbon* : “ Come il carbone acceso dà la fiamma intorno a sè, ma più di questa risplende, ed è perciò visibile entro la fiamma stessa, così la carne (che ora *la terra ricoperchia*) quando sarà risorta e sarà qui unita all’ anima, sarà cinta di luce, ma di questa sarà più luminosa e la si vedrà entro essa.” (Cornoldi.)

† *parvenza* : See notes on l. 71, and l. 73.

‡ *organi* : In several passages of St. Thomas Aquinas do we find that his theory of the impassibility of the risen souls of the Blessed illustrates this *terzina*. Compare *Summ. Theol.* (pars iii, *Suppl.* qu. lxxxv, art. 2): “*Corpus gloriosum non potest pati aliquid passionem naturae, sed solum passionem animae, ita ex proprietate gloriae non agit risi actione animae. Claritas autem intensa non offendit visum, in quantum agit actione animae, sed secundum hoc magis delectat; offendit autem, in quantum agit actione naturae, calefaciendo et dissolvendo organum visus, et disgregando spiritus. Et ideo claritas corporis gloriosi, quamvis excedat claritatem solis, tamen de sui natura non offendit visum, sed demulcet; propter quod claritas illa comparatur claritati jaspidis (Apocal. 21).*” Compare also *ibid.* (pars iii, *Suppl.* qu. lxxxii, art. 1; art. iii; and art. 4).

by that flesh which all this while the earth covers (in the grave); nor will so great a light be able to fatigue us, because the organs of the body will have sufficient strength for everything that can bring us delight."

On hearing the words of Solomon, all the other twenty-three spirits in the two garlands chime in with an eager Amen, by which they signify that they long for the time when their bodies, still lying dead on Earth, shall be re-united to their souls, and with them make a perfect whole. And not only do they signify the desire they have for the resurrection of their own bodies, but also of the bodies of all those dear to them in life, and whom they long to be able to see in Heaven.

Tanto mi parver subiti ed accorti

E l' uno e l' altro coro a dicer:—" Amme,"—

Che ben mostrâr disio dei corpi morti ;

Forse non pur per lor,\* ma per le mamme,

Per li padri, e per gli altri che fûr carî†

65

Anzi che fosser sempiterne fiamme.

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\* *Forse non pur per lor*, et seq.: This is well illustrated in St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. iv, art. 8): "Si loquamur de perfecta beatitudine, quae erit in patria, non requiritur societas amicorum de necessitate ad beatitudinem; quia homo habet totam plenitudinem suae perfectionis in Deo. Sed ad bene esse beatitudinis facit societas amicorum . . . Perfectio charitatis est essentialis beatitudini quantum ad dilectionem Dei, non quantum ad dilectionem proximi. Unde si esset una sola anima fruens Deo, beata esset, non habens proximum quem diligeret. Sed supposito proximo, sequitur dilectio ejus ex perfecta dilectione Dei. Unde quasi concomitanter se habet amicitia ad perfectam beatitudinem."

† *per le mamme, per li padri, e per gli altri che fûr cari*: On this see Dr. Moore, *Dante and his early Biographers*, London, 1890, p. 18, footnote: "The omission of any mention of *wives* in *Par.* xiv, 64, 65, has sometimes been remarked upon. It was perhaps forgotten that the spirits are those of the great *Theologians!*"

So ready and so alert to say *Amen* did both the one and the other choir appear to me, that they plainly showed the desire for their dead bodies; not, maybe for themselves alone, but for their mothers, for their fathers, and for the others that had been dear to them before they became imperishable flames.

Dante now becomes aware of another phenomenon. He sees a circle of new light appearing like the gleam of the horizon when it clears. It shapes itself into a nebulous ring of immense size, like a sort of aureole; and, as an outside cincture, surrounds the two garlands previously described. In this third luminous circle a new set of Subsistencies, or blessed spirits, are faintly discerned; but Dante does not tell us who they are; for indeed he is not as yet able to distinguish them. They are like the stars at the approach of night, at one moment visible to the eye, and the next moment lost to sight, so vast is the distance at which Dante sees this new circle.

Ed ecco intorno di chiarezza pari  
Nascere un lustro \* sopra quel che v' era,  
Per guisa d' orizzonte che rischiari.

E sì come al salir di prima sera 70  
Comincian per lo ciel nuove parvenze,†  
Sì che la vista ‡ pare e non par vera;

\* *Ed ecco . . . un lustro*: Compare *Purg.* xxix, 16-18:

“Ed ecco un lustro subito trascorse  
Da tutte parti per la gran foresta,  
Tal che di balenar mi mise in forse.”

† *parvenze*: This word, which in the singular means a phenomenon, or apparition, here refers to the stars. Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) defines it: “Il modo in cui un oggetto apparisce, si mostra.”

‡ *la vista*: Dr. Moore (*Text. Crit.* p. 464) says that he found this reading in 138 MSS., and the variant *la cosa* only in 39. He only registers the two readings as affording possible tests of re-

Parvemi li novelle sussistenze \*

Cominciar a vedere, e fare un giro  
Di fuor dall' altre due circonferenze.

75

And lo! all round, of equal brightness, there arose a lustre outside the one which was there, after the manner of an horizon that brightens up (into day). And as at the rise of early evening new appearances in the heaven begin to show, so that the sight seems real, and yet not real; methought that I began to discern new substances, and that an orbit was formed outside the other two circumferences.

Dante exclaims that all this light and movement dazzled and confused him, but after looking at Beatrice, so fair and smiling, his eyes regained their power of looking up, and he now finds that alone with her he has been transported into the sphere above, namely into the Heaven of Mars.

O vero isfavillar † del santo spiro,  
Come si fece subito e candente  
Agli occhi miei che vinti non soffriro!  
Ma Beatrice sì bella e ridente

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lationship, since there can be no question of accidental confusion of the two words. "The reading *cosa* would bring the passage into very close resemblance with *Purg.* vii, 10-12, cited here by Scartazzini, but *vista* seems both to suit *parvenza*, and to be in every way more poetical, though such questions of taste are matters of opinion, and scarcely worth recording for critical purposes."

\* *sussistenze*: Compare *Par.* xiii, 59.

† *vero isfavillar*: Poletto says that the spirits are the true radiance of the Holy Spirit, because upon them shines directly the Divine Light which is again called The True Light in *Par.* xxxiii, 52-54:

" . . . la mia vista, venendo sincera,  
E più e più entrava per lo raggio  
Dell' alta luce, che da sè è vera."

Compare *Conv.* iii, 14, ll. 35-37: "Onde nelle Intelligenze raggia la divina luce senza mezzo [*i. e. vera luce, or vero isfavillar*], nell' altre si ripercuote da queste Intelligenze prima illuminate."



Mi si mostrò, che tra quelle\* vedute 80

Si vuol lasciar che non seguir la mente.

Quindi ripreser gli occhi miei virtute

A rilevarsi, e vidimi translato

Sol con mia Donna in più alta salute.†

O true radiance of the Holy Spirit, how sudden and incandescent it flowed into my eyes, which being overcome (by so much splendour) endured it not! But Beatrice appeared to me so fair and so smiling, that this must be left (untold) among those sights which followed not my memory. After a while my eyes recovered enough power to look up again, and I found myself alone with my Lady translated into a more exalted beatitude (*i.e.* the Fifth Heaven).

*Division III.* Hardly has Dante realized his transference into a new region of Heaven, than from the fiery red look of the atmosphere he perceives that he has reached the Sphere of Mars. With heartfelt emotion, but in unspoken words, he renders thanks unto God for his new elevation. The acceptance of his offering of praise and gratitude is immediately

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\* *tra quelle*: Others read *tra l'altre*. Landino, who like most of the old Commentators, and an immense majority of the MSS., reads *tra quelle*, comments thus: "Ed accrebbe la bellezza ed il gaudio tanto in Beatrice, che il Poeta non lo può esprimere, e per questo lo lascia tra quelle vedute cose, che non seguono, . . . anzi abbandonano la mente, quando le vuole descrivere."

† *più alta salute*: "Diceres tu, quomodo plus alta salus, quia Sol est pater generationis, et Mars pater corruptionis et mortium? Respondeo quod verum dicit; quia venit propius ad primam causam; idest adducitur, quia ibi sunt illi qui pugnaverunt pro fide, et sparserunt sanguinem suum pro justitia et fide; et plus meruerunt quam isti Doctores, qui solum adoperati sunt calamum." (Talice da Ricaldone.) "Proprius ad primam causam" may be explained by the opinion that the heaven of Mars was *above* that of the Sun, and consequently nearer to the highest heaven of all, the Empyrean, the abode of God Himself.

signified to him by a marvellous grouping together of innumerable fiery lights in a form that will be shortly described.

Ben m'accors'io ch'io era più levato, 85  
 Per l'affocato riso \* della stella,  
 Che mi pareva più roggio † che l'usato.  
 Con tutto il core, e con quella favella  
 Ch'è una in tutti,‡ a Dio feci olocausto,§

\* *affocato riso*: Compare *Convito* ii, 14, ll. 159-170: "Esso è lo mezzo di tutti, cioè delli primi, delli secondi, delli terzi e delli quarti. L'altra si è ch'esso Marte dissecca e arde le cose, perchè il suo calore è simile a quello del fuoco; e questo è quello perchè esso appare affocato di colore, quando più e quando meno, secondo la spessezza e rarità delli vapori che 'l seguono; li quali per loro medesimi molte volte s'accendono, siccome nel primo della *Meteora* è determinato." On this Buti observes that "è vero che lo splendore di Marte viene più affocato che quello del Sole; imperò che rosseggia, e lo Sole gialleggia." This, however, is only in the literal sense; allegorically, "si de' intendere che maggiore ardore di carità, cioè più ardente, è in coloro che combattono e vinceno li tre inimici detti di sopra—il mondo, il dimonio e la carne—che in coloro che sè esercitano ne le Scritture." Compare *Purg.* ii, 13, 14:

"Ed ecco qual, sul presso del mattino,  
 Per li grossi vapor Marte rosseggia," etc.

† *roggio*: Casini observes that this is a Tuscan form of the Latin *rubeus*, and is akin to *robbio* (see l. 94). It occurs more than once in Dante's writings (see *Inf.* xi, 73; *Purg.* iii, 16) to express a flaming red. Borghini (*Studi*, ed. Gigli, p. 239) says of it that it is one of the three red colours, mentioned in *Paradise*: "Tre colori abbiamo: *rosso*, ch'è quello del cinabro; *vermiglio*, ch'è del verzino [*Brazil wood*] e della *lacca* [*red lac*]; *roggio*, ch'è del ferro rovente e che tende al colore della ruggine [*rust*]."

‡ *favella Ch'è una in tutti*: Thought language is the same in all men, whatever be their speech.

§ *olocausto*: Lana, the *Anon. Fior.* and the *Ottimo* all give nearly identical comments on this word, which is contrasted with *sacrificio* (l. 92): "Olocausto si è quando si fa intero sacrificio o vittima, cioè di tutta la cosa; sacrificio *proprie* si è quando si fa vittima pure della parte. E per mostrare l'autore esso sacri-

Qual conveniasi alla grazia\* novella; 90  
 E non er'anco del mio petto esausto  
 L'ardor del sacrificio; ch'io conobbi  
 Esso litare † stato accetto e fausto ;  
 Chè con tanto lucore e tanto robbi  
 M' apparvero splendor ‡ dentro a due raggi 95  
 Ch'io dissi :—" O Elios § che sì gli addobbi!"||—

ficare e fare olocausto, menziona questi due vocaboli come appare nel testo." (Lana.)

\* *grazia* here seems to illustrate its use in *Par.* xv, 36 : " Della mia grazia e del mio Paradiso."

† *litare* : Dante has here used the Latin verb meaning to sacrifice. He would remember the two following passages in Virgil, *Æn.* ii, 118, 119 :

"Sanguine quaerendi reditus, animaque litandum Argolica."

and *Æn.* iv, 50, 51:

"Tu modo posce Deos veniam, sacrisque litatis  
 Indulge hospitio."

‡ *splendor* : These are the glorious spirits of brave warriors who laid down their lives fighting for the Faith. *Robbi*, plur. of *robbo*, agrees with *splendori*.

§ *Elios* : This term which Dante uses to apostrophize God, is, Casini thinks, a hybrid form that sprung up through the confusion in early times between the Hebrew *EL* (see *Par.* xxvi, 136) and the Greek Helios, the Sun.

|| *addobbi* : In its literal sense *addobbare* signifies to adorn the walls with tapestry, arras, etc., but here it means simply to adorn with light, to illumine. In Donkin's *Etymological Dictionary of the Romance Languages*, London, 1864, I find: "*Addobbare*, O. Sp. *adobar*, Pr. *adobar*, O. Fr. *adouber*, to fit out, equip. From the A. S. *dubban*, O. Norse *dubba* to strike (Fr. *dauber*, to beat), and first used of the accolade or blow with the sword given in the ceremony of knighting. A. S. *dubban to riddere*, to dub a knight, Fr. *addubber à chevalier*; it was next used of any solemn preparation or equipment . . . hence *adouber richement* to equip magnificently, *se doubber* to arm oneself, this simple form being rare . . . Wedgwood (s. o. *dub*) considers that the notion of preparation, equipment, etc., is the primary one . . . In English to *dub* cloth is to dress it with teasles; to *dub* a cock to prepare it for fighting by cutting off the comb and wattles; *dubbing*, a mixture of tallow for dressing leather, also a dressing used by weavers."

Well did I perceive that I had risen higher, by the enkindled smiling of the star (Mars) which appeared to me ruddier than its wont. With all my heart, and with that tongue (*i.e.* thought) which is the same for all, I made such holocaust (*i.e.* sacrifice of thanksgiving) to God, as was befitting his newly-conferred grace; and not yet was the burning of mine offering consumed in my bosom, before I knew that sacrifice had been accepted with favour; for with such intense radiance and so ruby-tinted splendours appeared to me within two rays, that I said: "O Helios (*i.e.* O God) Who dost so adorn them!"

Buti draws from Albumasar an elaborate account of the influences of Mars. A translation of his quaint remarks is given by Longfellow.

The spirits of the saintly warriors who fought for Christ, who Dante now sees in the Heaven of Mars, are shining, some more, some less brightly. He compares them to the mass of stars, some larger, and some smaller, that are to be seen in the Milky Way.

Come distinta da minori e maggi\*  
Lumi biancheggia tra i poli del mondo  
Galassia sì, che fa dubbiar ben saggi,†

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\* *maggi*: Compare *Inf.* vi, 48:

"... s' altra è maggio, nulla è sì spiacente."

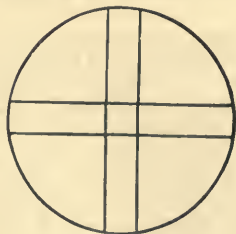
and see my note on that passage in *Readings on the Inferno*.

† *fa dubbiar ben saggi*: "Ad quod sciendum quod de galassia fuerunt variae opiniones . . . hic nota quod comparatio est propria ad propositum. Sicut enim stellae differentes in magnitudine et splendore simul aggregatae faciunt constellationem galassiae, ita hic animae beatae differentes inter se secundum plus et minus gloriae simul proportionabiliter ordinatae faciunt hic signum crucis." (Benvenuto). See Dante's own remarks in the *Convito* ii, 15, ll. 45-77: "È da sapere che di quella Galassia li filosofi hanno avuto diverse opinioni. Che li Pittagorici dissero che'l sole alcuna fiata errò nella sua via, e, passando per altre

Sì costellati\* facean nel profondo 100  
 Marte quei rai il venerabil segno,  
 Che fan giunture † di quadranti in tondo.

parti non convenienti al suo fervore, arse il luogo, per lo quale passò; e rimasevi quell' apparenza dell' arsura. E credo che si mossero dalla favola di Fetonte, la quale narra Ovidio (*Met.* ii, 47-324) . . . Altri dissero (siccome fu Anassagora e Democrito) che ciò era lume di sole ripercosso in quella parte. E queste opinioni con ragioni dimostrative riprovarono. Quello ch'è Aristotile si dicesse di ciò, non si può bene sapere, perchè la sua sentenza non si trova cotale nell' una traslazione come nell' altra. E credo che fosse l' errore de' traslatori; chè nella Nuova par dicere, che ciò sia uno ragunamento di vapori sotto le stelle di quella parte, che sempre traggono quelli; e questa non pare avere ragione vera. Nella Vecchia dice, che la Galassia non è altro che moltitudine di stelle fisse in quella parte, tanto picciole che distinguere di quaggiù non le potemo; ma di loro apparisce quello albore, il quale noi chiamiamo Galassia. E puote essere che il cielo in quella parte è più spesso [*has greater density*], e però ritiene e ripresenta quello lume; e questa opinione pare avere, con Aristotile, Avicenna, e Tolommeo."

\* *costellati*: "Disposti in forma di costellazione." (Blanc, *Voc. Dant.*). The *Ottimo* defines the constellation: "Essi spiriti faceano nel profondo della stella una costellazione di croce; ch'è il segno venerabile, nella forma disegnata qui appresso." This is the figure:



† *Che fan giunture*, et seq.: On this Casini writes: "Dante vuol dire che le due liste [*streaks, bands*] erano della stessa lunghezza e s'intersecavano nel punto di mezzo, formando una *croce a bracci uguali*: a questo fine ricorre alla geometria, la quale ci mostra che due diametri d' un cerchio intersecandosi ad angolo retto formano una croce perfetta; e chiama *giunture di quadranti* i diametri, perchè ciascuno risulta dall' unione



As, distinguished by lesser or greater lights (*i.e.* stars), the Milky Way gleams so white between the Poles of the earth, that it causes even learned men to doubt, thus constellated in the depths of Mars (*i.e.* in the very midst of the planet) did those rays fashion that venerated sign (*i.e.* the Cross), which intersections of quadrants form in a circle.

Tommaséo remarks that the old Byzantine coins had a Greek Cross filling the whole disc. The rough outline from the *Ottimo* of the starry cross within a circle, is not very unlike the reverse side of our English Florin (see preceding page). Dante wishes that it were in him to give even an approximate idea of that Cross, but he confesses that he is quite unable to describe what he saw, though he well recollects it.

Qui vince la memoria mia lo ingegno;\*

Chè quella croce lampeggiava CRISTO,†

Sì ch'io non so trovare esempio degno. 105

Ma chi prende sua croce‡ e segue CRISTO,

di due raggi [*radii*]; cioè di due di quelle linee che servono a segnare nel circolo l'estremità di un quadrante." Compare *Purg.* iv, 41, 42:

"E la costa superba più assai,

Che da mezzo quadrante a centro lista."

\* *vince la memoria . . . lo ingegno*: Compare Dante's words in *Epist.* x, § 29, ll. 575-577: "Multa . . . per intellectum videmus quibus signa vocalia desunt."

† *Cristo*: As already mentioned, there are three other instances in the *D.C.* of this triplication of the name of Christ at the end of lines rhyming; as if no other word were worthy of such an honour. Compare *Par.* xii, ll. 71, 73, 75; *Par.* xix, ll. 104, 106, 108; and xxxii, 83, 85, 87. In *Purg.* xx, 65, 67, 69, he similarly repeats the word *ammenda*; and in *Par.* xxx, 95, 97, 99 the word *vidi* is repeated three times.

‡ *chi prende sua croce*: Compare *St. Matt.* x, 38: "He that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me." And *St. Matt.* xvi, 24: "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me."

Ancor\* mi scuserà di quel ch'io lasso,†  
Vedendo in quell'albor balenar CRISTO.

Here my memory overpowers my faculties; for on that Cross CHRIST was flashed in such glory that I know not how to find a meet similitude. But whoso takes his cross and follows CHRIST will one day pardon me for that which I leave untold, when in that brightness he beholds *Christ* shine as the lightning.

When the beholder sees the excess of glory, he will well pardon a human tongue for being unable to utter it.

*Division IV.* Dante now gives a general description of the warrior spirits, as they flitted rapidly along the two lines of the Cross both perpendicularly and horizontally; and he compares their movements to a well-known phenomenon in our daily life, when, a shutter being closed over a window to exclude the strong light of the Sun, if a ray passes through a chink in the shutter, small particles of dust are seen to dance about in it.

Di corno in corno, e tra la cima e il basso,  
Si movean lumi,‡ scintillando forte 110  
Nel congiungersi insieme e nel trapasso.

