



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### **Usage guidelines**

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### **About Google Book Search**

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



DN 171.2.6.2 (2)

The gift of

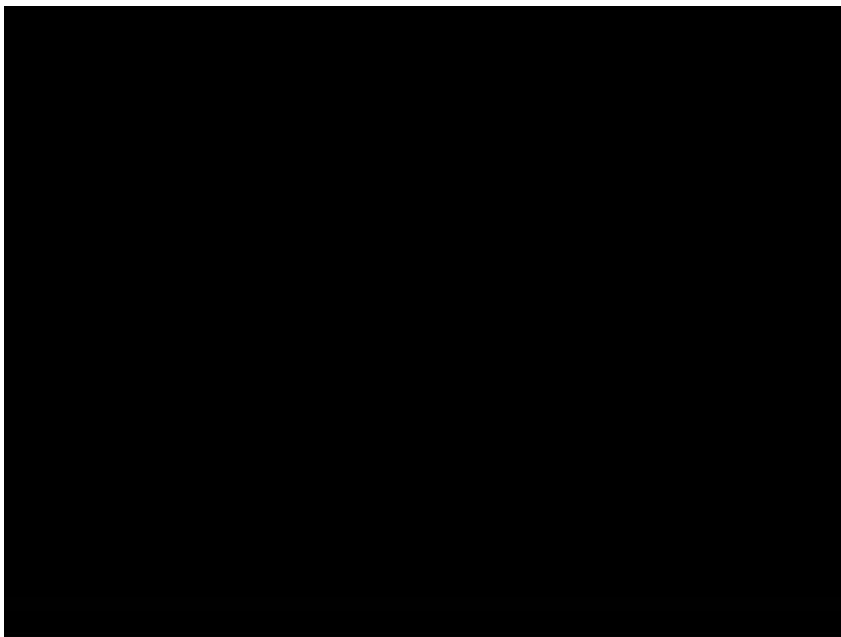
ERNEST H WILKINS

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY



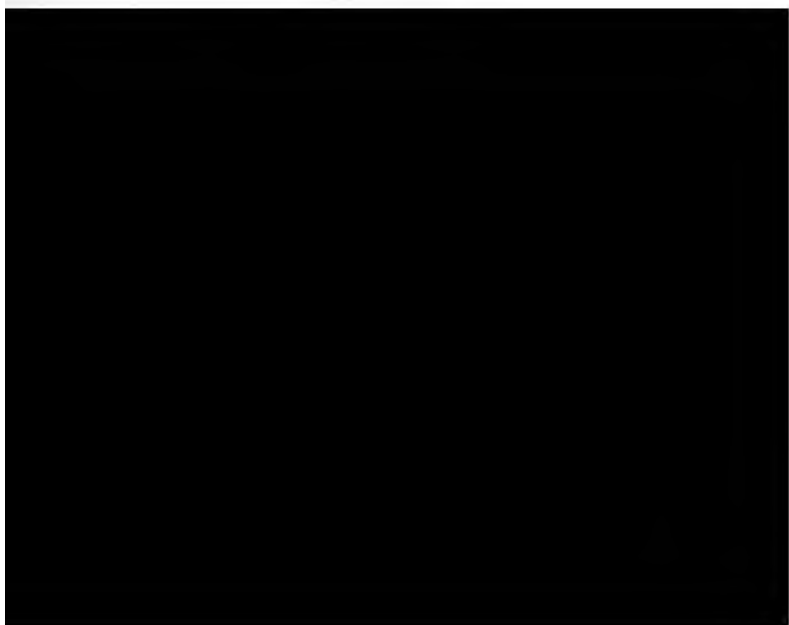






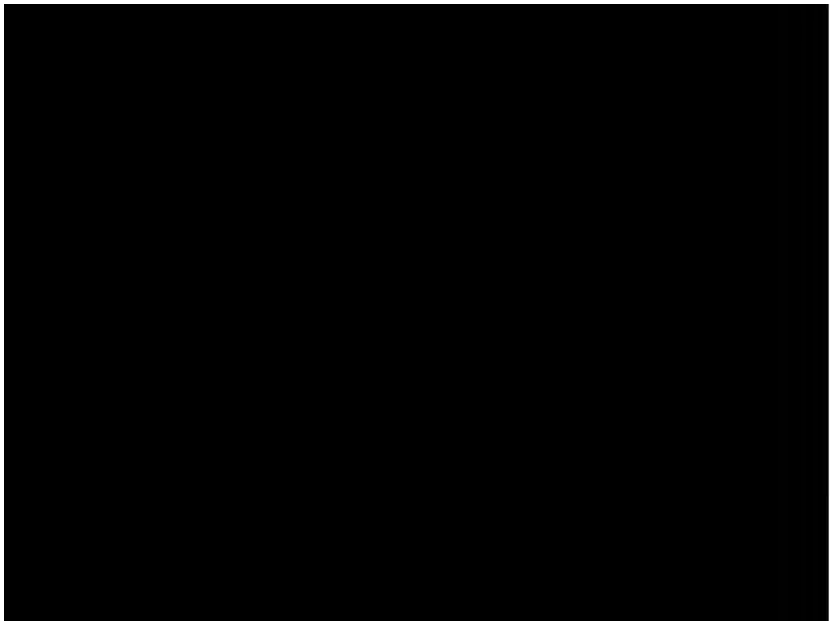






READINGS

ON THE  
PURGATORIO OF DANTE



READINGS  
ON THE  
**PURGATORIO OF DANTE**  
CHIEFLY BASED ON  
THE COMMENTARY OF BENVENUTO DA IMOLA

WITH TEXT AND LITERAL TRANSLATION  
BY THE HONBLE  
**WILLIAM WARREN VERNON**  
M.A. OXON.; ACCADEMICO CORRISPONDENTE DELLA CRUSCA; CAVALIERE  
DI S. MAURIZIO E LAZZARO IN ITALY; AND KNIGHT OF  
THE ROYAL ORDER OF ST. OLAF IN NORWAY

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY THE LATE  
DEAN CHURCH

IN TWO VOLUMES  
VOL. II

THIRD EDITION—REVISED

METHUEN & CO.  
36 ESSEX STREET W.C.  
LONDON

Dn 171.2.6.2 (2)

Originally Published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co. . . . . 1889  
Second Edition . . . . . 1897  
First Published (Third Edition) by Methuen & Co. . . . . 1907



## CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

CANTO	PAGE
XVI. THE THIRD CORNICE (continued)—THE PUNISHMENT OF THE ANGRY—MARCO LOMBARDO—FREE WILL—THE CORRUPTION OF THE WORLD—DETERIORATION OF THE INHABITANTS OF LOMBARDY - - - - -	1
XVII. THE THIRD CORNICE—ANGER (concluded)—EXIT FROM THE SMOKE—EXAMPLES OF THE PUNISHMENT OF ANGER—THE ANGEL OF PEACE—ASCENT TO THE FOURTH CORNICE—THE SECOND NIGHT IN PURGATORY—LOVE, ACCORDING TO VIRGIL, THE ROOT OF ALL SIN AS WELL AS OF ALL VIRTUE - - - - -	38
XVIII. THE FOURTH CORNICE—ACCIDIE—THE NATURE OF LOVE—LOVE AND FREE WILL—SPIRITS OF THE SLOTHFUL RUNNING IN HASTE, AS THE PENALTY FOR ACCIDIE—THE ABBOT OF SAN ZENO—THE SCALIGERI—DANTE FALLS ASLEEP - - - - -	71
XIX. THE FOURTH CORNICE OF ACCIDIE (concluded)—DANTE'S DREAM OF THE SIREN—THE ANGEL OF THE LOVE OF GOD—ASCENT OF THE FIFTH CORNICE—THE PENALTY OF THE AVARICIOUS AND PRODIGAL—POPE ADRIAN V. —ALAGIA - - - - -	104
XX. THE FIFTH CORNICE (concluded)—AVARICE AND PRODIGALITY—EXAMPLES OF POVERTY AND LIBERALITY—HUGH CAPET—THE CAPETIAN KINGS, EXAMPLES OF SORDID AVARICE—THE MOUNTAIN QUAKES ON A SOUL COMPLETING ITS PURGATION - - - - -	135

CANTO	PAGE
XXI. THE FIFTH CORNICE (continued)—AVARICE AND PRODIGALITY—APPEARANCE OF STATIUS—EXPLANATION OF THE CAUSE OF THE EARTHQUAKE—MEETING BETWEEN VIRGIL AND STATIUS - - - - -	179
XXII. ASCENT TO THE SIXTH CORNICE—STATIUS RELATES HIS SIN OF PRODIGALITY—AND HIS CONVERSION TO CHRISTIANITY—VIRGIL'S REPLY TO HIS ENQUIRY AS TO MANY ILLUSTRIOUS PERSONAGES WHO ARE IN LIMBO—THE SIXTH CORNICE—GLUTTONY—THE GLUTTONOUS—THEIR CHASTISEMENT—THE MYSTIC TREE—EXAMPLES OF TEMPERANCE - - - - -	214
XXIII. THE SIXTH CORNICE (continued)—THE PURGATION OF GLUTTONY—EMACIATED APPEARANCE OF THE GLUTTONOUS—FORESE DONATI—NELLA DONATI—DENUNCIATION OF THE WOMEN OF FLORENCE - - - - -	254
XXIV. THE SIXTH CORNICE—GLUTTONY (continued)—FORESE DONATI — PICCARDA DONATI — BONAGIUNTA DEGLI URBICIANI OF LUCCA—POPE MARTIN IV.—UBALDINO DELLA PILA—BONIFAZIO DEI FIESCHI—MESSER MARCHESE—GENTUCCA—DEATH OF CORSO DONATI PREDICTED—THE SECOND MYSTIC TREE—EXAMPLES OF INTEMPERANCE—THE ANGEL OF ABSTINENCE - - -	287
XXV. ASCENT TO THE SEVENTH CORNICE—EXPOSITION BY STATIUS OF THE MYSTERIES OF MAN'S FIRST AND SECOND BIRTHS—THE CORPOREAL SHAPES OF SOULS IN PURGATORY—THE SEVENTH CORNICE—PUNISHMENT OF THE SENSUAL OR INCONTINENT—EXAMPLES OF CHASTITY - - - - -	327
XXVI. THE SEVENTH CORNICE—SENSUALITY (continued)—THE PENITENTS IN TWO BANDS THAT MOVE IN OPPOSITE DIRECTIONS — EXAMPLES OF SENSUALITY — GUIDO GUINIZELLI (OR GUINICELLI)—ARNAUD DANIEL - - -	365
XXVII. THE SEVENTH CORNICE—SENSUALITY (concluded)—THE ANGEL OF PURITY—THE PASSAGE THROUGH THE FLAMES—ASCENT OF THE LAST STAIRWAY—ARRIVAL IN THE TERRESTRIAL PARADISE—VIRGIL'S FAREWELL	402

*Contents of Vol. II.*

vii

CANTO	PAGE
XXVIII. THE EARTHLY PARADISE—THE RIVER LETHE—MATELDA—THE WIND AND THE WATER IN THE TERRESTRIAL PARADISE - - - - -	430
XXIX. THE TERRESTRIAL PARADISE (continued)—THE MYSTIC PROCESSION—THE CHURCH MILITANT - - - -	465
XXX. THE TERRESTRIAL PARADISE (continued)—APPEARANCE OF BEATRICE—DISAPPEARANCE OF VIRGIL—DANTE SEVERELY CENSURED BY BEATRICE - - - -	501
XXXI. THE TERRESTRIAL PARADISE (continued)—BEATRICE REPROVES DANTE—HIS PENITENCE, CONFESSION, AND FORGIVENESS—HIS IMMERSION IN LETHE—HE IS CONDUCTED TO THE HANDMAIDENS OF BEATRICE—BEATRICE UNVEILS HERSELF TO HIM - - - -	534
XXXII. THE TERRESTRIAL PARADISE (continued)—THE TREE OF KNOWLEDGE—ASCENT OF THE GRYPHON—TRANSFORMATION OF THE CHARIOT—THE GIANT AND THE HARLOT - - - - -	565
XXXIII. THE TERRESTRIAL PARADISE (concluded)—THE PROPHECY OF BEATRICE—THE FIVE HUNDRED AND TEN AND FIVE—THE RIVER EUNOE—DANTE'S LAST PURIFICATION - - - - -	602
INDEX - - - - -	631



DN 171.2.G.2 (2)

The gift of

ERNEST H WILKINS

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY

## THE PURGATORIO.

### CANTO XVI.

THE THIRD CORNICE (CONTINUED)—THE PUNISHMENT OF THE ANGRY—MARCO LOMBARDO—FREE WILL—THE CORRUPTION OF THE WORLD—DETERIORATION OF THE INHABITANTS OF LOMBARDY.

THE latter part of the last Canto was devoted to the consideration of how to avoid the sin of Anger. The present Canto treats mainly of its expiation.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

*In Division I*, from ver. 1 to ver. 24, the penalty of the Angry is described.

*In Division II*, from ver. 25 to ver. 51, Dante converses with the spirit of Marco Lombardo, who during his lifetime had been exceedingly prone to Anger.

*In Division III*, from ver. 52 to ver. 114, Dante questions Marco about some remarks that had fallen from him on the general corruption of the World, and Marco replies to him.

*In Division IV*, from ver. 115 to ver. 145, Marco dilates on the deplorable decline of virtue in Lombardy.

*Division I.*—Dean Plumptre says: "The opening words of the Canto are deliberately chosen. To be conscious of Wrath is to be in Hell, with all its blackness of darkness, its bitterness and foulness. In the remedial methods which Dante depicts, we may find



Quant' esser può di nuvol tenebrata,  
 Non fece al viso mio sì grosso velo,\*  
 Come quel fummo ch' ivi ci coperse,  
 5 Nè a sentir di così aspro pelo ;  
 Chè l' occhio stare aperto non sofferse :  
 Onde la Scorta mia saputa e fida †  
 Mi s' accostò, e l' omero m' offerse.

Gloom of Hell, and of a night bereft of every star beneath a barren sky, as much darkened with clouds as it can be, did not make to my eyes so dense a veil, as did that smoke which there enshrouded us, nor of so rough a texture to one's sense of feeling ; for it suffered not the eye to remain open ; whereat my experienced and faithful guide drew near to me, and offered me his shoulder.

Dante could no longer see Virgil. The man blinded by Anger is totally unable to discern Reason. But Virgil, allegorically representing Reason, was able calmly to

---

notte, l' è più oscura che quello che à alcuna luce." (Buti.) Cesari (*Bellezza*, vol. ii, p. 286) explains the word well: "Quel pover cielo afforza l' immagine, mostrando miseria (*scarcity*) d' ogni filo di lume. Anche i Latini usarono come assai operativo questo *inops*, dicendo *inops aqua*, *inops animi* (scoraggiato) *inops consilii* (che non sa partito da prendere), etc." Scartazzini takes *pover* to refer to the limited amount of sky that one can see when looking up from a narrow valley.

\* *sì grosso velo*: Benvenuto commends this simile, for he says that a veil is usually both light and transparent, so that a person wearing it can both see through it, breathe through it, and feel it of a soft texture to the skin; whereas this smoke blinded the eyes, choked the breath, and irritated the skin. "And note, how clearly Dante has represented this, for, in truth, no sin is committed among the living, or is punished in Hell among the dead, which so much darkens the eyes of the intellect as Anger; and therefore he has done well to depict the angry in Hell tearing and rending each other barbarously with their teeth."

† *saputa e fida*: Buti thinks Virgil here represents theoretic Reason, which is both experienced (*saputa*) in not allowing itself to be deceived, and faithful (*fida*) in never deceiving. Tommaséo observes that the word *saputa* is still used in the Neapolitan dialect, in a good sense.



Even as a blind man goes behind his guide in order not to go astray, or to knock against aught that may hurt or even kill him; so went I through that pungent and foul air, listening to my Leader, who merely said: "Take heed that thou dost not get parted from me."

Benvenuto points out that the angry man is worse off than the blind, for the latter only loses his bodily sight, while his mental perception is preserved to him and even rendered more sensitive, but the angry man loses the light of Reason. According to Livy, the Romans fought against the Samnites with such ferocity that their eyes literally seemed to blaze, and such was their fury that, after they had won the victory, they turned their swords against the horses.

Dante now describes the devout prayer of the shades of the Angry.

Io sentia voci, e ciascuna pareva  
 Pregar, per pace e per misericordia,  
 L' Agnel di Dio, che le peccata \* leva.  
 Pure *Agnus Dei* eran le loro esordia: †

\* *peccata* for *peccati*; Nannucci (*Teorica dei Nomi*, p. 327) says that as in the early days of the Italian language, there was some indecision as to the terminations to be adopted for nouns, the writers of that time tried giving to the plurals of nouns of masculine derivation the same termination in *i* that they had in Latin, and the termination in *a* to others that were derived from Latin neutrals, and in the first instance they used to say *i servi*, *i discepoli*, *i regna*, *i fundamenta*, *gli edificia*, etc. But we find so few examples of the termination in *a*, that it is evident it very soon fell into complete disuse. Nannucci cites instances from early writers of *i regna* in Fra Guitone; *i fascia* in Bacciarone di Messer Baccone; *li peccata* from *Vita e Miracoli di S. Maria Maddalena*; *i dimonia* from the Sermons of Fra Giordano; *i migliaia* from Fra Guittone, etc.

† *le loro esordia*: Dante must have used the Latin neuter plural of *exordium* here. Compare Virgil, *Æn.* iv, 284:—

"quæ prima exordia sumat?"



READINGS  
ON THE  
PURGATORIO OF DANTE



Onde il Maestro mio disse :—" Rispondi,  
 E domanda se quinci si va sue."— 30  
 Ed io :—" O creatura,\* che ti mondi,  
 Per tornar † bella a colui che ti fece,  
 Maraviglia udirai se mi secondi."—  
 —" Io ti seguirò quanto mi lece,"—  
 Rispose ;—" e se veder fummo non lascia, 35  
 L'udir ci terrà giunti in quella vece."—

Whereupon my Master said to me : "Answer thou, and ask if it is in that direction that one ascends." And I : "O Being that art making thyself pure, so as to return beautiful to Him Who created thee, if thou wilt accompany me, thou shalt hear a marvellous thing." "I will follow thee," he answered, "for so far as it is permitted me; and if the smoke permits not our seeing, in its stead shall hearing keep us together."

In obedience to this invitation, tacitly expressed by Marco, Dante tells him he is alive, and, in so many words, begs him not to be astonished at his walking alive through Purgatory, as he has already passed alive through Hell. Benvenuto thinks his words are equivalent to saying : "In my toilsome journey through Hell I acquired the knowledge which I sought of my sins, and now I am going to get them purged away in Purgatory."

signifying the first day of the month, is sometimes, as in this passage, used figuratively to signify a month. Compare Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* canto xxxiii, 27 :—

"E ben gli disse L'anno e le calend."

\**O creatura, che ti mondi*: Gioberti admires the appropriate and courteous *exordia* with which Dante prefaces his addresses to some of the spirits in Purgatory. Compare *Purg.* xiii, 85-87 :—

"O gente sicura,  
 Incominciai, 'di veder l'alto lume  
 Che il disio vostro solo ha in sua cura,'" etc.

† *Per tornar*: Compare *Eccles.* xii, 7: "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was: and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it." Compare also ll. 88-90 of this Canto :—

Allora incominciai :—" Con quella fascia \*  
 Che la morte dissolve † men vo suso,  
 E venni qui per la infernale ambascia ;  
 E se ‡ Dio m' ha in sua grazia richiuso 40  
 Tanto che vuol ch' io veggia la sua corte  
 Per modo tutto fuor del modern' uso, §  
 Non mi celar chi fosti anzi la morte,  
 Ma dilmi, e dimmi s' io vo bene al varco ; ||  
 E tue parole fien le nostre scorte."— 45

Then I began : " With those swathing-bands (*i.e.* body) which death will (hereafter) dissolve I am going my way upwards, and I have come hither through the anguish of Hell ; and since God has so greatly enfolded me in His Grace, as to will that I should behold His Court, by a mode entirely foreign to our

" L' anima semplicitta, che sa nulla,  
 Salvo che, mossa da lieto fattore,  
 Volentier torna a ciò che la trastulla."

\* By *fascia* Dante means the mortal body, which is man's swathing-band or integument while he is alive.

† *dissolve* : Compare 2 *Cor.* v, 1 : " For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." And 2 *Tim.* iv, 6 (in the *Vulgate*) : " Ego enim jam delibor, et tempus resolutionis meae instat."

‡ *se* : Benvenuto says that *se* is here to be taken in the sense of *quia*, and Scartazzini that it is not conditional but declarative, and he cites several examples of its use in the sense of *because*, *since*, etc. Compare Petrarch, part ii, son. lxxxviii, st. 2 :—

" Dammi, Signor, che 'l mio dir giunga al segno  
 Delle sue lode, ove per sè non sale ;  
 Se virtù, se beltà non ebbe eguale  
 Il mondo, che d' aver lei non fu degno."

Also *Purg.* xx, 37-39 :—

" Non fia senza mercè la tua parola,  
 S' io ritorno a compier lo cammin corto  
 Di quella vita che al termine vola."

§ *modern' uso* : Compare *Inf.* ii, 13-33, where Dante expresses to Virgil his sense of unworthiness of visiting the (kingdoms of the dead) which before him had only been visited by Æneas and St. Paul.

|| *varco* : Compare *Inf.* xii, 26 :—

" E quegli accorto gridò : 'Corri al varco ;  
 Mentre ch' è in furia è buon che tu ti cale.'"

modern usage, do not hide from me who thou wast before thy death, but tell it me, and tell me also if I am on the right way to the pass (above); and let thy words be our escort."

Fratricelli explains line 42 to mean that the mode was totally different to the usual routine, which would require death to precede the possibility of ascending to Heaven, but Benvenuto, Lana and Buti all interpret the passage as meaning that, under the influence of the earlier Renaissance, it had gone completely out of fashion for poets to describe a vision in which they ascended up to Heaven. Besides Æneas and St. Paul, there were many records of a like pilgrimage in the visions of ancient monks and hermits, as for instance, St. Alberigo and St. Brandan.

Marco now names himself; but whether we are to understand his name to be Marco Lombardo, in the sense understood by Boccaccio, who calls him *Marco di Ca' dei Lombardi da Vinegia*, or whether simply as an Italian from Lombardy, it is not easy (says Lubin) to determine. There are different accounts about him. We may at once dismiss the idea of his being the navigator Marco Polo, who survived Dante, and died 1323. All seem to agree that he was a Venetian nobleman, a man of wit and learning, and a friend of Dante. *L' Ottimo* tells us that nearly all he gained, he spent in charity. Benvenuto that he was a man of a noble mind, but disdainful, and easily moved to anger. Buti that he was a Venetian, and his name was Marco Dacca; he was a very learned man, had many political virtues, and was very courteous, giving to poor noblemen all that he gained, and he gained much; for he was a courtier, and was much beloved for his virtue, and much was given

him by the nobility; and as he gave to those who were in need, so he lent to all who asked him. And when he was at the point of death, having much still owing to him, he made a will, and, among other bequests, this, that whoever owed him aught, should not be held to pay the debt, "Let whoever has," said he, "keep."\*

Having answered Dante's first question by telling him who he was, Marco then answers his second question as to the correctness of the way the Poets are pursuing, and then adds a petition on his account.

—"Lombardo fui, e fui chiamato Marco :

Del mondo seppi, † e quel valore amai

Al quale ha or ciascun disteso l' arco : ‡

Per montar su § dirittamente vai."—

Così rispose; e soggiunse:—"Io ti prego

50

Che per me preghi, quando su sarai."—

"I was a Lombard (or, one of the Lombardi family)  
and was called Marco. I knew (the ways) of the world,

\* The following anecdote of Marco is related in the *Novellino* (Novella xxxviii): "Marco Lombardo fue uno nobile uomo di corte e molto savio. Fu a un Natale a una città dove si donavano molte robe, e non ebbe neuna. Trovò un altro uomo di corte, lo quale era nesciente persona appo Marco, e avea avute robe (*had received Christmas gifts*). Di questo nacque una bella sentenza; ch'è quello giullare (*buffoon*) disse a Marco: 'che è ciò, Marco, ch'io ho avuto sette robe tu non niuna? E se' troppo (*far and away*) migliore uomo e più savio ch'io non sono.' E Marco rispose: 'non è altro, se non che tu trovasti più di tuoi ch'io di miei' (*it only means, that you found more persons of your stamp, i.e. fools, than I of mine, i.e. wise men*)."

† *Del mondo seppi*: Biagioli: "seppi i bei costumi, usi, e negozj del mondo."

‡ *disteso l' arco*: *Tendere l' arco*: means "to bend a bow," *distendere l' arco* is the contrary, namely "to unbend, to unstring a bow."

§ *Per montar su*: Notice the difference between the meanings of *su* in this line, which means up to the Fourth Cornice, and l. 51, where *quando su sarai* means when thou shalt have reached Paradise.

and I loved that virtue (from aiming) at which now-a-days has every one unstrung his bow: for mounting upwards thou art going rightly." Thus he answered; and added: "I beseech thee that when thou shalt be above (*i.e.* in Paradise), thou wilt pray for me."

*Division III.*—In the long and difficult passage which now follows, Dante, having heard Marco deploring the open hostility to virtue, and the general corruption that prevailed throughout all Italy, and remembering also the words of Guido del Duca on the same subject (Canto xiv), asks Marco why this is so. He prefaces his question by a propitiatory assurance that, when he reaches Heaven, he will do what Marco had asked him.

Ed io a lui:—"Per fede mi ti lego  
 Di far ciò che mi chiedi; ma io scoppio  
 Dentro a un dubbio, s'io non me ne spiego.\*  
 Prima era scempio,† ed ora è fatto doppio 55  
 Nella sentenza tua, che mi fa certo  
 Qui ed altrove, quello ov'io l'accoppio.

And I to him: "I pledge thee my faith to perform what thou askest me; but I am bursting with an inward doubt, if I do not free myself of it. It was at first a simple (doubt), and now it has become a double one, from thine (expression of) opinion, which

\* *s'io non me ne spiego*: Buti explains this: "Creperci, s'io non l'aprisse; e però dice: *s'io non me ne spiego*, cioè s'io non me ne dichiaro, cioè s'io non me ne apro e spaccio, che sono implicito in esso." The *Voc. della Crusca*, s.v. *spiegare*, § 5, says: "È in signific. neutr. pass. *Liberarsi*," and quotes this passage in illustration.

† *Prima era scempio*, et seq.: Biagioli thinks the words should be taken in the following order: "il mio dubbio era scempio prima che tu mi parlassi, ora è fatto doppio nella (ovvero *per la*) sentenza tua, la quale, qui (nelle cose udite qui da te), *ed altrove* (in quelle udite altrove, nel precedente Canto), *mi fa certo* (mi dimostra esser un fatto certo) *quello* (l'udito altrove) *ov'io l'accoppio* (al quale lo unisco)." *Scempio* is derived from the Latin *simplex*, and the *Voc. della Crusca* says of it: "Contrario di doppio."



The world is in truth, as utterly devoid of all virtue, as thou tellest me, and is pregnant with all wickedness and overspread by it: but I beg of thee to point out to me the cause, in order that I may discern it, and explain it to others; for one places it in heaven (*i.e.* the planets), and another places it down here (*i.e.* on earth)."

This last clause means that sin comes to Man by his free will. This latter (says Benvenuto) is the healthy opinion, the true one to be cultivated by all, whereas, to ascribe the wickedness of men to planetary influences is altogether erroneous.\*

Marco answers Dante's question at considerable length, but he begins by uttering a deep sigh, as though he would say (thinks Benvenuto): "O what a wrong and mischievous opinion this is of ascribing the wickedness of the world to the influence of heavenly bodies."

Alto sospir, che duolo strinse in—"hui," †—

Mise fuor prima, e poi cominciò:—"Frate, 65

Lo mondo è cieco, e tu vien ben da lui.

questo accidente; ma gli resta pur non so che forza di più del semplice *Mostrare*." *Additare* is the regular idiomatic word for "to point out," in Tuscany. "Would you point out to me *la Madonna della Seggiola*" = "Mi vorrebbe additare la Madonna della Seggiola."

\* On this erroneous belief, see Ozanam, *Dante et la Philosophie Catholique*, Paris, 1839, p. 135: "Une opinion commune et trompeuse attribue tous nos actes à des astres, comme si le ciel entraînait tous les êtres dans une direction nécessaire. Le ciel exerce sans doute une sorte d'initiative sur la plupart des mouvements de notre sensibilité; mais cette initiative peut rencontrer en nous une résistance qui, laborieuse d'abord, devient invincible après avoir fidèlement combattu. Une puissance plus grande, celle de Dieu, agit sur nous sans nous contraindre. En nous il a créé cette partie meilleure de nous-mêmes, qui n'est point soumise aux influences du ciel. Il nous a départi la volonté libre: et ce don, le plus excellent, le plus digne de sa bonté, le plus précieux à ses regards, toutes les créatures intelligentes, et elles seules, l'ont reçu."

† *hui*: The *Voc. della Crusca* has: *Hui* Quella voce, che si manda fuori per qualche dolore. Lat. *heu*. Greek  $\phi\epsilon\upsilon$ . Buti

A deep sigh which grief forced into (the cry) "Ah me!" he first heaved forth, and then began: "Brother, the world is blind, and thou in truth comest from it.

Benvenuto says, in proof of the world being blind, that many who are reputed great sages, were in that blind ignorance, that they took everything as coming from necessity, not perceiving that things foreseen by God can be altered by the exercise of the Free Will that He has given to man. In like manner Cicero, in wishing to avoid one error, fell into another, for he denied Providence, for which St. Augustine censures him severely in his book, *De Civitate Dei*.

Benvenuto also comments on the words *e tu vien ben da lui*, by supposing Marco to say: "And thou evidently comest from this world of blindness, for thou admittest that this doubt is so great in thy mind that thou art nearly bursting with it."

Marco next explains what is this doubt of the blind.

Voi che vivete, ogni cagion recate \*  
 Pur suso al ciel, così come se tutto  
 Moveasse seco di necessitate. †

comments upon it: "Duolo strinse in *lui*, imperocchè non compie di mettere fuori tutto il sospiro, ma finitte in questa voce *lui*, che è *interiectio dolentis*, cioè voce che significa dolore." The modern Italian form is *ohimè!* Compare Ovid, *Metam.* x, 215, 216:—

"Ipse suos gemitus foliis inscribit: et AIAI  
 Flos habet inscriptum."

And Tasso, *Ger. Liber.* xii, st. 96:—

"Alfin sgorgando un lagrimoso rivo,  
 In un languido oimè proruppe."

\* *cagion recate . . . al ciel*: In Homer, *Odyss.* i, 32-34, Jove is made to say:—

"Ω πόποι, οἷον δὴ νῦ θεοὺς βροτοὶ αἰτιώωνται·  
 Ἐξ ἡμῶν γὰρ φασι κάκ' ἔμμεναι· οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ  
 Σφῆσον ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ἵπερ μάρον ἀλγέ' ἔχουσιν."

† *di necessitate*: We find in Boëthius, *Consol. Philos.* v, pros. ii: "Sed in hac haerentium sibi serie causarum, estne ulla nostri



Ye who are living, assign every cause up to the heavens only, as though they of necessity moved all things with themselves.

Benvenuto states that Seneca used often to quote a saying of the ancient Stoic philosopher Cleanthes: *Fata volentem ducunt, nolentem trahunt*, which is the exact opposite of the erroneous views which Marco censures, for Cleanthes shows that some future things are necessary, from having their predeterminate causes, as for instance that man must die, that the Sun must rise tomorrow; while other things may depend on some contingency which may or may not take place. And Benvenuto goes on to show the opinion of Plotinus and

---

arbitrii libertas, an ipsos quoque humanorum motus animorum fatalis catena constringit? Est inquit. Neque enim fuerit ulla rationalis natura quin eidem libertas adsit arbitrii. Nam quod ratione uti naturaliter potest, id habet iudicium quo quodque discernat per se: igitur fugienda optandave dignoscit. Quod vero quis optandum iudicat esse, petit; refugit vero quod existimat esse fugiendum. Quare quibus inest ratio, ipsis etiam inest volendi nolendique libertas. Sed hanc non in omnibus æquam esse constituo. Nam supernis divinisque substantiis et perspicax iudicium, et incorrupta voluntas, et efficax optatorum præsto est potestas. Humanas vero animas liberiores quidem esse necesse est cum se in mentis divinæ speculatione conservant: minus vero cum dilabuntur ad corpora, minusque etiam, cum terrenis artibus colligantur. Extrema vero est servitus, cum vitiis deditæ, rationis propriæ possessione ceciderint. Nam ubi oculos a summæ luce veritatis ad inferiora, et tenebrosa dejecerint, mox inscitia nibe caligant, perniciosius turbantur affectibus; quibus accedendo, consentiendoque, quam invexere sibi, adjuvat servitutem, et sunt quodam modo propria libertate captiva. Quæ tamen ille, ab æterno cuncta prospiciens, Providentiæ cernit intuitus, et suis quæque meritis prædestinata disponit (ut de Sole ait Homerus, *Iliad*, 1).” Compare also Milton, *Par. Lost*, ii, 557-561:—

“Others apart sat on a hill retir’d,  
In thoughts more elevate, and reason’d high  
Of providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate;  
Fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute;  
And found no end, in wandering mazes lost.”

others, that the planets were not active agents to bring good or evil, but were only the signs of things about to happen to us. Others have said that some good or evil would happen to man by the influence of the planets, not however so that it must happen of necessity, but in order that what Nature, or God through Nature, works, should take place through the influence of the planets. St. Augustine has treated this very fully in his fifth book of *De Civitate Dei*.

Marco strongly condemns this error, on account of the great inconvenience that would follow it.

Se così fosse, in voi fôra distrutto  
Libero arbitrio,\* e non fôra giustizia,  
Per ben letizia, e per male aver lutto. 70

Were this true, all Free Will would be destroyed in  
you, and it would not (then) be justice to have joy (in  
requit) for good, and grief for evil.

There would be no necessity for Hell, Purgatory or Paradise, says Benvenuto, and all good counsels and prayers would be in vain, and many other consequences

\* *Libero arbitrio*: See St. Thom. Aquin. *Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. cxv, art. 4: "Respondeo dicendum quod corpora cœlestia in corpora quidem imprimunt directè et per se, in vires autem animæ quæ sunt actus organorum corporeorum, directè quidem, sed per accidens quia necesse est huiusmodi actus horum potentiarum impediri secundùm impedimenta organorum, sicut oculus turbatus non bene videt. Unde si intellectus et voluntas essent vires corporeis organis alligatæ (sicut posuerunt aliqui dicentes, quod intellectus non differt a sensu) ex necessitate sequeretur quod corpora cœlestia essent causa electionum et actuum humanorum; et ex hoc sequeretur quod homo naturali instinctu ageretur ad suas actiones, sicut cœtera animalia, in quibus non sunt nisi vires animæ corporeis organis alligatæ; nam illud quod fit in istis inferioribus ex impressione corporum cœlestium, naturaliter agitur; et ita sequeretur quod homo non esset liberi arbitrii, sed haberet actiones determinatas, sicut et cœteræ res naturales; quæ manifestè sunt falsa, et conversationi humanæ contraria."

destructive to the world would follow from this, as Boëthius shows in his fifth book.\*

Marco now begins to explain away Dante's doubts, first, by showing how things come by heavenly influence or the contrary.

Lo cielo i vostri movimenti inizia,†  
 Non dico tutti: ma, posto ch' io il dica,  
 Lume v' è dato a bene ed a malizia,

75

\* The passage referred to in Boëthius is in lib. v, pros. iii: "At nos illud demonstrare nitamur, quoque modo sese habeat ordo causarum, necessarium esse eventum præscitarum rerum, etiam si præscientia futuris rebus eveniendi necessitatem non videatur inferre. Etenim si quispiam sedeat, opinionem quæ eum sedere conjectat, veram esse necesse est: at e converso rursus si de quopiam vero sit opinio, quoniam sedet, eum sedere necesse est. In utroque igitur necessitas inest: in hoc quidem sedendi, at vero in altero veritatis. Sed non idcirco quisque sedet, quoniam vera est opinio: sed hæc potius vera est, quoniam quempiam sedere præcessit. Ita cum causa veritatis ex altera parte procedat, inest tamen comunis in utraque necessitas. Similia de Providentia, futurisque rebus ratiocinari oportet. Nam etiam si idcirco, quoniam futura sunt, providentur; non vero ideo quoniam providentur, eveniunt: nihilominus tamen a Deo vel ventura provideri, vel provisiva evenire necesse est: quod ad perimendam arbitrii libertatem solum satis est." See also *Par.* xvii, 37-42:—

"La contingenza, che fuor del quaderno  
 Della vostra materia non si stende,  
 Tutta è dipinta nel cospetto eterno.  
 Necessità però quindi non prende,  
 Se non come dal viso in che si specchia,  
 Nave che per corrente giù discende."

† *Lo cielo i vostri movimenti inizia*: According to the astrological belief in the Middle Ages, everything on earth is subject to the influence of the planets. See *Par.* xiii, 61-66. Every one of the heavens is endowed with a particular power, which kindles the first appetites in us. Dante does not deny the action of the planets, but only the necessity of obeying their influence. Man is endowed with free will, by means of which he can curb his desires or direct them to what is good. (Scartazzini.) Compare St. Thom. Aquin. *Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2<sup>da</sup>, qu. xcvi, art. 5: "Unde corpora cœlestia

E libero voler, che, se fatica  
 Nelle prime battaglie col ciel dura,\*  
 Poi vince tutto, se ben si nutrica.

The heavens *do* give the first impulse to your movements, I do not say all: but, even supposing that I did say it, light has been given you (to discern) between right and wrong, and Free Will, which, even though it combats against fatigue, in the end gains a complete victory, if only it nourishes itself well.

The first impulses of Man are bodily; as walking, sitting, etc.; but the movements of the mind were not supposed to fall under planetary influences, such as would be, to understand, to will, etc. Man's good fight is by resistance to the sins to which he is most easily predisposed, and for this combat he must give to his Free Will the nutriment of Wisdom, Love, and Virtue.

Scartazzini observes that, if we recapitulate what Marco explains from l. 67, we obtain the following points, as believed by Dante.

I. Men seek to excuse their evil actions by attributing the cause to planetary influences, as though they were driven by necessity.

non possunt esse per se causa operationum liberi arbitrii; possunt tamen ad hoc dispositivè inclinare, inquantum imprimunt in corpus humanum, et per consequens in vires sensitivas, quæ sunt actus corporalium organorum, quæ inclinant ad humanos actus."

\* *se fatica . . . dura*: Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) says that *durare* is only used by Dante in this one passage in the sense of "to resist." In that sense it is used by Berni, *Orl. Innam.* canto ix, st. lxxxii:—

"Ma benchè Brigliador la via divora,  
 Pur con Baiardo non la può durare."

See also Boccaccio (*Decam.*) in the *Proæmium* to the first Novel (*Giorn. i, Nov. 1*): "Senza niuno fallo nè potremmo noi, che viviamo mescolati in esse e che siamo parte d' esse, durare nè ripararci, se spezial grazia di Dio forza e avvedimento non ci prestasse."

2. Such a doctrine destroys Free Will, and accuses of injustice that God, Who rewards good and punishes evil.

3. It is true that the planetary influences instil into Man his first inclinations, though not all, for some take their origin in the evil habits that have been contracted.

4. If Man will only make use of the light of Reason and Revelation, as also of his Free Will, he can and ought to be able to resist planetary influences, or natural inclinations to evil.

5. This resistance is at the first exceedingly hard and laborious ; yet

6. Man can succeed in completely overcoming the planetary influences if only his Free Will gets properly nourished (*ben si nutrica*) with the food of wisdom and of grace.

Marco next shows that if men are subject to planetary influences, they are, in their freedom, subject to the greater might of God, to that better nature, which, through baptism or otherwise, they may claim as His gift to them. Dante solves the problem that has vexed the souls of men in all ages, and leaves them with the gift of freedom, and therefore the burden of responsibility. Throughout he follows St. Thomas Aquinas, as the latter had followed St Augustine.

A maggior forza ed a miglior natura  
Liberi soggiacete, e quella cria 80  
La mente in voi, che il ciel non ha in sua cura.\*

---

\* *il ciel non ha in sua cura* : According to Longfellow, Ptolemy is supposed to have said: "The wise man shall control the stars." And a Turkish proverb says :—

Though free, ye are subject to a mightier force, and to a better nature (God's own), and that creates in you your mind, which the heavens have not under their control.

Marco having condemned the first part of the distinction as false—namely, that all things must happen of necessity—concludes that the second part must be true, and that the wickedness of the world lies in the generation now living in the world, and not in the planets.

Però se il mondo presente disvia,  
In voi \* è la cagione, in voi si cheggia,

---

"Wit and a strong will are superior to fate."

Benvenuto remarks that it is too absurd to suppose that Man is under the influence of the planets, when one may more reasonably suppose that the planets were created on account of Man. He relates, in confirmation of this, a story which he considers a very merry one. Not long before there flourished in the city of Padua one Pietro de Abano, a distinguished philosopher, astrologer and physician, who at one time held this pernicious doctrine. One day, being very angry with his servant who had come home late, he wanted to beat him, but the servant, who was very intelligent, said with ready wit: "My Master and Lord, I confess that I have done wrong; but pray condescend to hear one word from me, before thou givest me my well-deserved punishment. I have often heard thee say that all things arise from necessity; how then could I come home more quickly?"—Pietro, more angry than ever, exclaimed, while brandishing his stick: "And it is necessary, thou good-for-nothing servant, that I should give thee a good beating for thine insolence." The servant, nothing daunted, laying his hand upon his dagger, said: "And certainly, insensate Master, it is necessary for me to bury this in thine entrails." Fear tempered Pietro's wrath, and he said: "Thou shalt always remain with me, as thou wilt; and I promise thee that I will never again hold or teach those doctrines."

\* *In voi*: This means, in defects for which the free will of the present generation is responsible.

Ed io te ne sarò or vera spia.\*

Hence, if the present generation goes astray, in yourselves is the cause, in yourselves must it be sought, and I will now be to thee a true expounder of the same.

Scartazzini (in his *Edizione Minore*) gives a very lucid *résumé* of this passage. Marco has said, that men themselves are in fault if the present generation of them wanders from the right path. The human soul issues full of innocence out of the hands of its Maker, and instinctively turns to what seems to it most sanctifying and beautiful. As soon as it has begun to taste worldly goods it runs after them, deluding itself that it will find in them the highest good, unless some trustworthy guide directs it to the Sublimest Excellence, or unless some curb be found to restrain it from running after deceptive joys. But at the present day the laws have become inoperative, because the Chief Pastor of the Church continues to show a bad example, and mixes up spiritual with temporal matters. This pernicious government of the world is the cause of corruption that Dante seeks to investigate, and not any influence of the planets, or even the wickedness of the human race.

The point insisted on is the usurpation by the Pope of functions that rightly belong to the Emperor, but have been by him neglected.

---

\* *spia*: The *Voc. della Crusca* (§ 1) explains this as "Chiunque riferisce; Latin *delator, narrator*." Fraticelli says that, in ancient use, the word had not the same invidious sense that it has now. Scartazzini interprets, "verace indicatore, esploratore." Compare Shakespeare, *King Lear*, act v, sc. 3:—

"And take upon 's the mystery of things,  
As if we were God's spies."

Esce di mano a Lui,\* che la vagheggia †  
 Prima che sia, a guisa di fanciulla,  
 Che piangendo e ridendo pargoleggia,  
 L' anima semplicitta, che sa nulla, ‡

\* *Esce di mano a Lui . . . L' anima semplicitta*, et seq.: Gioberti, in his commentary on this passage, considers this is one of the most divine touches in the *Divina Commedia*. The picture is highly dramatic, without any mythology, and only replete with true poetry, and philosophic meaning. The style is as natural, graceful, and beautiful as it well can be. It seems as though the innocence and beauty of the soul described by Dante is also imparted to his descriptive powers. How ever did that fierce and terrible Dante, so unapproachable in his power to terrify or to move to tears, acquire such a marvellous grace of forms and conceptions? Here we have a new affinity between Dante and Shakespeare: between Dante's horrors and beauties on the one hand, and the contrasts such as Shakespeare creates between Ariel and Caliban in *The Tempest*. Both Poets have a marvellous kindred power of representing with an unrivalled hand the most opposite subjects, and of creating their masterpieces from the most striking contrasts. . . . Those of Dante have assuredly a resemblance to those of Shakespeare, who, in the sublime, the pathetic, the facetious, the terrible, the grotesque, the horrible, the loveable, the graceful, the comic, and in the satirical, is always sublime.

† *vagheggia*: Of this verb the *Voc. della Crusca* says that it either means, as in this passage, which is quoted, "Stare a timirar fisamente con diletto e con attenzione l' amata, Lat. *intente amariam inspicere*;" or, "Fare all' amore = to court, to make love to." I have preferred the former meaning of the word, though both are adopted by different translators. In the sense of "contemplates," compare *Par. viii, 11, 12*:—

"Pigliavano il vocabol della stella  
 Che il sol vagheggia or da coppa or da ciglio."

And *Par. x, 10, 11*:—

"E il comincia a vagheggiar nell' arte  
 Di quel maestro."

‡ *che sa nulla*: According to Fraticelli, Dante, in stating that the newly-created soul knows nothing, shows that he followed the doctrine of the Peripatetics, who said that the human soul, when it is first created by God, is made apt to learn everything, but does not thereby have any knowledge or innate ideas. And this, says Fraticelli, is the most probable and general opinion. The Platonists thought the contrary, holding that the soul, from the instant of its creation, has in itself the germs of knowledge,



Salvo che, mossa da lieto fattore,  
 Volentier torna a ciò che la trastulla.\* 90  
 Di picciol bene in pria sente sapore ;  
 Quivi s' inganna, e dietro ad esso corre,  
 Se guida o fren non torce suo amore.

Forth from the hand of Him, Who contemplates it with delight ere it even exists, like to a little maid that cries and laughs in her childish sport, issues the soul, so simple that it knows nothing, save that, set in motion by a blithe Creator, it eagerly turns to that which gives it pleasure. Of trifling good at first it tastes the savour ; herein it deceives itself (mistaking

---

which in time are developed and brought out by instruction or study. Dante also followed the doctrine of St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars. 1, qu. lxxxiv), which is too long however to quote here.

\* *Volentier torna a ciò che la trastulla* : The new soul turns instinctively to all that appears to charm it. It has not yet acquired ideas. Compare with this the beautiful passage in *Conv.* iv, 12, ll. 138-176 : "Il sommo desiderio di ciascuna cosa, e prima dalla Natura dato, è lo ritornare al suo Principio. E perocchè Iddio è Principio delle nostre anime e Fattore di quelle simili a sè, siccom' è scritto : 'Facciamo l' uomo ad imagine e simiglianza nostra' ; essa anima massimamente desidera tornare a quello. E siccome peregrino che va per una via per la quale non fu, che ogni casa che da lungi vede, crede che sia l' albergo, e non trovando ciò essere, dirizza la credenza all' altra, e così di casa in casa tanto che all' albergo viene ; così 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. Onde vedemo li parvoli desiderare massimamente un pomo ; e poi più oltre procedendo, desiderare uno uccellino ; e poi più oltre, desiderare bello vestimento ; e poi il cavallo, e poi una donna ; e poi le ricchezze non grandi, poi grandi, e poi grandissime. E questo incontra perchè in nlla di queste cose trova quello che va cercando, e credelo trovare più oltre. Per che 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."

the gratification of the senses for the highest good) and runs after it, unless (some wise) guide or restraining curb turn not its desire (to better things).

Benvenuto, taking this passage nearly in its literal sense, gives some intimate details of infantile delights, beginning with a baby's first impressions of its first warm bath, and tracing its nursery experiences up to the time when the full-grown man seeks greedily after riches, next after honour, glory, fame; and thence falling into pride and envy. Fraticelli explains it entirely allegorically; by *guida* he understands education, and by *fren*, the restraints of the law.

Marco adds that for this reason the law was invented, and a shepherd given to the flock.

Onde convenne legge per fren porre ;

Convenne rege \* aver, che discernesse

Della vera cittade † almen la torre.

95

\* *rege* : The Emperor. Although Benvenuto tries to explain this as meaning a spiritual ruler, who should by his teaching declare to men the sublimity of bliss in the Eternal City of God, Buti, Lana, Fraticelli and others say that it became necessary to have a ruler who should make men observe the laws, and who, at all events in a general way, should have such understanding of the real good as to know that justice is the bulwark and defence of the eternal city. Buti observes: "Let the Ruler know that what guards our rationality is justice, and if he cannot know all the other species of virtues, let him at least have a general knowledge of them . . . All gentlemen are not philosophers, though, from being placed above others they ought to be; but, at least, they ought to have their intellects disposed towards justice; and this is shown by Dante making Marco speak of men being the cause of the corruption of the world." Compare *De Monarchia*, i, 12, 13; also *Conv.* iv, 4.

† *vera cittade* : On this Andreoli, in his commentary, observes that Dante, in *Conv.* iv, 24, divides life into two cities, one of good life, and the other of wicked life (following St. Augustine's definition of *la Città di Dio*, and *la Città del Diavolo*); and in this passage Dante means to say that of the good city; it is the duty of the Emperor to point out the bulwarks; for Dante

Hence it became necessary to establish laws as a restraining bit, it became necessary to have a Monarch, who should discern at least the towers of the true city.

Marco, having declared that laws are necessary to direct men to what is good, next upbraids the rulers who administer the laws in word only, but not in deed; the consequence of which is general depravity. In the lines that follow Benvenuto notices the extraordinary power that Marco exhibits of saying biting things (*Dicit ergo Marcus qui consueverat in vita bene scire mordere*).

Le leggi son, ma chi pon mano ad esse ?  
 Nullo ; perocchè il pastor che precede  
 Ruminar \* può, ma non ha l' unghie fesse.

The laws exist, but who sets a hand to them (*i.e.* who sees to their observance)? No one; because the shepherd who takes precedence (in Pontifical dignity), can chew the cud, but does not divide the hoof.

Benvenuto contends that Dante means the modern Shepherd, the Pope, chewing the cud in the sense of having the law of God constantly on his lips, and fully discussing it. In truth Boniface VIII had a thorough knowledge of the laws and the Holy Scrip-

---

always held that the imperial power should never overstep the limits of the supreme direction of the universal monarchy.

\* *Ruminar*: "Dieu défendit aux Hébreux de se nourrir d'aucun animal qui ne ruminât, et n'eût les ongles fendus (*Lev. xi*). Selon les interprètes de l'Écriture, *le ruminer*, dans le sens mystique, signifie la sagesse, et *les ongles fendus*, l'action. Appliquant cette image à la doctrine développée par lui dans son livre *De Monarchiâ*, Dante dit que le Pasteur qui précède, le Pape, dont la fonction est la plus noble, peut *ruminer*, c'est-à-dire préparer l'aliment spirituel pour le corps de la République chrétienne, mais qu'il n'a pas *les ongles fendus*, ou le pouvoir temporel, lequel appartient à l'Empereur." (Lamennais.)

tures, and wrote treatises on canonical law, but did not divide the temporal power from the spiritual, but rather confounded the two.

Marco then proceeds, from the above premises, to infer the conclusion which he had been gradually developing, *viz.*: that the wickedness of the Shepherd is the principal cause of the perversion of the world.

The Papacy becomes a temporal and worldly power, seeking after worldly good, and clergy and laity alike follow its example.

Per che la gente, che sua guida vede 100

Pure a quel ben \* ferire ond' ell' è ghiotta,

Dì quel sì pasce, e più oltre non chiede.

Ben puoi veder † che la mala condotta

È la cagion che il mondo ha fatto reo,

E non natura che in voi sia corrotta. 105

On this account the people, who see their guide aiming only at those (temporal) goods for which they are eager, feed (in their turn) on the same, and ask for nothing further. Well canst thou perceive that evil governance is the cause that has made the world guilty, and not that nature is corrupt in you.

What Marco would say is: "From what I have set forth, you can now recognise that the cause of the world being so empty of virtue, and so charged with vice,

\* *quel ben*: This means earthly possessions. In some old French satirical verses the following lines (quoted by Longfellow) occur:—

"Au temps passé du siècle d'or,

Crosse de bois, évêque d'or;

Maintenant changent les lois,

Crosse d'or, évêque de bois."

† *puoi veder*: Compare *Isaiah* lvi, 11: "They are shepherds that cannot understand: they all look to their own way, every one for his gain, from his quarter." And *Jer.* i, 6: "My people hath been lost sheep: their shepherds have caused them to go astray, they have turned them away on the mountains."

cannot be attributed either to the influence of the planets or to the corruption of human nature, but to the evil guidance, and bad government of the world."

Marco now gives a kind of retrospect of the early Empire, of which Dante also speaks (*Convito*, iv, 6) as a golden age. Perhaps the period of the Antonines is meant, when the Emperor ruled righteously in temporal things, and the successor of St. Peter exercised an independent authority over the Church in spiritual things. But the endowment of the Church of Rome by Constantine had spoiled everything.

Soleva Roma, che il buon mondo feo,\*  
Due Soli † aver, che l' una e l' altra strada

---

\* *Roma, che il buon mondo feo*: Compare *Conv.* iv, 5, ll. 16-32: "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 disformata, eletto fu in quell' altissimo e congiuntissimo Concistoro 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."