\* *Ancor*: See *Gran Dizionario*, s. v. *ancòra*, § 11: "In forza di 'Per l'avvenire.'" This interpretation I follow, taking *ancora* here to mean "at some future day." Compare Boccaccio, *Decam.*, Giorn. x, Nov. 9: "Egli potrà ancora avvenire che noi vi farem vedere di nostra mercatanzia." Some think that the same interpretation should be given to *ancor*, in *Purg.* xiii, 133: "Gli occhi . . . mi fieno ancor qui tolti."

† *quel ch'io lasso*: "quel che io tralascio per non trovare degne espressioni." (Cornoldi).

‡ *lumi*: "idest, spiritus luminosi *si movean di corno in corno* idest, ab uno extremo lineae transversalis ad aliud, *e tra la cima e'l basso*, idest, a summitate lineae rectae ad pedem ipsius crucis. Aliqui tamen exponunt quod movebantur circulariter

Così si veggion \* qui diritte e torte,  
 Veloci e tarde, rinnovando vista,  
 Le minuzie dei corpi lunghe e corte

Moversi per lo raggio, onde si lista †

115

Tal volta l'ombra, che per sua difesa

La gente con ingegno ed arte acquista.

From horn to horn (*i.e.* from one arm of the Cross to the other), and between the summit and the base,

circa quatuor extremitates crucis, ita quod faciebant de se circum circa crucem. Et dicit, *scintillando forte*, idest, radiando et flammando, *nel congiungersi insieme*, idest, quando occurrebant sibi in via, *e nel trapasso*, idest, in transitu; et ista litera ostendit quod prior expositio sit melior, quia istae animae occurrebant sibi in discursu: puta illae quae movebantur a superiori parte versus inferiorem, occurrebant venientibus ab inferiori parte ad superiorem; et ita venientes a dextro cornu obviabant venientibus a sinistro et e converso." (Benvenuto).

\* *Così si veggion* et seq.: "Similitudine stupenda (exclaims Casini) per la profondità e accuratezza dell'osservazione, onde nulla sfugge al poeta della condizione del fenomeno da lui dipinto, e più poi per la pittoresca precisione del linguaggio che rende il fatto fisico nei suoi più minuti particolari senza superfluità di parole; ed è di quelle che rivelano in Dante, oltre che il grande artista, l'investigatore felice della natura." Compare Lucretius, ii, 113-119:

"Contemplator enim, quom solis lumina quomque  
 Insertim fondunt radios per opaca domorum:  
 Multa minuta, modis multis, per inane videbis  
 Corpora misceri, radiorum lumine in ipso;  
 Et, velut aeterno certamine, proelia pugnasque  
 Edere, turmatim certantia; nec dare pausam,  
 Conciliis et discidiis exercita crebris."

Compare Chaucer, *Wif of Bath's Tale*, l. 6450:

"As thikke as motes in the sonnebeme."

And Milton, *Il Penseroso*, 8:

"As thick and numberless

As the gay motes that people the sunbeam."

† *si lista*: Cesari (p. 265) happily remarks: "Un raggio di sole si metta per una fessura in una camera, renduta oscura chiudendo usci e finestre. Notate quel *si lista l'ombra*, quanto proprio! una lista o fettuccia [*little slice*] di luce taglia l'ombra della camera: e però ho detto fessura, che dà una benda [*a band*], non un filo di luce: per questo raggio s'aggirano que' che la gente dice atomi."

lights were moving, and sparkled brightly both as they met together and as they passed. Thus here (on Earth) both straight and crooked, rapid and slow, long and short, ever changing their appearance, the atoms of bodies are seen to move across the ray of sunlight, wherewith is sometimes streaked the shade, which people with artifice and skill contrive for their protection (namely, when they close the shutters against the sunlight).

After speaking of their graceful movements, Dante goes on to say that the impression made upon him by the song of those spirits was so great, that he fell into an ecstasy. Never before has he experienced such bliss. The notes of each spirit were blended together into such harmony, that it had upon him the effect of a beautiful orchestral symphony, in which the senses are charmed without the ear being able to distinguish the individual instruments.

E come giga\* ed arpa,† in tempra tesa  
Di molte corde, fa dolce tintinno‡

---

\* *giga*: Scartazzini says that this signifies a violin, and is derived from the ancient German *Gige*, which in modern German is *Geige*.

† *arpa*: "Sunt duo genera instrumentorum musicorum, sonantium; inter alia, gyga et harpa. Harpa multum utuntur Anglici, quam vocant citharam; et gloriantur quod tale instrumentum, scilicet harpa, sive cithare, primo fuit adinventum in Anglia." (Giovanni di Serravalle, *Translatio et Comentum totius libri Dantis Aldigherii*, Prato, 1891). This quotation is interesting from the fact that Giov. di Serravalle, Archbishop of Fermo, during the sitting of the Council of Constance (1414-18), was induced to write his commentary and Latin Translation of Dante by two English Bishops present at the time, namely Nicholas Bubwich, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and Robert Hallam, Bishop of Salisbury.

‡ *tintinno*: Compare *Par.* x, 143:

"Tin tin sonando con sì dolce nota."

Compare also Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* vii, st. 19:

"A quella mensa cetere, arpe e lire,

A tal da cui la nota non è intesa, 120  
 Così dai lumi che lì m'apparinno  
 S'accogliea\* per la croce una melode,  
 Che mi rapiva senza intender l'inno.†  
 Ben m'accors'io ch'ell'era d'alte lode,‡  
 Perocchè a me venia:—"Risurgi e vinci,"—§ 125  
 Com'a colui che non intende ed ode.  
 Io m'innamorava tanto quinci,  
 Che infino a lì non fu alcuna cosa  
 Che mi legasse con sì dolci vinci.||  
 And as the viol and harp strung into accord with  
 many strings make a sweet tinkling on (the ears of)

E diversi altri dilettevol suoni  
 Faceano intorno l'aria tintinnire  
 D'armonia dolce e di concerti buoni."

The word occurs in Virgil (*Georg.* iv, 64) as *tinnitus*.

\* *S'accogliea . . . una melode*: Cesari, after remarking that no word so well as *accogliea* could render the force of what Dante wished to express, observes that Dante uses it in *Purg.* i, 13, to depict one object that is received inside another:

"Dolce color d'oriental zaffiro,  
 Che s'accoglieva nel sereno aspetto  
 Dal mezzo puro."

† *senza intender l'inno*: Dante could not distinguish the whole hymn, only the sentence: "Risurgi e vinci." Compare *Purg.* ix, 145:

"Che or sì or no s'intendon le parole."

‡ *alte lode*: Compare St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. ci, art. 2): "In statu futurae beatitudinis intellectus humanus ipsam divinam veritatem in se ipsa intuebitur; et ideo exterior cultus non consistet in aliqua figura, sed solum in laude Dei."

§ *Risurgi e vinci*: "Questa è parola de la santa Scrittura che si dice di Cristo; imperò che egli risurresse da morte e vinse lo dimonio che aveva vinto l'uomo; e questo bene è intelligibile a lo intelletto umano; ma l'altre cose divine, che furno fatte da Cristo e in lui sono, et apprendono e dicono li beati, che sono comprensori, non si possono intendere da noi che siamo viatori." (Buti.) These are Buti's words, but the passage does not seem to be one known now.

|| *vinci*, for *vincoli*: "vinci sono quelli legami con che comunemente si legano li cerchi delle botti [*casks*]." (Lana).



one by whom the words of the song are not distinctly heard, so from the lights that appeared to me in that place there was gathered about the Cross a melody that ravished me without my understanding the hymn. Well did I mark that it was of lofty praise, because there did reach me (these words): "Arise and conquer," as to one who understands not and (yet) hears. I was so much enamoured therewith that up to this point there had not been anything which had bound me with such gentle fetters.

Dante then observes that perchance some may think him exaggerating for seeming to put the joy that he derived from the eyes of Beatrice after that caused by these lovely strains. But they will hold him blameless when he explains that, since he has risen up into the Sphere of Mars, he has not yet looked upon Beatrice.

Forse la mia parola par tropp'osa,\* 130  
 Posponendo il piacer degli occhi belli,†  
 Ne' quai mirando mio disio ha posa.  
 Ma chi s'avvede ‡ che i vivi suggelli

\* *osa*: Adjective derived from the verb *osare*, "to dare," and meaning "presumptuous." See note in *Readings on the Purgatorio*, 2nd edition, on *Purg.* xi, 126:

"A satisfar chi è di là tropp'oso."

see also *Purg.* xx, 149:

"Nè per la fretta domandarn'er'oso."

† *occhi belli*: In the next Canto (xv, 34-36), Dante describes what the effect on him was, when he *did* see the eyes of Beatrice:

"... dentro agli occhi suoi ardeva un riso  
 Tal, ch'io pensai co' miei toccar lo fondo  
 Della mia grazia e del mio Paradiso."

‡ *Ma chi s'avvede*, et seq.: What Dante means in this passage is, that any one who can comprehend that the Spheres of Heaven increase in beauty as one ascends higher and higher in them, can also comprehend that, on reaching the Sphere of Mars, he was overcome by the increasing loveliness of all that he saw and heard; and, as is stated on the following page, he had

D' ogni bellezza più fanno più suso,  
 E ch' io non m' era li rivolto a quelli, 135  
 Escusar puommi di quel ch' io m' accuso  
 Per escusarmi, e vedermi dir vero :  
 Chè il piacer santo non è qui dischiuso,  
 Perchè si fa, montando, più sincero.

Perchance my language appears too presumptuous, in setting lower than it the delight of those lovely eyes (Beatrice's) in beholding which my desire has reposed. But he who considers that the living seals of all beauty (*i.e.* the successive Spheres of Heaven that give their impress and influence to the human soul), grow the more efficacious the higher they ascend, and that I had not (as yet) in that place (the Sphere of Mars) turned round towards these (eyes of Beatrice), can excuse me, as to that of which I accuse myself to excuse myself, and (can) see that I speak the truth: inasmuch as the saintly bliss (of Beatrice's eyes) is not here excluded, since as it ascends it becomes more purified.

Beatrice's beauty has not hitherto attained the maximum of glory that it will acquire when Dante shall have ascended and seen it in its perfection in the Heaven of Heavens.

not yet looked at Beatrice. The great majority of the best Commentators (says Casini), understand *vivi suggelli*, to be the Heavens, called *vivi* by reason of their movements and their dependance upon the active Intelligences that are their motors. Some few, however, follow Vellutello, who was the first to think that they meant the eyes of Beatrice. Compare *Par. viii, 127-129*:

“La circular natura, ch' è suggello  
 Alla cera mortal, fa ben sua arte,  
 Ma non distingue l' un dall' altro ostello.”

END OF CANTO XIV.

## SUPPLEMENTAL NOTE TO CANTO XIV.

Early in 1898, after I had otherwise completed this Canto, I discussed with Dr. Moore the intense difficulties of these last thirteen lines, the interpretation of which in their hidden meaning seemed insuperable. Dr. Moore was so kind as to write out for me the following observations, which, with his permission, I give *in extenso*.

In this passage Dante seems to say :

(1) Every kind of beauty or joy is increased as we ascend from sphere to sphere, including that which is derived from or belongs to Beatrice (ll. 133 *et seq.*). This is elsewhere said of her smile ; *cf.* especially *Par.* xxi, 4; and xxx, 19-27.

(2) Thus the beauty and joy of *everything* in the Sphere of Mars is greater than that of *anything* in any previous or lower sphere (ll. 127-129), even including the eyes of Beatrice as seen hitherto (l. 131).

(3) Hence, further, l. 127 is justified, since the surpassing loveliness of the song there described is compared with all that has *preceded*, but not with the eyes or aspect of Beatrice (in this same heaven) to which in fact Dante has not yet turned (l. 135).

(4) Consequently, the holy joy which they would give is not excluded here, because it is not explicitly mentioned (l. 138), for in fact it also is ever intensified as one ascends higher, as appears from ll. 133-134, as well as from l. 139.

A great dispute centres on the sense of *dischiuso*. We find the verb *dischiudere* has with Dante two leading significations.

(A) to *exclude*, *extrude*, or *discharge*, as *e.g.* in *Par.* vii, 102; and in *Purg.* xix, 70, where it signifies : "discharged from the narrow cleft of rock into the open space." And it has a somewhat similar meaning in *Purg.* xxxi, 9.

On *dischiuso* in the passage we are considering (*Par.* xiv, 138),

Buti says : "eccettato."

Benvenuto : "non exclusum, immo potius inclusum."

The *Ottimo* : "non tolto."

(B) to *unclose* or *display*, as in *Par.* xxiv, 100, but even there the connection with (A) is not distant. In *Purg.* xxxiii, 132, either meaning would do.

But finally—What is the actual meaning of the whole passage? [It is not, of course, mere idle sentiment]. Possibly something like this : In *Convito* ii, 16, ll. 32 *et seq.*; and especially in *Ibid* iii, 15, ll. 13-15, we read that the *eyes* of *Filosofia* or *Sapienza* are her *demonstrations*. Probably, therefore, the eyes of Beatrice are the convincing proof or the intellectual aspect of Theological Truths. Note especially l. 132, and compare *Par.* iv, 124-129.

Each ascending sphere brings a fresh accession of insight into Divine Truth, and into the truths and mysteries of Theology ; and each such accession has two aspects :

(a) The revelation and passive reception of it ;

and (β) The demonstration or understanding of it.

It is first revealed to and shed upon the awakened mind, which joyfully and unquestioningly welcomes it, though not understood, in trust, *πίστευ*. [This is the stage reached, up to this point, in the Sphere of Mars, and of this a hint seems to be given in l. 123, *una melode, che mi rapiva senza intender l' inno.*] Afterwards the mind advances to the *understanding* of the "sweet reasonableness" of it, and this largely increases the joy first experienced in the mere recognition or reception of the same truth.

For this distinction see *Par.* ii, 43-45 :

"Là si vedrà ciò che tenem per fede,

Non dimostrato, ma fia per sè noto,

A. guisa del ver primo che l' uom crede."

Now if we call the spheres in ascending order, (1), (2), (3) and use ( $\alpha$ ) and ( $\beta$ ) as above, then

(1  $\alpha$ ) is less than (2  $\alpha$ ), and (1  $\beta$ ) than (2  $\beta$ ), etc.; but even (2  $\alpha$ ) is less than (1  $\beta$ ), and (2  $\beta$ ) than (1  $\gamma$ ), and so on throughout.

Hence, in the Sphere of Mars, the joy of the passive reception of the revelation of truth given in that sphere is higher than that of any revelation in the lower sphere of the Sun, either as merely received and recognized, though *senza intender* (l. 123), or even as demonstrated to the satisfaction of the intellect. This is expressed in ll. 133-134. The revelation already received at the outset of the Sphere of Mars truly surpassed all whatsoever that had been experienced before (ll. 127-129), but as yet Dante had not regarded it in its intellectual or rational aspect; he had not risen above the "*ὄτι*" to the "*διότι*;" so far he had been

"Contented if he might enjoy  
The things which others understand."

In other words, he had not yet turned to the *eyes* of Beatrice, as they presented themselves in this particular Sphere.

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While my work is in the press, I have received as a gift from Mr. Haselfoot the very handsome volume which represents the second edition of his valuable work. At the end of *Canto* xiv, of the *Paradiso*, there is an important note containing his views upon this difficult and much disputed passage.



## CANTO XV.

THE FIFTH SPHERE: THE HEAVEN OF MARS (*continued*).—THE MARTYRS FOR THE FAITH.—THE CRUSADER CACCIAGUIDA.—CONTRAST BETWEEN THE FLORENCE OF CACCIAGUIDA AND THE FLORENCE OF DANTE.

THIS Canto contains the famous and beautiful description of Florence at the commencement of the Twelfth Century. I cordially recommend to the perusal of my readers the fine metrical translation of my old college friend Mr. Edward Pember, Q.C., in his work *Adrastus and other Poems*, London, 1897. It is one of the most successful translations of Dante that I ever read.

Benvenuto divides it into three parts.

*In the First Division*, from v. 1 to v. 36, Dante is accosted by his ancestor Cacciaguida.

*In the Second Division*, from v. 37 to v. 87, after mutual greetings have passed between them, Dante asks Cacciaguida who he is.

*In the Third Division*, from v. 88 to v. 148, Cacciaguida names himself, and draws a vivid picture of the simplicity of the life at Florence in his time.

*Division I.* We take up the scene as we left it in the last Canto. Dante and Beatrice are standing near the foot of the vast starry Cross, from which is pro-

ceeding a melody that ravished all Dante's senses. As the Canto opens, there is a pause in that melody, which would seem to have been intentionally made by the Blessed Spirits, in order that Dante might take advantage of the temporary silence, and speak for himself. Their tender and courteous manifestations of Love appear to him a good augury for those on Earth who would invoke their mediation and intercession; and well merited would be eternal damnation by all those who fail to discipline themselves to this exalted Love of Heaven.

Benigna voluntade, in cui si liqua \*  
 Sempre l' amor che drittamente spira,  
 Come cupidità † fa nell' iniqua,  
 Silenzio pose a quella dolce lira, ‡  
 E fece quïetar le sante corde, §

5

\* *si liqua*: "idest, manifestat se." (Talice da Ricaldone). "idest, in qua liquido et clare ostenditur." (Benvenuto). "*si liqua*, cioè manifesta, dimostra, ed apertissimamente e in detto e in fatto si diliquida il diritto amore." (*Ottimo*.) Most of the Commentators derive the word from the Latin *liquet*, "is made manifest," and this is the interpretation I follow. A few derive it from the Latin *liquare* "to resolve;" but there is not much difference in the sense, whichever derivation be preferred.

† *Come cupidità*, etc.: Compare *Par.* xxvii, 121-123:

"O cupidigia, che i mortali affonde  
 Sì sotto te, che nessuno ha potere  
 Di trarre gli occhi fuor delle tue onde!"

See Buti on this: "Fa l'autore similitudine per contrarie cose, dicendo che, come ne la buona volontà si manifesta l'ordinato e perfetto amore; così ne la ria volontà si dimostra lo disordinato ed imperfetto amore, lo quale l'autore chiama cupidità."

‡ *lira*: Compare *Par.* xxiii, 100-102:

"Comparata al sonar di quella lira,  
 Onde si coronava il bel zaffiro,  
 Del quale il ciel più chiaro s'inzaffira."

§ *sante corde*: "E perchè ha chiamato quel canto *lira*, ora chiama le voci degli spiriti *corde*, perciocchè tutta quella congregazione di quelli spiriti era come una cithera, e gli spiriti eran

Che la destra del cielo allenta e tira.\*

That kindly-intentioned will,—in which is ever manifested the Love which is breathed forth rightfully (*i.e.* perfect Charity), in the same way that ill-regulated love does (manifest itself) in the will to do evil,—imposed silence upon that sweet minstrelsy (*lit.* lyre), and caused to cease the saintly chords (*i.e.* movement of the spirits), which the right hand of Heaven relaxes and tightens.

As in a well-directed will a well-regulated and perfect Love is revealed, so in an ill-directed will is shown that ill-regulated and imperfect love which Dante styles *cupidità*. He calls the sacred melody of the Saints a *lira*, using *pars pro toto*, and retaining the simile of *giga* and *arpa*, which we saw in l. 118 of the last Canto. To keep up the simile farther, he calls the voices of the Blessed Spirits *corde*, for, as the whole congregation of them was like a lyre, the spirits were its chords, and God was its tuner.

From the self-imposed silence of the spirits, Dante goes on to say to himself that the Saints will never be deaf to righteous prayer, and that he has a proof of it here, inasmuch as they have spontaneously suspended their chant in order that he may feel disposed to signify to them his desires. Those then who for the sake of transitory pleasures deprive themselves for ever of such love as this, deserve an endless punishment.

Come saranno ai giusti preghi sorde

Quelle sustanzie,† che per darmi voglia

---

come corde di quella." (Landino.) Casini interprets *quietar* as "to cause to cease moving," not "rendered silent" which is expressed in the previous line. See below.

\* *tira*: Compare *Par.* x, 142:

"Che l'una parte l'altra tira ed urge."

† *sustanzie*: Dante uses this word to express the spirits of the Blessed in *Par.* vii, 5, 6:

Ch'io le pregassi, a tacer fur concorde? \*  
 Ben è † che senza termine si doglia 10  
 Chi per amor di cosa che non duri  
 Eternalmente quell' amor si spoglia.

How can these Substances (*i.e.* Saints) ever be deaf to righteous supplications, (they) who to give me the desire of praying to them, of one accord became mute? Right is it that endlessly should sorrow he who, for love of things that do not last, divests himself for ever of that Love.