† *Due Soli*, etc.: This, which is the leading theory (says *Philalethes*) in Dante's political system, he brings out very forcibly in the following passage in the *De Monarchia*, iii, 16, ll. 14-82: "Ad hujus autem intelligentiam sciendum quod homo solus in entibus tenet medium corruptibilem et incorruptibilem; propter quod recte a philosophis adsimilatur horizonti, qui est medium duorum hemisphaeriorum. Nam homo, si consideretur secundum utramque partem essentialem, scilicet animam et corpus: corruptibilis est, si consideretur tantum secundum unam, scilicet animam, incorruptibilis est. Propter quod bene Philosophus inquit de ipsa, prout incorruptibilis est, in secundo de Anima, quum dixit: 'Et solum hoc contingit separari, tanquam perpetuum, a corruptibili.' Si ergo homo medium quoddam est corruptibilem, et incorruptibilem, quum omne medium sapiat naturam extremorum: necesse est hominem sapere utramque naturam. Et quum omnis natura ad ultimum quendam finem ordinetur, consequitur ut hominis

Facean vedere,\* e del mondo e di Deo.

Rome, which made the world good (*i.e.* reformed it) was used to have two Suns, that pointed out the one and the other way, the (Emperor) that of the world, and (the Pope) that of God.

Marco then goes on to show that it is the cupidity and ambition of the Shepherd that has destroyed this har-

---

duplex finis existat, ut sicut inter omnia entia solus incorruptibilitatem et corruptibilitatem participat; sic solus inter omnia entia in duo ultima ordinetur: quorum alterum sit finis ejus, prout corruptibilis est; alterum vero, prout corruptibilis. Duos igitur fines Providentia illa enarrabilis homini proposuit intendendos; beatitudinem scilicet hujus vitæ, quæ in operatione propriæ virtutis consistit, et per terrestrem Paradisum figuratur; et beatitudinem vitæ æternæ, quæ consistit in fruitione divini aspectus ad quam propria virtus ascendere non potest, nisi lumine divino adiuta, quæ per Paradisum cœlestem intelligi datur. Ad has quidem beatitudines, velut ad diversas conclusiones, per diversa media venire oportet. Nam ad primam per philosophica documenta venimus, dummodo illa sequamur, secundum virtutes morales et intellectuales operando. Ad secundam vero per documenta spiritualia, quæ humanam rationem transcendunt, dummodo illa sequamur secundum virtutes theologicas operando, Fidem, Spem scilicet et Caritatem. Has igitur conclusiones et media (licet ostensa sint nobis hæc ab humana ratione, quæ per philosophos tota nobis innotuit; hæc a Spiritu Sancto, qui per Prophetas et Hagiographos, qui per co-æternum sibi Dei Filium Jesum Christum, et per ejus discipulos, supernaturalem veritatem ac nobis necessariam revelavit) humana cupiditas postergaret, nisi homines tamquam equi, sua bestialitate vagantes, in campo et freno compescerentur in via. Propter quod opus fuit homini duplici directivo, secundum duplicem finem: scilicet summo Pontifice, qui secundum revelata humanum genus perduceret ad vitam æternam: et Imperatore, qui secundum philosophica documenta genus humanum ad temporalem felicitatem dirigeret."

\* *l' una e l' altra strada Facean vedere*: The two powers worked hand in hand for the public weal, and Benvenuto says this was the case when Constantine was Emperor and Sylvester Pope; when Justinian was Emperor and Agapitus Pope; when Charlemagne was Emperor and Adrian Pope. On this Gioberti remarks in his commentary: "What a mind must Dante have had, to rise up as he does to ideas that were in later times developed by Bossuet, in an age when a contrary opinion prevailed everywhere!"

mony, for one person cannot well administer two offices so dissimilar.

L' un l' altro ha spento ; ed è giunta la spada  
 Col pastorale, e l' un con l' altro insieme 110  
 Per viva forza mal convien che vada ;  
 Perocchè, giunti, l' un l' altro non teme.  
 Se non mi credi, pon mente alla spiga,  
 Ch' ogni erba si conosce per lo seme.

The one has quenched the other ; and the sword is joined to the crozier, and the two together must of necessity go ill ; for when joined, the one no longer fears the other. If thou dost not believe me, consider the full grown ear of corn, for every plant is known by its seed.

The last line is from St. Luke vi, 44. Marco means that, if Dante wants to know the cause of the world going astray, he will find it in the confusion of the two powers, and let him look at the bad habits that are the fruit of a disordered civil government. From the strife between the Pope and the Emperor Frederick II, Lombardy, the flower of Italy, was nearly annihilated.

*Division IV.*—In confirmation of what he has said before, Marco now goes on to describe the great change that has come over Lombardy, which, in consequence of the above-mentioned strife between Pope and Emperor, has lost all its advantages, both spiritual and temporal. The Pope was Gregory the Ninth, the Emperor was Frederick the Second.\*

---

\*The dissension and war between these two potentates is related in stately diction by Dean Milman (*History of Latin Christianity*, London, 1855, 6 vols. 8vo, book x, ch. iii, vol. iv, pp. 312-321). The whole of this passage, too long to quote here, should be studied. Dean Plumtre remarks that, "Dante's retro-

In sul paese ch' Adice e Po riga	115
Solea valore e cortesia trovarsi,	
Prima che Federico avesse briga :	
Or può sicuramente indi passarsi	
Per qualunque lasciasse per vergogna	
Di ragionar coi buoni, o d' appressarsi.	120

In that land which the Adige and the Po water, valour and courtesy were wont to be found, before that Frederick had his conflict. Now it can be traversed in security by any one, who from sense of shame, would abstain from speaking with good men or (even) approaching them.

Meaning, that whoever would feel ashamed, because himself bad, to converse with good and courteous folk, can safely go through Lombardy from end to end, for now he will not find any good men left there. Benvenuto relates several anecdotes illustrating Marco's pungent and ready wit, and says that, having applied to the people of Lombardy a general rule of unworthiness, he next, by way of a sop to their feelings, makes a special exception: for he observes that in these two provinces there do still survive three worthy men, who retain some of the old-fashioned virtue and courtesy.

---

spect of the history of the previous century is an induction, proving his position. Lombardy, Romagna, and the Marca Trevigiana, described after Dante's manner (*Purg.* xiv, 92; *Inf.* xviii, 61), by their rivers, had, in the good old days of the emperors, from Barbarossa onwards, presented bright examples of a chivalrous life. All had been ruined by the long conflict of Frederick II with Honorius III, Gregory IX, and Innocent IV, and in that long conflict, each party, the Popes pre-eminently, had usurped an authority which belonged to the other." At the present time so few men of virtue and respectability are left there, that a wicked man, blushing for his own guilt, and wishing to avoid any communication with virtuous persons, could pass through the whole country without fear of encountering one.



Ben v' èn \* tre vecchi ancora, in cui rampogna  
 L' antica età la nuova, e par lor tardo  
 Che Dio a miglior vita li ripogna; †  
 Corrado da Palazzo, ‡ e il buon Gherardo, §  
 E Guido da Castel, || che me' si noma  
 Francescamente il semplice Lombardo. 125

\* *v' èn*: See Nannucci (*Analisi Critica*, p. 444): "*Eno, en, enno*. Dalle terze singolari nascendo con la giunta di un *No* le terze plurali, come abbiamo notato a *seno*, n. 37, così dalla terza singolare *è* si ha secondo la regola la terza plurale *eno*, e per iscorcio *en*." Compare Lapo Gianni (in Nannucci's *Manuale della Letteratura della Lingua Italiana*, vol. i, p. 250):—

"E vederai, meraviglia sovrana,  
 Com' en formate angeliche bellezze."

And *Par.* xv, 76-78:—

"Perocchè il Sol, che v' allumò ed arse  
 Col caldo e con la luce, èn sì iguali,  
 Che tutte simiglianze sono scarse."

Nannucci adds: "*Eno* è dunque voce originale e regolare, e non usata per la rima, come suppongono gl' interpreti delle vecchie carte. Quindi si fece *anno*, come *danno*, *stanno*, *fanno*, *vanno*, *dano*, *stano*, *fano*, *vano*, etc." My old friend Nannucci always fiercely opposed the idea, which he treated with the greatest contempt, that Dante could possibly require to alter a word for the sake of rhyme.

† *a miglior vita li ripogna*: "*scilicet, vitæ futuræ, quasi dicat: mors videtur eis tarda. Et loquitur hyperbolice. Vel dic, quod optant reponi [i.e. to be called away] ad meliorem vitam, idest virtuosiorum, quam sit vita modernorum.*" (Benvenuto.)

‡ *Corrado da Palazzo*: Benvenuto relates: "*Corrado da Palazzo* was a noble of the State of Brescia, of whose bravery I have heard, that when he once bore the standard of his country in battle, though his hands had been cut off, he hugged the standard with his stumps until he died." He was Captain of the people at Florence in 1279. The English reader will remember Widdrington in the Ballad of Chevy Chace.

§ *Gherardo*, of the noble house of Camino, was a soldier and lord of Treviso, a principality always held by his family. He was kind, humane, courteous, liberal, and a friend of good men, and surnamed *the good*.

|| *Guido da Castello* was of the family of the Roberti of Reggio, of which there were three branches, namely, the Roberti di Tripoli, the Roberti di Furno, and the Roberti da Castello. He flourished at Reggio in the time of Dante, when that State was in great prosperity, and was governed liberally. He was a prudent

There are indeed three old men still left, in whom the antique age seems to reprove the new, and to them it appears late ere God put them back to the better life; Corrado da Palazzo, and the good Gherardo, and Guido da Castello, who is better named after the French fashion, the honest Lombard.

At this point Marco, in concluding his long speech, teaches Dante what answer he ought to make in the future to any one who should question him on this great matter.

Di\* oggimai che la Chiesa di Roma,  
Per confondere in sè due reggimenti,  
Cade nel fango, e sè brutta e la soma."—

Say thou from this day forward that the Church of Rome, from confounding in itself two governments, falls into the mire, and befouls both itself and its charge."

Dante, it must be positively asserted, was a perfectly faithful and devoted son of the Church of Rome.

---

and upright man, beloved and honoured, and wise in counsel. His liberality was great, and Dante himself experienced it, having been received into his house with much honour. As to his being called *semplice Lombardo*, some persons have tried to explain that, on account of his great courtesy, his fame extended to France, and he was called the simple Lombard. "But that," says Benvenuto, "is absurd, for you must know that the French call all Italians Lombards, and hold them to be uncommonly sharp; and therefore Marco says well that, in the French mode of speaking, he would properly be called merely a Lombard." Compare *Purg.* vii, 130, "il re della semplice vita."

\*Di': Scartazzini paraphrases this: "Do thou then conclude that the Church of Rome, by confounding in itself the two powers, temporal and spiritual, casts into the mire and pollutes, both itself and its charge, namely, both forms of government." Compare *De Vulg. Elog.* ii, 4, ll. 29-35: "Ante omnia ergo dicimus, unumquemque debere materiæ pondus proprii humeris excipere æquale, re forte humerorum nimio gravatam virtutem in cœnum cœpitare necesse sit. Hoc est quod magister noster Horatius præcipit, cum in principio *Poeticæ* 'Sumite materiam,' etc. dicit."

Let it be remembered that he never sought to substitute any other religion in her place, and would have placed in Hell, among the Heretics in the fiery tombs of the city of Dis, any one who should have attempted to do so, but he was an uncompromising foe to her temporal power, which excited the ambition of the clerical hierarchy; and of her worldly possessions, which, by stimulating the cupidity of the priesthood, destroyed their purity of mind, and unfitted them for their sacred office.

He goes on to confirm Marco's words by the authority of Holy Scripture; but he has noticed with some curiosity, that while Marco has given to Conrad and Guido their family names, he has, in the case of Gherardo, only spoken of him by his Christian name. He asks who he is.

—“O Marco mio,”—diss' io,—“bene argomenti;                   130  
     Ed or discerno perchè da retaggio \*  
     Li figli di Levì furono esenti:  
 Ma qual Gherardo è quel che tu per saggio  
     Di' ch' è rimasto della gente spenta,  
     In rimproverio del secol selvaggio ?”—                   135

“O my Marco,” said I, “thou reasonest well; and now I perceive why the sons of Levi were debarred from inheriting: but what Gherardo is it who thou sayest has remained an ensample of an extinct generation, as a reproof to this savage age?”

---

\* *da retaggio*, or, *dal retaggio*: see *Numbers* xviii, 20, and *Joshua* xiii, 14. Dante can now comprehend, on account of the evil arising from churchmen being invested with temporal power, why God had forbidden the Levites to have an inheritance like the other tribes, and left them to depend for all except their dwellings on the tithes and offerings of the people. The Christian priesthood ought to have followed their example. See *Purg.* xix, 115; *Mon.* iii, 10.

Marco answers Dante's question, but Benvenuto owns that he feels a doubt as to Marco's meaning, when he declares that he does not know Gherardo by any other surname, for the family name of the Da Camino was famous, not only in Lombardy but throughout all Italy. And especially was Marco intimate with the family and the former head of it, Riccardo, father of Gherardo.\* Benvenuto thinks that this apparent want of knowledge was feigned for a double reason:— (1) that he (Dante) might mention Gherardo's extreme goodness, for he understood that Gherardo ought to be more celebrated for his goodness than from the distinction of the noble family of Da Camino; and (2) that he might have an opportunity of censuring the memory of Gherardo's daughter Gaja, who was unfortunately but too well known as *mulier vere gaia et vana; et Tarvisina tota amorosa*; and as though Marco would say: "Neither do his noble blood, or his private virtues, render him so celebrated as does the unfortunate notoriety of his daughter."

---

\* Benvenuto relates how Marco on one occasion, having been taken prisoner, and an immense ransom demanded for his liberation, sent a messenger to Riccardo da Camino, Lord of Treviso, begging him not to let him die in prison. Riccardo, feeling real pity for the straits in which his friend found himself, wrote at once to several great princes in Lombardy, at whose courts Marco had been a frequent and welcome guest, in order that they might confer with him as to the best means of effecting his liberation. Marco was very indignant on hearing this, and sent off another messenger to inform Riccardo da Camino that he would rather die in captivity than become a slave so often, and to so many people (*servus tot et tantorum*). Riccardo, struck with shame, and cursing his own meanness, at once, by himself, paid the ransom in full, and set Marco at liberty. Marco could hardly, therefore, have spoken literally when he said: "Per altro soprannome io nol conosco." He must have said it in a figurative sense.

Finally, Marco, having bid the Poets God-speed, points out to them the pure light into which they are about to pass, whereas he himself must still remain in the black smoke.

—“O tuo parlar m' inganna o e' mi tenta,”—  
 Rispose a me;—“chè, parlandomi Tosco,  
 Par che del buon Gherardo nulla senta.  
 Per altro soprannome io nol conosco,  
 S' io nol togliessi da sua figlia Gaia. 140  
 Dio sia con voi, chè più non vegno vosco.  
 Vedi l' albòr \* che per lo fummo raia, †  
 Già biancheggiare, e me convien partirmi,  
 (L' Angelo è ivi), prima ch' io gli appaia.”—  
 Così tornò, e più non volle udirmi. 145

“Either thy words deceive me,” he answered me, “or they are meant to prove me (*i.e.* to see if I know more about him), for, addressing me (as thou dost) in Tuscan, it would seem as though thou hast no knowledge of the good Gherardo. I know him by no other name added, unless I were to take it from his daughter Gaia. May God be with you, for I bear you company no farther. Behold the effulgence that

\* *l' albòr*: Scartazzini aptly points out that we are not to translate this, as so many have done, the whitening of the dawn, or the Sun's rays penetrating through the smoke. It is the radiance of the Angel of Peace who is near at hand, and his shining brightness is seen through the darkness, not so the rays of the Sun. The words *L' Angelo è ivi* are the explanation of the cause. Dante describes the more excessive brilliancy of this radiance, when, in the next Canto, the Poets approach the Angel. See *Purg.* xvii, 44, 45:—

“un lume il volto mi percosse,  
 Maggiore assai che quel ch' è in nostr' uso.”

† *raia* for *raggia*: Compare *Par.* xv, 55-57:—

“Tu credi che a me tuo pensier mei  
 Da quel ch' è primo, così come raia  
 Dall' un, se si conosce, il cinque e il sei.”

And *Par.* xxix, 136:—

“La prima luce che tutta la raia.”

radiates through the smoke is already whitening, and I must needs away—the Angel is there—before I be seen by him." So he turned back, and would not hear me more.

Marco has to turn back into the smoke before the appearance of the Angel. He can only present himself before him when his penance shall have been completed. Compare this departure of Marco from the Poets in this passage with that of Brunetto Latini (*Inf.* xv, 115-118).

END OF CANTO XVI.

## CANTO XVII.

THE THIRD CORNICE—ANGER (CONCLUDED)—EXIT FROM THE SMOKE—EXAMPLES OF THE PUNISHMENT OF ANGER—THE ANGEL OF PEACE—ASCENT TO THE FOURTH CORNICE—THE SECOND NIGHT IN PURGATORY—LOVE, ACCORDING TO VIRGIL, THE ROOT OF ALL SIN AS WELL AS OF ALL VIRTUE.

IN the last Canto Dante defined the purgation of Anger in general. He now speaks of the remedial measures for curbing fierce anger, and treats of *Accidia*, a word for which there is no good modern English equivalent. Perhaps "spiritual sloth" best expresses its meaning, but as we have the authority of Chaucer for "*Accidie*," we can use that word.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into three parts.

*In the First Division*, from ver. 1 to ver. 39, Dante points out what is the best curb to Anger.

*In the Second Division*, from ver. 40 to ver. 75, he relates how the Angel of Peace purified him from the sin of Anger, and showed him the way up to the Fourth Cornice, in which *Accidie* is chastened.

*In the Third Division*, from ver. 76 to ver. 139, before speaking of *Accidie*, Dante proceeds, with consummate skill, to enquire into the source and origin of it, and of the other capital sins.

*Division I.*—Before teaching how to put checks upon Anger, Dante relates that, when he was issuing from

the smoky cloud which enveloped the Angry, the setting Sun appeared. He seems to say: "Shall I tell you, in language that you can understand, how I issued from that pitchy smoke, and came forth into the luminous air? Imagine, at some time or other, when crossing the Alps or Apennines, a cloud has covered you, so that you could see nothing, and then, after a while, as the cloud gets rarified by the Sun, you begin to recover the sight of things around, but only in the feeble and imperfect way that a mole is supposed to do."

"It is well here to remember," says Benvenuto, "that although there are divers Alps in different parts of the world, yet our Poet is probably speaking of the Apennine Alps, and of that part of them which lies between Bologna and Florence, where he had met with such an experience as he describes." Benvenuto adds that he himself remembered this passage, when a cloud enveloped him in the same way on the Apennines.

Ricorditi, lettor, se mai nell' alpe \*  
Ti colse nebbia,† per la qual vedessi

---

\* *nell' alpe*: The *Voc. della Crusca*, on the word *alpe*, says: "Montagna altissima; propriamente quella che fascia l' Italia da Tramontana (to the North)"; and § 3, "qualsivoglia montagna generalmente." It must be remembered that *alpe* here is in the singular. Landino specifically reminds us that *nell' alpe* does not necessarily mean "on the Alps": "Alpi propriamente sono i monti che dividono Italia de la Francia. Ma da questi tutti gli alti monti in lingua toscana (ma non in latino) sono detti alpi."

† *Ti colse nebbia*: Compare Homer (*Iliad*, iii, 10-15, Lord Derby's translation):—

"As when the south wind o'er the mountain tops  
Spreads a thick veil of mist, the shepherd's bane,  
And friendly to the nightly thief alone,  
That a stone's throw the range of vision bounds;  
So rose the dust-cloud, as in serried ranks  
With rapid step they mov'd across the plain."



Non altrimenti che per pelle talpe; \*  
 Come, quando i vapori umidi e spessi  
 A diradar † cominciansi, la spera 5  
 Del sol debilmente entra per essi;  
 E fia la tua imagine leggièra ‡  
 In giugnere a veder com' io rividi  
 Lo sole in pria, che già nel corcare era.  
 Sì, § pareggiando i mici co' passi fidi 10  
 Del mio Maestro, uscii fuor di tal nube  
 Ai raggi, morti già nei bassi lidi.

Recall to mind, Reader, if ever on some lofty mountain a mist has overtaken thee, through which thou couldst not see otherwise than does the mole through

\* *talpe*: Benvenuto requests his readers to "Take note that the mole appearing to see is shown in two ways. *First*, because it has eyes, and Nature creates nothing in vain; and *secondly*, because we know that the mole dies as soon as it beholds the light; so it is made to see feebly, because a beneficent and foreseeing Nature has given it this membrane over its eyes, that they may not be injured, seeing that it lives entirely underground." And he adds that the angry man in the heat of passion is very like a mole. It is somewhat remarkable that, in the Italian language, there is no well-recognised word signifying a rat, as distinguished from a mouse. The more usual way is to say *sorcio* for mouse, and *topo* for rat, but as a matter of fact both words, as well as the old Italian *ratto*, all mean mouse. At Florence, where moles are not so often seen, it is the popular practice to speak of rats as *talpi*. There was once an amusing dispute on this subject between my two friends, the late Sir James Lacaita and Count Ugo Balzani. They agreed to refer it to the porter at the entrance to the *Accademia della Crusca*, and asked him what were those animals that ran about in the cellars, particularizing the size of an ordinary rat. "Ma Lor Signori intendono *talpi*," was the answer.

† *diradar*: This verb in the neuter signification, according to the *Voc. della Crusca*, has the force of *divenir rado*, to get thinner. Compare *Purg.* i, 121-123:—

"Quando noi fummo dove la rugiada  
 Pugna col sole, e per essere in parte  
 Dove adrezza, poco si dirada"; etc.

‡ *leggièra*: prompt, easy: "La tua imaginazione aiutata da questa similitudine sarà pronta a comprendere." (Venturi.)

§ *Sì* in this sentence means: "In this manner, *i.e.* in this faint, declining sun-light."

the membrane (of its eye); how when the humid and condensed vapours begin to dissipate themselves, the orb of the sun feebly penetrates through them; and (then) thy imagination will be prompt in coming to perceive how I at first saw the Sun again, which was at the point of setting. Thus, measuring my steps by the trusty ones of my Master, I came forth out of that cloud into the (faint) sunbeams, which on the lower slopes had already expired.

Dr. Moore (*Time References*, p. 100) puts the picture very clearly before us: "As they are leaving the Third Cornice, the Sun is on the point of setting, and in the lower valleys his light had already departed. As they ascend to the Fourth Cornice, where *Accidia*, or Sloth, is punished, twilight has come on, the last light in the sky is rapidly fading, and the stars are beginning to appear here and there. It was the sunset of Easter Monday, about 6.30 p.m."

When Dante speaks of Virgil's steps being trusty, we must remember that he was walking with his hand resting upon his Master's shoulder (*See xvi, 9*).

In the next six lines Dante, having himself a powerful fancy, invokes the imaginative powers, asking them whence comes their motive force.

O immaginativa,\* che ne rube †

\* *immaginativa*: i.e. the imaginative power of fantasy. Compare St. Thom. Aquin. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. lxxviii, art. 4), "Ad harum autem formarum retentionem aut conservationem ordinatur *phantasia*, sive *imaginatio* quæ idem sunt; est enim *phantasia*, sive *imaginatio* quasi thesaurus quidam formarum per sensum acceptarum." And again (pars i, qu. lxxxiv, art. 6), "Procul dubio oportet . . . in vi imaginativa ponere non solum potentiam passivam, sed etiam activam."

† *che ne rube*: Benvenuto relates the following anecdote which may also be found in Boccaccio's *Vita di Dante*: "It happened once to him (Dante) in the city of Siena that he was shown a book of great reputation, and which he had never seen before, and as he



Or, according to Benvenuto: "By the Divine will, which transmits the light itself to man without the intermediation of the heavens; as though he would say: Such powers of imagination are set in motion by light from heaven formed spontaneously or transmitted from God."

Dante now demonstrates by three examples, how, in a kind of mystic imagination, he fancied he saw three effects of anger, one bad, another worse, and the third worst of all.

Dell' empiezza \* di lei, che mutò forma  
 Nell' uccel che a cantar più si diletta, 20  
 Nell' imagine mia apparve l' orma: †  
 E qui fu la mia mente sì ristretta ‡  
 Dentro da sè, che di fuor non venia  
 Cosa che fosse allor da lei ricetta.

Of the cruelty of her (Philomela), who changed her form into (that of) the bird that most delights in singing (the nightingale), there appeared the outline in my imagination. And hereupon was my mind so shut up within itself, that whatever thing was received by it, did not come from without.

\* *empiezza*: Scartazzini says *empiezza* means cruelty, and quotes the following words from Jacopo della Lana: "Empiezza è una specie pestifera d'iracondia." He adds that it is all the worse when perpetrated of malice aforethought. Compare *Inf.* x, 83, 84, where Farinata degli Uberti asks Dante why the Florentines persecute his family with such persistent malice, in which passage *empio* is used in the sense of "cruel."

"Dimmi perchè quel popolo è sì empio  
 Incontro a' miei in ciascuna sua legge."

† *orma*: "Questa imagine *orma dell' empiezza di Filomela* (Progne) dipinta nella fantasia invece di dire *l' orma di Filomela* (Progne) *empia*, è tutta poetica, e ci fa imaginare l' imagine di Dante e Filomela (Progne) in atto tale, che l' empietà si conosca nella sua fisionomia." (Gioberti.)

‡ *mente sì ristretta*: Compare *Purg.* iii, 12, 13:—

"La mente mia, che prima era ristretta,  
 Lo intento rallargò."

Commentators have differed considerably as to which of the two sisters, after the cruel vengeance of one or the other of them upon Tereus, is here meant; Procne, whom Jupiter changed into a swallow, or Philomela who became a nightingale.

Dante now turns his thoughts to a second instance of Anger that is worse than that just alluded to; because it is one which shows how there are times when a man can be so inflamed with anger, on account of a slight injury done him by one, that he will set his mind to work the destruction of a large number of innocent persons.

Haman, because Mordecai omitted to do homage to him, compassed the death of the whole of the Jews that were in Persia.

Poi piove * dentro all' alta fantasia †	25
Un crocifisso ‡ dispettoso e fiero	
Nella sua vista, e cotal si moria.	
Intorno ad esso era il grande Assuero,	
Ester sua sposa e il giusto Mardocheo,	
Che fu al dire ed al far così intero.§	30

\* *piove*: As rain descends from heaven, so did these visions come down from on high, and enter into Dante's conceptions. *Piovere* is frequently used by Dante in the sense of something coming down from heaven, whether some attribute of God, or, as in *Inf.* viii, 83, the rebellious Angels, turned into Demons, after having been expelled from Heaven.

† *alta fantasia*: Compare *Par.* xxxiii, 142:—

"All' alta fantasia qui mancò possa."

Scartazzini observes that Dante calls his phantasy elevated, because it was detached from the senses, and from everything earthly, and soared up to Heaven.

‡ *crocifisso*: According to the English version Haman was hanged; the *Vulgate* has: *suspensus . . . in patibulo*. It is probable that he was empaled.

§ *il giusto Mardocheo, Che fu . . . così intero*: Notwithstanding Dante's panegyric of Mordecai, I prefer Bishop Wordsworth's

Then there descended into my elevated phantasy one crucified (Haman), contemptuous and haughty in his look, and with that demeanour (*cotal*) was he dying. Around him were the great Ahasuerus, Esther his consort, and the righteous Mordecai, who was of such integrity both in word and deed.

We now come to the third example, that of a self-destroyer from Wrath. Benvenuto considers this is an example of a sin of the worst kind. The story is that of Amata, wife of King Latinus; she hanged herself in anger and despair because she thought Turnus had been slain, to whom her daughter Lavinia was betrothed.

E come questa imagine rompeo  
 Sè per sè stessa, a guisa d' una bulla \*  
 Cui manca l' acqua sotto qual si feo;  
 Surse in mia visione una fanciulla, †  
 Piangendo forte, e diceva:—"O regina, 35  
 Perchè per ira hai voluto esser nulla?  
 Ancisa t' hai per non perder Lavina;  
 Or m' hai perduta; io son essa che lutto,  
 Madre, alla tua pria ch' all' altrui ruina."—

And as this image broke up of itself, after the manner of a bubble, when the water under which it was

---

view (*Holy Bible*; by Wordsworth, 1872), which is that there is no single person in the Book of Esther of any very lofty elevated character, or of a devout mind. The Bishop says that the Book of Esther must be read in connection with those of Ezra and Nehemiah. The devout Jews had all departed to undergo privations and persecutions while rebuilding Jerusalem. Those who sought their own ease and comfort stayed in Persia, and among these were Mordecai and Esther.

\* *bullà*: for *bolla*. Compare Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, act i, scene 3:—

"The earth hath bubbles, as the water has,  
 And these are of them."

† *fanciulla*: The death of Queen Amata is related in Virgil's *Æneid*, iii, 595-607, but space forbids my quoting it in full.

formed fails it; there uprose in my vision a young maiden weeping bitterly, and saying: "O Queen, why through wrath hast thou chosen to be naught? Thou hast slain thyself so as not to lose (me) Lavinia; now thou hast lost me. I am the one, Mother, that mourns thy destruction, before that of another."

By *altrui*, Lavinia means Turnus, who had not yet been slain by Æneas, as Amata thought was the case. It was not until after Amata's death that Æneas slew Turnus.\*

Benvenuto says Virgil adapted this story from one in Homer's *Odyssey*, where Anticlea appears to her son Ulysses in Hades, and tells him that she had hung herself, thinking that she had lost him. In his *Epistle to the Emperor Henry VII*, Dante refers to this episode as a warning against yielding to selfish passions, instead of accepting apparent evil for the sake of a greater good.

*Division II.*—Dante now describes the appearance of an Angel, whom we shall find to be the Angel of

---

\* Scartazzini points out that, after having beheld three visions of sweet gentleness (*Purg.* xv, 85-114), Dante sees by way of contrast as many visions of dire wrath. Perez (*I Sette Cerchi*, p. 164) has the following: "Filomela uccide: Amano è ucciso: Amata si uccide. Filomela uccide per gustare ne' suoi pensieri la dolcezza della vendetta, e perde la facoltà de' pensieri, la ragione; Amano, volendo perdere altrui, perde sè stesso; Amata si uccide per non perder Lavinia, e la perde per sempre: sforzi sempre infelici dell' ira. Di Filomela fan vendetta i Celesti: di Amano fan vendetta gli uomini: di Amata fa vendetta ella stessa: tre vendette che sovente s' uniscono insieme. Così il volto di due regie donne, orribilmente dall' ira trasformato, mette in orrore al sesso gentile una passione che cancella dalle sembianze umane ogni traccia di bellezza; e l' ira di un regio ministro che cade nei lacci tesi ad altrui, ira politica e religiosa insieme, ammonisce tutti coloro che della patria e della religione fanno instrumento d' ire e vendette superbe."

Peace, who purifies him from the sin of Anger, and directs him to the stairway leading up to the next Cornice.

Before proceeding to speak of other matters, Dante relates how he was suddenly roused from his ecstatic trance, and he compares his own case to that of a man fast asleep in his room, on whose face the full rays of the Sun strike through the window, and cause him to awake with a great start of fear; so now did the brilliancy of the Angel awake Dante from his vision, and strike him with awe.

Come si frange il sonno, ove di butto\* 40  
 Nuova luce percote il viso chiuso,  
 Che fratto guizza pria che moia tutto; †  
 Così l'immaginar mio cadde giuso,  
 Tosto ch'un lume il volto mi percosse, ‡  
 Maggiore assai che quel ch'è in nostr' uso. 45

\* *di butto* : Compare *Inf.* xxiv, 104, 105 :—

"La polver si raccolse per sè stessa,  
 E in quel medesimo ritorndò di butto."

† *guizza pria che moia tutto* : On this Lombardi says: "siccome il pesce, tratto fuor d'acqua, guizza prima di morire, così per catacresi appella *guizzare* quello sforzo che l'interrotto sonno fa di rimettersi, prima che del tutto svanisca." Biagioli remarks that in *Par.* xxvi, 70-75, one can extract the reason of what is said in the passage we are discussing:—

"E come a lume acuto si dissonna  
 Per lo spirto visivo che ricorre  
 Allo splendor che va di gonna in gonna,  
 E lo svegliato ciò che vede abborre,  
 Sì nescia è la sua subita vigilia,  
 Fin che l'estimativa nol soccorre;" etc.

*l'estimativa* there means the faculty of judgment.

‡ *un lume il volto mi percosse*, et seq. : We learn from Canto xvi, 144, that the sudden light which blazed into Dante's eyes was from the radiant form of the Angel. Compare *Purg.* viii, 36:—

"Come virtù che al troppo si confonda."

And Milton (*Par. Lost*, iii, 380):—

"Dark with excessive bright thy skirts appear."

And (*Par. Lost*, i, 593):—



As sleep is broken, when on a sudden a new light strikes upon the closed eyes, and broken, struggles ere it wholly fades away; so did my illusion vanish (*lit.* fall down), so soon as there smote upon my face a light far exceeding the one to which we are accustomed (*i.e.* the Sun).

The radiance of the Angel is so dazzling, that although Dante eagerly longs to know whose is the voice he hears inviting him to approach, his mortal eye is powerless before it, as on earth it would be to gaze on the Sun.

Io mi volgea per vedere ov' io fosse,  
 Quand' una voce \* disse :—" Qui si monta : "—  
 Che da ogni altro intento mi rimosse ;  
 E fece la mia voglia tanto pronta  
 Di riguardar chi era che parlava, 50  
 Che mai non posa, se non si raffronta. †  
 Ma come al sol, che nostra vista grava,  
 E per soperchio sua figura vela,  
 Così la mia virtù quivi mancava.

"The excess of glory obscured."

And Moore in the *National Air* beginning, "Say, what shall be our sport to-day?"

"That, like the lark which sunward springs,  
 'Twas giddy with too much light."

\* *una voce*: "A Dante, che colla rapita immaginazione sta ancor fiso ne' miserabili fatti dell' ira, ferisce negli occhi una luce improvvisa; e mentre vinto e smarrito vien chiedendo a sè stesso dov' egli sia, alla luce s' aggiunge una voce, che invitandolo dolcemente a salire, gli fuga dall' anima ogni truce visione. È la luce e la voce dell' Angelo della Pace. Luce, che con sua vivezza può ben confondere e opprimere gli occhi di colui che esce appena dal fumo dell' ira; ma che presto, congiunta con una voce che pone sicurezza nel profondo dell' anima, schiara e afforza l' uomo nelle pacifiche vie ove prosperano i passi de' mansueti." (Perez, p. 167.)

† *Che mai non posa, se non si raffronta*: Many of the old Commentators attach a deeper signification to these words, especially Lana who interprets: "That voice sounded to me of such sweetness, that my mind will never more rest until I am able to hear it again face to face, that is, when this first life is ended."

I was turning round to see where I was, when a voice said: "Here is the ascent:" and this withdrew me from every other thought, and made my will, to behold who it was that was speaking, so eager, that never would it have ceased (longing), until it were brought face to face (with the being who had spoken). But as before the sun, which overpowers our sight, and from its excess (of light) conceals its form, so here did my power fail me.

The voice had caused an interruption of Dante's meditations on Anger, and had prepared him for further wonders. Just as the effulgence of the Angel surpassed all lights hitherto seen by Dante, so must the voice have sounded like no mortal voice, and hence his desire to behold the speaker.

At this point Virgil, seeing Dante's inability to distinguish the shining form which has addressed him, explains the cause of the radiant vision. Virgil himself is gifted with a sight more perfect and penetrating than that which Dante's human eyes can afford him.

—"Questi è divino spirito, che ne la\*  
Via d' andar su ne drizza senza prego,†  
E col suo lume sè medesimo cela. 55

\* *ne la*: for *nella*. Scartazzini says that in old Italian writing this form was used not necessarily for the purpose of a rhyme, but even in the middle of a line, and also in prose.

† *senza prego*: Upon true liberality as demonstrated by unasked for gifts, Dante writes in the *Convivio*, i, 8, ll. 116-128: "La terza cosa, nella quale si può notare la pronta liberalità, si è *dar non domandato*: perciocchè il domandato è da una parte non virtù, ma mercatanzia: perocchè quello ricevitore compera, tuttocchè 'l datore non venda; perchè dice Seneca (*De Benef.* ii, cap. 1, *Nulla res carius constat, quam quæ precibus emta est*). 'che nulla cosa più cara si compera, che quella dove e' prieghi si spendono.' Onde acciocchè nel dono sia pronta liberalità, e che essa si possa in esso notare, allora si conviene esser netto d'ogni atto di mercatanzia; e così conviene essere lo dono non domandato."

Si fa con noi, come l' uom si fa sego ; \*  
 Che quale aspetta prego, e l' uopo vede,  
 Malignamente già si mette al nego. †

60

"This <sup>†</sup> is a divine spirit, who unasked is directing us into the way to go up, and who conceals himself in his own light. He so deals with us, as a man does for himself; for whoever awaits the petition, and sees the need, is already setting himself evilly to deny it.

As though Virgil would say: "Just as man supplies his own needs without any one else asking him, so now does the Angel come spontaneously to us, and forestalls our petitions." And in this passage Benvenuto considers that Virgil censures (*arguit*) a common error of men, who, seeing their neighbour have need, although they wish to help him, yet expect and desire to be asked.

Virgil tells Dante that he ought to show his appreciation of the Angel's courtesy by at once moving forward.

Ora accordiamo a tanto invito il piede :  
 Procacciam di salir pria che s' abbui,  
 Chè poi non si poria, se il dì nun riede."—

Now let us make our feet accord unto so gracious an invitation; let us endeavour to ascend before it gets dark, for after, it would not be possible, until the day returns."

\* *sego* for *seco*. In all old Italian the interchange of *g* and *c* is frequent, e.g.: *preco* for *prego*; *laco* for *lago*; *draco* for *drago*; *figo* for *fico*; *siguro* for *sicuro*; *Gostanza* for *Costanza*; and in *Conv.* i, 8, l. 33: "li Tegni di Galieno," which Fraticelli's note says is "antica corruzione di Tecni, da τέχνη, Arte, titolo dato da Galeno ad un suo libro dell' arte medica." The word occurs in the Apocryphal *Canzone*, wrongly attributed to Dante, beginning *Giovene donna*, at st. 6:—

"Vattene, mia canzon, ch' io te ne prego,  
 Fra le person che volontier t' intenda,  
 E sì t' arresta di ragionar sego."

† *al nego*: See note above on "senza prego."



twilight has come on, the last light in the sky is rapidly fading, and the stars are beginning to appear here and there."

Già eran sopra noi tanto levati 70  
 Gli ultimi raggi \* che la notte segue,  
 Che le stelle apparivan da più lati.

Already were the last rays, upon which the night follows, so high above us, that the stars were shining forth on every side (*lit.* in many places).

At this point Dante begins to feel symptoms of fatigue, and laments that his strength is failing. The reason for this sudden weakness is the approach of night, which, according to the laws of Purgatory, impedes their further progress. (*Purg.* vii, 43-60.)

—“O virtù † mia, perchè sì ti dilegue?”—  
 Fra me stesso dicea, chè mi sentiva  
 La possa delle gambe posta in tregue. 75

“O my strength, why art thou thus melting away?”  
 I kept saying within myself, for I began to feel that the power of my legs had ceased for awhile (*lit.* had been placed in truce).

*Division III.*—In this Division is investigated the origin of Spiritual Sloth (*Accidie*), and also of the other sins chastised in Purgatory, not only those that have

\* *Gli ultimi raggi*: Tommaséo quotes the following remarks of the astronomer Antonelli: “*Ultimi*—Delicatissima l’osservazione, e comprova quanto profondo scrutatore dei fenomeni naturali fosse il nostro Poeta. Quando infatti ci troviamo sopra notevoli alture, e il sole, occultato al nostro occhio nonchè ai bassi piani, indora soltanto, e leggermente, le più elevate cime delle montagne, ad aria limpida e pura cominciano a vedersi in più punti del cielo le stelle di prima grandezza, alle quali non fa grave ostacolo quel candido velo, che dalla luce crepuscolare ancora rimane.”

† *virtù*: Tommaséo interprets this “*virtù* del piede, i.e. walking powers.” Scartazzini: “forza di muoversi.”

been already purged in the three first Cornices, *viz.* Pride, Envy and Anger, but also those in the three remaining Cornices, *viz.* Avarice, Gluttony and Self-Indulgence.

Dante first describes the spot where they passed the night. It was at the summit of the stairs, and on the boundary of the Fourth Cornice.

Benvenuto greatly admires the comparison Dante now makes: "As a ship is attached to the shore, where it can remain for a time before it succeeds in getting into the port, in which it can lie in perfect security, so here, the genius of Dante, which, in the opening words of the *Purgatorio*, he has likened to a bark, had fortified and fixed itself on the summit of the stairs for the night. This had already taken place in another spot on the previous evening,\* and will happen again on the following evening,† until he finally reaches the presence of God, in whom, as in a tranquil harbour, his mind, after its long voyage, may repose in peace."

Noi eravam dove più non saliva  
 La scala su, ed eravamo affissi,  
 Pur come nave ch' alla spiaggia arriva:  
 Ed io attesi un poco s' io udissi  
 Alcuna cosa nel nuovo girone; †

80

\* \* \* Colà, disse quell' ombra, ' n' anderemo,  
 Dove la costa face di sè grembo,  
 E quivi il nuovo giorno attenderemo."  
*Purg.* vii, 67-69.

† † E pria che in tutte le sue parti immense  
 Fosse orizzonte fatto d' un aspetto,  
 E notte avesse tutte sue dispense,  
 Ciascun di noi d' un grado fece letto;  
 Chè la natura del monte ci affranse  
 La possa di salir più che il diletto."  
*Purg.* xxvii, 70-75.

‡ *Alcuna cosa nel nuovo girone*: We may remember that Dante had heard sounds immediately on entering each of the two pre-

Poi mi volsi al Maestro mio, e dissi :

—“Dolce mio Padre, di', quale offensione  
Si purga qui nel giro dove semo ?  
Se i piè si stanno, non stea tuo sermone.”

We were (now) where the stairway ascended no further (*i.e.* at its summit), and were motionless, even as a ship when it reaches the shore: and a while I gave heed if I might hear anything in the new circle; then I turned me to my Master and said: “My beloved Father, tell me what offence is purged in this Cornice where we are? Even though our feet tarry, let not thy speech be stayed.”

Dante recollects that, during their enforced delay on the previous night, Sordello had turned the time to good account by pointing out to him the shades of the departed great in the flowery valley, and he is anxious now to discuss with Virgil some matter profitable for what lies before him.

Benvenuto remarks that our poet, with great art, proceeds to make a useful and necessary investigation, in which he gives a clear distinction of the whole of Purgatory through all its Cornices; just as we read, in *Inf.* xi, that he does of all the circles of Hell.

Virgil answers him:—

Ed egli a me:—“L' amor del bene,\* scemo

85

---

ceding Cornices. In the second he heard the voice of the Angel crying aloud, *Vinum non habent*, see Canto xiii, 25-30. In the third, he heard the spirits praying for peace and mercy (see Canto xvi, 16-18). In this new Cornice no sound falls upon his ears.

\* *L' amor del bene, scemo Di suo dover*: Cesari (*Bellezze*, vol. ii, p. 311) says: “Da queste parole apparisce quivi esser punita l' Accidia. . . . Qui Dante monta in cattedra, e mette mano ad una lezione di etica.” St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. lxiii, art. 2) defines *Accidia* thus: “Acedia verò est quædam tristitia quâ homo redditur tardus ad spirituales actus propter corporalem laborem, quæ dæmonibus non competit.” And (*Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. xxxv, art. 1), “Acedia ita deprimit

Di suo dover, quiritta si ristora ;  
Qui si ribatte il mal tardato remo : \*

And he to me : "The (mere) love of what is good, when lacking its proper duty (of activity in seeking after it) is atoned for in this very spot ; here is plied again the ill-belated oar.

We have in the above lines Dante's definition of *Accidie*.†

animum hominis, ut nihil ei agere libeat ; sicuti ea quæ sunt acida, etiam frigida sunt. Et ideo acedia importat quoddam tedium operandi."

\* *si ribatte il mal tardato remo* : Biagioli says that Dante has taken this figure from the cruel treatment that the unhappy galley-slaves experienced in his time. They were chained five to an oar, and were mercilessly beaten if unable to row fast enough. If the vessel got sunk or burnt, they were deliberately left to perish. In Massimo d' Azeglio's novel, *Niccolò de' Lapi*, cap. 14, in an account of a naval action of Andrea Doria, a terrible picture of this is given. Cesari (*Bellezze*, vol. ii, p. 311) : "Or il Poeta vuol accennare questa lentezza e nausea del ben operare, coll' imagine de' vogatori (*rowers*) ; i quali se il cottimo volga in là gli occhi, allentano il vogare e si pigliano alquanto di sosta."

† *Accidie* : See this word in the *New English Dictionary* . . . edited by James A. H. Murray, Oxford, 1884. "*Accidie*. Obs. Forms : *acci-de*, *accyde* ; *acci-die*, *accy-dye*, *accidyde*, *accydyde*. (O. Fr. *acci-de*, *aci-de*, O. Norm. Fr. *acci-die*, *aci-die* ; ad. med. L. *accidia*, corrupt. Of late Lat. *acēdia*, a Gr. ἀκηδία, heedlessness, torpor (in Cicero, *Att.* xii, 45) noun of state from ἀ, not, and κηδος, care, κηδομαι, I care, *lit.* non-caring state. *Acedia* became a favourite ecclesiastical word, applied primarily to the mental prostration of recluses, induced by fasting, and other physical causes ; afterwards the proper term for the 4th cardinal sin, sloth, sluggishness. (See Chaucer, *Persones Tale*, 603). Its Greek origin being forgotten, the word was variously 'derived' from *acidum*, sour (see *Caesarius* quoted in Du Cange and Roquefort '*Acide*' : Ennui, tristesse, dégoût : d' *acidum*), and from *accidere* to come upon one as an *accident* or *access*, whence the Med. Lat. corruption, *accidia*, and O. Fr. and Eng. *acci-de*, *acci-die*. The latter is Norman, the former Parisian ; the later Eng. accentuation was *a-ccidie*. With the restoration of Greek learning, the Latin became again *acedia*, whence a rare ACEDY



Benvenuto says that *accidia* is a defective love of the highest good, which we ought to seek for ardently. It is therefore a kind of negligence, a tepid, lukewarm condition, and, as it were, a contempt for acquiring

in 17th century." Sloth, torpor. Among a number of illustrations given in the *New Eng. Dict.*, I select two.

"Under accidie, þet ich cleopede slouhþe."

(*Ancren Riwle*, A.D. 1230.)

"A man that hath accydye or slouthe hath sorowe and angre the whyle that he knoweth that an other man doth wel." (Caxton, *Ordre of Chyualry*, 81, A.D. 1484.) Chaucer thus describes *Accidie* in *The Persones Tale* under the head of *De Accidia*: "After the sin of wrath, now wol I speke of the sinne of accidie, or slouth: for envie blindeth the herte of a man, and ire troubleth a man, and accidie maketh him hevvy, thoughtful and wrawe (*peevish*). Envie and ire maken bitternesse in herte, which bitternesse is mother of accidie, and benimeth him the love of alle goodnesse; than is accidie the anguish of a troubled herte. And Seint Augustine sayth: It is annoye of goodnesse and annoye of harme. Certes this is a damnable sinne, for it doth wrong to Jesu Crist, in as moche as it benimeth the service that men shulde do to Crist with all diligence. He doth all thing with annoye, and with wrawness, slakenesse, and excusation, with idleness and unlust. For which the book sayth: Accursed be he that doth the service of God negligently. Than is accidie enemie to every estate of man. . . . Now certes this foul sin of accidie is eke a ful gret enemy to the livelode of the body; for it ne hath no purveance agenst temporel necessitee; for it forsleutheth, forsluggeth, and destroieth all goods temporel by recchelesnesse." Dean Paget (*Life of Discipline, Introductory Essay*, pp. 21, 22) says of the above passage: "Such are the main points in Chaucer's wonderful delineation of the subtle, complex sin of accidie. In strength of drawing, in grasp of purpose, in moral earnestness, in vivid and disquieting penetration, it seems to the present writer more remarkable and suggestive than any other treatment of the subject which he has found; or equalled only by the significance of that brief passage, where the everlasting misery of those who wilfully and to the end have yielded themselves to this sin is told by Dante in the *Inferno*." There would seem to be a distinct difference between the penitent *accidiosi* in Purgatory, whose fault is a defective love of the highest good; and the Fifth Circle of Hell, who represent the sullen or sulky type of Anger (*πικροί*).

the desirable amount of goodness. Thus it is that the man, who rowed lazily during the day-time, finds himself obliged to beat the water with far greater exertion during the night with his oar, if he would regain what he has lost, and get safely and speedily into port; and in like manner, the man who, in his life-time, strove carelessly after the good, is compelled after death, to run diligently round this Fourth Cornice, as we shall read in the next Canto.

And now Virgil begins to discourse at considerable length on the origin and cause from which the seven principal sins are derived, and he says that Love is the cause of all (by love must be understood our inclinations, aspirations and longings). He evidently means that Pride, Envy and Anger arise from the love of evil against one's neighbour; *accidie*, or Sloth, from a tardy desire of discerning and acquiring the true good. The three remaining sins, Avarice, Gluttony and Self-indulgence spring from an excessive love or desire of what is not the true good. And so, Virgil shows that Love is the perverted origin and root of all sins.

Virgil first draws Dante's attention to these distinctions, promising him that he will derive profit to himself by considering them.

Ma perchè più aperto intendi ancora,  
Volgi la mente a me, e prenderai  
Alcun buon frutto di nostra dimora.

90

But that thou mayest understand yet more clearly,  
turn thy attention to me, and thou shalt gather some  
good fruit from our delay.

And Benvenuto points out that it was in truth very great fruit, for, from the discourse of Virgil that fol-

lows, we can gather the whole form and condition (*qualitas*) of Purgatory, and not only is the matter that has already been discussed become clearly laid open before us, when we have taken in these three distinctions, but also that of which we are going to treat as we go on.

Virgil enters on his subject by laying down a general principle necessary for comprehending these distinctions.

Benvenuto says that, to understand the text better, it is perhaps well to explain that there are two kinds of Love,\* the higher and the lower. The higher, which can never be the cause of sin, seeks the good, and the divine light. But the lower, on account of Free Will, can be the cause of sin. As for instance, when one loves a thing which ought not to be loved, but which seems good to oneself, such as the ruin of a neighbour's prosperity. Or, when one loves a thing worthy of being loved, but loves it inordinately. Or, when one loves a thing worthy of our highest love, but in a careless slothful way, as in the case of *Accidia*, which is punished in this Cornice.

---

\* *two kinds of Love* : Ozanam (*Dante et la Philosophie Catholique*, pp. 130, 131) seems to speak of three: "Dans l'ordre moral, les premiers faits qui se rencontrent sont encore du nombre de ceux où l'âme se montre passive; c'est pourquoi on les nomme excellemment Passions. Il serait long de les énumérer. Mais toutes se ramènent à des dispositions antérieures qu'on appelle appétits. Il y a trois sortes d'appétits. Le premier naturel, qui n'a point conscience de soi, et qui est la tendance irrésistible de tous les êtres physiques à la satisfaction de leurs besoins; le second sensitif, qui a son mobile externe dans les choses sensibles, et qui est concupiscible ou irascible tour à tour; le troisième intellectuel, dont l'objet n'est appréciable qu'à la pensée. Ces appétits eux mêmes peuvent se réduire à un seul principe commun, l'amour. . . . L'homme est doué d'un

Nè creator, nè creatura mai,"—

Cominciò ei,—“figliuol, fu senza amore,  
O naturale, o d' animo ; \* e tu il sai.

Lo natural è sempre senza errore ;

Ma l' altro puote errar per malo obbietto, 95  
O per poco, o per troppo di vigore. †

Neither Creator nor creature" — he began—"was ever without Love, either natural or spiritual; and thou knowest it. The natural (*i.e.* instinct left to itself) is always free from error; but the other (the spiritual) can err through (having) a bad object (as its aim), or from defect or from excess of fervency (*lit.* vigour).

Virgil next shows when love errs, and when it does not.

Mentre ch' egli è nè' primi ‡ ben diretto,  
E nè' secondì sè stesso misura,  
Esser non può cagion di mal diletto ;

amour qui lui est propre pour les choses honnêtes et parfaites, ou plutôt, comme sa nature tient à la fois de la simplicité et de l'immensité de la nature divine, l'homme réunit en lui tous ces genres d'amour."

\* *O naturale, o d' animo*: Natural love is innate instinct. *Amore d' animo* is man's Free Will.

† *L' altro puote errar . . . vigore*: We are here shown three ways in which Free Will can err; (1) *per malo obbietto*, *i.e.* by deliberately choosing the evil:—

- (a) by seeking one's own predominance and the abasement of one's neighbour (*Pride*);
- (b) anxiously dreading to be oneself abased when one sees one's neighbour's advancement (*Envy*);
- (c) strongly resenting and seeking revenge for every little injury (*Anger*).

(2) Loving the eternal good insufficiently, and showing oneself lukewarm in attaining unto it (*per poco vigore*, *i.e.* *Accidie*).

(3) Loving a perishable good unduly (*per troppo vigore*).

- (a) Undue longing after riches, or the abuse of them (*Avarice and Prodigality*);
- (b) ill-regulated love of food (*Gluttony*);
- (c) unbridled concupiscence of the flesh (*Sensuality*).