At this moment one of the shining lights, who, we learn later on, is the spirit of Cacciaguida, Dante's great-great-grandfather, detaches himself from the Cross of the Holy Warriors, and darts down to meet his descendant like a meteor-flash across the Sapphire Heaven.

Quale per li seren ‡ tranquilli e puri

“Fu viso a me cantare essa sustanza,  
 Sopra la qual doppio lume s'addua.”  
 and *ibid.* xxix, 31-33:

“Concreato fu ordine e costrutto  
 Alle sustanzie, e quelle furon cima  
 Nel mondo, in che puro atto fu prodotto.”

\* *concorde*: An old form for *concordi*, used even in prose. See Nannucci, *Teorica di Nomi*, p. 249 *et seq.* *Philalethes* contends that this is a good argument for invocation of the Saints.

† *Ben è*, *et seq.*: Dante is here referring to a contention of St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars iii, Supplementum, qu. xcix, art. 1): “Secundum divinam justitiam aliquis ex peccato redditur dignus penitus a civitatis Dei consortio separari; quod fit per omne peccatum quo contra charitatem peccat, quae est vinculum civitatem praedictam uniens. Et ideo pro peccato mortali, quod est contrarium charitati, aliquis in aeternum a societate sanctorum exclusus, aeternae paenae addicitur.” St. Thomas bases his arguments on the authority of St. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, xxi, 12; and Gregory the Great, *Dial.* iv, 44.

‡ *seren*: This must be understood for *sereni nocturni*, *sereno* being a substantive, meaning the sky at evening. Compare

Discorre ad ora ad or \* subito foco,  
 Movendo gli occhi che stavano sicuri, 15  
 E pare stella che tramuti loco, †  
 Se non che dalla parte ond' ei s' accende ‡  
 Nulla sen perde, ed esso dura poco ;  
 Tale, dal corno che in destro si stende,  
 Al piè di quella croce corse un astro 20  
 Della costellazion che lì risplende ;  
 Nè si partì la gemma dal suo nastro,  
 Ma per la lista radial trascorse,  
 Che parve foco retro ad alabastro. §

Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* ix, st. 62, where the rapidity with which the Archangel Michael descended from Heaven is described:

"Tal suol, fendendo il liquido sereno,  
 Stella cader della gran madre in seno."

and Petrarch, part i, canz. xii, st. 5:

"Non vidi mai dopo notturna pioggia  
 Gir per l' aere sereno stelle erranti."

and Ovid, *Metam.* ii, 319-322:

"At Phaethon, rutilos flammae populante capillos,  
 Volvitur in praeceps, longoque per aera tractu  
 Fertur, ut interdum de coelo stella sereno  
 Etsi non cecidit, potuit cecidisse videri."

\* *ad ora ad or*: Compare *Inf.* xv, 84, 85:

"quando nel mondo ad ora ad ora  
 M' insegnavate come l' uom s' eterna."

† *stella che tramuti loco*: We find the same sentence in Frezzi, *Quadriregio*, i, 13:

". . . La fiamma corrente  
 Pare una stella che tramuti loco."

Compare too Poliziano, *La Giostra*, lib. ii, st. 17:

"Così e' vapor pel bel seren giù scendono,  
 Che paion stelle mentre l' aere fendono."

‡ *s' accende*: Compare *Purg.* v, 37, 38:

"Vapori accesi non vid' io sì tosto  
 Di prima notte mai fender sereno."

§ *alabastro*: Lindino particularly specifies that he was struck by the sight of a candle in an alabaster vase at Rome in the time of Pope Eugenius IV: "*Alabastro* è spezie di marmo molto candido, così detto da Alabastride, luogo in Egitto non lontano da Tebe, del quale gli antichi facevano vasi per gli unguenti, perchè ottimamente si conservano in quelli. E perspicuo



As through the tranquil and pure evening skies there shoots from time to time a sudden fire,—causing to move the eyes that were in repose,—and seems to be a star that is changing its place, were it not that from the part (of the heavens) whence it is enkindled nothing is missed (*i.e.* no star has disappeared), and this (the flash) lasts but an instant (*i.e.* is soon extinct). So from the arm that extends to the right, down to the foot of that Cross there shot a star from the Constellation (of Saints) that beams there (*i.e.* upon the Cross); nor did the gem break forth beyond its band (of light forming the Cross), but ran along the radiant outline, in such wise that it seemed like fire (seen) behind alabaster.

The star did not once quit the Cross. It ran from the right arm to the centre, and from the centre to the foot, always keeping within the stripe of the concentrated glory given forth by the congregation of blessed spirits by whom the Cross was formed.

A beautiful passage of Virgil (*Æn.* vi) now recurs to Dante's memory, wherein the affectionate greeting of Æneas by his father in the Infernal Regions suggests a vivid comparison with the greeting now given to Dante by the saintly spirit of his ancestor.

Sì pia l'ombra d' Anchise \* si porse,†

25

diafano e trasparente. Ed io vidi a Roma, ne' tempi di Eugenio IV, un vaso d'alabastro, nel quale la candela risplendeva più che in sottilissima lanterna."

\* *l'ombra d' Anchise*: This touching scene is depicted in some of Virgil's most beautiful lines in *Æn.* vi, 684-691:

"Isque ubi tendentem adversum per gramina vidit  
 Æneam, alacris palmas utrasque tetendit;  
 Effusaeque genis lacrymae, et vox excidit ore:  
 Venisti tandem, tuaque expectata parenti  
 Vicit iter durum pietas? Datur ora tueri,  
 Nate, tua; et notas audire et reddere voces?  
 Sic equidem ducebam animo, rebarque futurum,  
 Tempora dinumerans, nec ne mea cura fefellit."

† *si porse*: Equivalent to the Latin *sese obtulit*.

Se fede merta nostra maggior Musa,\*  
Quando in Elisio del figlio s'accorse.

With equal tenderness did the shade of Anchises show himself if our greatest Muse (*i.e.* Virgil) merits credence, when in Elysium he perceived his son.

Cacciaguida now speaks, addressing Dante in Latin. Some think that he is represented speaking Latin as a more dignified mode of speech, as Dante shows in the *Vita Nuova*, where Love addresses him in Latin.

*O sanguis meus,† o superinfusa  
Gratia Dei! sicut tibi, cui  
Bis ‡ unquam coeli ianua reclusa?*

30

"O my blood (*i.e.* my descendant), O Grace of God superabundantly outpoured! To whom, as unto thee (Dante) was the portal of Heaven ever before twice unclosed.

At the end of the last Canto (ll. 127-139) we saw that Dante made an apology for having seemed to admire the glorious Cross of Mars even more than the beautiful eyes of Beatrice, but he added, in extenuation of so great a fault, that he had not as yet looked upon her eyes since he and she had ascended to that planet. After looking earnestly for a moment upon the radiant form of Cacciaguida, Dante turns

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\* *nostra maggior Musa*: *Nostro* is continually used by Italians, even at the present day, to signify anything national. Virgil being a Latin poet, Dante identifies him with the modern inhabitants of Italy; and speaks of him as *Musa*. Compare the use of *Musa* in *Par.* xviii, 33:

"Sì ch'ogni Musa ne sarebbe opima."

† *O sanguis meus*: This seems to be imitated from *Æn.* vi, 836:  
"Projice tela manu, sanguis meus."

‡ *Bis*: Pietro di Dante paraphrases this: "O qualis gratia est haec, ut tibi sanguini meo porta coeli bis sit reclusa, idest aperta. Nam nunc est semel, et cum mortuus eris erit iterum, et sic bis."

his gaze full upon Beatrice's eyes, and we read of the powerful effect upon him.

Così quel lume ; ond' io m' attesi a lui.\*

Poscia rivolsi alla mia Donna il viso,

E quinci e quindi stupefatto fui ;

Chè dentro agli occhi suoi ardeva un riso

Tal, ch' io pensai co' miei toccar lo fondo

35

Della mia grazia † e del mio Paradiso.‡

Thus (spoke) that light ; whereupon I turned attentively to him. Then I turned back my sight to my Lady, and both on the one side and on the other I was struck with awe (*i.e.* on the one side at the words of the spirit, and on the other at the augmented glory of Beatrice) ; for in her eyes there was glowing such a smile, that with mine methought I was sounding the extreme depths (*i.e.* reaching the final limits) of the grace vouchsafed me and of my beatitude in Paradise.

*Division II.* Cacciaguida now speaks in words of so profound a nature, that Dante's human faculties are unable to comprehend them. After a time,

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\* *m' attesi a lui* : Compare *Par.* xiii, 29, 30 :

“Ed attesersi a noi quei santi lumi,  
Felicitando sè di cura in cura.”

† *grazia* : Compare *Purg.* xiv, 79, 80 :

“Ma da che Dio in te vuol che traluca  
Tanta sua grazia, non ti sarò scarso.”

Dante is probably referring to Cacciaguida's words “superinfusa gratia Dei.”

‡ *mio Paradiso* : Compare *Par.* xviii, 20, 21 :

“Volgiti ed ascolta,

Che non pur ne' miei occhi è Paradiso.”

“On which passage Casini comments : “*paradiso* : dolcezza, beatitudine di paradiso ; così anche in *Par.* xv, 36.” I have, therefore, here translated *Paradiso*, “my beatitude in Paradise.” This interpretation seems to agree with that of Benvenuto : “idest, pervenisse ad finem gratiae mihi concessae a Deo et meae beatitudinis . . . *coi miei*, scilicet oculis intellectualibus.”

however, they become more intelligible to him, and he hears his ancestor offering up a thanksgiving for the condescension shown by the Holy Trinity to Dante his descendant.

Indi ad udire ed a veder giocondo,\*

Giunse lo spirto al suo principio cose

Ch' io non intesi, sì parlò profondo :

Nè per elezion † mi si nascose,

40

Ma per necessità, chè il suo concetto

Al segno dei mortal si soprappose.

E quando l' arco dell' ardente affetto

Fu sì sfocato ‡ che il parlar discese

Inver lo segno del nostro intelletto ;

45

La prima cosa che per me s' intese,

— “Benedetto sie tu,”— fu, — “Trino ed Uno,”—

Che nel mio seme § sei tanto cortese.”—

Thereafter, delectable alike both to hearing and to

\* *ad udire ed a veder giocondo*: “*Giocondo ad udire*, imperò che diceva cose dilettevoli e piacevoli, e *vedere*, imperò che era risplendente e pieno di fervore di carità, e della luce della beatitudine.” (Buti.)

† *Nè per elezion*, et seq.: “Nè per libera volontà dapprima parlò oscuro, ma perchè diceva cose superiori alla umana capacità. Dopo si rese accostevole alla nostra mente.” (Cornoldi.)

‡ *sfocato*: I must confess to being much puzzled as to the translation of this word, though the sense of the more usual reading *sfogato* is easy enough. Were I to translate it “cooled, quenched,” it is an expression that could not well be used of a bow, though it would apply happily to *ardente affetto*. On the whole I prefer to follow the *Gran Dizionario*, s. v. *sfocato*, § 2, which takes it to be used in a metaphorical sense akin to the more modern *sfogato*. Casini reads *sfocato* and comments as though it were *sfogato*: “quando l'ardore della carità si fu sfogato tanto che le parole di Cacciaguida s'abbassarono al grado dell' intelligenza umana, ciò ch' io intesi per primo fu un ringraziamento al Signore per la grazia concessa a me.” It is to be noted that Casini seemingly treats *arco* as redundant.

§ *nel mio seme*, et seq.: “Cioè, che 'ntese com' ello laudava la Trinità, la quale nella sua semente, cioè in lo suo discendere, ch' era Dante, avea largito tanta cortesia,” etc. (Lana.)

sight, the spirit added to his first words things that I did not understand, so profound was his speech: nor of choice did he hide himself from me, but of necessity, for his conception soared far above the range of mortals. And when the bow of his ecstatic affection was so far relaxed that his speech came down to the level of our (human) intellect; the first thing that was understood by me was: "Blessed be Thou, Trine and One, Who art so gracious towards my descendant (*lit.* seed)."

Cacciaguida says that for a long time past he had read in the book of destiny that Dante would one day visit Paradise. He commends Dante for not asking him his name, and understands that he has abstained from doing so in sure trust that Cacciaguida is able to read his thoughts, and is consequently well acquainted with Dante's desire to know who he is.

E seguì:—"Grato e lontan digiuno,\*

Tratto leggendo nel magno † volume ‡

50

\* *digiuno . . . soluto hai*: Compare *Par.* xix, 25-27:

"Solvete mi spirando il gran digiuno  
Che lungamente m'ha tenuto in fame,  
Non trovandogli in terra cibo alcuno."

† *nel magno*: This reading has by far the best MS. authority, but the first four editions read *del magno*. Many editions have *nel maggior*, which has little or no sanction from the MSS.

‡ *volume*: "E dice per similitudine, cioè, che come l'uomo leggendo cava del libro ch'egli legge; così li beati ragguardando, come si vede nel libro scritto la scrittura, ch'è, in Dio vedono ogni cosa, e quindi cavano ogni cosa ch'elli sanno. E così vuole l'autore che s'intenda che messer Cacciaguida vedesse in Dio che Dante dovea fare questa opera, e che per questo modo desiderava che venisse a perfezione, sicchè dice ora lo suo desiderio sazio; e chiama Iddio *maggior volume*: imperò ch'egli è la maggior cosa che sia, et è come libro in che i beati vedono ogni cosa." (Buti.) In *Inf.* xix, 54, we have the book of destiny alluded to when Nicholas III, mistaking Dante for Boniface VIII, exclaims:

"Di parecchi anni mi menti lo scritto."



U' non si muta \* mai bianco nè bruno,  
 Soluto hai, figlio, dentro a questo lume †  
 In ch' io ti parlo, mercè di colei  
 Ch' all' alto volo ti vestì le piume. ‡  
 Tu credi che a me tuo pensier mei §  
 Da quel ch' è primo, || così come raia ¶

55

\* *U' non si muta*, et seq.: Buti understands this to mean that in God no changes are possible, for in Him all things created take their light [*riluceno*]; and as in a written book the writing remains unaltered, unless people actually change the white of the paper and the black of the ink; so Dante here means that nothing in God can undergo change, nor can the black or the white be altered, more than in a written book. In God everything shines forth clearly, so that He is like immutable writing. Scartazzini thinks Buti's interpretation is by far the best he has seen. The *bianco* is the paper, the *bruno* the ink.

† *dentro a questo lume*: By this Cacciaguida means "in myself, who am speaking to thee from within this radiance."

‡ *vestì le piume*: Compare *Par.* xxv, 49, 50:

"E quella pia, che guidò le penne  
 Delle mie ali a così alto volo," etc.

Compare also Boëthius, *Phil. Consol.* iv, Metrum i:

"Sunt etenim pennae volucres mihi,  
 Quae celsa conscendant poli:  
 Quas sibi cum velox mens induit,  
 Terras perosa despicit,  
 Aëris immensi superat globum,  
 Nubesque post tergum videt," etc.

§ *mei*: On this verb Venturi (*Simil. Dant.* p. 94) says: "Il verbo *Meare*, usato altre volte da Dante, è andato infelicemente in disuso; ma la scienza ha conservata la parola *Meati* [*i. e.* the Avenues of sensation in the body], alla cui precisa significazione miun'altra potrebbe sostituirsi." He says that *mei* is equivalent to *trapassi*. On the *terzina* in the text, Venturi (p. 192, *Sim.* 333), remarks: "È similitudine che in forma familiare spiega altissimo concetto. Dio è unità infinita, e tutti i numeri infinitamente immaginabili raggiano dall'uno, perchè non sono che aggregato di unità."

|| *Da quel ch' è primo*: Compare Dante's words in the Epistle to Cangrande (*Ep.* x), ll. 356-358: "Constat, quod habere esse a se non convenit nisi uni, scilicet primo, seu principio, qui Deus est."

¶ *raia*: "Si deriva forma antica per 'Raggia.' Così dicevasi *raio* e *rai* . . . *Raggiare* è verbo che ha senso sacro per

Dall' un, se si conosce, il cinque e il sei.  
E però chi io mi sia, e perch' io paia

Più gaudioso a te, non mi domandi,  
Che alcun altro in questa turba gaia.

60

And he went on: "My Son, thou hast appeased within this effulgence, from within which I speak to thee, a pleasant and long-felt craving, derived from reading in the mighty volume (of futurity), wherein is never altered either white or black, by grace of her (Beatrice) who for thy lofty flight clothed thee with plumage. Thou believest that thy thoughts stream forth to me from Him Who is First (*i.e.* the Source of all), just as from the Unit, if that be known, are derived the (numbers) five and six. And therefore (*i.e.* from believing that thy thoughts are known to us) thou askest me not who I am, and why I appear more gladsome unto thee than any other in this jocund throng.

Cacciaguida's affectionate greeting of Dante was shown by his augmented joyfulness.

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l'Alighieri." (Venturi.) On this passage Antonelli (*ap.* Tommaséo) remarks: "Laddove abbonda l'astronomia e la fisica e la geometria, non deve esserci penuria d'aritmetica, necessaria loro ministra. E il Poeta non la trascura. Qui trae dall'aritmetica una opportuna dichiarazione a sublime concetto, dicendo che dalla perfetta cognizione della assoluta unità si ha contezza delle cose, come dalla idea chiara dell'unità matematica procede la visione intellettuale di ogni numero, indicato colla determinazione del cinque e del sei. Questa veduta semplicissima è il fondamento della scienza dei numeri." As to the analogy between light and numbers, see Dante's words in *Convito* ii, 14, ll. 123-153: "E'l cielo del Sole si può comparare all'Arismetica per due proprietadi: l'una si è, che del suo lume tutte le altre stelle s'informano; l'altra si è, che l'occhio nol può mirare. E queste due proprietadi sono nell'Arismetica, che del suo lume tutte le altre scienze s'alluminano; perocchè i loro soggetti sono tutti sotto alcuno numero considerati, e nelle considerazioni di quelli sempre con numero si procede. . . . L'altra proprietà del Sole ancor si vede nel numero, del qual è l'Arismetica, chè l'occhio dello intelletto nol può mirare; perocchè il numero, quanto è in sè considerato, è infinito: e questo non potemo noi intendere."

What he next says is to this effect. The spirits in Heaven, whatever be their degree of beatitude, gaze upon God, as upon a mirror in which every truth is clearly reflected. Dante's human thoughts are laid open before he has time to formulate them, and are manifested in Heaven. Benvenuto observes that Dante had just before had experience of this, for Cacciaguida sped down to him from the arm of the Cross, having foreseen in God exactly what Dante was thinking of. But he now tells Dante that although he clearly sees his wish, and has his answer ready to satisfy it, he wishes him all the same to unfold his desire, in order that it may be the better fulfilled.

Tu credi il vero ; chè minori e grandi  
 Di questa vita\* miran nello specchio,†  
 In che, prima che pensi, il pensier pandi.‡  
 Ma perchè il sacro amore, in che io veglio§  
 Con perpetua vista, e che m'aseta

65

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\* *questa vita* : "cioè gli spiriti più o meno illustri che stanno qui in Paradiso." (Cornoldi.)

† *miran nello specchio* : "idest, Deum tamquam in speculum in quo relucet omnis veritas." (Benvenuto). Dante expresses the same idea in *Par.* xxvi, 106-108 :

"Perch'io la veggio nel verace specchio  
 Che fa di sè pareglio all' altre cose,  
 E nulla face lui di sè pareglio."

‡ *prima che pensi, il pensier pandi* : Doubtless Dante had in his mind the words in *Psalm* cxxxix, 2 : "Thou understandest my thought afar off," or in the Prayer Book version : "Thou understandest my thoughts long before." In the Vulgate *afar off* is *de longe*. In *Par.* xxv, 20, we again find the verb *pandere* used : "l' uno all' altro pande." It is a Latinism that was not uncommon among the early writers.

§ *io veglio* : Compare *Purg.* xxx, 103 :  
 "Voi vigilate nell' eterno die."

Di dolce disiar,\* s' adempia meglio,  
 La voce tua sicura, † balda e lieta  
 Suoni la volontà, suoni il disio,  
 A che la mia risposta è già decreta.”—

Thou believest (what is) the truth ; because in this existence (of ours in Heaven) the lesser (spirits) and the great (alike) gaze upon that Mirror (God), in which before thou canst think is displayed thy thought. But that the Holy Love in which I am ever watching with unceasing vision, and which makes me thirst with sweet longing may be the more fully contented, let thy voice fearless, confident, and joyful, sound forth thy will, sound forth the wish, to which my answer is already decreed.”