‡ *ne' primi*: Cristoforo Landino, in a note on this passage, says that there are two kinds of love or desire; the first (*nei primi*) is natural, which is naturally implanted in all creatures, through



And thus, Benvenuto remarks, we have it that Love is the root and origin of every action, whether meritorious or the reverse, when it is turned aside to evil, or runs after what is good with greater or less solicitude than it ought.

Virgil next proceeds to demonstrate what sins arise from love of what is bad, and yet which may seem to be good. He first shows that such Love is always towards another, and not to oneself, for Love always takes care of the person in whom it is set; and every one desires his own welfare.

Or perchè mai non può \* dalla salute  
Amor del suo soggetto † volger viso,  
Dall' odio proprio son le cose tute :

Now inasmuch as love can never avert its sight from the welfare of its own subject (*i.e.* the object loved), all things (susceptible of love) are secure against their own hatred.

One never wishes harm to oneself, unless under the mistaken impression that one is doing oneself good when doing oneself harm; as, for instance, the unhappy suicide does not deliberately imagine that what he is doing is for his harm, but erroneously fancies it is for his good; to escape from disgrace, debts, or the burden of grief.

Virgil next draws another important conclusion, namely, that no one can hate God.

---

\* *non può*: See in illustration of this passage, one in St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars 1, 2<sup>da</sup>, qu. xxix, art. 4, *Utrum quis possit habere odio seipsum*). The passage is too long to quote here.

† *soggetto*: Scartazzini explains that *soggetto* is a scholastic term, and in its most restricted sense signifies "person." Here Dante takes it to mean the being in whom this love resides.

E perchè intender non si può diviso,\*

E per sè stante, alcuno esser dal primo, 110

Da quello odiare ogni affetto è deciso.†

And since no being can be thought to exist severed from the First (Being), and standing of itself (*i.e.* independently), every affection is removed (*lit.* cut off) from hating That One.

From the above intricate and difficult passages, we may affirm that Dante claims to have proved that, however ill-regulated Man's affections may be, there is no intention in him to hate or do harm to himself. He also shows that Man's hatred is never against God. And thence he draws the conclusion, that Man's hatred must be against his fellow men.

Resta,‡ se dividendo bene estimo,

\* *intender non si può diviso . . . dal primo*: Compare St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. xxxiv, art. 1): "Odium est quidam motus appetitivæ potentiæ, quæ non movetur nisi ab aliquo apprehenso. Deus autem dupliciter ab homine apprehendi potest: uno modo secundum seipsum, puta cum per essentiam videtur; alio modo per effectus suos, cum scilicet invisibilia Dei per ea quæ facta sunt intellecta conspiciuntur. Deus autem per essentiam suam est ipsa bonitas, quam nullus habere odio potest, quia de ratione boni est ut ametur; et ideo impossibile est quod aliquis videns Deum per essentiam, eum odio habeat. Sed effectus ejus aliqui sunt qui nullo modo possunt esse contrarii voluntati humanæ; quia esse vivere et intelligere est et appetibile et amabile omnibus; quæ sunt quidam effectus Dei. Unde etiam secundum quod Deus apprehenditur ut auctor horum effectuum, non potest odio haberi. Sunt autem quidam effectus Dei qui repugnant inordinatæ voluntati sicut inflictio pœnæ, et etiam cohibitio peccatorum per legem divinam: quæ repugnant voluntati depravatæ per peccatum; et quantum ad considerationem talium effectuum, ab aliquibus Deus odio haberi potest, in quantum scilicet apprehenditur peccatorum prohibitor, et pœnarum inflictor."

† *deciso* Here used in the sense of the Latin *decidere*, to cut off, to remove. Giov. Villani (lib. x, cap. 226) also uses it in the same sense: "Non si conveniva a Papa di muovere le quistioni sospette contra la fede cattolica, ma chi le movesse decidere e estirpare."

‡ *Resta*: Scartazzini says this is a scholastic term equivalent to the Latin *relinquitur*. If a man can neither desire his own ill,

Che il mal che s' ama è del prossimo, ed esso  
Amor nasce in tre modi \* in vostro limo.

It follows then—if in my division I rightly estimate—that the evil which is loved is that of one's neighbour, and that self-same love takes its birth in your clay in three ways.

Here Virgil, in beginning to speak of the three worst sins, touches on the first, which is Pride. The Proud man, because he desires his own exaltation, wishes to see his neighbour abased.

È chi per esser suo vicin soppresso 115  
Spera eccellenza, e sol per questo brama  
Ch' e' sia di sua grandezza in basso messo.†

There are who by the abasement of their neighbour hope themselves to excel, and for this reason only crave to see him cast down from his greatness.

Benvenuto says that this *affection of Pride* is really and truly evil; for it seeks one's neighbour's overthrow and ruin. He quotes the following extract from Pliny:

---

nor that of the First Being, and cannot either hate himself or his Creator, it follows, as a natural sequence, that the evil which he does love can only be that of his neighbour, and this love of one's neighbour's hurt may have a triple origin.

\* *in tre modi*: Tommaséo well defines the three ways: "Non si può dunque voler male ad altri che al prossimo; e questo o per superbia abbassando altrui a fine d'innalzare sè; o per invidia, attristandosi dell' altrui potere e onore, per tema di perdere quant' altri ne acquista, o per ira di male fatto o temuto. Questi tre abusi dell' amore purgansi ne' giri di sotto, perchè più gravi. Ora resta dell' amore inordinato o per tiepidezza, e dicesi accidia; o per troppo ardore, e può spingersi a volere oro, cibo, piaceri. Avarizia, come più rea, sta sotto a gola; gola sotto a lussuria, che è men lontano alla cima."

† *brama Ch' e' sia . . . in basso messo*: Compare St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2<sup>da</sup>, qu. clxii, art. 3): "Superbia dicitur esse amor propriæ excellentiæ, in quantum ex amore causatur inordinata præsumptio alios superandi; quod propriè pertinet ad superbiam."



"What should a wretched man be proud of? Does he not know that he is a receptacle of squalor, a home of sorrows, a possession belonging to death?" Benvenuto adds: "Nothing is so odious to God as Pride. Verily, while some other sins have their excuse, even though undeservedly, Pride has none; no more has its own daughter Envy, which follows close in the footsteps of its mother. Therefore the proud mannikin has much in him of the nature of a monster."

Virgil next touches upon the second kind of the love of evil, from which springs Envy. The envious man, because he dreads that his neighbour's prosperity may be the cause of his own not being so great, is grieved at the other's happiness. So he goes on to say:—

È chi \* podere, grazia, onore e fama  
Teme di perder perch' altri sormonti,  
Onde s' attrista sì che il contrario ama; 120

There are who fear to lose power, favour, honour and renown should others mount above them, and so much do they take it to heart, that they desire the opposite.

---

\* È chi podere. . . Teme di perder, et seq. : Compare St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. xxxvi, art. 1): "Invidia est tristitia de alienis bonis. . . . Objectum tristitiæ est malum proprium. Contingit autem id quod est alienum bonum, apprehendi ut malum proprium; et secundum hoc de bono alieno potest esse tristitia. Sed hoc contingit dupliciter: . . . Alio modo bonum alterius æstimatur ut malum proprium, in quantum est diminutivum propriæ gloriæ vel excellentiæ; et hoc modo de bono alterius tristatur invidia; et ideò præcipuè de illis bonis homines invident in quibus est gloria, et in quibus homines amant honorari et in opinione esse." Compare also *Conv.* i, 11, ll. 117-125: "Lo invidioso poi argomenta, non biasimando di non sapere dire colui che dice, ma biasima quello che è materia della sua opera, per tórre (dispregiando l' opera da quella parte) a lui che dice onore e fama; siccome colui che biasima il ferro d'una spada, non per biasimo dare al ferro, ma a tutta l' opera del maestro."

"And mark well," notes Benvenuto, "that it is especially among near neighbours that Envy reigns supreme: thus you will find that the King of the Romans does not envy the King of the Parthians, nor *vice versâ*; but, when their empires bordered, their mutual envy was great. Do not our own troubles weigh hard enough upon us without our taking in others to torture us? The old proverb says: *Envy is blear-eyed, and cannot see.* Hence neighbourhood and prosperity are the parents of Envy. What can be sadder than Envy, which only feeds on ills, and is tortured by prosperity? Well did Alexander of Macedon say that envious persons were nothing else than the plague of his life. And certainly that was a weighty argument from the lips of a flighty young man (*et certe verbum grave erat levis juvenis*)."

And now Virgil passes on to the third kind of evil love, from which springs Anger. Benvenuto observes that the angry man longs to be revenged on those who hold him of small count, for man is at all times eager to be honoured.

Ed è chi per ingiuria\* par ch' adonti  
 Sì che si fa della vendetta ghiotto;  
 E tal convien che il male altrui impronti.†

\**ingiuria*: Tommasèo interprets this "injustice" in corroboration of which he cites Virg. *Æn.* iii, 255-257:—

"Sed non ante datam cingetis mœnibus urbem,  
 Quam vos dira fames nostræque injuria cædis  
 Ambesas subigat malis absumere mensas."

†*impronti*: Buti says: "cioè faccia, o faccia fare, male al nimico suo." The primary meaning of *improntare* is "to give the impress, to cast, to coin," and the *Voc. della Crusca* says that in this passage it is used figuratively: "cioè metta avanti (il male altrui) effigian-dolo." Lombardi interprets: "chieda, cerchi," and Donkin (*Dict. Romance Languages*, London, 1864) says it is derived from the French *emprunter*.

And there are who appear to feel such resentment for an injury, that they become greedy for vengeance ; and such must needs contrive harm to others.

Benvenuto enlarges on this : " And note, that although this disease of Anger destroys and tortures others, yet it often does so to its possessor: hence, though Homer has said that Anger is sweeter than honey, yet nothing seems more bitter. The Roman Senator Cælius, a most violent-tempered man, once, being in a great rage with a friend of his, who always acquiesced in everything he said, exclaimed : ' Do for goodness' sake say something contrary, that we may be two persons.' Thus it is that we make every little word into a capital offence ; nor is there any stumbling block so great to us as our pride. But the noblest form of revenge is to spare ; and therefore the greatest of orators once said in praise of one of the noblest of leaders, that he never forgot anything except a personal injury. And Adrian, when he was made Emperor, said to one whom he held to be his deadliest enemy : ' Thou hast escaped.' That was in truth a noble, magnificent, and imperial speech."

Virgil sums up his discourse on these three kinds of ill-directed Love by adding :—

Questo triforme amor quaggiù disotto  
 Si piange ; or vo' che tu dell' altro intende,      125  
 Che corre al ben con ordine corrotto.

This threefold Love is wept for down below there (in the first three Cornices). Now I wish thee to understand about the other (kind of love), which runs after good in an ill-regulated manner.

Virgil, wishing to distinguish the love of good, and to show what sins are committed against it, invites Dante's attention to that Love he described in verse 95, *che puote errar per malo obbietto, o per poco, o per troppo di vigore.*

And then, wishing to show how spiritual sloth arises, he first lays down a general principle necessarily applicable to it.

Ciascun confusamente un bene apprende,\*  
 Nel qual si queti l' animo, e disira :  
 Perchè di giugner lui ciascun contende.  
 Se lento amore † in lui veder vi tira,  
 O a lui acquistar, questa cornice,  
 Dopo giusto pentir, ve ne martira.

130

Every one, in a confused sort of way, has a conception of a good wherein his mind may rest, and longs for it : every one therefore strives to attain unto it. If sluggish Love (alone) attracts you to see that good, or to obtain it, this (Fourth) Cornice, after due penitence, torments you for it.

Only on condition of a genuine repentance before death,

\* *apprende* : Gioberti says that this word "ha qui a parer mio un significato complesso, che mal si potrebbe altrimenti esprimere. Suona quella come confusa cognizione mista ad amore che abbiamo del sommo bene; e il sollecito afferrar che facciamo co' nostri sforzi questa idea." Compare Boëthius, *Consol. Philos.* iii, pros. ii : "Omnis mortalium cura, quam multiplicium studiorum labor exercet, diverso quidem calle procedit, sed ad unum tamen beatitudinis finem nititur pervenire. Id autem est bonum, quo quis adepto nihil ulterius desiderare queat. Quod quidem est omnium summum bonarum, cunctaque intra se bona continens. . . . Hunc . . . diverso tramite mortales omnes conantur adipisci. Est enim mentibus hominum veri boni naturaliter inserta cupiditas : sed ad falsa devius error abducit . . . Sed ad hominum studium revertor : quorum animus, et si caligante memoria, tamen bonum summum repetit ; sed, velut ebrius, domum quo tramite revertatur, ignorat."

† *lento amore* : "Tale concetto dell' Accidia ci porge S. Tommaso (*Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2<sup>da</sup>, qu. xxxv, art. 2) : col quale s' accorda il Poeta, che venuto al quarto cerchio, dopo aver ragionato di Dio, siccome di Bene supremo che acqueta ogni desiderio dell' intelligente creatura, soggiunge [here are quoted ll. 130-132 of the text] le parole *vedere e acquistare* (che) segnano ottimamente il doppio termine gaudioso della carità, la contemplazione e l'opera, e insieme la doppia ragione onde immalinconisce e s' attedia l' accidioso." (Perez, p. 176-177).

could the soul come to Purgatory at all; failing this, it would have to go among the Lost in Hell.

Virgil describes another good from which spring three other sins.

Altro ben è che non fa l' uom felice ;  
 Non è felicità, non è la buona  
 Essenza,\* d' ogni buon frutto e radice.† 135

There is another good which does not render man happy; it is not happiness, it is not the good essence, the fruit and root of every good.

Biagioli says that Dante means to speak of all earthly possessions, which men strive after, according to the different dispositions of their minds, as the good beyond which there is nothing to be desired. Therefore one man toils after riches, another after honours, another after great power, another after reputation. But this

\* *la buona Essenza* : "Solus Deus est bonus per suam essentiam. Unumquodque enim dicitur bonum, secundum quod est perfectum. Perfectio autem alicujus rei triplex est. Prima quidem, secundum quod in suo esse constituitur; secunda verò prout ei aliqua accidentia superadduntur ad suam perfectam operationem necessaria, tertia verò perfectio alicujus est per hoc quòd aliquid aliud attingit sicut finem; utpote prima perfectio ignis consistit in esse, quòd habet per suam formam substantialem; secunda verò ejus perfectio consistit in caliditate, levitate et siccitate, et hujusmodi; tertia verò perfectio ejus est, secundum quod in loco suo quiescit. Hæc autem triplex perfectio nulli creato competit secundum suam essentiam, sed soli Deo, cujus solius essentia est suum esse, et cui non adveniunt aliqua accidentia; sed quæ de aliis dicuntur accidentaliter, sibi conveniunt essentialiter, ut esse potentem, sapientem, et alia hujusmodi; ipse etiam ad nihil aliud ordinatur sicut ad finem, sed ipse est ultimus finis omnium rerum. Unde manifestum est quod solus Deus habet omnimodam perfectionem secundum suam essentiam; et ideò solus est bonus per suam essentiam." St. Thom. Aquin. *Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. vi, art. 3.

† *ogni buon frutto e radice* : According to St. Thomas Aquinas, God is the root and the fruit of all good. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. vi, art. 4). "Unumquodque dicitur bonum bonitate divina, sicut primo principio exemplari effectivo, et finali totius bonitatis."

is not happiness, for it does not exclude every other desire; it is not the Good Essence, that is, God, the root and the fruit of all good, the origin of every Heavenly Grace, and that Good in which all other goods are contained.

In closing the discourse Virgil explains to Dante that he purposely leaves the exact description of this Love of temporal good somewhat indefinite, in order that Dante may work it out for himself by personal experience.

L' amor ch' ad esso troppo s' abbandona,  
 Di sopra noi si piange per tre cerchi;  
 Ma come tripartito si ragiona,  
 Tacciolo, acciocchè tu per te ne cerchi."\*—

139

The Love that yields itself too much to this is wept for in three Cornices above us; but in what way it is spoken of as tripartite, I say nothing thereof, in order that thou mayest investigate it for thyself."

The disquisition that we have laboured through, as well as some forty lines in the next Canto, are a true specimen of the scholastic philosophy prevalent in the time of Dante.

What is known as the Scholastic Philosophy may be considered to have flourished from Scotus Erigena in the IXth century to William of Occam at the end of the XIVth century. Its chief activity ranged from the XIth century onward, and it reached the climax of development with Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus towards the end of the XIIIth and beginning of the XIVth centuries. The term *doctor scholasticus*

\* *cerchi*: Compare *Conv.* iii, cap. 5, ll. 194-196: "Siccome omai, per quello che detto è, puote vedere chi ha nobile ingegno, al quale è bello un poco di fatica lasciare."

was originally applied to any teacher in the schools attached to mediæval ecclesiastical foundations, but came to mean specially one who occupied himself with dialectics, and the theological and philosophical questions arising therefrom. Briefly stated, scholasticism is the application of Aristotelian logic to the doctrines of the Church. Duns Scotus placed less reliance upon the power of reason than did Thomas Aquinas. The followers of the one were known as Scotists and the other as Thomists. The great work of Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, written about 1272, is an encyclopædic synopsis of all the theological and philosophical science of the age, arranged in logical forms. It was deeply studied by Dante.

END OF CANTO XVII.

## CANTO XVIII.

THE FOURTH CORNICE—ACCIDIE—THE NATURE OF LOVE—  
LOVE AND FREE WILL—SPIRITS OF THE SLOTHFUL  
RUNNING IN HASTE, AS THE PENALTY FOR ACCIDIE—  
THE ABBOT OF SAN ZENO—THE SCALIGERI—DANTE  
FALLS ASLEEP.

IN the last Canto Dante showed how all sins have their origin in some kind of Love. In this Canto he describes the purgation of Accidie or Spiritual Sloth, which comes from some remissness in Love for the only True Good.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into five parts.

*In the First Division*, from ver. 1 to ver. 39, Virgil, at Dante's request, continues his profound disquisition, and gives a definition of Love.

*In the Second Division*, from ver. 40 to ver. 75, Virgil clears up a doubt which has arisen in Dante's mind in consequence of the definition.

*In the Third Division*, from ver. 76 to ver. 105, the penalty of the Slothful is described, after that Dante has given an indication as to the time of day.

*In the Fourth Division*, from ver. 106 to ver. 129, Dante relates his conversation with the Abbot of St. Zeno at Verona.

*In the Fifth Division*, from ver. 130 to ver. 145, Virgil, by way of teaching Dante how Accidie is to be avoided, shows him some of its unfortunate effects.



*Division I.*—Dante's mental questionings have been partly quieted, partly aroused. What is that Love, the right or wrong direction of which is the cause, on the one hand of all holiness, on the other of all evil? He still has some doubts on the subject, and leaves it to be inferred that he has reasoned within himself as to whether enough has been said on what the Scholiasts termed the "Matter of Love," and has come to the conclusion that there has not. He adds that Virgil restores his confidence by telling him, in words which he does not quote, that he need not be afraid to speak out the doubts that he feels.

Posto avea fine al suo ragionamento  
 L' alto Dottore, ed attento guardava  
 Nella mia vista\* s' io pareva contento :  
 Ed io, cui nuova sete ancor frugava,  
 Di fuor taceva, e dentro dicea :—" Forse           5  
 Lo troppo domandar, ch' io fo, gli grava." †  
 Ma quel padre verace, che s' accorse ‡  
 Del timido voler che non s' apriva,  
 Parlando, di parlare ardir mi porse.

\* *Nella mia vista* : Scartazzini prefers interpreting this, "into my eyes," and quotes *Conv.* iii, 8, ll. 77-90: "L' Anima . . . dimostrasi negli occhi tanto manifesta, che conoscer si può la sua presente passione, chi bene la mira. Onde conciossiacosachè sei passioni siano proprie dell' Anima umana . . . di nulla di queste puote l' Anima essere passionata, che alla finestra degli occhi non vegna la sembianza, se per grande virtù non si chiude."

† *gli grava* : Compare *Inf.* iii, 79-81:—

"Allor con gli occhi vergognosi e bassi,  
 Temendo no 'l mio dir gli fusse grave,  
 Infino al fiume di parlar mi trassi."

‡ *s' accorse Del timido voler* : Virgil had read Dante's thoughts as in *Inf.* xxiii, 25-30; as in *Purg.* xv, 127-129; and as in *Par.* xvii, 7-12, where, during Dante's interview with his great-great-grandfather Cacciaguida, Beatrice observing in Dante's face a wish to ask further questions, and his hesitation to do so, encourages him to speak out:—

The exalted Teacher had put an end to his discourse, and was looking attentively into my face, (to see) if I appeared satisfied: and I, whom a fresh thirst was already goading on, was outwardly silent, and within was saying: "Perchance the too much questioning I make is giving him annoyance." But that true Father, who comprehended the timid wish that did not show itself, by speaking, emboldened me to speak.

He must have spoken words like those of Beatrice (*Par.* xvii, 7-12. See note.) Dante with renewed confidence proceeds to unburden himself of his doubts, but, before doing so, he breaks out into an exclamation of affection and gratitude to Virgil. Benvenuto says that he does him honour by a cumulative process. First he speaks of him as *alto Dottore*, then *padre verace*, and now calls him *Maestro*.

Dante explains to Virgil that he had been telling him what Love did, and in what it was the cause either of good or of evil, but he says: Thou hast not yet told me, to begin with, what Love is!

Ond' io:—"Maestro,* il mio veder s' avviva	10
Sì nel tuo lume, ch' io discerno chiaro	
Quanto la tua ragion porti o descriva:	
Però ti prego, dolce Padre caro,	
Che mi dimostri amore, a cui riduci	
Ogni buono operare e il suo contrario." †	15

" Per che mia donna: 'Manda fuor la vampa  
Del tuo disio,' mi disse, 'sì ch' ella esca  
Segnata bene della interna stampa;  
Non perchè nostra conoscenza cresca  
Per tuo parlare, ma perchè t' ausi  
A dir la sete, sì che l' uom ti mesca.' "

\* *Maestro*: See *Readings on the Inferno*, vol. ii, p. 424, footnote † on *Maestro*.

† *contrario* for *contrario*. See Nannucci (*Teorica dei Nomi*, pp. 631-637): "Del troncamento dei nomi terminati in ario, erio," etc., in



Benvenuto reminds us that we read in the last Canto that neither Creator nor created thing was ever without some kind of Love, and that therefore the soul is naturally inclined towards everything that, at first sight, seems pleasing to it, as soon as it is awakened, and set in motion from the delectation born within it; [Benvenuto reads *piacer innato*, instead of *piacere in atto*]. Just as when you see a beautiful woman, her form enters through the windows of your eyes into the chamber of your mind, and moves it to love her, although she is absent and the mind will never behold her.

Virgil explains this:—

Vostra apprensiva da esser verace \*

Tragge intenzione,† e dentro a voi la spiega,

Sì che l' animo ad essa volger face.

\* *da esser verace*: The faculty of apprehending, perceiving, and comprehending, is set in motion by the reality of external things round us, and this develops in us the wish to show it worthy of Love. Mr. Butler extracts from Mansel's notes to Aldrich: "Apprehension or conception consists in the power which the mind has of forming an image of attributes. Images so formed are first intentions (*species intelligibiles*) as when we regard the individual Socrates as man, white, etc. Second intentions are obtained by abstracting the relations of first intentions to one another, as humanity, whiteness, etc. First intentions are predicable, second not."

† *intenzione*: The scholastic philosophers called images, or likenesses of things, by the names of "*species*" or "*intentiones*." See Melinii, *Lexicon quo Veterum Theologorum locutiones explicantur*, Coloniae, 1855, p. 77: "5. *Species tam expressa, quam impressa dicitur saepe intentionalis quia per eam potentia attendit, sive intendit in objectum.*" Compare Varchi, *L' Hercolano*, Venice, 1570, pp. 23, 24: "Il parlare, o vero favellare humano esteriore non è altro, che manifestare ad alcuno i concetti dell' animo, mediante le parole. . . . Ho detto i concetti dell' animo, perchè il fine di chi favella è principalmente mostrare di fuori quello, che egli ha racchiuso dentro nell' animo, o vero mente; cioè nella fantasia, perchè nella virtù fantastica si riserbano le imagini, o vero similitudini delle cose, le quali i Filosofi chiamano

E se, rivolto,\* in vèr di lei si piega, 25  
 Quel piegare è amor, quello è natura  
 Che per piacer di nuovo in voi si lega.†

Your apprehensive faculty draws an image from something really existing, and displays it within you, so

hora *spezies*, hora *intentioni*, e noi le diciamo propriamente *con-*  
*cetti*, e tal volta *pensieri*, o vero *intendimenti*, e bene spesso con  
 altri nomi." A great number of Commentators including the  
*Voc. della Crusca*, Scartazzini, Camerini, Poletto, Andreoli,  
 Tommaséo and others, give this reference wrongly, simply  
 writing "Varchi, Ercol. 29."

\**E se, rivolto*, et seq.: See Ozanam, *Dante et la Philosophie Catholique*, p. 132: "Aussitôt qu'un objet se présente capable de plaire, il nous réveille par une sensation de plaisir. La faculté qu'on nomme appréhension entre en exercice, elle perçoit le rapport de l'objet avec nos besoins, elle le développe jusqu'à faire que l'âme se retourne vers lui et s'y incline: cette inclination est l'amour, et le plaisir nouveau dont cette modification est accompagnée, nous la rend chère et en même temps durable. Puis l'âme ébranlée entre en mouvement, ce mouvement spirituel est le désir, ce désir ne trouve de repos que dans la jouissance, c'est-à-dire dans la possession de l'objet aimé." Gioberti in his commentary remarks on these words: "Questa è un' analisi rigorosa che dà un saggio della eccellenza di Dante in filosofia. Togline l' invoglio poetico, e alcuni accessori peripatetici, e sarà degno della scienza odierna." Biagioli says that the following words of the *Convivio* (iii, 2, ll. 18-23), admirably explain this passage: "Amore, veramente pigliando e sottilmente considerando, non è altro che unimento spirituale dell' anima e della cosa amata; nel quale unimento di propria sua natura l' anima corre tosto o tardi, secondochè è libera o impedita." And ll. 56-67: "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 perocchè nelle bontadi della Natura la ragione si mostra Divina, viene che naturalmente l' anima umana con quelle per via spirituale si unisce tanto più tosto e più forte, quanto quelle più appaiono perfette. Lo quale apparimento è fatto, secondochè la conoscenza dell' anima è chiara o impedita. E questo unire è quello che noi dicemo Amore." Therefore, Biagioli adds, as it is natural to the soul to desire to unite itself to God, as a support to its existence, so, by like motive, it is natural for it to unite itself to the goodnesses of nature, which is a radiance of the Chief Good.

†*si lega*: is binding itself anew within you; or, is striking a fresh root.

that it makes the mind turn to it. And if thus turned, it (the mind) inclines towards this (image), that inclination is Love; it is Nature, which by pleasure is bound in you with a new tie.

Benvenuto reminds us that there is nothing in the intellect that was not first in the senses, and that did not enter into the soul by sight or hearing. Love therefore is shown to be the inclination of the soul towards a thing that is in itself agreeable, and which the external senses have offered to it.

And now Virgil, having given the definition of Love, shows by a comparison its power and efficacy.

Poi come il foco movesi in altura,  
 Per la sua forma \* ch' è nata a salire  
 Là † dove più in sua materia dura ; 30  
 Così l' animo preso entra in disire,  
 Ch' è moto spiritale, e mai non posa  
 Fin che la cosa amata il fa gioire.

Then even as fire moves upwards, by virtue of its form which is made for rising to where it dwells more in its element; so does the captive soul enter into a

\* *Per la sua forma*: This Scartazzini explains: "Per la sua natura essenziale." He adds that in the scholastic phraseology *forma* is that which gives the entity of everything, that, owing to which, things are just precisely what they are. The *forma* of fire, therefore, is its essence, that which makes it to be fire.

† *Là*: That is to say, the sphere of the Moon which the ancients thought was the sphere of fire:—

"Tutta la sfera varcano del fuoco."

Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* xxxiv, st. 70.

The ancients did not know that the air, by its specific gravity, drives fire upwards, and thought it was made to rise naturally. Dante says, in *Conv.* iii, 3, ll. 5-13: "Onde è da sapere che ciascuna cosa . . . ha il suo speciale amore. E però il fuoco [ascende] alla circonferenza di sopra, lungo il cielo della luna, e però sempre sale a quello." Compare Tasso, *Ger. Liber.* vii, st. 79:—

"S' alzar volando alle celesti spere,  
 Come va fuoco al ciel per sua natura."

could the soul come to Purgatory at all; failing this, it would have to go among the Lost in Hell.

Virgil describes another good from which spring three other sins.

Altro ben è che non fa l' uom felice ;  
Non è felicità, non è la buona  
Essenza,\* d' ogni buon frutto e radice.† 135

There is another good which does not render man  
happy; it is not happiness, it is not the good essence,  
the fruit and root of every good.

Biagioli says that Dante means to speak of all earthly possessions, which men strive after, according to the different dispositions of their minds, as the good beyond which there is nothing to be desired. Therefore one man toils after riches, another after honours, another after great power, another after reputation. But this

---

\* *la buona Essenza* : "Solus Deus est bonus per suam essentiam. Unumquodque enim dicitur bonum, secundum quod est perfectum. Perfectio autem alicujus rei triplex est. Prima quidem, secundum quod in suo esse constituitur; secunda verò prout ei aliqua accidentia superadduntur ad suam perfectam operationem necessaria, tertia verò perfectio alicujus est per hoc quòd aliquid aliud attingit sicut finem; utpote prima perfectio ignis consistit in esse, quòd habet per suam formam substantialem; secunda verò ejus perfectio consistit in caliditate, levitate et siccitate, et hujusmodi; tertia verò perfectio ejus est, secundum quod in loco suo quiescit. Hæc autem triplex perfectio nulli creato competit secundum suam essentiam, sed soli Deo, cujus solius essentia est suum esse, et cui non adveniunt aliqua accidentia; sed quæ de aliis dicuntur accidentaliter, sibi conveniunt essentialiter, ut esse potentem, sapientem, et alia hujusmodi; ipse etiam ad nihil aliud ordinatur sicut ad finem, sed ipse est ultimus finis omnium rerum. Unde manifestum est quod solus Deus habet omnimodam perfectionem secundum suam essentiam; et ideò solus est bonus per suam essentiam." St. Thom. Aquin. *Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. vi, art. 3.

† *ogni buon frutto e radice* : According to St. Thomas Aquinas, God is the root and the fruit of all good. (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. vi, art. 4). "Unumquodque dicitur bonum bonitate divina, sicut primo principio exemplari effectivo, et finali totius bonitatis."

is not happiness, for it does not exclude every other desire; it is not the Good Essence, that is, God, the root and the fruit of all good, the origin of every Heavenly Grace, and that Good in which all other goods are contained.

In closing the discourse Virgil explains to Dante that he purposely leaves the exact description of this Love of temporal good somewhat indefinite, in order that Dante may work it out for himself by personal experience.

L' amor ch' ad esso troppo s' abbandona,  
 Di sopra noi si piange per tre cerchi;  
 Ma come tripartito si ragiona,  
 Tacciolo, acciocchè tu per te ne cerchi.\*—

139

The Love that yields itself too much to this is wept for in three Cornices above us; but in what way it is spoken of as tripartite, I say nothing thereof, in order that thou mayest investigate it for thyself."

The disquisition that we have laboured through, as well as some forty lines in the next Canto, are a true specimen of the scholastic philosophy prevalent in the time of Dante.

What is known as the Scholastic Philosophy may be considered to have flourished from Scotus Erigena in the IXth century to William of Occam at the end of the XIVth century. Its chief activity ranged from the XIth century onward, and it reached the climax of development with Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus towards the end of the XIIIth and beginning of the XIVth centuries. The term *doctor scholasticus*

\* *cerchi*: Compare *Conv.* iii, cap. 5, ll. 194-196: "Siccome omai, per quello che detto è, potete vedere chi ha nobile ingegno, al quale è bello un poco di fatica lasciare."



was originally applied to any teacher in the schools attached to mediæval ecclesiastical foundations, but came to mean specially one who occupied himself with dialectics, and the theological and philosophical questions arising therefrom. Briefly stated, scholasticism is the application of Aristotelian logic to the doctrines of the Church. Duns Scotus placed less reliance upon the power of reason than did Thomas Aquinas. The followers of the one were known as Scotists and the other as Thomists. The great work of Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, written about 1272, is an encyclopædic synopsis of all the theological and philosophical science of the age, arranged in logical forms. It was deeply studied by Dante.

END OF CANTO XVII.

## CANTO XVIII.

THE FOURTH CORNICE—ACCIDIE—THE NATURE OF LOVE—  
LOVE AND FREE WILL—SPIRITS OF THE SLOTHFUL  
RUNNING IN HASTE, AS THE PENALTY FOR ACCIDIE—  
THE ABBOT OF SAN ZENO—THE SCALIGERI—DANTE  
FALLS ASLEEP.

IN the last Canto Dante showed how all sins have their origin in some kind of Love. In this Canto he describes the purgation of Accidie or Spiritual Sloth, which comes from some remissness in Love for the only True Good.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into five parts.

*In the First Division*, from ver. 1 to ver. 39, Virgil, at Dante's request, continues his profound disquisition, and gives a definition of Love.

*In the Second Division*, from ver. 40 to ver. 75, Virgil clears up a doubt which has arisen in Dante's mind in consequence of the definition.

*In the Third Division*, from ver. 76 to ver. 105, the penalty of the Slothful is described, after that Dante has given an indication as to the time of day.

*In the Fourth Division*, from ver. 106 to ver. 129, Dante relates his conversation with the Abbot of St. Zeno at Verona.

*In the Fifth Division*, from ver. 130 to ver. 145, Virgil, by way of teaching Dante how Accidie is to be avoided, shows him some of its unfortunate effects.

*Division I.*—Dante's mental questionings have been partly quieted, partly aroused. What is that Love, the right or wrong direction of which is the cause, on the one hand of all holiness, on the other of all evil? He still has some doubts on the subject, and leaves it to be inferred that he has reasoned within himself as to whether enough has been said on what the Scholiasts termed the "Matter of Love," and has come to the conclusion that there has not. He adds that Virgil restores his confidence by telling him, in words which he does not quote, that he need not be afraid to speak out the doubts that he feels.

Posto avea fine al suo ragionamento  
 L' alto Dottore, ed attento guardava  
 Nella mia vista\* s' io pareo contento :  
 Ed io, cui nuova sete ancor frugava,  
 Di fuor taceva, e dentro dicea :—" Forse        5  
 Lo troppo domandar, ch' io fo, gli grava." †  
 Ma quel padre verace, che s' accorse ‡  
 Del timido voler che non s' apriva,  
 Parlando, di parlare ardir mi porse.

\* *Nella mia vista* : Scartazzini prefers interpreting this, "into my eyes," and quotes *Conv.* iii, 8, ll. 77-90: "L' Anima . . . dimostrasi negli occhi tanto manifesta, che conoscer si può la sua presente passione, chi bene la mira. Onde conciossiacosachè sei passioni siano proprie dell' Anima umana . . . di nulla di queste puote l' Anima essere passionata, che alla finestra degli occhi non vegna la sembianza, se per grande virtù non si chiude."

† *gli grava* : Compare *Inf.* iii, 79-81 :—

"Allor con gli occhi vergognosi e bassi,  
 Temendo no 'l mio dir gli fusse grave,  
 Infino al fiume di parlar mi trassi."

‡ *s' accorse Del timido voler* : Virgil had read Dante's thoughts as in *Inf.* xxiii, 25-30; as in *Purg.* xv, 127-129; and as in *Par.* xvii, 7-12, where, during Dante's interview with his great-great-grandfather Cacciaguida, Beatrice observing in Dante's face a wish to ask further questions, and his hesitation to do so, encourages him to speak out :—

The exalted Teacher had put an end to his discourse, and was looking attentively into my face, (to see) if I appeared satisfied; and I, whom a fresh thirst was already goading on, was outwardly silent, and within was saying: "Perchance the too much questioning I make is giving him annoyance." But that true Father, who comprehended the timid wish that did not show itself, by speaking, emboldened me to speak.

He must have spoken words like those of Beatrice (*Par.* xvii, 7-12. See note.) Dante with renewed confidence proceeds to unburden himself of his doubts, but, before doing so, he breaks out into an exclamation of affection and gratitude to Virgil. Benvenuto says that he does him honour by a cumulative process. First he speaks of him as *alto Dottore*, then *padre verace*, and now calls him *Maestro*.

Dante explains to Virgil that he had been telling him what Love did, and in what it was the cause either of good or of evil, but he says: Thou hast not yet told me, to begin with, what Love is!

Ond' io :—" Maestro,* il mio veder s' avviva	10
Sì nel tuo lume, ch' io discerno chiaro	
Quanto la tua ragion porti o descriva :	
Però ti prego, dolce Padre caro,	
Che mi dimostri amore, a cui riduci	
Ogni buono operare e il suo contrario." †	15

" Per che mia donna : ' Manda fuor la vampa  
Del tuo disio,' mi disse, ' sì ch' ella esca  
Segnata bene della interna stampa ;

Non perchè nostra conoscenza cresca  
Per tuo parlare, ma perchè t' ausi  
A dir la sete, sì che l' uom ti mesca.' "

\* *Maestro* : See *Readings on the Inferno*, vol. ii, p. 424, footnote † on *Maestro*.

† *contrario* for *contrario*. See Nannucci (*Teorica dei Nomi*, pp. 631-637) : " *Del troncamento dei nomi terminati in ario, erio,*" etc., in

ceive them, or when we put into action the special power given to us, and so by them we have no special merit or demerit.

Però, là onde vegna lo intelletto 55  
 Delle prime notizie, uomo non sape,\*  
 Nè de' primi appetibili † l' affetto,  
 Che sono in voi, sì come studio ‡ in ape  
 Di far lo mèle; e questa prima voglia  
 Merto di lode o di biasmo non cape.§ 60

\* *sape*, for *sa*, is the natural third singular, present tense of *sapere*. It is frequently used by the Poets. (Nannucci, *Analisi Critica*, p. 662.)

† *Nè de' primi appetibili*: Gioberti in his commentary writes: "Noi ignoriamo donde ne vengano 1° *le prime notizie dell' intelletto*, . . . cioè i principii della nostra ragione, e le regole fondamentali dell' intelligenza; 2° *l' affetto de' primi appetibili*, cioè quelle primitive inclinazioni, quegli appetiti primigenii da cui null' uomo va esente; come l' amor del vero, della felicità, del bello, del bene, la curiosità, la simpatia, e tutti i movimenti, gli affetti estetici, e morali, che formano la parte affettiva dell' anima, come *le prime notizie dell' intelletto*, gli assiomi, le forme logiche, etc., ne costituiscono la parte intellettiva. Donde ne venga tutto ciò è da noi ignorato."

‡ *studio in ape Di far lo mèle*: In *Georg.* iv, in the first five lines, Virgil speaks of this instinct of the bees:—

"Protinus aërii mellis cœlestia dona  
 Exequar. Hanc etiam, Maecenas, aspice partem.  
 Admiranda tibi levium spectacula rerum,  
 Magnanimosque duces, totiusque ordine gentis  
 Mores, et studia, et populos, et prælia dicam."

§ *Merto di lode o di biasmo non cape*: Gioberti goes on to say: "Questa facoltà primitiva e queste disposizioni sono fuori del libero arbitrio, e sgorgano dal seno della nostra natura senza opera della nostra volontà; onde non producono *merto di lode, o di biasmo*, cioè non sono imputabili. Acciocchè poi a questa voglia non libera, ma naturale, cioè a questo complesso di naturali attitudini e tendenze, vengano dietro e si accompagnino (*sì raccoglià*) quegli appetiti, que' desii, che come liberi ponno essere buoni, o rei, la Natura ha posto nell' Uomo una Virtù consigliatrice che dee tener la soglia dell' assenso, e del dissenso, cioè regolarli; la qual Virtù è la Ragione; innata nel senso detto di sopra, poichè ella fa parte di quelle *prime notizie*, la cui origine s' ignora, ma di cui certo si sa che non hanno nascento dai sensi. Perciò, posto per una parte il libero arbitrio,

And so, man knows not whence comes his understanding of the primal conceptions, nor the bent of the first appetites, which are in you, just as there is in the bee the instinct to make honey; and this primal desire is not in itself capable of praise or censure.

The next three lines are exceedingly obscure, and have given rise to much controversy. I follow the interpretation of Lombardi, ridiculed by Biagioli in his usual ungracious vein, but supported by Gioberti, Scartazzini, Trissino, Tommaséo, *Philalethes*, Witte, and Blanc.

Or, perchè a questa ogni altra si raccoglie,  
Innata v' è la virtù\* che consiglia,  
E dell' assenso de' tener la soglia.

Now in order that to this (first will) every other may be gathered (*i.e.* harmonized), there is innate in you the faculty which counsels (*i.e.* Reason), and ought to hold the threshold of assent.

Virgil goes on to explain that Reason is the regulating principle from which come our merits and demerits.

Quest' è il principio,† là onde si piglia  
Ragion di meritare in voi, secondo 65  
Che buoni e rei amori accoglie e viglia.‡

e per l' altra la ragione consigliatrice, si è capace d' imputazione; e gli amori che liberamente s' accolgono sono imputabili, perchè v' ha in noi lume per conoscere la bontà, o la malizia, e libertà per accettarli, o rigettarli."

\* virtù: Scartazzini says that *virtù* must be understood here as *facoltà*.

† *Quest' è il principio*: "Judicium medium est apprehensionis et appetitus; nam primo res apprehenditur, deinde apprehensa bona vel mala judicatur, et ultimo judicans prosequitur sive fugit." (*De Monarchia*, i, cap. xii, ll. 17-21.) See also *Conv.* iv, 9.

‡ *viglia*: See Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*): "*vigliare*, propriamente pulire il grano dopo battuto (ora, *vagliare*). In *Purg.* xviii, 66, significa scegliere, distinguere." Benvenuto writes: "verbum rusticorum purgantium frumentum in area."

This is the source from which emanate the grounds of your deserts, according as they gather in or winnow out good and bad loves.

Aristotle and Plato, as well as other philosophers, the wisest of men, by their investigations, arrived at the discernment of the real nature of things. They recognized the Freedom of the Will, and hence gave to the world those moral doctrines, by which men are to exercise government over their own selves.

Color che ragionando \* andaro al fondo,  
S' accorser d' esta innata libertate,  
Però moralità † lasciaro al mondo.

Onde pognam ‡ che di necessitate 70  
Surga ogni amor che dentro a voi s' accende,  
Di ritenerlo è in voi la potestate.

They who in argument went to the root of the matter, took note of this innate freedom, and therefore bequeathed moral philosophy to the world. Let us assume then that every Love which is kindled in you

\* *Color che ragionando*, etc. The philosophers, who by their investigations, attained the hidden truths of nature.

† By *moralità* understand moral philosophy or Ethics, which would have been of no avail without the principle of freedom of the will. Benvenuto says the philosophers placed a check on liberty to prevent its declining to evil.

‡ *Onde pognam che di necessitate Surga ogni amor che dentro a voi s' accende*: Gioberti thus concludes his very important discussion of the whole passage: "Pogniamo pure, che la vostra apprensiva ricevendo l' imagine di un obietto esterno si senta necessariamente mossa dalle sue naturali inclinazioni ad amore o avversione verso di esso: sin qui non vi ha certo nulla di libero, e che pertanto possa essere imputato. Ma siccome voi avete lume di ragione per disaminare le qualità morali degli oggetti a cui vi sentite inclinato, od avverso; siccome voi avete libertà di far questa disamina, e, fattala, di assentire, o di dissentire ai moti primi della natura: si fa luogo a imputazione rispetto a questo vostro assenso, o dissenso; e ne nasce perciò una serie di amori buoni, o rei, ma liberi sempre, perchè dall' esercizio accompagnati del vostro libero arbitrio, i quali pertanto sono degni di lode o di biasimo, e meritevoli di premio, o di castigo."

arises of necessity, yet in you there exists the power to restrain it.

"Now mark here, reader," says Benvenuto, "that if this reasoning be well considered, it ought to convince every one. For what medical man would agree that it is no use curing a sick person? But that *would* be true, if everything happened by necessity. What astrologer would be willing for his art to be condemned, when he maintains that one can avert coming misfortunes, if they be foretold by his lore? What judge would not be indignant, were he told that he punishes evildoers unjustly? What merchant would not say that negligence is very prejudicial to trade? What wise man does not prove that much wisdom (*multa concilia*) is necessary for the world? What husbandman does not know that agriculture is profitable for fertilising crops? But all men try to make excuse, throwing the responsibility for all their vices and sins upon Heaven, upon destiny, upon fortune, saying like the philosopher, Cleantes:—

'Volentem fata ducunt, nolentem trahunt.'

In conclusion, Virgil refers Dante to theology, and says briefly that he himself by his human knowledge or science cannot rise to any more elevated interpretation of the question, for he can only judge of cause by effect; but Beatrice understands that the noble virtue, the most excellent that there is in Man, is Free Will, for by it we deserve either eternal life, or everlasting punishment.

La nobile virtù \* Beatrice intende †

\* *La nobile virtù*: Scartazzini says that Dante takes *virtù* in the sense of the Latin *vis*, power, faculty of the soul, and uses the word when speaking of Reason, Free Will, the faculty of perception, etc.

† *intende*: Another way, adopted by Gioberti, of translating



Per lo libero arbitrio, e però guarda  
 Che l' abbi a mente, s' a parlar ten prende."\* 75

This noble faculty, Beatrice (Theology) understands as Free Will, and therefore look that thou bear it in mind, should she take to speaking to thee of it."

*Division III.*—Dante now describes the penance of the Slothful, but, before doing so, he defines the exact position and appearance of the Moon.

La luna, quasi a mezza notte tarda,†  
 Facea le stelle a noi parer più rade,  
 Fatta com' un secchione ‡ che tutto arda;

this sentence is, "Beatrice, Theology, calls Free Will *la nobile virtù*," and Scartazzini quotes this as an alternative translation, but none of the commentaries or translations seems to take the slightest heed of *Per*. It appears to me that *intende per lo libero arbitrio* is best translated "understands as Free Will." *Intende* can have the force of "calls, proclaims, styles."

\* *s' a parlar ten prende*: Beatrice is to speak of Free Will to Dante in *Par. v.*, 19-24:—

"Lo maggior don che Dio per sua larghezza  
 Fesse creando, ed alla sua bontate  
 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."

And in *Par. i.*, 109 *et seq.*, Beatrice tells Dante that the order God has given to Nature causes in us the first impulses.

† *La luna, quasi a mezza notte tarda*: "ciòe tardata ad alzarsi fin quasi alla mezzanotte; e ciò per esser questa la quinta notte del misterioso viaggio, incominciato a luna piena. La luna che dopo il suo pieno tarda ogni sera quasi un'ora a levarsi, dovea questa quinta volta sorgere circa cinque ore dopo caduto il sole, cioè (essendo equinozio) appunto poco innanzi alla mezzanotte." (Andreoli.)

‡ *Fatta com' un secchione*: Costa interprets this: "Dice come un secchione, perchè la luna essendo calante mostrava una delle sue parti rotonde e l' altra scema, come un secchione di rame che ha il fondo a guisa di un emisferio, e ha scema la parte superiore." The explanation of the *Ottimo* is similar: "Qui mostra l' ora che era, quando lo sopradetto ragionamento si facea; e dice, ch' era circa a mezza notte in quello emisferio; e perchè aveva passato l' opposizione del Sole, era scema dalla parte occidentale; e pareo

E correa contra il ciel per quelle strade \*  
 Che il sole infiamma allor che quel da Roma 80  
 Tra i Sardi e i Corsi il vede quando cade ;

The Moon, as it was belated towards midnight, shaped like a bucket that is all on fire, was making the stars appear to us more scarce, and was following a course contrary to the heavens along those paths which the sun sets aflame when one at Rome sees it at its setting between Sardinia and Corsica.

On this particular passage, Dr. Moore (*Time References*, p. 101) says: "The majority of Commentators have assumed (as it appears to me quite needlessly), that this

come una secchia di rame accesa di fuoco; lo quale lume oscurava molte piccolissime stelle, sicchè pareano pure quelle che sono della maggior magnitudine, e però appareano rade, cioè una qua, e l'altra là." Mr. Butler aptly observes: "*secchione* is the large hemispherical bucket [he should have added of copper] which may still be seen in Italy. Looked at somewhat obliquely the outline of one of these forms no bad comparison for the gibbous moon." I find the following in that most useful work *Prontuario di vocaboli attenenti a parecchie arti, ad alcuni mestieri, a cose domestiche, e altre di uso comune*; di Giacinto Carena, Torino, 1846, pt. i, p. 281: "*Secchione* accrescitivo di *secchia* e di *Secchio*. *Secchio*, vaso cupo, per lo più di rame, il quale ha un manico di ferro, curvo in semicerchio, e girevole nelle due opposte *orecchie*, a uso di attigner l'acqua.—*Secchia*, per lo più di legno, a doghe, di fondo ordinariamente più stretto che la bocca, nel rimanente come il *secchio*, e servente allo stesso uso. Il Vocabolario [*della Crusca*] registra separatamente il *secchio*, e dice che questo è propriamente quel vaso entro il quale si raccoglie il latte nel mugnere." (This is confirmed in the dictionaries of Baretto and Barberi.) I need hardly point out that in rendering such a word, intended by Dante to convey to his readers a definite shape, whether we interpret *secchione* as well-bucket or milk-pail, we must bear in mind the shapes of such utensils as were in use in Tuscany. Buti interprets *secchione* "cioè come uno caldaione di ramo." *Caldaione* is the same as in English "the copper." Some read *scheggione*, i.e. a log all in a blaze, but it is a reading that has but little authority.

\* *per quelle strade*: Scartazzini points out that in the preceding sentence Dante has described the actual motion of the Moon; and in this sentence he speaks of the course it was following, which was that of the regions illumined by the Sun.

must refer to the actual hour of Moon-rise, which would certainly be, according to the principle we have been advocating, about 10 p.m., or perhaps 10.30., since the Moon is already well up, and producing a sensible effect in quenching the lesser stars. . . . Philaethes says the Moon rose *Etwa um 10 Uhr*, also *schon ziemlich gegen Mitternacht*. . . . I do not think it at all certain that Dante intends to speak of the hour of Moon-rise at all. . . . The effect here indicated of the quenching of the lesser stars by the light of the gibbous or pitcher-shaped moon (*secchione*) as it is graphically described, would be much more striking if it were some little time above the horizon than if it were just rising. I think it probable the whole passage is only a poetical and slightly elaborate way of saying the *hour* was approaching midnight, described, as usual, by some striking visible aspect of the fact. It is not half so elaborate or artificial a way of describing a simple fact or phenomenon as many other passages that might be cited. It is surely quite a natural (poetical) description of such an hour (it being allowed that the Moon was up, as a fact) to translate: 'And now the Moon, as it were, towards midnight late, shaped like a pitcher all afire, was making the stars appear to us more rare.'

On line 79, Dr. Moore (*op. cit.* p. 104) adds: "The words which follow in ver. 79, describe evidently the backing of the Moon through the signs from west to east (as in *Par.* ix, 85, *contra il sole*, and again, in *Par.* vi, 2, the removal by Constantine of the seat of Empire from Rome to Constantinople is described as *contra il corso del ciel*). This causes the daily retardation to which we have so often referred, and more particularly he says she was in that path of the Zodiac which is

illuminated by the Sun, when the people of Rome see him setting between Sardinia and Corsica. This is stated by Mr. Butler, no doubt correctly, to be towards the end of November, when the Sun sets west by south. If so, the Sun would then be in Sagittarius, and that is precisely where the Moon's Right Ascension would bring her on this night, as is pointed out by Della Valle. Dante's indication of the Sun's position here, as seen from Rome, is curious. These islands being invisible from Rome, the Sun can only be said to be seen setting between them, from a knowledge of their position on the map, compared with the observed direction of the Sun. (Compare statement of Moon setting beneath Seville, in *Inf.* xx, 126.) In this sense only can it be true that (as some of the old Commentators say) Dante observed this himself when at Rome; and in this sense it is very likely indeed to have been true, since he was actually at Rome at the moment of the disastrous entry of Charles of Valois into Florence on November 1st, 1301, and for some time afterwards, *i.e.* at the very time of year here described."

Benvenuto thinks this happened in the middle of October about midnight, and when the Sun was in Scorpio.

Dante is now feeling relieved from the burden of doubts which was oppressing him. The *genius loci* seems to have somewhat affected him with Accidie, and he is about to give himself a little ease and repose, when he is suddenly roused by a band of penitents, who to purge themselves from Sloth are running so rapidly, that they have already gone completely round the Cornice and are coming up behind the Poets.

E quell' ombra gentil, per cui si noma  
 Pietola \* più che villa Mantovana,  
 Del mio carcar deposto avea la soma ;  
 Perch' io, che la ragione aperta e piana 85  
 Sopra le mie questioni avea ricolta,  
 Stava com' uom che sonnolento vana.  
 Ma questa sonnolenza mi fu tolta  
 Subitamente da gente, † che dopo  
 Le nostre spalle a noi era già vòlta. 90

\* *Pietola* : This is a small village not very far from Mantua, of which the ancient name was Andes, and where tradition had it that Virgil was born. "Je suis allé voir le très douteux berceau de Virgile, Pietola, parce que Dante l'a nommé dans ses vers ; mais c'était affaire de conscience, voilà tout. Pour être sensible à l'effet des lieux illustres, je veux autre chose que leur nom. La moindre trace d'un grand homme m'émeut, mais encore faut-il que cette trace existe ; je ne saurais m'enthousiasmer en présence d'un village parfaitement semblable à un autre, parceque certains antiquaires affirment que dans ce village est né Virgile. L'aspect du pays m'intéresse, car je le retrouve dans la poésie des *Bucoliques*, mais je n'y retrouve pas les rues et les maisons modernes de Pietola. A Pietola rien ne parle de Virgile qu'une hypothèse scientifique, et il m'est impossible de m'attendrir sur une hypothèse." Ampère (*Voyage Dantesque*, p. 319). Dr. Moore (*Textual Criticism*, pp. 391, 392), after approving the reading adopted above, gives the numerous variants, the principal of which are, *Pietola più che nulla* ; *Pietosa più che nulla* ; *Cortese più che nulla* ; but he says nearly all the old Commentators adopt and explain *Pietola*, without any allusion to any other reading.