Having received from Beatrice a sign of approval, Dante replies to Cacciaguida.

Io mi volsi a Beatrice, e quella udfo 70  
 Pria ch'io parlassi, ed arrosemi ‡ un cenno

\* *dolce disiar* : Scartazzini remarks that in *Limbo* there was longing without hope. Compare *Inf.* iv, 42 ; and *Purg.* iii, 41, 42 ; in Paradise there was a longing full of sweetness.

† *sicura* : Casini interprets this “libera da ambagi,” *i. e.* “unambiguous.” I should much prefer this meaning, if I could only find any authority for such a use of *sicuro*. Buti says of these three adjectives : “Tre cose toccò che debbe avere lo parlatore nella sua voce : cioè che debbe esser ferma e non tremante, che significa timore ; e debbe essere ardita, cioè alta e non bassa, che significa diffidenza ; e debbe essere lieta e non piangulosa, che significa tristizia ; e vedute in lui queste tre cose, crescerà l'ardore della carità.” For this sense expressed by different metaphors, compare *Par.* xvii, 7-9 :

“Per che mia donna : ‘Manda fuor la vampa  
 Del tuo disio,’ mi disse, ‘sì ch'ella esca  
 Segnata bene della interna stampa.’”

And *Par.* xxiv, 55-57 :

“Poi mi volsi a Beatrice, ed essa pronte  
 Sembianze femmi, perch'io spandessi  
 L'acqua di fuor del mio interno fonte.”

‡ *arrosemi* : The more common reading here is *arrisemi un cenno*, which is generally translated : “smiled to me a greeting.” This is the *facilior lectio*, and one easily adopted by those

Che fece crescer l'ali al voler mio.  
 Poi cominciai così:—"L' affetto e il senno,\*  
 Come la prima Equalità † v' apparse,  
 D'un peso per ciascun di voi si fenno; 75  
 Perocchè il Sol, che v' allumò ed arse  
 Col caldo e con la luce, è sì iguali,‡  
 Che tutte simiglianze sono scarse.

copyists who did not understand *arrosemi*. Another objection to *arrisemi* is that *arridere* is a neuter verb, and its active use is exceedingly rare. *Arrosemi*, from the verb *arrogere* (=aggiungere) perf. *arrosi*, past part. *arroto* is a verb in frequent use in the time of Dante, and occurs more than once in Villani. I find *arrosemi* in the Foligno, Jesi and Naples editions, and it is the one adopted by Moore and Witte. See Fornaciari's *Grammatica Storica*, § 166, on this word. The word "added" comes so awkwardly in the translation, that I have substituted for it "granted me also." See G. Villani xi, 90: "Non si vollono ismuovere, se non ch'arrosano Asciano e'l Colle, ch'era sopra Buggiano." And *ibid.* ix, 271: "E quelle elezioni trovando assai ben fatte non le mutarono, ma *arrosero* (in some editions this is *aggiunsero*) gente nuova per 6 priorati." See also *Novella*, cxcvi of Franco Sacchetti: "Costui se la prese, e arrose il sodamento; e Begnai fu liberato." Casini excuses himself for not following Witte, as he prefers to read *arrisemi*.

\* *L' affetto e il senno*: See the antithesis to this in *Purg.* xviii, 55-57:

"Però, là onde vegna lo intelletto  
 Delle prime notizie, uomo non sape,  
 Nè de' primi appetibili l'affetto."

† *la prima Equalità*: Dr. Moore, in a letter to me, thinks the idea is that in the Primal Essence all qualities or attributes are in perfect balance, proportion, and harmony, and hence it is "the Prime Equality." He doubts whether there is any allusion to the Trinity.

‡ *è sì iguali*: Nearly all modern editions from Buti to our time read *AL Sol* and *èn sì iguali*, and translate "in the Sun . . . they (*i.e.* Love and knowledge) ARE so equal," etc. I prefer however to follow Moore, Witte, Scartazzini, Benvenuto, *Cod. Cassinese*, the Four First Editions, Casini, and others, in reading *è sì iguali* taking *iguali* as an adjective in the singular, and of this use Casini says there are the following instances. In the Sermons of Giovanni da Rivalto, Florence, 1739, *predica* 33: "Il demonio desiderò d'essere *iguali* a Dio." and *Prediche*



I turned me to Beatrice, and she had heard before I spake, and granted me also a sign (of assent) which made the wings of my will to grow. Then I began thus: "For each of you did the affection and the intelligence become of one weight (*i.e.* equal) so soon as (God) the Prime Equality became visible unto you; because the Sun which illumined and inflamed you with the heat (of His Love) and the light (of His Knowledge) is of such an equality, that all comparisons are inadequate.

Dante professes his earnest desire to render worthy thanks to Cacciaguida, but finds himself wholly unable to do so, because in mortal men the will, which is boundless in its desires, does not possess the power of expressing its affections in the same way as the Blessed spirits in Heaven, with whom Love and Wisdom are made equal in God. Dante therefore entreats the spirit to accept the mute expression of thanks which he feels in his heart, and to reveal to him his name. Dante limits himself to his affection (*affetto*) since he finds himself unable to make use of his wisdom (*senno*).

Ma voglia ed argomento\* nei mortali,  
 Per la cagion ch'a voi è manifesta, 80  
 Diversamente son pennuti in ali.  
 Ond' io che son mortal, mi sento† in questa  
 Disagguaglianza, e però non ringrazio,

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*inedite*, Bologna, 1867, p. 135: "Rilevalo dalle sozzure e fallo *iguali* co' principi." Also in a passage in Antonio Pucci, *Centiloquio*, i, 54: "E fu il suo nome alla Provincia *iguali*."

\* *voglia ed argomento*: These are undoubtedly the same as the *affetto e il senno* of l. 73, because, as Casini says: "la volontà è atto del sentimento, l' argomento è atto dell' intelligenza."

† *mi sento* et seq.: "Il Poeta vuol quì esprimere quella *Disagguaglianza* onde col *senno*, col ragionare (*argomento*) non può spiegare l' *affetto* (*la voglia*) suo, nè rispondere alla paterna festa che coll' intenzione del cuore." (Scartazzini).

Se non col core, alla paterna festa.\*

Ben supplico io a te,† vivo topazio,‡

85

Che questa gioia§ preziosa ingemmi,

Perchè mi facci del tuo nome sazio.”—

But, in mortals, the will and the power (of giving expression to it) have their wings feathered in a different way, from the cause that is well known to you (spirits). Wherefore I, who am (but a) mortal, feel myself in this disparity, and therefore render no thanks save with my heart for thy paternal welcome. Earnestly do I entreat thee, thou Living Topaz, who ingemmet this precious jewel (*i.e.* this radiant cross), that thou wouldst make me satisfied with (hearing) thy name.”

*Division III.* In answer to Dante's prayer Cacciaguida makes his revelation. He does not, however, immediately disclose his name, but says to Dante: “Thou art my descendant, and I was thy ancestor. Thy great-grandfather was my son. He is still suffering in Purgatory for Pride—Pray for him.” Having said that much, Cacciaguida proceeds to

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\* *paterna festa*: Dante remembers that in l. 28 Cacciaguida called him *Sanguis meus*, in l. 48 *Mio seme*, and in l. 52 *figlio*, and therefore calls his greeting a paternal one. *Far festa a qualche d'uno* is a regular Tuscan idiom for giving any one an exuberant welcome. If one asks a person how such and such a visit to friends went off, he might reply: “O, mi fecero tante feste,” *i.e.* “they gave me *such* a welcome!”

† *supplico io a te*: Dante uses this verb with the dative case, as in Latin. Compare *Par.* xxvi, 94, and xxxiii, 25.

‡ *topazio*: See the *Ottimo* on this: “Topazio è una gemma intra l'altre maggiore; e sonne di due ragioni: l'una ha colore d'auro purissimo, l'altra ha colore di purissimo aere; et è sì perspicacissimo, che riceve in sè la chiarezza di tutte l'altre gemme. Dicesi che a colui che'l porta non può nuocere nemico.”

§ *questa gioia*: The radiant Cross, not the planet Mars.

speak at great length of the condition of Florence in his own days, and the simple habits of its citizens, after relating which, he names himself.

Scartazzini thinks that the possible reason for Dante not introducing Cacciaguida's name until the end of the Canto, may have been from his consciousness that, without some preliminary account of his ancestor, that personage would have been wholly unknown to Dante's contemporaries.

—“O fronda mia,\* in che† io compiacemmi‡

Pure aspettando, io fui la tua radice :—”§

Cotal principio, rispondendo, femmi.

90

Poscia mi disse :—“Quel|| da cui si dice

\* *fronda mia*: Compare *Psalm* i, 3 (*Vulgate*): “Et erit tanquam lignum quod plantatum est secus decursus aquarum, quod fructum suum dabit in tempore suo; et folium ejus non defluet.” I prefer to take *fronda* in the sense of “branch, scion,” rather than “leaf,” as all the other English translations do, for although *fronda* can mean “leaf,” its primary signification is “branch,” which seems to me to accord better with the metaphor, of a family compared to a tree.

† *in che*: This is the reading of the overwhelming majority of the authorities, but Witte follows the Sta. Croce MS. in reading *in cui*.

‡ *in che io compiacemmi*: This resembles the words in *St. Matthew* iii, 17 (*Vulgate*): “Et ecce vox de coelis dicens: Hic est filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi complacui.”

§ *radice*: Compare *Isaiah* xi, 1: “Et egredietur virga de radice Jesse, et flos de radice ejus ascendet.” This passage in *Isaiah* Dante quotes in *Convito* iv, 5, ll. 42-44, and in ll. 53, 54, adds: “Fu contemporaneo alla radice della progenie di Maria.”

|| *Quel*, et seq.: Cacciaguida is speaking of Aldighiero, his son, father of Bellincione, whose son, Aldighiero II, was Dante's father. Bartoli (*Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, vol. v, p. 5) says that the existence of Cacciaguida is now a verified historical fact. In the State Archives of Florence there is a deed of Dec. 9, 1189, in which occur the names of Alighiero and Preitenitto, sons of Cacciaguida, who therein give a promise to Tolomeo, rector of the Church of St. Martino, that they will at his request

Tua cognazion, e che cent' anni e piuè  
 Girato ha il monte in la prima cornice,\*  
 Mio figlio fu, e tuo bisavo fue :  
 Ben si convien che la lunga fatica  
 Tu gli raccorci con l'opere tue.

95

“O branch of my tree, in whom even while I waited I took delight, I was thy parent root:” Such a beginning he made in reply to me. Then he said to me: “He from whom thy family is named (*i.e.* Aldighiero), and who for a hundred years and more has been circling round the Mount (of Purgatory) in its first Cornice, was my son, and thy great-grandfather: Fitting indeed were it that thou by thy works (*i.e.* prayers) should'st make shorter for him his long fatigue.

Benvenuto remarks that Cacciaguida, in order the better to describe the deterioration of the Florence of Dante's days, and that he may censure its citizens more cautiously, first sketches a beautiful outline of the simple and peaceful ways of the citizens in his own time.† Benvenuto adds that in 1154 Florence

cut down a certain fig tree in their garden by the wall of the church. It seems to have been established (see Casini's note) that this Aldighiero was alive on the 14th August, 1201, when he was present as a witness of the payment of a sum of money to the Commune of Florence by one Jacobo Rosa. That would only make 99 years to the supposed date of the vision of Dante, but Dante did not probably know the precise date of Aldighiero's death, and *cent' anni e piuè* is apparently more or less a vague term.

\* *prima cornice*: I think there can be little doubt that this alludes to the First Cornice of Purgatory proper, in which the Proud have to bear grievous burdens on their backs (*lunga fatica*). Some, including Lana, the *Ottimo*, and the *Anonimo Fiorentino*, have contended that Dante meant the first terrace of Antepurgatory. If so, he should have said *balzo*, which is Dante's name for the terraces of Antepurgatory, as *cornice* is for each of the Cornices in Purgatory proper.

† This description of the citizens of Florence should be compared with a similar one by G. Villani (lib. vi, cap. 69); except

was two-thirds smaller than it was in his (Benvenuto's) time, as can be seen by its ancient inner line of walls.

Fiorenza dentro dalla cerchia\* antica

Ond' ella toglie ancora e terza e nona,†

that Villani treats of a period (about 1260) subsequent to that spoken of by Cacciaguida: "È nota che al tempo del detto popolo, e in prima, e poi a gran tempo, i cittadini di Firenze viveano sobrii, e di grosse vivande, e con piccole spese, e di molti costumi e leggiadrie grossi e rudi; e di grossi drappi vestieno loro e le loro donne, e molti portavano le pelli scoperte senza panno, e colle berrette in capo, e tutti con gli usatti [*leather boots*] in piede, e le donne fiorentine co' calzari [*boots*] senza ornamenti, e passavansi le maggiori [*and even the greatest ladies were contented with*] d'una gonnella assai stretta di grosso scarlatto d'Ipro [*of Ypres*], o di Camo [*camlet*], cinta ivi su d'uno scaggiale [*leather girdle*] all' antica, e uno mantello foderato di vaio [*minever*] col tassello [*hood*] sopra, e portavano in capo; e le comuni donne vestite d'uno grosso verde di Cambragio [*cloth of Cambray*] per lo simile modo, e lire cento era comune dota di moglie, e lire dugento o trecento era a queglii tempi tenuta isalgorata [*quite out of the way*]; e le più delle pulcelle [*maidens*] aveano venti o più anni, anzi ch' andassono a marito. Di sì fatto abito e di grossi costumi erano allora i Fiorentini, ma erano di buona fè e leali tra loro e al loro comune, e colla loro grossa vita e povertà, feciono maggiori e più virtudiose cose, che non sono fatte a' tempi nostri con più morbidezza [*luxury*] e con più ricchezza."

\* *cerchia*: I have fully explained in *Readings on the Inferno*, vol. ii, pp. 53, 54, that *cerchia*, "a circuit, circular enclosure, *enceinte* of the walls of a city," is not the same thing as *cerchio* "a circle;" and that in the passage there discussed (*Inf.* xviii, 72), *cerchie eterne* must be taken to mean the huge encircling wall of cliffs that towered above and around *Malebolge*. I translated the words "those everlasting lines of circumvallation." The particular line of the walls of Florence called *la cerchia antica* was the first extension of the original circuit begun (according to Villani iv, cap. 8) in 1078. Cacciaguida calls it *antica*, although in fact it was the *second* line of walls built, because it was so in respect to the walls existing in Dante's time begun in 1284, and only completed in the following century.

† *toglie . . . terza e nona*: "Sulle ditte mura vecchie si è una ecclesia chiamata la Badìa, la quale ecclesia suona terza e nona e l'altre ore, alle quali li lavoranti delle arti entrano ed esceno di



Si stava in pace,\* sobria e pudica.  
 Non avea catenella, non corona,† 100  
 Non donne contigiate,‡ non cintura§  
 Che fosse a veder più che la persona.||  
 Non faceva nascendo ancor paura  
 La figlia al padre, chè il tempo e la dote  
 Non fuggian quinci e quindi la misura. 105

Florence, within the ancient circuit (of her walls)

lavorio." (Lana). This is the old Badia that we know so well, in the Piazza San Firenze, and opposite to the Bargello.

\* *Si stava in pace*: The feuds and civil dissensions that convulsed Florence began in 1177; Villani (v, cap. 9) remarks that they were due to "troppa grassezza e riposo mischiato colla superbia e ingratitude."

† *catenella . . . corona*: Casini quoting Buti says: "La *catenella* sarebbe una specie di collana o di braccialetto formato con bottoncini d'argento dorati infilati in varie guise; la *corona* era l'ornamento usato per il capo, e si faceva d'oro e d'argento e di perle preziose, come le corone che ancora si vedono sulle immagini della Vergine, e tanto era diffusa questa costumanza che bisognò a frenarla la legge suntuaria del 1330." See Villani, lib. x, cap. 150.

‡ *contigiate*: "Le *contigie*, onde è l'espressione *donne contigiate*, erano calzature di cuoio trapunto o stampato, delle quali pare che primitivamente facessero uso speciale le meretrici." (Casini.) Benvenuto was evidently very averse to high-heeled shoes, for he says: "*non donne contigiate*, qui non portabant calceamenta contesiata, more vilium foeminarum sicut nunc; sed hodie portant punctas ad calceos, quid turpius!" Both Buti and Landino speak of them as soled stockings covered with embroidered leather. The word is said to be akin to the old French *Cointise*, and the Breton *Coantis*, beauty, or a splendid dress. Serravalle gives the most quaint interpretation: "Non dominas factas comitissas (nam moderno tempore uxores carpentiariorum, sartorum), portant coronas et videntur comitisse, et tunc dicuntur *domine contessate*, idest comitisse facte."

§ *cintura*: "La *cintura* o *cintola* era per lo più di liste d'argento, delle quali le leggi suntuarie limitarono il numero." (Casini.)

|| *Che fosse a veder più che la persona*: Compare Ovid, *Remedia Amoris*, 343:

"Auferimur cultu: gemmis auroque teguntur  
 Omnia: pars minima est ipsa puella sui."

from which she still takes (*i.e.* hears tolled) both Tierce and Nones, abode in peace temperate and modest. No chain had she, no diadem, no gorgeously attired dames, no (engemmed) girdle which caught the eye more than did the wearer. Not yet did the daughter at her birth cause the father to fear, because (in those days) the time (for a maid to wed) and her dowry used not to overrun the reasonable limit either on this side or on that.

Benvenuto explains this last sentence to mean that the eye of the damsel used not to depart from the properly allotted epoch for espousals on the one hand (*quinci*) as it does now (*i.e.* in Benvenuto's time), for in those days girls were not wont to wed till they were 20 or 25 ; but now in their eleventh or even in their ninth year ! And on the other hand (*quindi*) a girl's dowry did not exceed reasonable proportions as it does now. Lycurgus ordained that no dowry should be given to girls, but with that Benvenuto does not agree. In Cacciaguida's days an exceptionally rich citizen would give his daughter two or three hundred pieces of gold, whereas now (says Benvenuto) he must give as much as a thousand or fifteen hundred.

Non avea case di famiglia vôte ;  
 Non v'era giunto ancor Sardanapalo \*  
 A mostrar ciò che in camera si puote.

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\* *Sardanapalo* : Many Commentators understand this passage to allude to the perpetration of hideous crime ; but I follow Benvenuto, Pietro di Dante, and the *Postillatore Cassinese* in explaining it as the absurd effeminate luxury for which Sardanapalus was notorious in Grecian history, a fact which Dante knew through Orosius, who (*Hist.* i, 19), says that he was the last of the Assyrian kings, a most effeminate man, accustomed to array himself in purple and female garments, and a great lover of delicacies. Compare Juvenal (*Sat.* x, 362):

“*Et Venere, et coenis, et pluma Sardanapali.*”

The three Commentators mentioned above only see in the words

No houses had she bare of family; nor had Sardapalus yet come to show what can be done in a chamber.

It is usually understood that *case vôte* means that the excessive pomp and luxury of the Florentines made them build palaces too large for their inmates, though some think it signifies that the continual wars and factions kept all the males away from home.

Non era vinto ancora Montemalo \*

Dal vostro Uccellatoio, † che, com' è vinto 110

Nel montar su, così sarà nel calo.

Not yet was Montemalo outstripped by your Ucellatojo, which, as it is surpassed in its rise, so shall it be in its fall.

*ciò che in camera si puote* an allusion to the exaggeratedly effeminate luxury at which the Florentines had arrived in the internal decoration of their palaces. Benvenuto says: "Nondum pervenerat Florentiam mollities Sardanapali, a *mostrar ciò che 'n camera si puote*; nam Sardanapalus fuit studiosissimus circa muliebres mollities inveniendas; fuit enim primus qui invenit usus culcitrae [*of the mattress*] et plumarum."

\* *Montemalo*: From Lana we have a descriptive account of Monte Mario, which clearly shows (were the evidence of ruins not also forthcoming), that in his time it was covered with fine buildings: "Montemalo si è nel contado di Roma, ed è lo primo luogo donde si vede la cittade, lo quale Montemalo al tempo che i romani trionfavano, era molto bello luogo e adorno di mura e di torri; così nel contado di Firenze è uno luogo, nome l' Uccellatojo, dal quale venendo di Bologna si vede prima la città: or li fiorentini crescendo in superbia cominciarono a far fortezze in contado, fare noie e oltraggio alli suoi vicini, sì che rinforzoron di mura e di torri lo detto Uccellatojo, in tale modo che esso era ed è più forte di Montemalo."