† *gente* : On the penalty of the Slothful see Perez (*I Sette Cerchi*, pp. 180, 181) : "Un correre senza posa è tormento e insieme dolcezza a coloro che in questa vita furono accidiosi. Posciachè tanti giorni han perduto, ristando in disamor neghittoso, e peccarono contro quel precetto divino, che dice *vigilate*, ora, per redimere il tempo, non ristanno nemmen nella notte : e nella notte il Poeta li vede solleciti sì, che ci ricordano il servo evangelico, che precinto i lombi e con in mano l' accesa facella, move incontro al padrone, o le saggie vergini che colle lampade ardenti si fanno incontro allo Sposo. Non corrono divisi e soli, ma raccolti e stretti in grande schiera : certamente per accendersi viemmeglio con santa emulazione, e per ammonirci che mezzo validissimo a snighittirsi è il tenersi in compagnia co' buoni e ferventi. Corrono sempre in giro, sempre attorno al monte ; onde il correre non sembra aver mai per loco un principio o un termine ;

And that noble shade (Virgil), on whose account Pietola is more renowned than (even) the city of Mantua, had disburdened himself of the load with which I had charged him (*i.e.* had removed the doubts in my mind which I had confided to him): whereupon I, who had received his elucidation explicit and clear upon my questions, remained as one who being drowsy rambles. But this drowsiness was suddenly taken from me by a multitude who had already come round to us behind our backs.

The drowsiness reminds us of Canto ix, 11; and xxvii, 92, and may be connected with the sin of *accidia* from which the pilgrim is now to be purified; perhaps with the weariness of the natural man after the tension of the brain occupied with profound mysteries.

The penalty of the Slothful is unceasing activity and display of energy in running, talking, meditating and whatever else is contrary to their mortal natures.

Benvenuto says the slothful man sins in a threefold way. (*a*) In his heart: by not thinking of God, his own and his neighbour's salvation, and not sorrowing for his sins. (*b*) With his lips: by not praising God, and praying to Him, not instructing his neighbour by exhortation, reproof, and such like. (*c*) In his actions: by not giving alms, not going to church, and so on.

Dante illustrates the penalty of the Slothful by a simile taken from the wild rites observed by the votaries of Bacchus.

E quale Ismeno già vide ed Asopo\*

---

utile documento agli accidiosi, che non sanno mai trovar principio all' opera, e quando pure il trovano, non san mai recarla suo termine."

\* *Ismeno . . . ed Asopo*: Ismenus and Asopus were rivers of Bœotia, on whose banks the Thebans ran at night with lighted torches to invoke the aid of Bacchus—to give them rain for their vineyards—which is what Dante means by "*Pur che avesser uopo.*" The comparison comes from Statius (*Theb.* ix, 434 *et seq.*).

Lungo di sè di notte furia e calca,  
 Pur che i Teban di Bacco avesser uopo ;  
 Cotal per quel giron suo passo falca,\*

\* *suo passo falca* : The meaning of this I take to be, the movement of one who directs his way in the form of a semicircle, like the sweeping *horizontal* action that a reaper gives to a sickle, or a mower to a scythe. For this interpretation I have the authority of Landino, Buti, Cesari, Scartazzini, Camerini, Blanc, Fraticelli, Giuliani and Poletto. Some, among others Benvenuto and Lombardi, simply interpret it in the sense of "to advance;" others take it to express the sickle-shape into which a horse bends his fore-leg. But the legitimate use of a sickle is horizontal, not perpendicular, and Dante is speaking of the spirits of the Slothful running at speed round the Cornice, and possibly, in their rapid course, bending their bodies inwards towards the mountain. Landino says: "*suo passo falca*; suo passo piega. Imperocchè non uscivan del girone: ma girando intorno, del continuo piegavano e torceano il cammino. *Falcare* significa *piegare*: dictione derivata dalla falce: la quale è piegata e curva."—Buti: *falca*, cioè piega."—Cesari: "*Falcare* è piegare a modo di falce; ed è preso da cavalli, che a correre si ammaestrano in un torno (*are lunged in a circle*); come mostra Dante nella parola sotto, *cavalca*, che compie essa metafora. Correndo dunque il cavallo isforzatamente a tondo, come sasso di frombola, per ritirare lo slancio, della forza centrifuga che gli dà il correre sì forte in circolo, ed egli tiene il corpo piegato verso il centro, sicchè sta fuor di bilico: e questo è forse propriamente *falcare* il passo."—Scartazzini and Camerini quote the above extracts, and approve of them.—Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*): "dirigere il suo cammino procedendo in forma di semicerchio, piegando."—Fraticelli is very precise: "*Falcare il passo*, significa *menare a tondo o in giro il passo*, tolta la similitudine dalla falce, ch' è fatta a semicerchio, e che, adoperandosi, egualmente a semicerchio si volge."—Poletto: "*Falcare*, dal sost. *falx*, fa chiara l' idea d' un movimento circolare, giusta che era quel girone."—Poletto adds that this interpretation is greatly supported by the use of *cerchiare* by Dante in *Purg.* xiv, 1:—

"Chi è costui che il nostro monte cerchia?"

Among manuscript comments of Giuliani, in books left by him to Mgr. Poletto, the latter notices: "*Falca, cerchia*, come si muove la falce (*Purg.* xiv, 1),"—and again: "*Falciare, Purg.* xviii, 94. E' mi faceva falciare la via (pigliar la via con le gambe avvolte, a guisa d' uom cui sonno o vino piega): 'Guarda come falcia!' intesi dire da un montagnolo pistoiese rispetto a un suo compaesano, che *piegliava la via* come falce il grano; la *cerchiava*, portato com' era in qua e in là dalla forza del vino. In Cortona usano la stessa voce, salvochè in luogo di *falciare* dicono *felciare*, mutando al solito la *a* in *e*."

Per quel ch' io vidi, di color venendo 95  
Cui buon volere e giusto amor cavalca.

And as of old Ismenus and Asopus saw the rush and thronging at night along their banks, in the event of the Thebans being in need of Bacchus, so did these along that cornice curve their steps running round and round it so far as (in the gloaming), I could see of those advancing, who by good will and righteous Love are ridden.

Benvenuto draws a moral from this simile. He says if the Thebans were in the habit of arising at night to chant the praises of the heathen Bacchus, who was the god of wine and triumph, how much more ought not Christians to arise and hasten to sing the praises of the One true God.

Having described the tumultuous rush of the spirits, Dante now speaks of the loud cries they are uttering. Two of them run on before the rest, proclaiming examples of zeal and energy,\* and the main body, as they follow, re-echo the shout, with all the impetuosity of a battle-cry.

---

\* vv. 100-105. The examples are, as usual, drawn both from sacred and profane history. As before, the first reference is to an incident in the life of the Blessed Virgin. *St. Luke* i, 39: "And Mary arose in those days, and went into the hill country with haste." The facts about Cæsar are related by Lucan (*Pharsalia*, books iii and iv). Cæsar who was on his way to subdue Herda, now Lerida in Spain, besieged Marseilles, leaving there a part of his army under Brutus to complete the work. Benvenuto says: No example could be more appropriate, for no man alive was ever a greater enemy to sloth than Julius Cæsar—not only for his wonderful endurance, but also for the incredible rapidity of his marches. Dean Plumptre thinks that, in ver. 105, Dante seems to teach the scholastic doctrine of "Grace of Congruity;" i.e. that the efforts of men to do good are effective in making them meet to receive grace for doing it. The doctrine is condemned by the Church of England in Article xiii, which teaches men to recognise God's grace even in those efforts.



- Tosto fur sopra noi, perchè correndo  
 Si movea tutta quella turba magna ;  
 E due dinanzi gridavan piangendo :  
 —“ Maria corse con fretta alla montagna ;” — 100  
 E,—“ Cesare, per soggiogare Ilerda,  
 Punse Marsilia, e poi corse in Ispagna.”—  
 —“ Ratto, ratto, che il tempo non si perda  
 Per poco amor,”—gridavan gli altri appresso ;  
 —“ Chè studio di ben far grazia rinverda.”— 105

Soon were they upon us, for the whole of that great multitude were moving up at a run ; and two in front cried out, weeping : “ Mary ran in haste unto the hill-country ” ; and “ Cæsar to subdue Ilerda, darted his sting into Marseilles, and then hastened into Spain.” “ Haste, haste ! so as not to waste time through lack of Love,” cried out all those (that came) after ; “ that zeal of doing right may cause grace to bud again.”

*Division IV.*—Virgil begs the new comers to point out the opening of the stairway to the next Cornice, and one of the spirits complies.

- “ O gente, in cui fervore acuto adesso  
 Ricompie forse negligenza e indugio,  
 Da voi per tepidezza in ben far messo,  
 Questi che vive (e certo io non vi bugio)\*  
 Vuole andar su, purchè il sol ne riluca ; 110  
 Però ne dite ov' è presso il pertugio.”—  
 Parole furon queste del mio Duca :  
 Ed un dì quegli spirti disse :—“ Vieni  
 Diretro a noi, e troverai la buca.  
 Noi siam di voglia a moverci sì pieni, 115

\* *non vi bugio* : Virgil assures the spirits that Dante really is alive. *Bugiare* is a word used in early Italian, and is equivalent to *mentire*. It survives in *bugia*, “ a lie.”

Che ristar non potem ; \* però perdona,  
Se villania nostra giustizia † tieni.

"O spirits, in whom the present fervid zeal perchance redeems neglect and procrastination shown by you in lukewarmness to do good, this man who is alive (Dante)—and indeed I lie not unto you—wishes to go up so soon as the Sun shines forth again upon us; pray therefore tell us where the passage is nearest." Such were the words of my Guide, and one of those spirits said: "Come close after us and thou wilt find the opening. We are so full of desire to keep ourselves in movement, that we cannot rest; pray excuse us then, if thou shouldst hold as want of courtesy that which is our obligation.

The answer had come from the Veronese Abbot of Zeno, and we may note, Benvenuto tells us, that his whole demeanour shows how actively he is purifying himself from Accidie. He is running fast, without his long robe, he does not delay his rapid course to answer, he does not involve his speech with a tedious exordium, but answers briefly, sharply, and to the point; and then goes on to excuse himself to Dante for not stopping, lest the latter should think his haste ill-bred.‡

\* *potem* : Compare *Inf.* ix, 31-33 :—

"Questa palude che il gran puzzo spira,  
Cinge d' intorno la città dolente,  
U' non potemo entrare omai senz' ira."

Nannucci (*Analisi Critica*, p. 637) says that *potemo* was a perfectly regular termination, but which in modern times would be used but very rarely even by poets.

† *nostra giustizia* : Scartazzini points out that we may well gather, from l. 128, that this spirit never paused, but continued to run as he spoke to Dante. Therefore he entreats Dante to pardon him if his duty, and that of his comrades, which obliges them to hasten on, might seem to Dante as a want of courtesy.

‡ Benvenuto wishes us to take note that Dante has depicted this refusal of the Abbot to stop and talk, with express purpose;

After these few words of apology for his haste, the spirit continues:—

Io fui Abate in san Zeno \* a Verona,  
Sotto lo imperio del buon † Barbarossa,  
Di cui dolente ‡ ancor Milan ragiona. 120

I was Abbot of San Zeno at Verona, when the good  
Barbarossa was Emperor, of whom Milan still speaks  
with sorrow.

This speaker, of a life blameless except for Accidie, which he is purifying in this Cornice, was formerly

---

for he remarks how often one sees people, when engaged in honest useful business, stop on their way to gossip so that they may please men. That hard-working man, Cato the Censor, remarked that an account must be rendered to God for all our hours of ease, not only of our actions during that time, but even of our words; and in another place Cato wrote: Human life resembles a sword, or piece of iron; which if it be but little used, is consumed by rust; but, if constantly used, it becomes more bright and shining.

\* *san Zeno*: Zeno was the eighth bishop of Verona, in A.D. 165, during the papacy of Dionysius. He was a man of deep sanctity, learning, and eloquence. "Three churches are named after San Zeno at Verona: one on the hill, another by the Adige, but this is only a small oratory or chapel, and I think (says Benvenuto), that it is this San Zeno of which St. Gregory writes in the *Dialogues*, that on one occasion the Adige had inundated Verona, but did not enter the windows of the Church of San Zeno. The third church is about a javelin cast from the river, and there is no fairer church that I have seen in all Verona. And it is to this church in particular that Dante alludes, because it has monks; besides which this Abbot who is now speaking, was Abbot there."

† *buon*: Scartazzini strongly condemns the modern commentators, among whom is Gioberti, who contend that Dante called the Emperor *good* in an ironical sense. He remarks that all the early Commentators understood it in its literal sense, and Venturi was the first to suggest the contrary. Benvenuto says: Dante calls Frederick good, because he was brave, virtuous, energetic, a most successful general, and of a very handsome person, and called Barbarossa from the colour of his beard.

‡ *dolente*: During the sack of Milan 82,000 persons were scattered abroad, and the ruins remained deserted for five years.

Abbot of the Monastery of San Zeno at Verona, and had ruled it admirably. His name remains unknown.

Benvenuto remarks: "For the better understanding of the text, one must know that this spirit says that he lived in the time of the Emperor Frederick I (Barbarossa of Suabia), who reigned 37 years. Frederick was at first a friend of the Church, but later on had a quarrel with Pope Alexander III, who excommunicated him. About that time he had many wars in Italy with the Lombard allies of the Pope. He conquered them all, destroyed Spoleto and Tortona, *Lodia transmūtavit*; he built Crema, and Cremona was given up to him; he assaulted and took Milan in 1163, pulled down its walls, burnt it, ploughed it up, and sowed the site with salt. He slaughtered the Romans horribly. Pope Alexander, fearing his power, took refuge at Venice, where he was received with great reverence. By his favour the Milanese rebuilt their city in 1168.

"The leader of the Venetian fleet in a naval action, took prisoner Henry, the Emperor's son, and brought him to Venice. Frederick Barbarossa, seeing his fortune was deserting him, and that Pope Alexander was being strengthened by the support of Louis VII, King of France, Henry II of England, and William, the excellent King of Sicily, and the allied Venetians and Lombards, asked for peace and pardon by ambassadors, and came to Venice and fell on his knees before the Pope. Pope Alexander placed his foot on the Emperor's neck, saying: 'Thou shalt go upon the serpent and basilisk, and tread the lion and dragon under thy feet.' The Emperor said, 'I kneel to Peter; not to you.' And the Pope answered, 'I am the Vicar of Peter.' Frederick

went afterwards to the Holy Land on a crusade in 1190, and was drowned while bathing in a river near Antioch."

The spirit of the Abbot now complains of the present Abbot Giuseppe, a bastard son of Alberto della Scala, who being deformed, and of less honourable origin than his half-brothers Bartolommeo, Alboino, and the famous Can Grande, ought to have been disqualified for so great a distinction as Abbot of San Zenò. His character moreover ought to have been an insuperable bar to his appointment, but his father Alberto, in his old age, forced him upon the unwilling inmates of the monastery.

E tale ha già l' un piè dentro la fossa,\*  
 Che tosto piangerà quel monastero,  
 E tristo fia d' averne avuto possa ;  
 Perchè suo figlio, mal del corpo intero,†  
 E della mente peggio, e che mal nacque,                   125  
 Ha posto in loco di suo pastor vero."—

And there is one (Alberto della Scala) who already has got one foot in the grave, who soon shall weep for that Monastery, and will lament that he ever held the sway over it ; because, in place of its true Pastor,

\* *tale ha già l' un piè dentro la fossa.* Dante supposes the scene to be taking place in 1300, when Alberto della Scala was already an aged man ; but when Dante really wrote the *Purgatorio*, he knew that Alberto had died in September, 1301 ; and this pronouncement of the Abbot is therefore a simulated prophecy.

† *mal del corpo intero* : Cary translates : "Of body ill compact, and worse in mind," which renders the sense better than most of the translations, including my own previous ones. A Tuscan friend has pointed this out to me. Understand : "male intero del corpo, e peggio (intero) della mente." "Complete" is, I think, a more literal rendering than "compact." The probable reason why the Italian Commentators give so little interpretation of the passage is that "*mal intero del corpo*" is, to an Italian, a perfectly plain expression. *Mal* is an adverb contracted from *male*. The adjective *malo* could not properly be so shortened. The Roman Church has always followed the rule of the Jewish Church (*Leviticus* xxi, 17-21), that no deformed person might enter the priesthood.

he has installed his son (Giuseppe), ill-complete in body, and worse in mind, and who was base-born."

Dante concludes his narration of the interview.

Io non so se più disse, o s' ei si tacque,  
 Tant' era già di là da noi trascorso ;  
 Ma questo intesi, e ritener mi piacque.\*

I know not whether he said more, or whether he ceased speaking, so far beyond us had he already run on; but this much I did hear, and was glad to retain it (in my memory).

Benvenuto thinks Dante's meaning is, that he noted the one fact that it would be his duty to severely censure the violators of sacred things. It is evident that in the above episode Dante has been reproving the lay lords who, in his time, had unjustly taken possession of the goods of Holy Church.

*Division V.*—Dante now teaches how Accidie must be rooted out, by giving some instances of its unfortunate effects.

The examples are followed by warnings. The Israelites who came out of Egypt (compare Canto ii, 46) perished through their cowardly sloth, and did not enter on the inheritance of Canaan (*Numb.* xiv; *Deut.* i, 26-36; *Heb.* iii, 13-19). Many of the companions of Æneas chose to remain in Sicily with Acestes (*Æneid*,

\* *ritener mi piacque*: Bartoli (*Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, vol. vi, part ii, pp. 133, 134) thinks Dante has introduced this Abbot of San Zeno for no other object, than for the purpose of putting into his mouth this vituperation of Alberto della Scala and his bastard son, for both of whom he evidently entertains bitter feelings, and he remarks that the Abbot's censure of them he kept stored in his memory with a pleasure that was somewhat malignant.

v, 746-761), and so forfeited their share in the inheritance of Italy. They chose safety rather than glory, and that was the evidence of the sin of Accidie. Benvenuto begs us to admire how gracefully Dante makes Virgil now introduce two spirits who are both showing their detestation of Accidie.

E quei che m' era ad ogni uopo soccorso 130  
 Disse :—" Volgiti in qua, vedine due  
 Venire, dando all' accidia di morso."—

And he who was my succour in every need, said :  
 " Turn thee hither, behold two of them coming,  
 uttering reproaches against (*lit.* biting at) Accidie."

Benvenuto thinks Dante shows great skill in representing the two first spirits singing the praises of the energetic, such as the Virgin Mary and Julius Cæsar, while the two now arriving, walk, on the other hand, singing the bad examples offered by the Slothful.

Dante next describes the song of the new arrivals, and tells us how they first sang of an instance of the disastrous effect of Sloth on the children of Israel, and then of another from pagan history.

Diretro a tutti dicean :—" Prima fue  
 Morta la gente \* a cui il mar s' aperse,  
 Che vedesse Jordan le erede sue ;"— 135

---

\* *fue Morta* : It will be remembered that of the whole race of the children of Israel who crossed the Red Sea on dry ground, Joshua and Caleb were the only two who lived to enter into the Promised Land. See *Numb.* xiv, 26-32 : " And the Lord spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying, How long shall I bear with this evil congregation, which murmur against me ? I have heard the murmurings of the children of Israel, which they murmur against me. Say unto them, As truly as I live, saith the Lord, as ye have spoken in mine ears, so will I do to you : Your carcasses shall fall in this wilderness ; and all that were numbered of you, according to your whole number, from twenty years old and upward, which have murmured against me, Doubtless ye shall not come into the land concerning which I swear to make you dwell therein, save

E,—“ Quella \* che l' affanno non sofferse  
 Fino alla fine col figliuol d' Anchise,  
 Sè stessa a vita senza gloria offerse.”—

Coming behind all (the others) they said, (the one):  
 “That nation for whom the sea was opened were all  
 dead before the Jordan saw their heirs.” And (the  
 other spirit said): “They who could not endure the  
 toil unto the end with the son of Anchises gave them-  
 selves up to a life without glory.”

The glory would have been to share in founding the  
 mighty Roman Empire, instead of remaining in Sicily  
 in inglorious ease.

Dante now brings to a conclusion what he has to  
 say about Accidie, and with it this noble Canto, by  
 preparing for what has to be described in the Canto  
 that follows, which contains his account of a wonder-  
 ful dream.

Poi quando fôr da noi tanto divise  
 Quell' ombre, che veder più non potèrsi,            140  
 Nuovo pensiero dentro a me si mise,

Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and Joshua the son of Nun. . . .  
 But as for you, your carcasses, they shall fall in this wilderness.”

\* *Quella* (gente): This episode relates an effect of disgraceful  
 Sloth among the Trojans who followed Æneas. When in Sicily  
 he was celebrating funeral games by the tomb of his father  
 Anchises, certain persons, both old men, young men and women,  
 wearied out by their long voyage and hard toils, burnt Æneas's  
 ships, so that they might not have to leave Sicily and confront  
 new dangers. Æneas constituted them as a colony, and left  
 the whole unwarlike crowd in contempt. See Virg. *Æn.* v, 604  
*et seq.* Of these two examples Perez writes: “In esse vien  
 ritratto quel subito abbandonarsi degli accidiosi a misere voglie,  
 e assidersi a piangere e querelarsi, tutti insieme raccolti a danno  
 comune: quel loro bugiardo anteporre qualunque fatica e male  
 del passato al faticoso e temuto presente; quell' aggrandir senza  
 termine i pericoli che li aspettano, porgendo sempre più avido  
 ascolto a chi più sformata o più spaventosa ne fa la pittura; la  
 sconoscente codardigia onde recansi a noja gli stessi beneficj, e  
 tengono a vile ogni alta speranza e promessa: e infine le più  
 splendide imprese per opera loro ritardate, scemate o rattristate  
 da vaste ruine.” (*I Sette Cerchi*, pp. 190-191).



Del qual più altri nacquero e diversi ; \*  
 E tanto d' uno in altro vaneggiar,  
 Che gli occhi per vaghezza † ricopersi,  
 E il pensamento in sogno trasmutai. ‡

145

Then when those spirits had passed so far away from us, that we could no longer see them, a new thought arose within me, from which (in turn) were born other thoughts, many and varying; and so much from one to the other did I ramble on, that I closed my eyes in a reverie, and transformed my meditation into a dream.

\* *pensiero* . . . *Del qual più altri nacquero*: Compare Virg. *Æn.* iv, 285, 286:—

"Atque animam nunc huc celerem, nunc dividit illuc,  
 In partesque rapit varias, perque omnia versat."

The same lines occur in viii, 20, 21. Compare also *Inf.* xiii, 10.

† *vaghezza*: Cesari thinks this expresses a desire on the part of Dante to go to sleep.

‡ At the conclusion of the Canto, Perez (p. 192-3) makes the following reflections: "Perchè in mezzo al correre di questi penitenti, non s'ode preghiera? Anzi, perchè questo è il solo cerchio, a cui non udiamo assegnata preghiera speciale? Forse l'interdetta dolcezza dell'alzare a Dio anche colle labbra la preghiera è acerba ricordanza e pena per anime, che un giorno al pregare furono troppo restie, e che or debbono intendere meglio che mai, come la preghiera è il più sublime tra i privilegi degli uomini, quello che loro permette d'avvicinarsi e parlare a Dio. Forse il continuo raccoglimento nell'orazione mentale, e il pianto misto con essa, tien luogo d'orazione vocale per gente, che dee rammentarsi e piangere le noie e i divagamenti del pregare antico. Fors'anche l'acerbo poeta, che in questo cerchio non nomina altro personaggio, fuorchè un uomo il quale più che altri avrebbe dovuto intendere ad orazione, vuole avvisarci che eziandio il lungo salmeggiare è accidia, se il corpo ne trae allettamenti al suo agio, e l'anima è lontana dai pensieri di Dio; onde poi gli accenti, indovoti e l'agiato sedere è forza scontare col silenzio della pia meditazione e col disagio del correre senza riposo. Se si noti che gli accidiosi dell'Inferno, nell'imo della stigia palude, barbugliano, ma non possono dire parola intera (*Inf.* vii, 125, 126); a che il già accidioso Belacqua nell'Antipurgatorio è tosto riconosciuto da Dante alle corte parole (*Purg.* iv, 121) si potrebbe sospettare che la fina ironia di que due passi scoppiasse, quasi a insaputa Poeta, anco nell'impor silezio agli accidiosi che ci stanno dinnanzi."

It is noticeable that on this Cornice alone there is no request for the intercessory prayers of others. Is there an implied retribution in the omission? Were they, who had been so negligent and apathetic on earth, now to undergo their fate unaided by the sympathy of others?

It is noticeable too that Dante never opens his lips to them: perhaps to indicate his contempt. Moreover he devotes only a few verses to the description of them.

END OF CANTO XVIII.

## CANTO XIX.

THE FOURTH CORNICE OF ACCIDIE (CONCLUDED)—DANTE'S DREAM OF THE SIREN—THE ANGEL OF THE LOVE OF GOD—ASCENT OF THE FIFTH CORNICE—THE PENALTY OF THE AVARICIOUS AND PRODIGAL—POPE ADRIAN V—ALAGIA.

WE left Dante, at the close of the last Canto, falling into a deep sleep. In the opening lines of this Canto, we find him asleep and still in the Fourth Cornice.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

*In the First Division*, from ver. 1 to ver. 33, Dante relates his dream.

*In the Second Division*, from ver. 34 to ver. 69, he describes the appearance of an Angel, who points out the way to him, purifies him from the sin of Accidie, and ushers the two Poets through the entrance by which they ascend to the Fifth Cornice.

*In the Third Division*, from ver. 70 to ver. 126, Dante speaks of the penalty of the Avaricious; and his interview with the spirit of the virtuous Pope Adrian V.

*In the Fourth Division*, from ver. 127 to ver. 145, the spirit of the Pope clears up a doubt in Dante's mind, and convinces him that temporal dignity ends with this life.

*Division I.*—Dante is about to relate his dream, but, before doing so, he is careful to point out that it took place an hour before dawn, thereby implying that it would come true. (See *Purg.* ix, 13 *et seq.*; and *Inf.* xxvi, 7).