† *Uccellatojo*: This must be pronounced Uccellatoio' (the terminal *oi* as a diphthong). See *Readings on the Inferno*, vol. i, p. 196, where in a note on *Inf.* vi, 79, it is stated that Tegghiaio must be pronounced as a dissyllable. The terminations *aio*, *oio*, *oia*, were commonly used as monosyllables by the Tuscan poets. See *primaio*, *Purg.* xiv, 66; *Uccellatojo* in the present passage; as well as Pistoia in a verse of Petrarch. These were pronounced *primai*; *Uccellatoì*; and *Pistoì*.

Monte Mario (then called Montemalo) is the eminence from which a traveller coming from Viterbo first sees the magnificent view of Rome; and in like manner it is from Monte Uccellatojo that the traveller from Bologna first sees that of Florence (see note).

In Cacciaguida's beautiful picture of Florence the one figure that seems to stand out most prominently as the object of his admiration is Bellincion Berti dei Ravignani, the father of *la buona Gualdrada* (*Inf.* xvi, 37). He seems to be Dante's *beau idéal* for all that is dignified and noble, and yet was a man of simple tastes.

Bellincion Berti \* vid'io andar cinto  
 Di cuoio e d'osso, e venir dallo specchio  
 La donna sua senza il viso dipinto ; †

\* *Bellincion Berti*: The *Ottimo* after saying that this great personage is taken as an exemplification of the modest way of living practised in those days, and more especially the unassuming garb of even the noblest and the greatest men in Florence, adds: "Bellincione Berti fu cavaliere notabilissimo, e fu de' Ravignani, a cui succedettono in redditagio li conti Guidi per madonna Gualdrada, della quale è fatta menzione sopra, capitolo xvi *Inferni*." See *Readings on the Inferno*, vol. i, pp. 546, 547.

† *viso dipinto*: We are to infer that ladies in the time of Dante were much given to rouge, white paint, and cosmetics. In the *Trattato della Pittura* of Cennino Cennini, a pupil of Agnolo Gaddi, published by Giuseppe Tambroni, Rome, 1821, a work which the publisher styles: "Il più antico monumento scritto, che abbiano le belle arti dopo il loro risorgimento [*Renaissance*]," we find at p. 145, that cap. clxi, is entirely devoted to instruction in painting the human face: "Usando l'arte, per alcune volte t'addiverrà avere a tignere o dipignere in carne, massimamente colorire un viso d'uomo o di femmina. I tuoi colori puoi fare temperati con uovo; o vuoi, per caleffare [*to make them more intense*], ad oglio o con vernice liquida, la quale è più forte tempera che sia. Ma vorrai tu lavarla poi la faccia di questo colore, o ver tempere; togli rossumi d'uovo, a poco a poco gli frega alla faccia, e con la mano va stropicciando [*begin rubbing*]. Poi togli acqua calda bollita con romola [*Romagnole*]

E vidi quel de' Nerli e quel del Vecchio \*

115

Esser contenti alla pelle scoperta,

E le sue donne al fuso ed al penneccchio.†

I have seen Bellincion Berti walk about girdled with leather and bone (*i.e.* a clasp of bone), and his dame come away from her mirror without her face being painted; and I have seen him (the head) of the Nerli, and him (the head) of the Vecchietti content with unlined fur, and their dames with the spindle and the flax.

At this point Cacciaguida breaks forth into an outburst of admiration for the blessings of a home life. We may infer that Dante was bewailing his own exile, and thinking of the sad bereaved existence of his own wife.

word for *crusca*, bran], o ver *crusca*, e lavagli la faccia: e poi ripiglia un rossume d' uovo, e di nuovo gli stropiccia la faccia. Avendo poi per lo detto modo dell'acqua calda, rilavagli la faccia. Tante fiate fa così, che la faccia rimarrà di suo colore di prima; non contando di più di questa materia."

\* *de' Nerli . . . del Vecchio*: Both these were very ancient families of consular dignity, and of the Guelph party. The Nerli dwelt in the Sesto d' Oltrarno to the south of the river. The name of Nerli became familiar to me in early youth, as my two first winters in Florence in 1840 and 1841, were passed in one of their palaces. The del Vecchio family dwelt in the Quartiere di San Brancazio, and, when the Guelph party became divided, they joined the faction of the *Neri*. They were better known as the de' Vecchietti.

† *penneccchio*: This means the lump of hemp or wool that is placed upon the distaff [*rocca*]; *fuso* is the spindle, held in the left hand, on which the fingers wind the new made thread, twirling it rapidly, and reminding one of the French ballad song, *File Jeanne*, v. 2:

"Fais tourner bien vite  
Ton fuseau, petite," etc.

The *Ottimo* contrasts the time of Cacciaguida, when even the great ladies span, whereas in his own time, said to be contemporary with Dante, not even would the maids spin, much less the great lady (*oggi non vuole filare la fante, non che la donna*). Compare *Prov.* xxxi, 19 (*Vulgate*): "Manum suam misit ad fortia, et digiti ejus apprehenderunt fusum."



The peaceful life of the Florentine women was passed in the quiet confidence of dying in their own homes, and without the fear of, what in Dante's time was so prevalent, their husbands voluntarily leaving Florence to make fortunes in France, and, according to the oldest Commentators, in England as well.

O fortunate! \* Ciascuna era certa  
 Della sua sepoltura, ed ancor nulla  
 Era per Francia † nel letto deserta. 120  
 L'una vegghiava a studio della culla,  
 E consolando usava l'idioma ‡  
 Che prima i padri e le madri trastulla ;  
 L'altra traendo alla rocca la chioma,  
 Favoleggiava con la sua famiglia 125  
 De' Troiani, di Fiesole, e di Roma.

O happy women! Each one was sure of her own burial place, and as yet none of them for the sake of

\* *O fortunate!*: The lamentable dispersion of families may be noticed in *Inf.* x, where Farinata, after telling Dante that his ancestors were adversaries of his, adds (l. 48):

“Sì che per due fiatae gli dispersi.”

Dante retorts that his ancestors, if driven by the party of Farinata twice into exile, had twice returned, but Farinata's descendants had been exiled to some purpose, and have never learned the art of re-patriating themselves (l. 51):

“Ma i vostri non appreser ben quell' arte.”

The certainty of being buried in their own country was the Florentine ladies' compensation for the frugal life they had to lead.

† *per Francia*: Buti says that the citizens of Florence began to visit France after the great defeat of the Guelphs in the battle of Montaperti (1260). Benvenuto rather takes the allusion to France to mean that no Florentine lady lay in her bed bereaved of her husband, who had been forced to go and fight for France, and had fallen in battle. It would rather seem that the husbands went on their own account in search of wealth.

‡ *l'idioma*, et seq.: Compare *Tibullus*, lib. ii, eleg. v, 93, 94:

“Nec taedebit avum parvo advigilare nepoti,  
 Balbaque cum puero dicere verba senem.”

France lay deserted in her bed. One would keep watch in charge of her cradle, and as she soothed her child, would talk the language which first amuses fathers and mothers (*i.e.* the Italian baby-song *Ninna Nanna*); another, as she drew the thread from the distaff, would among her family recount the old tales of the Trojans, of Fiesole, and of Rome.

Benvenuto says that, of the Trojans and of Rome, the matrons of Florence could with truth relate great deeds (*verum dicere poterant*) but of Fiesole they must positively have had to invent the achievements (*recte fabulabantur*), as it never had done anything of the slightest importance.

Cacciaguida, with just pride, claims for the Florence of his days that in it conspicuously wicked persons were as rare as were conspicuously good ones in the time of Dante.

Saria tenuta allor tal maraviglia

Una Cianghella,\* un Lapo Salterello,†

Qual or saria Cincinnato e Corniglia.

\* *Cianghella*: Of her the *Falso Boccaccio* relates: "Fu di quei della Tosa, maritata a Imola. Costei fu delle superbe femmine del mondo, e andando una mattina di pasqua alla chiesa, e trovandola piena di donne, e nessuna si movea per lei, costei piena di superbia cominciò a pigliare or questa e or quella pigliandole per le trecce mostrando la sua superbia e bestialità [*stupidity*] e alterezza e maggioranza." Lana, the *Anonimo Fiorentino*, and the *Ottimo* also speak of her overweening pride and absurd pretensions; and Lana adds that she was a very beautiful woman who introduced such novelties into female dress that her name has passed into a proverb, and that all the ladies of Florence went half mad in striving to copy or outdo her exaggerated costumes.

† *Lapo Salterello*: Casini says that this personage was a doctor of laws and a poet in the time of Dante at Florence. He is to be noticed as an intriguer and agitator who took part in most of the public events at Florence from the establishment of the *priorato* down to the dispersion of the party of the *Bianchi*;

A Cianghella or a Lapo Salterello would (in my time) have been held as great a wonder, as Cincinnatus or Cornelia would be now.

Having concluded his sketch of old Florence, Cacciaguida proceeds to answer Dante's question (ll. 85-87) as to who he was. He relates his birth at Florence; his baptism by the name of Cacciaguida in Dante's

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and his name consequently occurs both in the documents and the chronicles of that time. At one time he went as one of the ambassadors sent by the Republic to Boniface VIII, and in 1300 incurred the bitter hostility of that Pontiff by denouncing a secret treaty by which Boniface was attempting to get possession of Florence; but being unsuccessful in steering a safe course for himself at the time when the *Bianchi* and the *Neri* broke out into open hostility, he was, after the triumph of the latter, proscribed and condemned for corruption of judicial acts. That he was really guilty of such evil deeds would seem to be partly proved by Dante's denunciation of him in the present passage, for we must remember that he belonged to the same faction as Dante himself. Dr. Moore writes to me that possibly Dante may have keenly resented being 'bracketed' with Lapo Salterello in the decree of exile of March 10, 1302. He may have looked upon Lapo as one of the *compagnia malvagia e scempia* alluded to in *Par.* xvii, 61-69, whose companionship, it was predicted to him, it would be his glory to abandon. Most of the early Commentators speak of Lapo Salterello as a dissolute voluptuary, but I certainly prefer Casini's view, which is that the whole passage in this *terzina* is meant to draw a strong contrast between the purity of ancient times, both in private life, and in public; and while Cianghella's exaggerated luxury is contrasted with the severe simplicity of the unaffected Cornelia, who scorned to be bedizened with ornaments, and deemed her children to be her best and only jewels; so the high-principled public rectitude of the celebrated Roman dictator Cincinnatus, who after fulfilling his state duties returned to his plough, is depicted in glaring antithesis to the tortuous jobbery, and improbity of Lapo Salterello. Cincinnatus is mentioned in *Par.* vi, 46, 47:

“. . . e Quinzio che dal cirro  
Negletto fu nomato.”

And Cornelia we have already seen in *Limbo*; see *Inf.* iv, 128. She was the daughter of Scipio Africanus, and the mother of the Gracchi.

beautiful San Giovanni (*Inf.* xix, 17); his marriage; his military career, and his death as a Crusader. The reader can hardly fail to notice the complacency with which the old knight recounts his life.

130

A così riposato,\* a così bello  
 Viver di cittadini, a così fida  
 Cittadinanza, a così dolce ostello,  
 Maria mi diè, chiamata in alte grida,†  
 E nell' antico vostro Batisteo‡

\* *A così riposato . . . Viver di cittadini*: Casini observes that in this *terzina* is continued the tacit contrast of Cacciaguida's Florence with the Florence of Dante, which in *Inf.* vi, 63, is spoken of as

". . . (da) tanta discordia assalita."

and *ibid.* 49, 50, where Ciaccio says to Dante:

". . . La tua città, ch'è piena  
 D' invidia sì che già trabocca il sacco."

See also *Par.* ix, 127, 128:

"La tua città, che di colui [*Satan*] è pianta  
 Che pria volse le spalle al suo fattore."

† *Maria . . . chiamata in alte grida*: Compare *Purg.* xx, 19-21:

"E per ventura udi': 'Dolce Maria:  
 Dinanzi a noi chiamar così nel pianto,  
 Come fa donna che in partorir sia."

‡ *nell' antico vostro Batisteo*: The Baptistery of San Giovanni in Florence; a building dear to every Florentine, but especially so to the Guelph faction, who were in the habit of holding their meetings in it. On one occasion the Ghibellines, happening to be in power, determined to destroy an edifice so beloved by their adversaries, and commissioned the great architect Andrea Pisano to undermine the lofty tower of the Guardamorto that stood hard by, in such wise, that it should fall and crush the Baptistery. Andrea being a person of great taste, and feeling much repugnance to destroying a national monument of such universal interest, pretended to make a miscalculation in measuring his distance, and the great tower having been undermined, and the props that supported it being burned, it fell so as to miss the Baptistery by a few feet. We see Dante's love for the building in *Inf.* xix, 16, 18, where he compares the stoves, in which the Simoniacal Popes were being scorched head downwards, to the

Insieme fui cristiano e Cacciaguida.\* 135  
 Moronto fu mio frate ed Eliseo ; †  
 Mia donna venne a me di val di Pado,  
 E quindi il soprannome tuo si feo.  
 Poi seguitai lo imperador Corrado, ‡

little cavities round the great font in the Baptistery, in which the baptizing priests used to stand :

“Non mi parean meno ampi nè maggiori,  
 Che quei che son nel mio bel San Giovanni  
 Fatti per loco de' battezzatori.”

\* *Cacciaguida*: We have already noticed (see footnote on l. 91) that the existence of Cacciaguida is now an historical fact, verified by a deed in the State Archives of Florence, in which occur the names of Alighiero and Preitenitto, sons of Cacciaguida. It has been remarked that, whereas nearly all the old Commentators write about Cacciaguida, not a single one of them knew anything more of him than what Dante says himself of his ancestor, namely, that he was born in the ward of Porta San Piero at Florence about 1090; and probably was of the Elisei, one of the oldest Florentine families who claimed ancient Roman descent; that he married a lady of the Valley of the Po, from whom his son Alaghieri took his name and separated off from his father's line; that he had two brothers, Moronto and Eliseo; that he followed the Emperor Conrad III to the Second Crusade and was knighted by him; that he died in battle, fighting against the Saracens about 1147. Further information about him have we none.

† *Moronto . . . ed Eliseo*: Nothing is known of these two brothers of Cacciaguida, except that Bartoli (*Lett. Ital.* vol. v, pp. 6, 7) says that a document belonging to the Badia at Florence of the year 1076 speaks of the “*fili et nepotibus (sic) Morunti de Arco*,” and this Moronto may have been an ancestor of Moronto, Cacciaguida's brother. Furthermore Bartoli states that in another document are the following words: “*Leonardus olim domini Bonaccursi de Liseis, populi S. Mariae Nipotecose de arcu pietatis.*” It seems too that the Elisei family in several ancient deeds are designated specially as *de arcu pietatis*. There seems then just a plausible inference that Moronte was of the family of the Elisei, and therefore that these latter and the Alighieri sprung from the same source.

‡ *lo imperador Corrado*: Conrad III of Hohenstaufen was born 1093, elected Emperor 1138, and died in 1152. He took part in the Second Crusade (1147-1149) in conjunction with Louis VII of France, and with him suffered a disastrous reverse



Ed ei mi cinse della sua milizia, 140  
 Tanto per bene oprar gli venni in grado.  
 Dietro gli andai incontro alla nequizia  
 Di quella legge, il cui popolo usurpa,  
 Per colpa dei pastor, vostra giustizia.  
 Quivi fu' io da quella gente turpa 145  
 Disviluppato dal mondo fallace,  
 Il cui amor molte anime deturpa,  
 E venni dal martiro a questa pace."—

To such a tranquil, to such a beautiful life of citizens, to such a loyal community, to so sweet a home, Mary, with loud cries invoked (by my mother in labour), bestowed me, and in your ancient Baptistery I became at once a Christian and Cacciaguida. Moronto and Eliseo were my brothers, my wife came to me from the Valley of the Po, and from her was thy surname derived. Later on I followed the Emperor Conrad (III of Suabia), and he belted me knight among his chivalry, so much by my gallant achievements did I merit his approbation. In his train I went to combat against the iniquity of that (Mahomedan) law, whose people (the Saracens) by the fault of your Pastor's usurp your just rights (to the Holy Land). There was I by that foul race released from the deceitful world, the love of which debases many a soul, and came from martyrdom unto this rest."

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followed by a retreat, during their unsuccessful attempt to besiege and capture Damascus. Casini observes that nothing is known in history of any participation of the Florentines in this Crusade, nor is it quite clear how Cacciaguida took service under Conrad, seeing that that Emperor is not known to have ever come to Italy; and therefore Casini thinks Dante must have confused Conrad III with Conrad II (1024-1039), who is recorded by Villani (lib. iv, cap. 9) to have been at Florence. [N.B.—Villani is evidently alluding to Conrad II (the Salic), but he erroneously speaks of him as "Currado primo"]. See Chronological Table of Emperors and Popes in Bryce's *The Holy Roman Empire*, London, 1889.

END OF CANTO XV.

CANTO XVI.  

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THE FIFTH SPHERE: THE HEAVEN OF MARS  
(*continued*).—THE EMPTINESS OF NOBLE LINE-  
AGE. — CACCIAGUIDA'S ANCESTORS. — COM-  
PARISON BETWEEN THE GREAT FAMILIES OF  
ANCIENT AND MODERN FLORENCE.

IN this Canto the interview between Dante and his great ancestor continues uninterrupted.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

*In the First Division*, from v. 1 to v. 9, Dante declaims against the vain glory of noble descent.

*In the Second Division*, from v. 10 to v. 45, Cacciaguida, in compliance with Dante's petition, gives a more detailed description of his origin and his abode.

*In the Third Division*, from v. 46 to v. 87, Cacciaguida tells Dante something of the dimensions of the City of Florence in his day, and of the quality of its population.

*In the Fourth Division*, from v. 88 to v. 154, he describes some of the most illustrious of the Florentine families.

*Division I.* Dante confesses that he was not quite able to suppress a feeling of boastfulness as to his descent from so renowned a knight as Cacciaguida, although he exclaims against the emptiness of noble

blood, unless the dignity of it be maintained by true nobility and virtue in successive generations.

O poca \* nostra nobiltà di sangue !  
 Se gloriâr di te la gente fai  
 Quaggiù, dove l' affetto nostro langue,  
 Mirabil cosa non mi sarà mai ;  
 Chè là, dove appetito non si torce, 5  
 Dico nel cielo, io me ne gloriâi.  
 Ben sei tu manto che tosto raccorce,  
 Sì che, se non s' appon di die in die,  
 Lo tempo va dintorno con le force.†

Alas ! our miserable nobility of blood ! If thou dost make people to boast of thee down here (*i.e.* in the world), where our affection is but feeble, it will never be to me a marvellous thing ; because there, where appetite is not perverted, I mean in Heaven, I made a boast of it. In good sooth, art thou a mantle that is quick to get short, so that, if from day to day cloth be not added (to that already worn out), time goeth round about thee with his shears.

When nobility of race is handed down (says Benvenuto) from one valiant man to another, then it ever goes on increasing and prospering ; but when it descends to a degenerate posterity, it immediately declines ; and as a fact we continually see the greater number of the illustrious families terminate in some wretched vicious imbecile (*terminantur in aliquo im-*

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\* *O poca*, et seq. : Compare Boëthius, *Phil. Consol.* iii, pros. 6 : " Jam vero quam sit inane, quam futile nobilitatis nomen, quis non videat ? quae si ad claritudinem refertur, aliena est. Videtur namque esse nobilitas quaedam de meritis veniens laus parentum. Quod si claritudinem praedicatio facit, illi sint clari necesse est qui praedicantur. Quare splendidum te, si tuam non habes, aliena claritudo non efficit. Quod si quid est in nobilitate bonum, id esse arbitror solum, ut imposita nobilibus necessitudo videatur, ne a majorum virtute degeneret."

† *force* for *forbici* from the Latin *furcae*.

*becilli et tristi captivo*). The succeeding heads of noble families must add their own great deeds, or the prowess of their ancestors will soon be forgotten.

*Division II.* We have on more than one occasion noticed that, throughout Dante's journey in Hell and Purgatory, whenever he encountered personages of great dignity, he invariably addressed them with "*voi*" as a mark of respect. Farinata, Cavalcante, Brunetto, Conrad Malaspina, Pope Adrian V, Guido Guinicelli, and Beatrice. In the case of Guido da Montefeltro, Dante first addressed him with "*tu*," not knowing who he was, and had no opportunity of speaking to him again, as Guido, after relating his story, darted away. He now begins to address Cacciaguida with "*voi*," but the sturdy old Crusader shows great contempt for so modern a usage, and Beatrice contrives to give Dante a hint that he has been guilty of an error.

Dal <i>Voi</i> ,* che prima Roma sofferse,	10
In che la sua famiglia men persevera,†	
Ricominciaron le parole mie.	
Onde Beatrice, ch'era un poco scevra,	
Ridendo, parve quella che tossó‡	
Al primo fallo scritto di Ginevra.	15

\* *Dal Voi*: The use of "You" for "Thou" is said to have been introduced by the Romans in the time of Julius Caesar. On this the *Ottimo*: "Tornando Giulio Cesare vincitore in ogni parte del mondo, e ricevendo gli onori de' triumi dell'avute vittorie, li Romani soffersono primamente di dire a lui, uno uomo, *voi*; la qual cosa li Romani fecero più per paura e per servile onore, che per affettuosa reverenza."

† *men persevera*: Casini remarks that the Romans have always used *tu* more than other Italians, and do so still: "nel quale uso del *voi* i romani hanno perseverato meno d'ogni altra cittadinanza italiana: 'tueggiano ogni persona,' dice il Lana, ed è uso vivo anche oggi."

‡ *parve quella che tossó*: Dante appears to have read this

With the *You*, which Rome was the first to tolerate, (a usage) in which its people does not persevere as much (now), did my words begin again. Whereupon Beatrice, who was standing a little on one side, smiling appeared like her (*La Dame de Mallehault*) who coughed at the first offence that was written of Guenevere.

On the words *quella che tossio* et seq., Benvenuto writes: "idest, ad osculum quod fuit primum fallum amoris Genevrae, de quo scriptum est in Inferno. Cum enim Lancillottus pervenisset ad colloquium cum regina Genevra opera principis Galeoti, nec auderet prae nimio pudore pandere flammam amoris sui, princeps Galeotus interposuit se, et fecit eos pervenire ad osculum: tunc quaedam domina nomine Damma socia reginae perpendens de actu, tussivit *et spuit* (!), quasi dicens: bene te video; ita in proposito Beatrix risit nunc, quasi dicat: bene audio te, vel tu bene audiris, cave quod dicas." Beatrice probably smiled at the human weakness of Dante, who, out of the mere vain-gloriousness of his nobility, addressed his ancestor with the "*Voi*."

Dante, after first bespeaking the good will of his ancestor with expressions of affection and confidence, puts certain questions to him as to his family, his residence, the date of his birth, as to the Florence of

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story in some different version from what is known in our time. Lana gives an account of the *rendez-vous* between Queen Guenevere and Lancelot, from which I extract the following passage: "Or Lancilotto costretto da amore stava timido apresso la reina, nè parlava, nè s' argomentava di fare altro. La donna di Manoalt [*Mallehault*] sì come ricordata e che conosceva lo luogo e per che dove erano, *tossio* e fe' cenno a Lancilotto che dovesse prendere alcuno diletto, ond' ello così favoreggiato gittò il braccio al collo alla reina e baciolla."



his days, and as to the more distinguished families in it.

Io cominciai:—"Voi siete il padre mio,  
 Voi mi date a parlar tutta baldezza,\*  
 Voi mi levate sì ch'io son più ch'io.  
 Per tanti rivi s'empie d'allegrezza  
 La mente mia, che di sè fa letizia, 20  
 Perchè può sostener che non si spezza.  
 Ditemi dunque, cara mia primizia,†  
 Quai fûr li vostri antichi, e quai fûr gli anni  
 Che si segnaro in vostra puerizia.  
 Ditemi dell'ovil di San Giovanni‡ 25  
 Quanto era allora, e chi eran le genti  
 Tra esso degne di più alti scanni."—

\* *baldezza*: Compare *Par.* xxxii, 109-111:

" . . . . Baldezza e leggiadria,  
 Quanta esser può in Angelo ed in alma,  
 Tutta è in lui, e sì volem che sia."

and *Inf.* viii, 118, 119:

"Gli occhi alla terra, e le ciglia avea rase  
 D'ogni baldanza."

† *primizia*: Compare *Par.* xxv, 13-15:

"Indì si mosse un lume verso noi  
 Di quella spera ond'uscì la primizia  
 Che lasciò Cristo dei vicarii suoi."

*primizia* is *capo-stipite*, the original root of the ancestral tree, or *progenitore*. Dante so styles Cacciaguida, for we must remember that Dante knew no older ancestors, nor does history record any.

‡ *ovil di San Giovanni*: Compare the touching lines in *Par.* xxv, 1-6, in which Dante indulges in a faint hope, unhappily never fulfilled, that his sacred poem would obtain for him a remission of his unjust sentence of banishment, and enable him to return (ll. 5, 6) to the

" . . . bello ovil, dov'io dormii agnello  
 Nimico ai lupi che gli danno guerra."

Giovanni Villani (iv, cap. 10) says of the district of the Cathedral, (and it must be remembered that the great Church of Santa Maria del Fiore had not then been built, but the present Baptistery was then the Cathedral): "E prima quelli della porta del Duomo che fu il primo ovile e stazzo della rifatta Firenze," etc.

I began: "You are my Sire, you give me all confidence to speak, you uplift me so that I am more than myself. Through so many streams is my mind filled with gladness, that it makes a joy of itself (*i.e.* it converts its whole being into joy), because it can endure this and not burst. Tell me then my beloved ancestral root, who your ancestors were, and what were the years that were chronicled in your boyhood. Tell me of the sheepfold of San Giovanni (*i.e.* Florence), of what size was it then, and which were the families within it worthy of the higher degrees (of honour)."

*Scanni* properly means seats in an amphitheatre that rise one above another, but Benvenuto translates *degne di più alti scanni*, "idest, majoribus gradibus honorum."

We have noticed that Dante has asked four questions.

- (1) Who were Cacciaguida's ancestors?
- (2) In what year was he born?
- (3) What was the population of Florence in his time?
- (4) And who were its most honourable citizens?

Before replying, the spirit of Cacciaguida shows his delight by an increase of radiant light. He answers the second question, and tells Dante that he was born on the 25th January, 1091.

Come s' avviva\* allo spirar dei venti

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\* *Come s' avviva . . . Carbone in fiamma*: Compare *Par.* xiv, 52-55:

"Ma sì come carbon che fiamma rende,  
E per vivo candor quella soperchia  
Sì, che la sua parvenza sì difende,  
Così questo fulgor."

and *Par.* xix, 19-21:

"Così un sol calor di inolte brage

Carbone in fiamma, così vidi quella  
 Luce risplendere a' miei blandimenti : 30  
 E come agli occhi miei si fe' più bella,  
 Così con voce più dolce e soave,  
 Ma non con questa moderna favella,\*  
 Disse mi :—" Da quel dì † che fu detto AVE,  
 Al parto in che mia madre, ch'è or santa, 35  
 S'alleviò di me ond'era grave,  
 Al suo Leon cinquecento cinquanta  
 E trenta fiate venne questo foco  
 A rinfiammarsi sotto la sua pianta.

Si fa sentir, come di molti amori  
 Usciva solo un suon di quella image."

L. Venturi (*Simil.*, Dant., p. 53, Sim. 85) remarks that the simile in the text contains the idea separately indicated in the two above illustrations, of describing together the glow and the heat produced by the lighted coal. Compare Ovid, *Metam.* vii, 79-81:

" Ut solet a ventis alimenta assumere, quaeque  
 Parva sub inducta latuit scintilla favilla,  
 Crescere, et in veteres agitata resurgere vires."

\* *questa moderna favella*: Some Commentators think that Cacciaguida spoke in Latin, and that the *moderna favella* meant the Tuscan idiom, but I much prefer Casini's views on the subject, who says: "In short Cacciaguida was speaking in the Florentine dialect, neither more nor less than other fellow-citizens of his whom Dante encounters in the three kingdoms of departed spirits; only, as he lived nearly two centuries before Dante, his language would be far more archaic in its expressions, and would have considerable dissimilarity from the ordinary speech of Florentines in Dante's days.

† *Da quel dì*, et seq.: The meaning of the *passage* is that the planet Mars had returned to the sign of the Lion (*Leo*) 500 + 50 + 30 = 580 times from the Incarnation of Christ to Cacciaguida's own birth, by which we are to understand that the planet in its orbit had made 580 revolutions. Brunetto Latini (*Li Tresors*, livre i, part iii, chap. cxi) says: "Mars est chaus et bataillereus, et mauvais, et est apelez Diex de batailles; et va par tous les XII signes en ii ans et i mois et XXX jors, et parfet et accomplist son cours en ii anz et demi, po s'en faut." This would make Cacciaguida born long after the crusade in which he died. But Dante, who had studied the *Almagesto* of Ptolemy, and had perhaps seen the astronomical tables of King

As at the breathing of the winds a coal is quickened into flame, so saw I that light become resplendent at my words of endearment : and as to my eyes it became more fair, so with a voice more gentle and soft, but not in this modern dialect, it said to me : " From the day (of the Annunciation) on which *Ave* was uttered, to the child-birth in which my mother who is now a Saint was delivered of me with whom she had been burdened, this fire (*i.e.* the planet Mars) had returned to its own Lion (*i.e.* the sign of Leo) five hundred and fifty and thirty times to be rekindled underneath its paw.

Cacciaguida then answers Dante's question as to who were his ancestors, telling him that they, and he likewise, were born in the Sesto di Porta San Piero ; and his reason for accentuating this circumstance was that the having one's houses within the primitive circuit was a distinct proof of ancient citizenship.

Gli antichi miei\* ed io nacqui nel loco 40  
 Dove si trova pria l'ultimo sesto  
 Da quel che corre il vostro annual gioco.†  
 Basti de' miei maggiori udirne questo ;

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Alfonso of Castille, knew the subject better than his school-master, and was aware that the period of a revolution of Mars is less than two years. Witte cites these tables in his notes, and says they give 686 days 22 hours and 24 minutes, and that, having regard to the leap years, 580 such revolutions give 1090 years and something under four months. According to this Cacciaguida at the time of the second crusade, was in his fifty-seventh year. Some read "cinque cento e cinquanta e tre [instead of *trenta*] fiate," etc. See article on "The Astronomy of Dante" in *The Quarterly Review*, April, 1898, in which (pp. 512, 513) this passage is specially mentioned.

\* *Gli antichi miei*, et seq.: This is the answer to Dante's question (l. 23) *Quai fûr li vostri antichi?*

† *annual gioco*: The Festa di San Giovanni on the 24th June is still observed with great ceremony. The horse racing is, I think, now discontinued, though I myself witnessed it in 1854. Fireworks and splendid illuminations, however, are to be seen every year.

Chi ei si furo,\* ed onde venner quivi,  
Più è tacer che ragionare onesto.

45

My ancestors and I were born in that spot where is first encountered the last ward (of the city) by him who runs in your annual game. Of my ancestors suffice it for thee to hear thus much ; as to who they were, and from whence they came hither, it is more honourable to be silent than to discourse.

Benvenuto observes : " You must know, that it is a custom every year at Florence for horses to be run in races for a prize in token of festal rejoicing, a custom which we also find prevails in many cities in Italy : and this is an exceedingly ancient usage both among the Greeks and the Romans. Those who ran in the race passed in front of the houses of the Elisei at the commencement of the last ward, and near the *Mercato Vecchio*, which is an ancient place for merchants and dealers, as are the Rialto (*Rivus altus*) at Venice, and the Carobbio at Bologna. And mark, that in olden time there used to stand near the houses of the Elisei a triumphal arch, by taking sanctuary under which criminals had immunity ; so great was the privilege of nobility enjoyed by the Elisei."

*Division III.* Cacciaguida, replying to Dante's petition, *Ditemi dell' ovil di San Giovanni* (l. 25), tells him distinctly that the population of Florence in his time (1106) was just one-fifth (about 14,000) of what it was in 1300 (about 70,000).

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\* *Chi ei si furo*, etc. : Brunone Bianchi suggests two reasons for Cacciaguida's reticence about his ancestors : " Forse per modestia non vuole entrare nei suoi antichi che egli crede di origine romana. E fors' anche se ne vergogna, perchè disceso di quei Frangipani che tradirono Corradino, dandolo in mano a Carlo d' Angiò."



Tutti color ch'a quel tempo eran ivi  
 Da poter arme\* tra Marte e il Batista,†  
 Erano il quinto di quei che son vivi.

All those who at that time were there between Mars and the Baptist (*i.e.* between the Ponte Vecchio and the Baptistery), able to bear arms, were the fifth of those who are now living.

But in answering the question, *Chi eran le genti tra esso degne di più alti scanni* (ll. 26, 27), Cacciaguida says in effect: "Yes, they were only the fifth of the present population, but they were all Florentines without any admixture of blood with the people of the neighbouring countryside."

Ma la cittadinanza, ch'è or mista

\* *Da poter arme*: Others read *portar*, which Dr. Moore found in 54 MSS., whereas he found *poter* in 106 MSS. In *Textual Criticism*, p. 465, he says: "That the slightly unusual expression *poter arme* is the original reading, for which the obvious and common-place *portar arme* has been substituted, scarcely needs argument. Several instances of this quasi-elliptic use of *potere* will be found in the Dictionary. It is noticeable that the distinctly *facilior lectio* 'portare' is found only in about one-third of the MSS. examined, nor does it seem to have found much favour in Editions." Buti writes that those able to bear arms were "uomini fatti da diciotto anni in su e da 70 in giù." Casini remarks that the verb *potere*, as used in the text, is not rare, and he quotes an instance (without reference), from Sacchetti, *Novelle*: "Gli parve troppo giovane da non potere a' disagi del mare." *i.e.* da non poter resistere.

† *tra Marte e il Batista*: In the Florence of Cacciaguida the *Oltrarno*, *i.e.* that part of the city beyond the river, where the Palazzo Pitti is now, was not included in the circuit, and was but sparsely inhabited. See Villani, iv, cap. 14: "Oltrarno non avea in quei tempi gente di legnaggio nè di rinomo, perocchè, come avemo detto addietro, e' non era della città antica, ma borghi abitati di vili e minute genti." Fraticelli observes that the *piccolo cerchio delle mura* extended from south to north from the Ponte Vecchio, where stood the statue of Mars (*Inf.* xiii, 144, and see notes thereupon in *Readings on the Inferno*), to the Church of San Giovanni; and it extended from San Piero on the east to San Pancrazio on the west.

Di Campi, di Certaldo e di Figline,\* 50  
Pura vedeasi nell' ultimo artista.

But the community, which is now mixed with Campi, with Certaldo, and with Figline, was then to be seen pure in the lowest artizan.

Benvenuto explains *nell' ultimo artista* in pretty definite language: "id est in vilissimo artifice, sicut in eo qui purgat cloacas."

Cacciaguida exclaims how much better it would have been for Florence had she not extended her boundaries and included in them, as she did in Dante's time, the country towns in the Val di Bisenzio, the Val d'Elsa, and the Valdarno; for the new citizens, thus brought in, contained among them many enriched plebeians at whose hands the purity of the public offices greatly suffered.

O quanto fôra meglio esser vicine  
Quelle genti ch'io dico, ed al Galluzzo †

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\* *Di Campi, di Certaldo e di Figline*: Campi in the Val di Bisenzio, Certaldo in the Val d'Elsa, and Figline (then Fighine) in the upper valley of the Arno were all small boroughs in the district round Florence. Casini thinks that Dante's reference to them is by no means accidental, for he would in writing of Figline recollect that from it came the two brothers Franzesi, usurers and evil counsellors of the King of France, and who returned to Florence with Charles de Valois. From the same place came Baldo Fini, a doctor of laws whom the *Neri* sent in 1311 to stir up the King of France against the Emperor Henry VII. Dante would recollect that from Certaldo came that judge Jacopo d' Ildebrandino, who was one of the Priori in 1289, and later on one of the greatest intriguers among the *Neri*, the party to whom Dante owed his exile. Certaldo, we may remark, was, according to some, the birth-place of Boccaccio, though most people think it was at Paris that he first saw the light. Any how he is always spoken of by Benvenuto as "my revered teacher Boccaccio di Certaldo," and he died there in 1375.

† *Galuzzo* is a village 2 miles from Florence on the Siena road.

Ed a Trespiano\* aver vostro confine,  
 Che averle dentro, e sostener lo puzzo 55  
 Del villan d' Aguglion, † di quel da Signa, ‡  
 Che già per barattar ha l'occhio aguzzo!

O how much better were it for the people that I name to be (your) neighbours, and to have your boundaries at Galuzzo and at Trespiano, than having them within (the city boundaries), and having to endure the

\* *Trespiano* is well known to modern residents at Florence. As the traveller from Florence to Bologna slowly ascends the high road not far from the summit of the height, on the hill to his right hand is Trespiano, now the public cemetery. It is about 3 miles from Florence.

† *villan d' Aguglion*: Messer Baldo d' Aguglione was a man of low birth, who during Dante's lifetime exercised great authority at Florence. To conceal some delinquency that they had committed, he, together with Messer Niccolò Acciajuoli tore out a leaf from the public ledger. In *Purg.* xii, 105, Dante makes allusion to this and other frauds, which appear to have been perpetrated during his exile. Of this man see Del Lungo, *Dante ne' tempi di Dante*, Bologna, 1888, p. 67: "Dall'agitazione democratica del '93 al trionfo di parte Guelfa contro l'Impero del 1312, il nome di messer Baldo, che fu del supremo magistrato sei volte e più altre ambasciatore e sindaco del Comune, e sempre dei più operosi e autorevoli ne' Consigli, ricorre quasi ad ogni pagina della storia di Firenze guelfa. In questo villan d' Aguglione, di famiglia ghibellina, Firenze guelfa ebbe il formulatore, del suo giure con gli Ordinamenti di Giustizia, e l'esecutore delle sue vendette con la Riformazione contro coloro che maledetti per Ghibellini espiarono essi soli i comuni peccati."

‡ *quel da Signa*: Messer Fazio (or Bonifazio) dei Morubaldini of Signa was a doctor of laws. At the time of the schism in the Guelph party he was a great intriguer. He took part with the *Bianchi* until their overthrow, and then he and other traitors to their party passed over to the side of the *Neri*, and as Dino Compagni (*Cron.* ii, 23) contemptuously observes of their reception by the *Neri*: "furono ricevuti . . . solo per malfare." Fazio was four times one of the *Priori*, and in 1316 was *Gonfaloniere della Giustizia*. In 1310 he was sent as ambassador to Pope Clement V to stir up difficulties between that Pontiff and the Emperor Henry VII. In this he seems to have been highly successful, and his name appears in a long list of persons condemned by the Emperor in 1313.

stench of that low-born miscreant d'Aguglione, and him of Signa, who already has his eyes sharp-set for trafficking.

All these terrible evils were, in Cacciaguida's opinion, due to the dissensions that existed between the Empire and the Roman Curia. Owing to these, all secular authority had been lost in Italy, and the powerful families whose strongholds were at a distance from Florence, being dispossessed of them by the Florentines, were driven into the city itself, where in their turn they became the leaders of civil war and disturbance.

Se la gente ch' al mondo più traligna,\*  
 Non fosse stata a Cesare noverca,  
 Ma come madre a suo figliuol, benigna, 60  
 Tal fatto è Fiorentino, e cambia e merca,  
 Che si sarebbe vólto a Simifonti,†

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\* *la gente ch' al mondo più traligna*: Not the Florentines, as Blanc, nor the Guelphs, as Witte, would contend (for how could the Emperor be styled step-son to either), but the priesthood, whom Dante denounces for the same offence of hostility to the Empire in *Purg.* vi, 91-93:

“Ahi gente, che dovesti esser devota,  
 E lasciar seder Cesare in la sella,  
 Se bene intendi ciò che Dio ti nota!”

It is to them, the transgressing pastors of the Church, that Dante is here referring, to them who were neglecting both their duties; for they were neither rendering unto Caesar the things which were Caesar's nor unto God the things which were God's. The relationships of step-mother and real mother in l. 60, are put in strong antithesis to each other.

† *Simifonti*, for Semifonte, which was a strongly fortified castle in the Val d'Elsa, was destroyed by the Florentines in 1302. It is very doubtful to whom Dante is referring in these two lines, but, as Buti remarks, it is evidently a pointed allusion to some well-known person: “di cui dica, non ho trovato; ma certo è che di qualche grande e nominato cittadino intese l'autore.” Probably it was a hit at some *parvenu*, who was displaying his wealth at Florence, while it was known that his forefathers had been mendicants.



Là dove andava l'avolo alla cerca.\*  
 Sariansi Montemurlo† ancor dei Conti;  
 Sariansi i Cerchi nel pivier d'Acone,‡ 65  
 E forse in Valdigreve i Buondelmonti.§

\* *alla cerca*: "Andare alla cerca" is a regular idiom, chiefly applied to mendicant friars, going their rounds soliciting alms. In the *Promessi Sposi*, by Aless. Manzoni, cap. iii, Fra Galdino, a Capuchin Friar, is depicted coming in with a sack in which to receive eleemosynary contributions of walnuts from the peasants, and is mentioned as having come, "alla cerca delle noci."

† *Montemurlo*: This castle is still in existence, a prominent object in the landscape, on the right hand of those who travel by the railway between Florence and Pistoja. In olden times it belonged to the Conti Guidi, but in 1254, being unable to defend it against the Pistoiese, they sold it to the Florentines. On this sale Brunone Bianchi remarks: "Se dunque la Toscana fosse stata retta per l'imperatore, i Guidi non sarebbero stati costretti a vendere il castello, per cui poi tante discordie ebbero luogo."

‡ *i Cerchi nel pivier d'Acone*: The parish of Acone was in the Val di Sieve. We shall see by the following passage from the *Ottimo* that, owing to the capture and destruction of their castle, the Cerchi were driven into Florence, and, as is well known, the feud between them and the Donati was the cause of the death of Buondelmonte, and of the subsequent division of the Guelph party: "I Cerchi . . . al tempo dell'Autore erano in grandi ricchezze e stato di *cittadinanza*, li quali furono della contrada detta oggi Piviere d'Acone, la quale per lo castello di Monte di Croce, ch'è in quello piviere, ebbe molte guerre col comune di Firenze: finalmente nel mille cento cinquanta tre li Fiorentini presero e disfecero il detto castello; di che più uomini della contrada vennero ad abitare la città di Firenze, in fra i quali furono i Cerchi, la cui *cittadinanza* l'Autore biasima, però che furono cagione di divisione e principalmente di setta, detta *Parte Bianca*; de' quali fu l'Autore maleavventuratamente." (*Ottimo*). After their entrance into the city they betook themselves to commerce, amassed great wealth, and, having bought the palaces of the Counts Guidi in 1280, became the possessors of a large portion of the Ward of San Piero.

§ *in Valdigreve i Buondelmonti*: The principal abode of the Buondelmonti was the castle of Montebuoni in the Val di Greve, a valley which takes its name from the little river Greve, which runs from the country town, also called Greve, and flows into the Arno to the East of Empoli. The Buondelmonti, like the Cerchi, were dispossessed of their stronghold by the Florentines,



If the people who in the world are most degenerate (*i.e.* the clergy), had not been to Cæsar (*i.e.* the Empire) a step-mother, but kind, as a mother to her own son, a certain person there is, who has become a Florentine and barter and trades, who would have been turned back to Simifonti, there where his grand-sire used to go round seeking alms. Montemurlo would still belong to the Counts (Guidi); the Cerchi would be in the parish of Acone, and perchance the Buondelmonti in the Val di Greve.

He then sternly declares that corruption first entered into Florence by "the confusion of persons," by the different habits that were introduced, and by the arrogance which is always to be found in upstarts that have been suddenly raised from a low to a high position.

Sempre la confusion delle persone\*

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and hence their residence at Florence, which (ll. 140-144) Dante laments should ever have been brought about. Villani (lib. iv, cap. 36) thus speaks of them: "Nelli anni di Cristo MCXXXV essendo in piè il castello di Montebuoni il quale era molto forte, e era di que' della casa de' Buondelmonti, i quali erano Cattani [*see end of note*], e antichi gentili uomini di contado, e per lo nome del detto castello avea nome la casa de' Buondelmonti, e per la forza di quello toglieano i passaggi; la qual cosa a' Fiorentini non piacendo, nè volendo sì fatta fortezza presso alla città, v' andarono a oste del mese di giugno, e ebbono a patti, che 'l castello si disfacesse, e l'altre possessioni rimanessero a' detti Cattani, e tornassero abitanti in Firenze. [N.B. *tornassero* here is *not*, 'should return,' but 'should change their residence and become' (inhabitants of Florence). This is a regular idiom at Florence]. E così cominciò il comune di Firenze a dilatarsi con forza più che con ragione, crescendo il contado, e sottomettendolo a sua giurisdizione, e mettendo sotto sua signoria molti nobili contadini, e disfacendo molte fortezze del contado." N.B. The word "Cattano" is explained by the *Gran Dizionario* to have been a regular mediæval title, as much so as Duke or Marquess, and was something between a Vavassor and a Baron. In Worcester's *Dictionary of the English Language*, s. v. *Vavassor*, I find: *Valvasores* was sometimes used to denote those who held immediately of the king, otherwise called *capitanei*.

\* *Confusion delle persone*: This utterance is but the echo of

Principio fu del mal della cittade,  
 Come del corpo il cibo che s' appone.  
 E cieco toro\* più avaccio† cade

70

Che 'l cieco agnello, e molte volte taglia  
 Più e meglio‡ una che le cinque spade.

Ever was the intermingling of populations the beginning of the City's adversity, as in the body the food that is eaten in excess. And a blind bull falls

Dante's explosion of indignant wrath (*Inf.* xvi, 73-75) when answering Jacopo Rusticucci's question as to whether Liberality and Worth still have their abode in Florence. Dante with bold decision (*con faccia levata*) replies, addressing the city itself.

“La gente nuova, e i subiti guadagni,  
 Orgoglio e dismisura han generata,  
 Fiorenza, in te, sì che tu già ten piagni.”

\* *cieco toro*, et seq.: L. Venturi (*Simil. Dant.* p. 141, 142, *Sim.* 237), discusses these two metaphors: “Con le due immagini poi del toro e della spada esprime che il crescere della popolazione, anzichè render migliore e più forte la città, spesso nei civili negozi la peggiora e la indebolisce. Il *cieco toro* rappresenta la forza senza il senno (Compare *Wisdom* vi, 1). E *l'una spada* significa che un solo prode [man of prowess] giova meglio che molti men valorosi alla salute della patria.” Compare *Ecclus.* xvi, 5. (*Vulgate*): “Ab uno sensato inhabitabitur patria; tribus impiorum deseretur.”

† *avaccio*: The *Gran Dizionario* says this now obsolete word is an adverb for *avacciatamente* and means “very shortly, hurriedly.” We find it in *Inf.* x, 116, 117, where Dante, being summoned away by Virgil, hurriedly asks Farinata who are his companions:

“Perch' io pregai lo spirto più avaccio  
 Che mi dicesse chi con lui si stava.”

and *Inf.* xxxiii, 106, 107.

“Avaccio sarai dove  
 [quickly shalt thou have reached a spot where]  
 Di ciò ti farà l'occhio la risposta.”

Compare Burchiello, *Sonetti*, Parte Prima, Son. 69:

“Dicono il mattutino avaccio avaccio [they recite mattins  
 with indecent haste]

Senza tonaca o cotta o piviale.”

‡ *Più e meglio*: This is like Horace I, *Sat.* x, 14, 15:

“Ridiculum acri

Fortius et melius magnas plerumque secat res.”

more headlong than the blind lamb, and oftentimes a single sword will cut deeper and better than will the five.

Since Cacciaguida's time the population of Florence has been multiplied fivefold; hence the reference to five swords.

He tells Dante that, if he marks the decay of great cities in the progress of centuries, he need not marvel if families decay and disappear.

Se tu riguardi Luni\* ed Urbisaglia †

Come son ite, e come se ne vanno

Dietro ad esse Chiusi ‡ e Sinigaglia : §

75

\* *Luni*: An ancient Etruscan city, on the left bank of the river Magra, not very far from Spezia. It had already been destroyed in Dante's time, but its name still survives in the Lunigiana district, where the great lords of Malaspina bore rule. It is mentioned in *Inf.* xx, 46-50:

“Arona è quel che al ventre gli s'atterga,  
Che nei monti di Luni, dove ronca  
Lo Carrarese che di sotto alberga,  
Ebbe tra bianchi marmi la spelonca  
Per sua dimora.”

† *Urbisaglia*: The ancient *Urbs Salvia* in the Marca d'Ancona, near Macerata. It is said to have been an exceedingly populous and flourishing city, but to have been destroyed by Alaric. Casini says that one gathers, from a legal document of the year 1297, that there was still in existence a very strong castle, which its lord Fidesmido di Pietro pledged for 700 golden florins. Benvenuto writes of it: “Ista fuit olim civitas in Marchia anconitana non longe a civitate quae hodie dicitur Macerata, et est penitus deserta ita quod non apparent, nisi quaedam vestigia ruinarum: et fuit olim maxima civitas, sicut ego notavi unde dicta est quasi urbs alia, idest alia Roma.”

‡ *Chiusi*: The ancient Clusium, one of the most renowned of the Etruscan cities, it is in the south of Tuscany about half-way between Florence and Rome.

§ *Sinigaglia*: The old name of this city was *Sena Gallica*. It was sacked by Manfred's Saracen soldiery in 1264, the year before Dante was born, and its comparatively recent destruction must have been familiar to him. The Mastai-Ferretti, Pope Pius IX's family, belong to Sinigaglia.

Udir come le schiatte si disfanno  
 Non ti parrà nuova cosa nè forte,  
 Poscia che le cittadi termine hanno.\*

If thou regard Luni and Urbisaglia how they have passed away, and how Chiusi and Sinigaglia are passing away after them, it will not appear to thee a novel nor a strange thing to hear how families become extinct, seeing that cities have their limit (of existence).

He then points out that in the world everything has an end, but that in certain things, as for instance in the lives of families and of cities, the end, although certain to come, is not so easily discernible by the individual, because he comes to an end before they do. Dante must therefore not think it unnatural if, in his discourse, Cacciaguida alludes to some families who have so completely passed away, that their very names are forgotten.

Le vostre cose tutte hanno lor morte  
 Sì come voi ; ma celasi in alcuna 80  
 Che dura molto, e le vite son corte.†  
 E come il volger del ciel della luna‡

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\* *le cittadi termine hanno*: Compare St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.*, pars iii, *suppl.* qu. xcix, art. 1): "Perpetuo homo non manet, . . . etiam ipsa civitas deficit."

† *le vite son corte*: "Si les hommes apprennent à se modérer en voyant mourir les rois, combien plus seront-ils frappés en voyant mourir les royaumes mêmes ! et où peut-on recevoir une plus belle leçon de la vanité des grandeurs humaines ?" (Bossuet, *Discours sur l'histoire universelle*, partie iii, chap. 1. Paris, 1784).

‡ *ciel della luna*: Compare *Quaest. de Aq. et Terr.* § vii: "Aqua videtur maxime sequi motum Lunae, ut patet in accessu et recessu maris; cum igitur orbis Lunae sit excentricus, rationale videtur quod aqua in sua sphaera excentricitatem imitetur orbis Lunae." Some think that Dante was probably thinking of the tides he had seen in Flanders, mentioned in *Inf.* xv, 4, 5:

"Quale i Fiamminghi tra Guizzante e Bruggia,  
 Temendo il fiotto che ver lor s'avventa," etc.

Copre e discopre\* i liti senza posa,  
 Così fa di Fiorenza la fortuna ; †  
 Perchè non dee parer mirabil cosa  
 85  
 Ciò ch'io dirò degli alti Fiorentini,  
 Onde la fama nel tempo è nascosa.

All your (earthly) affairs have their death (*i.e.* are mortal) even as you yourselves ; but it (mortality) is hidden in some that endure for a long while, and lives are short (*i.e.* human lives are too short to witness the decay of cities). And as the revolution of the heaven of the Moon covers and uncovers the shores unceasingly, so in like manner does Fortune

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But although the Mediterranean tides are small compared to those of the Ocean, still they are perceptible, as I myself noticed during a month spent at Leghorn. At low water the surface of the rocks were completely uncovered, and at high water they were lost to sight. Besides Virgil would be doubtless alluding to Mediterranean tides in *Æn.* xi, 624-628 :

“Qualis ubi alterno procurrens gurgite pontus  
 Nunc ruit ad terras, scopulosque superjacet undam  
 Spumens, extremamque sinu perfundit arenam ;  
 Nunc rapidus retro, atque aestu revoluta resorbens  
 Saxa fugit, littusque vado labente relinquit.”

\* *Copre e discopre* : Compare St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. cv, art. 6) : “Cum aliquid contingit in rebus naturalibus praeter naturam inditam, hoc potest . . . contingere . . . per actionem illius agentis a quo dependet actio naturalis, ut patet in fluxu et refluxu maris, qui non est contra naturam, quamvis sit praeter motum naturalem aquae, quae movetur deorsum. Est enim ex impressione coelestis corporis a quo dependet naturalis inclinatio inferiorum corporum.” Compare also *Ibid.* qu. cx, art. 3 : “Fluxus et refluxus maris non consequitur formam substantialem aquae, sed virtutem lunae.” And *Ibid.* (pars ii, 2<sup>da</sup>, qu. ii, art. 3) : “Aqua secundum motum proprium movetur ad centrum, secundum autem motum lunae movetur circa centrum secundum fluxum et refluxum.”

† *la fortuna* : Compare *Inf.* vii, 77, *et seq.*, where Virgil tells Dante that God “for worldly splendours appointed a general mistress and guide, who from time to time might change the empty goods from nation to nation, and from one family to another, beyond prevention of human intelligence ; and therefore one nation rules, and another languishes, pursuing the decree of her (Fortune), who is hidden like a snake in the grass.” (Translation in *Readings on the Inferno*, vol. i, p. 224).



deal with Florence (*i.e.* now raising it to prosperity, and now depressing it). For which reason it should not appear a marvellous thing that which I shall relate of those illustrious Florentines of whom the fame is hidden in the Past.

*Division IV.* Cacciaguida now rapidly runs over the names of many noble families that were pre-eminent at Florence in his time, of whom some were, in Dante's time, altogether extinct, some were sunk into obscurity and unimportance, while some who were powerful in 1300, had been insignificant in the time of Cacciaguida.

Io vidi gli Ughi,\* e vidi i Catellini,†  
 Filippi,‡ Greci,§ Ormanni|| ed Alberichi,¶  
 Già nel calare,\*\* illustri cittadini; 90  
 E vidi così grandi come antichi,  
 Con quel della Sannella,†† quel dell' Arca,‡‡

\* *Ughi*: "furono antichissimi, i quali edificarono Santa Maria degli Ughi, e tutto il poggio di Montughi fu loro, e oggi sono spenti." (Villani, iv, cap. 12).

† *Catellini*: "furono antichissimi, e oggi non n'è ricordo." (Villani, *ibid.*)

‡ *Filippi*: "che oggi sono niente, allora eran grandi e possenti." (*Ibid.* cap. 13.)

§ *Greci*: "fu loro tutto il borgo de' Greci, oggi sono finiti e spenti." (Villani, *ibid.*)

|| *Ormanni*: "Abitavano ov' è oggi il palagio del popolo [*i.e.* the Bargello], e chiamansi oggi Foraboschi." (Villani, *ibid.*)

¶ *Alberichi*: A family in the ward of Por San Piero; "fu loro la chiesa di Santa Maria Alberighi da casa i Donati, e oggi non n'è nullo." (Villani, iv, ii).

\*\* *nel calare*: These families were in their decline in the days of Cacciaguida; by Dante's time they had all passed away.

†† *della Sannella*: "erano grandi intorno a Mercato Nuovo." (Villani iv, 12). "Di questi ancora sono alcuni, ma in istato assai popolescö." (*Ottimo*). During the last 30 years a modern *Mercato Nuovo* has been built, and the former one of that name, where is the beautiful bronze statue of the wild boar, is now more generally known among Florentines by the name of Loggie della Stufa.

‡‡ *dell'arca*: "molto antichi, e oggi sono spenti." (Villani, iv, 12.)

E Soldanieri,\* ed Ardinghi,† e Bostichi.‡

I saw the Ughi, and I saw the Catellini, the Filippi, the Greci, the Ormanni, and the Alberichi, even in their decline illustrious citizens; and I saw as mighty as (they were) ancient, with him of La Sannella, him of L'Arca, and Soldanieri, and Ardinghi, and Bostichi.

In the Ward of Por San Piero, hard by the old gateway, in the time of Dante were the houses of the Cerchi, which had been sold to them in 1280 by the Counts Guidi, who in their time had inherited them from the Ravignani, by the marriage of Count Guido Guerra with the good Gualdrada daughter of Bellincion Berti. (See *Inf.* xvi, 37, and note on that passage in *Readings on the Inferno*, vol. i, pp. 546, 547).

Sopra la porta,§ che al presente è carca

Di nuova fellonia || di tanto peso

95

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\* *Soldanieri*: A Ghibelline family in the Sesto of san Brancrazio. (Villani, v. cap. 39). "Questi sono ancora; ma per parte Ghibellina sono fuori." (*Ottimo*).

† *Ardinghi*: "che abitavano in Orto san Michele, erano molto antichi." (Villani, iv, cap. 11). "Questi sono al presente in bassissimo stato, e pochi." (*Ottimo*).

‡ *Bostichi*: "intorno a Mercato nuovo erano grandi i Bostichi." (Villani, iv, cap. 13). "Questi sono al presente di poco valore, e di poca dignitate." (*Ottimo*).

§ *Sopra la porta*: et seq.: Casini thinks that the acquisition by the low-born Cerchi of the vast palaces and surrounding houses near the ancient gate of Por San Piero, which were bound up in reminiscences of the older and far more illustrious families to whom they had belonged, must have made a profound impression upon the citizens living near.

|| *nuova fellonia*: The Cerchi were *novi homines*, and the word *fellonia* properly signifies "betrayal," by which we may infer that Dante wishes to allude to the way the Cerchi pushed themselves into public affairs and introduced their private enmities into civic business, resulting in the schism of the Guelph party into the two hostile factions of *Neri* and *Bianchi*. Of the Cerchi, Villani (viii, cap. 39) says that they had in a very short time thrust themselves forward "in grand stato e potere." They

Che tosto fia jattura della barca,\*  
 Erano i Ravignani,† ond'è disceso  
 Il conte Guido, e qualunque del nome‡  
 Dell'alto Bellincion ha poscia preso.

Near unto the gate, which at the present time is laden with a novel treachery of such a weight as soon will bring about the wrecking of the ship, were living the Ravignani, from whom is descended the Count Guido (Guerra), and whoever has since assumed the name of the great Bellincione.

Certain branches, both of the Adimari and the Donati, added to their own name that of De' Bellincioni.

The two distinguished families of Della Pressa and Galigai, who are next mentioned, were Ghibelline, and the gilded hilt and pommel of the latter showed they were of knightly rank. A number of others of both parties come next in order.

Quel della Pressa § sapeva già come

100

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were the ruin of Florence, and were treacherous to the civic duties they had so recently entered upon.

\* *barca . . . carica*: Compare *Par.* viii, 79-81, where Dante says that the government of Robert of Anjou is weighed down by the cupidity of his Catalan soldiers and officials:

“Chè veramente provveder bisogna  
 Per lui, o per altrui, sì ch' a sua barca  
 Carcata più di carco non si pogna.”

† *Ravignani*: “i Rovignani furono molto grandi, e abitavano in sulla porta san Piero . . . e di loro per donna nacquero tutti i conti Guidi, . . . della figliuola del buono messere Bellincione Berti: a' nostri dì è venuto meno tutto quello legnaggio.” (Villani, iv, cap. 11).

‡ *del nome*: I follow all the Italian Commentators in taking *del nome* for *il nome*. I cannot find one that makes a distinction between *del* and *il*.

§ *della Pressa*: This family is spoken of by Villani (iv, cap. 10; and vi, caps. 65 and 78) as *gentili uomini* of the district of the Porta del Duomo. They were charged with being Ghibellines and of having been traitors to their country at the battle of Montaperti, and were exiled in 1258.

Regger si vuole, ed avea Galigaio\*  
 Dorata in casa sua già l'elsa e il pome.  
 Grande era già la colonna del vaio,†  
 Sacchetti,‡ Giuochi,§ Fifanti|| e Barucci,¶  
 E Galli,\*\* e quei che arrossan†† per lo staio. 105

He of La Pressa already knew how government should  
 be carried on, and already Galigaio had the hilt and  
 pommel (of his sword) gilded in his house. Mighty  
 already was the pale of minever (on the escutcheon

\* *Galigaio*: The Galigai are mentioned by Villani in lib. v, cap. 39 (as the Galigari) among the noble Ghibelline families who inhabited the Ward of the Porta san Piero; and their decadence in the time of Dante is thus described by the *Ottimo*: "questi erano già in tale stato, che di loro erano cavalieri; ora sono del popolo, assai bassi."

† *colonna del vaio*: The Pigli, whose arms were in heraldic terms, gules, a pale, vair; in other words (says Prof. Norton), a red shield divided longitudinally by a stripe of the heraldic representation of the fur called vair. Of them Villani (iv, cap. 12) writes that they were "gentili uomini e grandi in quelli tempi."

‡ *Sacchetti*: An old Guelph Family. "Furono nimici dell'Autore . . . Furono e sono giusta lor possa, disdegnosi e superbi: e' son Guelfi." (*Ottimo*).

§ *Giuochi*: A Ghibelline family, of whom the *Ottimo* says: "Questi sono divenuti al neente [come to nothing] oggi dell' avere e delle persone; e' sono Ghibellini."

|| *Fifanti*: called by the *Ottimo* Sifanti. Later on they were known as the Bogolesi. They were staunch Ghibellines, and one of them was implicated in the assassination of Buondelmonte. They dwelt in the Por Santa Maria.

¶ *Barucci*: Villani (iv, cap. 10) says they had been inhabitants of the district of Santa Maria Maggiore, but were extinct; and the *Ottimo*: "Furono pieni di ricchezze e di leggiadrie, oggi sono pochi in numero, e senza stato d'onore cittadino; sono Ghibellini."

\*\* *Galli*: "abitavano in Mercato nuovo" (Villani, iv, cap. 13) "I Ghibellini del detto sesto, la casa . . . dei Galli." (*Ibid.* v, cap. 39).

†† *quei che arrossan per lo staio*: "Nel quartiere di porta san Piero erano . . . i Chiarmontesi." (*Ibid.* iv, cap. 11). "Nel sesto di san Piero Scheraggio, i nobili che furono guelfi, . . . i Chiamontesi," etc. (*Ibid.* v, cap. 39).

of the Pigli), Sacchetti, Giuochi, Fifanti, and Barucci, and Galli, and they who blush for the bushel.

Durante de' Chiarmontesi, when presiding over the Salt Office, abstracted a stave from the bushel standard measure, and thus acquired a large sum of money for himself.\* He was eventually detected, and, according to Benvenuto and Landino, beheaded, so that the remembrance of his crime is a perpetual shame to his descendants. The wooden bushel was after this replaced by an iron one.

Two other Guelph consular families are next mentioned.

Lo ceppo† di che nacquero i Calfucci  
Era già grande, e già erano tratti  
Alle curule‡ Sizii ed Arrigucci.§

The stock (the Donati) from which the Calfucci were born, was great already, and already had Sizii and Arrigucci been drawn to the Curule Chairs.

Cacciaguida sadly recalls the past greatness of the

\* In *Purg.* xii, 104, 105, Dante speaks of the foot-stairway (still existing) that runs from the city of Florence up the hill on which stands the Church of San Miniato, and which he says was made at a time when the State records and the bushel measure were inviolate (*ad etade Ch'era sicuro il quaderno e la dogu*). See *Readings on the Purgatorio*, 2nd ed. vol. i, pp. 458-460.

† *Lo ceppo*: "I Donati ovvero Calfucci, che tutti furono uno leguaggio, ma i Calfucci vennero meno." (Villani, iv, cap. 11) "Calfucci, Donati et Uccellini furono d'uno ceppo; li Donati spensero li detti loro consorti Calfucci, sì, che oggi nullo, o uno solo se ne mentova, o pochissimi." (*Ottimo*).

‡ *curule*: This is feminine plural of a substantial form of the adjective *curule*, plural *curuli*. The *Gran Dizionario* says the word is used here as a substantive, according to a form peculiar to Tuscan idiom, and to other dialects.

§ *Sizii ed Arrigucci*: "Erano ancora nel detto quartiere [Porta del Duomo] Arrigucci e' Sizii." (Villani, iv, cap. 10) "Questi [Sizii] sono quasi spenti. Questi [Arrigucci] sono quasi venuto meno." (*Ottimo*).



two great Ghibelline families, the Uberti, and the Lamberti, once so powerful and so arrogant, but then irrevocably banished, and never again to recover their former dignity. Benvenuto thinks the latter family were even the more noble of the two, and he mentions as a curious proof of this, that they used to be buried upon bronze horses (*Sed omnibus omissis singulare signum nobilitatis eorum erat, quod mortui sepeliebantur equites scilicet sedentes in equo brungio.*)

O quali io vidi quei\* che son disfatti  
 Per lor superbia ! e le palle dell' oro † 110  
 Fiorian Fiorenza in tutti suoi gran fatti.

O how glorious did I behold those (the Uberti) who are undone through their pride ! and the golden balls (of the Lamberti) embellished Florence with all their doughty deeds.

The descendants of the Visdomini and Tosinghi, Guelph families of the faction of the *Neri*, are referred to with scathing sarcasm. These two families had the privilege of enjoying the episcopal revenues of

\* *quei*: the Uberti. "Di costoro ha trattato l'Autore di sopra capitolo X *Inferni*, dove introduce messer Farinata, uno di loro; li quali furono in tanta altezza, infino che non venne la divisione delle parte, che si potea dire che quasi fossero padri della cittade." (*Ottimo*). The treatment that the once revered Uberti met at the hands of their fellow citizens at Florence is discussed at great length in *Readings on the Inferno*, vol. i, pp. 307-330.

† *le palle dell' oro*: "Nobilissimi e potentissimi cittadini furono li Lamberti, de' quali per la loro arme l'Autore ne fa menzione; quasi dica: come la palla è designatrice dell' universo, e l'oro avanzano ogni metallo, così di bontade e di valore costoro avanzavano li altri cittadini: de' quali l'Autore toccò di sopra, capitolo xxvii *Inferni*." (*Ottimo*). This reference is to Mosca dei Lamberti one of the assassins of Buondelmonte. See *Inf.* xxviii, 103-107, and see the account of his crimes and punishment in the Ninth *Bolgia* of *Malebolge* among the Disseminators of Discord in *Readings on the Inferno*, vol. ii, pp. 468-471.

Florence from the death of one Bishop till the appointment of another, and so, by deferring the appointment, are said to have fattened. Their ancestors however were renowned, like the Lamberti, for loving the honour of their country.

Così facean li padri di coloro  
 Che, sempre che la vostra chiesa vaca,  
 Si fanno grassi stando a consistoro.\*

So acted likewise the ancestors of them who, whenever your (Episcopal) Church is vacant make themselves fat by staying in consistory.

Dante's chief reproach, spoken through the mouth of Cacciaguida, is reserved for the Adimari, formerly named *de Adelmanis*, an upstart Guelph stock, said to have been of German extraction. They had several branches, the Argenti (*Inf.* viii, 32-64); the Aldobrandi (*Inf.* xvi, 41); the Cavicciuli (*Inf.* xix, 19); and there would appear to have existed bitter hostility between some of them and Dante's family. One of them, Boccaccio Cavicciulli, is said to have occupied Dante's house and property during his exile, and to have vehemently opposed all motions for his recall to Florence

L'oltracotata† schiatta, che s'indraca 115  
 Retro a chi fugge, ed a chi mostra il dente,  
 O ver la borsa, com' agnel si placa,  
 Già venia su, ma di picciola gente,  
 Sì che non piacque ad Ubertin Donato  
 Che poi il suocero il fe' lor parente. 120

\* *stando a consistoro*: Buti observes that these people assembled "come sta lo papa coi cardinali a consistoro ad ordinare li fatti della Chiesa"; and Cornoldi adds rather quaintly: "Come fossero padroni, stanno nel palagio del Vescovo e se la pappano [*i.e.* gorge themselves]."

† *oltracotata*: Compare *Inf.* viii, 124, where Virgil says of the Demons:

"Questa lor tracotanza non è nuova."

That insolent brood that play the dragon behind whoever flees, but unto him that shows his teeth or his purse is as gentle as a lamb, was already on the rise, but of insignificant lineage, so that it pleased not Ubertino Donati, that his father-in-law (Bellincion Berti) should thereafter make him their kinsman.

Ubertino de' Donati was married to one of the Ravignani, a daughter of Bellincion Berti, and was greatly disgusted when another daughter (about 1230) married into the Adimari family.

Then come three families of consular dignity, all Ghibellines.

Già era il Caponsacco\* nel mercato  
Disceso giù da Fiesole, e già era  
Buon cittadino Giuda† ed Infangato.‡

Already had the Caponsacchi come down from Fiesole into the Mercato Vecchio, and already were the Giudi and Infangati citizens of worth.

The next *terzina* is one of very disputed interpretation. Modern Commentators explain it that such was the simplicity and absence of jealousy in those times, that

---

and *Inf.* ix, 91-93, where the angel sternly reproves the same Demons:

“O cacciati del ciel, gente dispetta,  
Onde' esta oltracotanza in voi s'alletta?”

\* *Caponsacco*: “Questi furono del contado di Firenze e del tenitorio [*territorio*] di Fiesole, e vennero ad abitare nel mercato vecchio nella più nobile parte della cittade. Sono Ghibellini, e al tempo della detta cacciata andarono, e sono fuori.” (*Ottimo*). A lady of this family was the wife of Folco Portinari, and the mother of Beatrice.

† *Giuda*: *i.e.* i Giudi. “Questi son gente d'alto animo Ghibellini, e molto abbassati d'onore e di ricchezze e di persone; e quelli che v'erano al tempo dell'Autore, seguirono coi detti Cerchi la fuga.” (*Ottimo*).

‡ *Infangato*: “Questi sono bassi in onore e pochi in numero: sono Ghibellini disdegnosi.” (*Ottimo*).

a public gate could bear a private name; and some contend that *quei della Pera* refers to the Peruzzi. I prefer, however, to take the opinion of Casini, who explains the three lines that follow to mean that one of the gates of the city was named after a family that in Dante's time were completely extinct.

Io dirò cosa incredibile e vera :

Nel picciol cerchio s'entrava per porta,            125  
Che si nomava da quei della Pera.

I will tell a thing incredible and (yet) true ! Into the small circuit one used to enter by a postern-gate that was named after them of La Pera.

The *Ottimo* (who, according to Casini, is particularly accurate about these local details) comments: "Chi crederebbe, che quelli della Pera fossero antichi? Io dico ch'elli son sì antichi, che una porta del primo circolo della cittade fu dinominata da loro; li quali vennero sì meno, che di loro non fu memoria." This postern gate was called Porta Peruzza, or Pieruzza, and in the quarto edition of Ricordano Malespini, *Storia Fiorentina*, edited by Vincenzo Follini, Florence, 1816, p. 263, note 18, it is suggested that the Peruzzi family came to live near that gate, and took their name from it. Benvenuto explicitly contradicts the assertion that the postern was called after the Peruzzi. Villani (iv, 13) says he knows the tradition "ma non l'affermo."

Villani and Benvenuto are both careful to point out that there were only four principal gates. Villani speaks of Porta Peruzza as "una postierla." Benvenuto says: "Et nota, quod haec porta non erat de principalibus. Habebat enim tunc Florentia quatuor portas magistras, scilicet, portam sancti Petri, portam juxta

Duomum, portam sancti Pauli, portam sanctae Mariae Aliae vero erant portae parvulae."

Five families are next grouped together. These, though not named by Dante, are the Pulci, the Nerli the Gangalandi, the Giandonati, and the Della Bella, who are known (Villani, iv, 2) to have been knighted and ennobled by the *gran barone*, the Marquess Hugh of Brandenburg; and either from gratitude, or by his permission, quartered his arms with their own. Hugh was the Imperial Vicar for Otho III, and as he had richly endowed the Badia of Florence, which his mother Willia had founded—at his death on St. Thomas's Day, 1006—he was buried in that church, and the anniversary of his death was ever afterwards observed with great honour. The representative of one of the above-mentioned five families, Giano della Bella, took part with the commons of Florence against the nobles, and Fraticelli says of him: "di nobile si fece popolano, e di ghibellino guelfo." In 1293 he procured the passing of the "Ordinances of Justice," by which thirty-seven Guelph families were for ever excluded from the *Signoria* of Florence. Giano incurred much odium by this course of action, and according to Villani (lib. viii, cap. 8) "he was condemned and banished for contumacy . . . and all his possessions confiscated, . . . whence great mischief accrued to our city, and chiefly to the people, for he was the most loyal and upright *popolano* and lover of public good of any man in Florence." Giano disguised the arms of Hugh of Brandenburg, quartered in his own, by surrounding them with a fringe of gold. (See Paget Toynbee, *Dante Dictionary*, 1898).



Ciascun che della bella insegna porta  
 Del gran barone, il cui nome e il cui pregio  
 La festa di Tommaso riconforta,  
 Da esso ebbe milizia e privilegio; 130  
 Avvenga che col popol si raduni  
 Oggi colui che la fascia col fregio.\*

Each one that bears the noble escutcheon of the great baron whose name and renown the feast of St. Thomas still commemorates, from him received knighthood and privilege, although that man (Giano della Bella) to-day unites himself to the populace, he, who encircles it (the escutcheon) with a border.

After mentioning two more Guelph families of some importance in his time, but whose sun was set in Dante's time, Cacciaguida remarks that it was a bad day for them, when the Buondelmonti, driven into Florence after the destruction of their stronghold, the Castello Montebuoni, came to inhabit Borgo Santi Apostoli, where these two families had been residing up to then in peace and quiet.

Già eran† Gualterotti ed Importuni;  
 Ed ancor saria Borgo‡ più quieto  
 Se di nuovi vicin fosser digiuni. 135

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\* *la fascia col fregio*: A border of gold was the only difference between the arms of Della Bella and those of the Marquess Hugh of Brandenburg.

† *Già eran* et seq.: With *eran* we must understand the words "in pregio," i.e. "they were persons of consideration, were flourishing." On these two families, see Villani, iv, cap. 13: "In borgo santo Apostolo erano grandi Gualterotti ed Importuni, che oggi sono popolani." And in v, cap. 39: "Nel sesto di Borgo furono guelfi . . . la casa de' Gualterotti, e quella degl' Importuni." The *Ottimo* says there were very few members of the two families, nor were they held in great honour.

‡ *Ed ancor saria Borgo*, et seq.: "Dice l'Autore che'l sesto, Chiamato *Borgo*, saria in più pace, se i Buondelmonti, li quali a tempo di messer Cacciaguida vennero alla cittade, non vi fossero venuti." (*Ottimo*).

Already were flourishing the Gualterotti and Impor-  
tuni ; and a much quieter place would the Borgo be,  
if they (who were peaceable) had been exempt from  
new neighbours (namely, the Buondelmonti).

Nothing can better illustrate the small size of the  
ancient circuit of Florence, than this mention of Borgo  
Santi Apostoli as the Borgo *par excellence*. It is now  
in the very heart of the city. There are many other  
streets bearing the name of *Borgo* now ; Borgognis-  
santi, Borgo de' Greci, Borgo a Pinti, Borgo San Fre-  
diano, etc., still in the city, but much further from the  
centre.

Cacciaguida now utters a bitter cry of lament at  
the discord brought into Florence by Buondelmonte  
dei Buondelmonti, who, by his faithless desertion of  
his affianced bride, a maiden of the noble, and up to  
then respected, house of the Amidei, and marrying  
one of the house of the Donati, occasioned his own  
assassination on the *Ponte Vecchio*, hard by the statue  
of Mars, at the hands of the outraged members of the  
Amidei family. This murder and the consequent  
discord that it brought about, was the origin of the  
Guelph and Ghibelline factions in Florence, and put  
an end to the joyous life of her citizens. Would to  
God, says Cacciaguida, that young Buondelmonte  
might have been drowned when fording the Ema  
in the Valdigueve, and never have lived to come to  
Florence.

La casa\* di che nacque il vostro fieto,  
Per lo giusto disdegno† che v'ha morti,

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\* *La casa* : The Amidei.

† *disdegno* : Indignation at the affront they had received.  
"E dice *per lo giusto disdegno*, però che li Amidei ebbero  
cagione manifesta di disdegnarsi, sì come più nobili, contra li

E pose fine al vostro viver lieto,  
 Era onorata\* ed essa e suoi consorti.  
 O Buondelmonte, quanto mal fuggisti 140  
 Le nozze sue per gli altrui conforti! †  
 Molti sarebbon lieti che son tristi,  
 Se Dio t'avesse conceduto ad Ema ‡  
 La prima volta che a città venisti.  
 Ma conveniasi a quella pietra scema § 145  
 Che guarda il ponte, che Fiorenza fesse  
 Vittima nella sua pace postrema.

The house (the Amidei) from which your tears have had their birth, through its justifiable indignation which has been your destruction, and has put an end to your happy mode of living, was honoured (then) both itself and its kindred branches. O Buondelmonte, in how evil an hour didst thou flee from its nuptials through the instigation of another (namely, Gualdrada, the mother of the Donati damsel) ! Many would be rejoicing who now are sorrowing, if God had surrendered thee to Ema, the first time that thou

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Buondelmonti. E dice che pose fine al vivere lieto e pacifico della città, però che infino a quivi non aveva avuto divisioni nella cittade; ed ogni regno diviso in sè si dissolve." (*Ottimo*).

\* *Era onorata* et seq. : "gli Amidei, onorevoli e nobili cittadini." (Villani, v, cap. 38).

† *gli altrui conforti* : It was Gualdrada, by some called Lapaccia, de' Donati, who instigated Buondelmonte to marry her daughter Ciulla instead of the daughter of the Amidei to whom he was affianced. The story is related at great length in the *Pecorone* of Giovanni Fiorentino.

‡ *conceduto ad Ema* : According to Buti, Buondelmonte was nearly drowned when fording the Ema ; but as no other Commentator mentions the episode, Buti may have invented the tale from the above lines.

§ *pietra scema* : "Alcuna idolatria si pareva per li cittadini contenere in quella statua, che credeano che ogni mutamento ch'ella avesse, fosse segno di futuro mutamento della cittade. E dice *scema* però che rotta e corrosa per lo lungo stare che fece nell'acqua d'Arno, quando il ponte vecchio cadde, anni 1178 a dì 25 di Novembre, e fu riposta per li circostanti di Semifonte." (*Ottimo*). See *Readings on the Inferno*, vol. i, pp. 448-452 on *Inf.* xiii, 143-151.

camest to the city. But it was fitting that hard by that mutilated stone which guards the bridge, Florence should immolate a victim at the latest hour of her peace.

A human sacrifice to the idol of the god of war was appropriate on the part of Florence, at a time when her peaceful days were coming to an end, and she was for evermore to have discord and civil war.

Cacciaguida concludes his long address, recalling with great pride the peaceable disposition of the noble families of his time, and bitterly denouncing two customs that the subsequent discords among the Tuscan populations had rendered prevalent; the one, that the victorious State used to dishonour the standard of the conquered State by dragging it in the dust, the other, that the Guelphs, after the expulsion of the Ghibellines, had altered the very arms of their native city.

Con queste genti, e con altre con esse,\*  
 Vid' io Fiorenza in sì fatto riposo,  
 Che non avea cagion onde piangesse. 150  
 Con queste genti vid' io glorioso  
 E giusto il popol suo tanto, che il giglio  
 Non era ad asta mai posto a ritroso,†  
 Nè per divisiōn fatto vermiglio."

With these families, and others with them, beheld  
 I Florence in such complete tranquillity that she had

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\* *altre con esse*: Scartazzini points out that although Villani (v. 39) records upwards of seventy illustrious Florentine families, Cacciaguida has not here mentioned even the half of them.

† *a ritroso*: "Hoc dicit, quia de more est victorum saepe pervertere insignia capta ab hostibus, ponendo caput hastae superius deorsum et pedem sursum. Quod tamen saepe factum est Florentiae tempore bellorum civilium; quia aliquando ghibellini expulsi capiebant insignia intraneorum, et subvertebant in opprobrium guelphorum, et e contrario." (Benvenuto).

no occasion whereof to weep. With these families beheld I her population so glorious and just, that the Lily never had been placed reversed on the spear, nor through divisions transformed (from white) to gules."

The banner of Florence had never in those days been captured in battle, and reversed by the captors in sign of derision at its defeat. The old shield of Florence was a white lily on a red field ; but, after the expulsion of the Ghibellines, the Guelphs changed it into a red lily upon a white field.

END OF CANTO XVI AND VOL. I.



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