Nell' ora \* che non può il calor diurno  
 Intepidar più il freddo della luna,  
 Vinto da terra o talor da Saturno; †  
 Quando i geomanti lor maggior fortuna  
 Veggiono in oriente, innanzi all' alba,  
 Surger per via che poco le sta bruna;

5

At the hour, when the heat of the day, vanquished by the earth, and sometimes by Saturn, can no longer warm the coldness of the moon;—when the geomancers see, before dawn, their Fortuna Major rise in the East, by a path which will not long remain dark for it (the Fortuna Major, so that it may be visible).

\* *Nell' ora*, etc.: Dr. Moore (*Time References*, p. 105), observes: "In this passage we have the hour before dawn on Tuesday, April 12th, described by two indications [or, as Benvenuto says: *dupliciter* = doubly]. 1. It was the coldest hour of the twenty-four. 2. The later stars of Aquarius and the foremost ones of Pisces were on the horizon. This, perhaps, we may be allowed to take for granted is the meaning of the *maggior fortuna* of the wizards, ver. 4. It was a peculiar arrangement of dots, corresponding to one that can be formed out of certain stars on the confines of these two constellations. These were now in the east before the dawn." Compare Chaucer, *Troilus and Cressida*, iii, 1415:—

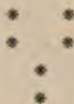
"And whan the cock, commune astrologer,  
 Gan on his brest to beate and after crowe,  
 And Lucifer, the daies messenger,  
 Gan to rise and out his beames throwe,  
 And estward rose, to him that could it know  
 Fortuna Major."

† *talor da Saturno*: It was a popular belief that, when the planet Saturn was on the meridian, greater cold was felt on earth. This idea originated in the fact that the planet in question was the one farthest off from the Sun. Compare Virgil, *Georg.* i, 335, 336:—

"Hoc metuens, coeli menses et sidera serva;  
 Frigida Saturni sese quo stella receptet."

Scartazzini says that the ancients fell into this error from being ignorant of the radiation of heat. Brunetto Latini (*Li Tresor*, lib. i, part iii, cap. cxi) has: "Quar Saturnus, qui est le souverains sor touz, est cruex et felons (*cruel and malignant*) et de froide nature, va par touz les xii signes en i an et xiii jours."

Benvenuto says, that *geomantia* is called *astrologia minor*, and it is said to be a common refuge for astrologers, and ought never to be entirely despised, as it has some of its principles in astrology. But he adds: "They may say what they will, I do not believe at all in geomancy, any more than I believe in astrology." He adds that geomancers use many figures made of dots, but one especially, which they call *Fortuna Major*, which was taken from six stars happening to be seen in an exactly identical position to the six dots, as in the annexed figure:—



Benvenuto remarks that these stars are said to be at the end of the Constellation Aquarius and at the beginning of Pisces. Also that the Indians and Saracens used to go to the sea-shore at sunrise, to mark their dots, either odd or even, on the sand.

Dante, having stated what time it was, now proceeds to relate a dream within a dream. Benvenuto thinks that by it, he wishes to foreshadow the subject he is going to treat of; for, as he has already discussed the first four deadly sins, which are sins of the mind, *viz.*, Pride, Envy, Anger and Sloth, so now, being about to discuss the three remaining, *viz.*, Avarice, Gluttony and Sensuality, which are of the body, and sins that are ever seeking pleasures, he pictures them to be represented by the Siren. The vision seems in part a reproduction of *Prov.* vii, 10-12; the distorted eyes, the bent form, the crippled hands, the extreme pallor, corresponding to the physiognomic signs of those evil passions.

Benvenuto supports this view, as it is a mistake to suppose that the Siren represented Avarice alone.

Mi venne in sogno una femmina \* balba,  
 Negli occhi guercia e sopra i piè distorta,  
 Con le man monche, e di colore scialba.†  
 Io la mirava; e, come il sol conforta 10  
 Le fredde membra che la notte aggrava,  
 Così lo sguardo mio le facea scorta ‡  
 La lingua, e poscia tutta la drizzava  
 In poco d' ora, e lo smarrito volto,  
 Come amor vuol, così le colorava.§ 15

There came to me in dream a woman, stammering, with squinting eyes, and distorted feet, with hands lopped off, and of a pallid hue. I gazed at her; and, as the Sun revives the chilled limbs that the night benumbs, so did my look restore her tongue to liberty, and then in brief space, caused her body to become

\* *femmina*: Contrast the two words *femmina* "a female" in this line, as applied to the false Siren; and *donna*, "a lady," in l. 26.

† *scialba*: pallid, from Latin *exalbare*. See Ariosto, *Ecloga*, p. 234:—

"Qual campestre papavero alla rosa,  
 Qual scialbo salce al sempre verde alloro."

And a MS. Translation of Palladius, cap. 14 (ap. *Gran. Diz.*): "Come la camera dee esser scialbata, e quale è il buono scialbo (i.e. as the room has to be whitened, and what is the best white-wash)."

‡ *le facea scorta La lingua*: Buti interprets this: "cioè parlevile et intelligibile," i.e. gave to her tongue utterance that was intelligible.

§ *lo . . . volto, Come amor vuol, così le colorava*: Some infer from *Vita Nuova*, § xxxvii, "d' un color pallido, quasi come d' amore," and from other passages, that Dante intended to speak of pallor as the colour of Love. But Lombardi comments: "Come richiede amore per far innamorare i risguardanti." And Andreoli: "generalmente c' innamoriamo del roseo." And Dante evidently is meaning to describe some kind of change that passed over the face of the Siren. She is first described as being already pallid (*di colore scialba*), and under Dante's glance she changes colour. I take it therefore to signify a warm blush.

straight, and her pallid cheeks to assume that warm colour, which Love desires.

Benvenuto says that *the stammering tongue* means Avarice, which never speaks openly and clearly but deceitfully; it means Gluttony, because drunkenness makes a man speak thick, and Sensuality, because it makes him a liar and a flatterer. *The squinting eye* denotes Avarice, because the miser is blind from the craving of acquisitiveness and of hoarding; it denotes both Gluttony and Sensuality, because over indulgence destroys the eyes both bodily and mentally. *She is lame*, because in those three sins man never walks in the right paths. *She is maimed*, because the Miser never uses his hands to give, and the Gluttonous and the Sensual never work, but are idle and slothful. All three, the Miser, the Glutton, and the Voluptuary, have pallid faces.

And now Dante describes the soft seductive strains that issued from the mouth of her, who had assumed beauty which was a mockery and deceit.

Poi ch' ell' avea il parlar così\* disciolto,  
Cominciava a cantar sì che con pena  
Da lei avrei mio intento † rivolto.  
—"Io son,"—cantava,—"io son dolce Sirena, ‡

\* *così* : This refers to ll. 12, 13:—

"Così lo sguardo mio le faceva scorta  
La lingua," *et seq.*

† *mio intento* : Compare *Purg.* iii, 12, 13:—

"La mente mia, che prima era ristretta,  
Lo intento rallargò, sì come vaga."

‡ *dolce Sirena* : Scartazzini observes that also in ancient mythology the Sirens were symbols of the attractiveness of worldly pleasures. Pope unconsciously reproduced Dante, when he wrote, in his *Essay on Man*, ii, 219:—





Ancor non era sua bocca richiusa, 25

Quando una donna \* apparve santa e presta  
Lunghesso me † per far colei confusa.

— “O Virgilio, o Virgilio, chi è questa?”—

Fieramente diceva; ed ei venia ‡

Con gli occhi fitti pure in quella onesta. 30

L' altra prendeva, § e dinanzi l' apria

Fendendo i drappi, e mostravami il ventre;

Quel mi svegliò col puzzo || che n' uscia.

Not yet was her mouth closed again, (*i.e.* while she still was singing) when quick at my side there appeared a saintly lady to put her to confusion. “O Virgil, Virgil, who is this?” she sternly exclaimed;

\* *donna*: Benvenuto points out that whereas Dante had called the Siren *femmina*, a female (l. 7), he styles this one *donna*, a far more honourable term. Benvenuto's words are: “Bene vocat istam dominam, ubi illam vocaverat famulam, quia ratio debet dominari, et passio famulari.”

† *Lunghesso me*: “By my side.” Compare *Vita Nuova*, § xxxv: “In quel giorno . . . io mi sedea in parte, nella quale ricordandomi di lei, disegnava un angelo sopra certe tavolette: e mentre io 'l disegnava, volsi gli occhi, e vidi lungo me uomini a' quali si convenia far onore.”

‡ *ei venia*: On this see Benvenuto: “et sic vide quod oculus Dantis in carne positus respiciebat tantum cum delectatione illam primum lubricam, sed oculus Virgilio sine carne respiciebat istam secundam cum veneratione: illa enim videbatur pulchra et amabilis, ista vero rigida, sed venerabilis.”

§ *L' altra prendeva*: Scartazzini agrees with the majority of the Commentators, *e.g.* the *Ottimo*, Benvenuto, Buti, Daniello Venturi, Biagioli, Witte, Ozanam and others, in thinking that the saintly lady seized the stammering one; but some, among whom are Landino, Vellutello, Cesari, Brunone Bianchi, and *Philalethes*, think it was Virgil who laid hold on the Siren.

|| *puzzo*: On this Gioberti has: “Nota lo schifo che ingenera l' ultimo verso. Dante non era poeta molle, che volesse risparmiare ai lettori il disgusto quando è necessario a ritrarre la verità dell' obietto, e tanto più quando conferisce allo scopo morale. Questa donna, dal cui ventre aperto usciva così gran puzzo è colei che tutto 'l mondo appuzza (*Inf.* xvii), cioè la frode, l' inganno, la bugia.” Gioberti is very full of admiration for the life and vivacity of these three lines.

and he advanced with his eyes fixed solely upon that honourable one. She seized the other one, and laid her bare in front, rending her drapery, and showed me her belly; this awoke me with the stench that issued from it.

"L'antagonisme du vice et de la vertu était le sujet d'une fable qui fut chère comme symbole aux mythographes de l'antiquité, et à ses philosophes comme leçon. Le poète italien s'en empare et la rajeunit. Deux femmes lui ont apparu. L'une était pâle, difforme et bègue; mais le regard arrêté sur elle semblait lui rendre la beauté, la couleur et la voix: elle chantait, et Sirène harmonieuse elle captivait déjà les oreilles imprudentes. L'autre se montrait à son tour simple et vénérable, elle jetait un superbe regard sur sa rivale, et faisant déchirer ses vêtements, la laissait voir atteinte d'une infecte corruption. De ces femmes, l'une était la volupté, l'autre la sagesse." (Ozanam, *Dante et la Philosophie Catholique*, p. 138).

Benvenuto praises the words of the Poet with much enthusiasm; and asks if the filth of the miser does not befoul everything beautiful and honourable with its misery, just like the harpies befouled the feast. How great the filth of the glutton. Into what mire does not the drunkard fall from his drunkenness?

*Division II.*—We now learn how Dante, having been called upon three times by Virgil to awake, rouses himself, and finds that it is full daylight, probably about 6.30, of the morning of Easter Tuesday, being the third day that the Poets have been in Purgatory. We are shortly to hear of his purgation by the Angel of sin of Accidia.

Io volsi \* gli occhi al buon Maestro:—"Almen tre  
 Voci t' ho messe,"— dicea:—"surgi e vieni, 35  
 Troviam la porta † per la qual tu entre."—  
 Su mi levai, e tutti eran già pieni  
 Dell' alto dì i giron del sacro monte,  
 Ed andavam col sol nuovo alle reni. ‡  
 Seguendo lui, portava la mia fronte 40  
 Come colui che l' ha di pensier carca,  
 Che fa di sè un mezzo arco di ponte ;

I turned my eyes to the good Master: "At least three calls have I given thee," he said; "arise and come on, let us find the opening through which thou mayest enter." I arose, and already were all the Cornices of the holy mountain filled with the broad daylight, and we were walking (towards the West) with the newborn Sun at our backs. Following him, I carried my head as one who is overwhelmed with thought, and who (by stooping) makes of himself a half arch of a bridge.

\* *Io volsi*, et seq.: Dr. Moore, speaking of the multiplicity of variants in this passage, writes: "The readings in these two lines are recorded on account of the extraordinary variations in the MSS., but I do not see how to determine what may have been the original reading. Nor can the exact reading of the old Commentators be determined in any case but those of Benvenuto and Buti, as noted above." (*Textual Criticism*, pp. 393, 394.)

† *la porta*: Some read *l' aperta*; others *l' aperto*.

‡ *sol nuovo alle reni*: "In lines 37-39 it was now full daylight, with the Sun on their backs, so that they were still journeying towards the West, when they enter the fifth Cornice, where Avarice and Prodigality are punished. Observe here the admirable fitness with which Dante times his progress so that the time spent in the Cornice where Accidia, or Spiritual Sloth, is punished is exactly coincident with the hours of the night—the night when no man can work." He enters it as darkness comes on (as we read in xvii, 70-80), and leaves it next morning, as soon as he awakes with the *nuovo sol* (xix, 38), being mildly chided by Virgil for the length of his slumbers (xix, 34). I might perhaps, mention here that it will be found that in each of the other Cornices he spends from three to five hours." Dr. Moore (*Time References*, p. 106).

In two lives of Dante it is mentioned that he stooped. Boccaccio (*Vita di Dante*, in Boccaccio's commentary, vol. i, p. 37) says: *Andò alquanto curvetto*; and Filippo Villani (*Vita Dantis*, ap. Scartazzini): "*Is dum annis maturuisset, curvatis aliquantulum renibus incedebat, incessu lamen gravi, mansuetudoque aspectu.*"

Dante is deep in meditation, thinking about his wonderful dream, when the Angel addresses him; and we are to infer that he shows himself to Dante, though that fact is not actually stated; only his broad white swan-like wings being mentioned. Perez (*op. cit.* p. 195) thinks the Angel did not show himself at all, except by his wings, but l. 54 speaks of him as flying slightly above the heads of the Poets as they scale the ascent to the Cornice above.\* Dante is always very precise, and while it might be contended that, by the wings alone being mentioned, nothing more was seen of the Angel, it might equally be maintained that, where an Angel's radiance is too powerful for the human eye to face, Dante is careful to mention the circumstance, as in *Purg.* xv, 14, where he expressly states that he had to make a sunshade of his hands. The Angel first calls the Poets to the opening of the stairway; he next seemingly guides them with his wings into it; he then fans Dante, and with a wing-like stroke erases the fourth P. from his brow; and finally he dismisses him with the benediction, "Blessed are they that mourn."

Quand' io udi':—"Venite, qui si varca,"—  
Parlare in modo soave e benigno,

\*That idea of the Angel however is not in accordance with the one of the two disputed interpretations of l. 54, which I have adopted.

Qual non si sente in questa mortal marca.\* 45  
 Con l' ali aperte che parean di cigno,  
 Volseci in su colui che sì parlonne,  
 Tra' due pareti † del duro macigno.  
 Mosse le penne poi e ventilonne,  
 Qui lugent affermando esser beati, ‡ 50  
 Ch' avran di consolar l' anime donne. §

\* *marca*, march, is used in the same sense as it is in *Marca Trevigiana*, the region or district of Treviso. The word is found in the Gothic *Marca*, a border country (see Skeat's *Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*, s.v. "mark"), and also in the Icelandic *Mark* (border-land), which Vigfusson (*Icelandic Dictionary*) says is a word common to all Teutonic languages, and the original sense is "outline, border."

† *Tra' due pareti*: Buti comments: "cioè tra du' pareti del monte ch' era di pietra macigna, u' era scala da montare in suso. Questi du' pareti di pietra dura significano due costanzie e fermesse, che dè avere chi monta a purgarsi del peccato de la avarizia; cioè prima lo lato ritto duro a resistere, che l' avversità non lo rompa, e così si purgherà del peccato de la avarizia."

‡ *Qui lugent . . . esser beati*: Perez (*op. cit.* p. 194) says that these tears are not the useless and cowardly tears which, mixed with blood, were shed by the caitiff throng in the vestibule of Hell, and gathered up under their feet by foul reptiles. "Questo è pianto onestamente operoso, che, misto ai solerti passi e alle accese meditazioni, col penitente fervore adempie l' antico difetto di carità. E tal pianto benedice l' Angelo guardiano del cerchio."

§ *donne*: The *Voc. della Crusca*, s.v. "donna," § 9, has "Donna e madonna, vale Padrona assoluta." The *Vocabolario* quotes the following from Lippi's *Malmantile*, cant. x, st. 65, which exactly explains the use of the word here:—

"Il Re di questo Regno, giunto a morte,  
 La mia cugina qui, che fu sua donna  
 (Non avendo figliuoli o altri in corte  
 Propinqui più) lasciò donna e madonna."

I translate the above: "The King of this realm, being at the point of death—having no children or other near relations surviving at his court—left my cousin, who was his wife, absolute proprietress (*donna e madonna*) here of everything." Here we have *donna* in the double sense, of (a) the wife; (b) the proprietress. Andreoli has: "*donne, proprietarie* (Lat. *dominæ*)." Brunone Bianchi is very clear: "affermando essere beati coloro che non essendo accidiosi, piangono le colpe loro; imperciocchè avranno l' anime loro *donne di consolar*, cioè posseditrici di consolazione." Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) says the sentence is exceedingly hard to ex-

When I heard : "Come, here is the passage," uttered in so sweet and gentle a tone, as one never hears in this region of mortals. With outspread wings that seemed as if of a swan, did he who thus had spoken to us turn us upwards between the two walls of hard rock. Then he moved his pinions, and fanned us, affirming that they are blessed *qui lugent* (that mourn on earth), for (in heaven) they shall have their souls endowed with comfort (*lit.* mistresses of consolation).

We said on page 113 that the Angel had erased the fourth P. from Dante's brow. He has now therefore but three remaining, namely,

- the P. of Avarice and Prodigality;
- the P. of Gluttony; and
- the P. of Sensuality.

The Poets are now ascending the stairway leading from the Fourth to the Fifth Cornice. Dante is absorbed in deep thought. Virgil asks the reason. Dante replies that a new vision has entered into his mind. Virgil shows Dante that he has read his thoughts, and that his vision was of a certain Sorceress, allegorically representing the fleeting pleasures of the world, which are to be expiated in the Three Cornices above them. He admonishes Dante how man may avoid the spells.

—"Che hai, che pure in vèr la terra guati?"\*

plain, but as the words evidently refer to the words in *St. Matthew* v, 4, "Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted," one must take *donne* in the sense "they shall be mistresses of, *i.e.* it shall be in their power," and *di consolar* in the passive signification of "to be consoled." Blanc admits however that this is very far fetched, and I think the signification I have given above of *donna* as *padrona*, or *proprietaria*, absolute mistress, or proprietress, is a sufficient rendering of the words to make the sentence perfectly intelligible.

\**guati*: not for *guardi*. *Guardare* is simply to look, and is akin to the German *wahren*, *warten*. *Guatare* or *guaitare* It., Fr. *guaiter*, Fr. *guetter*, to watch; Subst. Crem. Pr. *guaita*, O.

Che sola sopra noi omai si piagne ? ||  
Vedesti come l' uom da lei si slega ?  
Bastiti, e batti a terra le calcagne ;  
Gli occhi rivolgi al logoro ¶ che gira

Fr. *guette*, Fr. (m.) *guet*; from O. H. G. *wahtên*, G. *wachi*, Goth. *vahtvô*, E. *watch*. Hence It. Pr. *aguaitar*, O. Fr. *aguetier*=*guatare*, It. *agu*, Fr. *aguet* (usu. in pl.), ambush, whence *daguet*=kin, *Etymological Dictionary*, London, 1864.) I use two words indifferently.

\* *sormontati*: This passage can be translated namely (a) "When we had ascended a little way ; where we had left the Angel," and that is the i adopt ; or (b) "Being, where we both were on ascended by the Angel," or, "with the Angel fly tance above us."

† *suspizion*: Others read *suspension*. It means tion, doubt, misgiving."

‡ *a sè mi piega*: Compare *Purg.* iv, 7-8 :—

"quando s' ode cosa o vede,  
Che tenga forte a sè l'anima volta."

§ *antica strega*: The lust of deceitful pleasure ago as the time of Adam and Eve in the Garde

|| *Che sola . . . si piagne*: I have translated: "w be wept for." Benvenuto gives the same inte with the choice of another, namely, "who i (because we have departed from her, and she v turn us out of our way)."

¶ *Gli occhi rivolgi al logoro*, et seq. On these berti exclaims: "Si potea dir meglio? Vedi siero: *Purg.* xiv, 148-151 :—

<sup>1</sup> Chiamavi il cielo, e intorno vi si gira,  
Mostrandovi le sue bellezze eterne.

Lo Rege eterno con le rote magne.\*—

"What aileth thee that thou gazest only on the earth?" my Guide began to say to me, when we had both ascended a little way above the Angel. And I: "With such misgiving makes me to go a new vision, which so bends me to it, that I cannot dissever me from the thought of it." "Hast thou seen," said he, "that ancient sorceress, who alone has to be wept for (in the three Cornices) above us? Hast thou seen how man is delivered from her? Let that suffice thee, and strike the earth with thy heels (*i.e.* quicken thy steps) and turn thine eyes upward to the lure which the Eternal King whirleth with vast revolutions."

Virgil notices Dante's eyes bent upon the ground. The Almighty is compared to a falconer; and Virgil bids Dante look up to the falconer's lure, meaning that Man must use this world's goods, such as wealth, food, luxuries, only so far as are necessary to sustain life, and treat them as things to be trodden under foot, as little and vile, but let his mental contemplation be towards heaven, eternal and immortal. Then Dante shows, by a noble comparison, how eagerly he proceeded to follow Virgil's advice, and Benvenuto notices how appropriate the comparison is. As the hawk, which is by its nature light, flies up on high in a spirited manner by a number of great wheels, so did our Poet fly, by the wings of his mind wheeling round and round the Cornices of the high mountain. And as the falcon first looks down at its feet, so is

\* *rote magne*: Compare *Purg.* viii, 16-18:—

"E l' altre poi dolcemente e devote  
Seguitar lei per tutto l' inno intero  
Avendo gli occhi alle superne rote."

Gisberti thinks that, comparing *rote* in the present passage with *Purg.* xiv, 148 (see above), one finds the same idea expressed in both. We may understand *rote* here as "The Heavens."



quarry. He concludes the description by  
he ascended.

Quale il falcon che prima ai piè si mira \*  
Indi si volge al grido, † e si protende  
Per lo disio del pasto che là il tira ;  
Tal mi fec' io § e tal, quanto si fende  
La roccia per dar via a chi va suso,  
N' andai infino ove il cerchiar si pre

Even as the falcon, which first surveys his  
turns him to the call, and spreads his wings  
the desire of the food that draws him thither

\* *ai piè si mira* : Cesari (*Bellezze*, vol. ii, p. 340)  
the falcon looks impatiently down at its feet, which  
to the perch by the jesses.

† *si volge al grido* : This may either be that the  
the falconer when he cries " *Sa ha ! Sa ha !* " or,  
the cry of the bird that is its quarry, it turns its  
eye in that direction. Ariosto (*Orl. Fur.* xliiii, 1)  
small boat that moves with the rapidity of a falcon  
the call of its master :—

" fende  
Con tanta fretta il suttil legno l' onde,  
Che con maggiore a logoro non scende  
Falcon ch' al grido del padron risponde."

‡ *si protende* : The falcon on being roused by the  
of the falconer, or of the quarry, spreads out  
struggles to escape from the jesses that restrain it

§ *Tal mi fec' io* : Buti sees an allegory in Dante  
of himself to the falcon. His contemplation of  
self-inspection of his affections, which have been  
the righteous amount of submission conducive

was I then, and such, so far as the rock is cleft to afford a passage to him who would ascend, did I move onwards to where the circling begins (*i.e.* up to the level pathway of the Fifth Cornice).

The stairways, Benvenuto thinks, always mounted straight up, and all the Cornices were circular throughout Purgatory.

Venturi (*Similitudini Dantesche*, Firenze, 1874, p. 257), observes that Dante drew many similes from the falcon; \* and Ariosto and Pulci later on followed in his footsteps; for in the olden days of Chivalry, Hawking took no mean place.

*Division III.*—The penance and purgation of the Avaricious are now described. Benvenuto says that Dante purges the Avaricious in the most perfect manner. He represents them all lying on the ground with their faces to the earth and their backs turned towards heaven, and with their hands and feet tied, weeping and lamenting. What Dante represents is explained a little further on. One must imagine that he who wishes to purge himself from the sin of Avarice has to recollect and mourn over the life that he has wasted on earth. For if the Slothful man abstains from doing good through laziness, the Avaricious man does all manner of evil from wickedness;

---

\* In the *Divina Commedia* there are six or seven references to the sport of falconry. "If any phase of animal existence is portrayed by Dante in a masterly way, it is to be found in his pictures of hawks; for he understood them well, and painted their portraits in a few entirely natural attitudes. In his treatment of this purely medieval theme Dante is distinctly modern. One will scarcely find more accurate observation in the superb poems of Leconte de Lisle." (*Dante and the Animal Kingdom*, by Dr. Richard Thayer Holbrook, New York, 1902, p. 252.)

he turns his back on heaven and worships the world; he keeps his hands and feet bound, for he gives to no one, nor goes to any one's assistance, and is the most miserable of men. He is just like some animals who will sacrifice, of their own accord, some part of their body to save their lives—the fox, for instance, has been known to bite off its own foot when caught in a trap. So does the Avaricious man expose his soul to manifest death, for the sake of acquiring or protecting a small modicum of money.

Com' io nel quinto giro fui dischiuso,\* 70  
 Vidi gente per esso che piangea,†  
 Giacendo a terra tutta volta in giuso.‡  
*Adhaesit pavimento anima mea,§*  
 Senti' dir lor con sì alti sospiri  
 Che la parola appena s' intendea. 75

\* *nel quinto giro fui dischiuso*: lit. became un-shut into the fifth circle. Dante had been, during his ascent of the stairway, shut in between the wall of rock on either side.

† *gente . . . che piangea*: These are the spirits of the Avaricious or Miserly. In *Purg.* xxii, 49 *et seq.* we shall find Statius explicitly telling Dante that he is among the Prodigals, and that both are punished on this Cornice, for their respective misuses of money.

‡ *tutta volta in giuso*: Dean Plumptre observes: "As in *Inf.* vii, 25, 26, the Misers and Prodigals are grouped together as exhibiting different aspects of the same evil. On earth their looks, like those of Milton's Mammon (*Par. Lost*, i, 681) have been ever "downward bent," and their penance is to lie prostrate on the earth, uttering the words of *Psalm* cxix, 25. These words form part of the service of Prime in the Roman Breviary, and it was at this hour that Dante heard them in Purgatory. . . . We may also call to mind the concluding words of the verse which begins: "My soul cleaveth unto the dust: quicken Thou me according to Thy word." Dean Plumptre also notices the courteousness of the address to the spirits in v. 76: "Such should be the tone of every soul seeking its own purification, towards others who are under a like discipline for like sins."

§ *Adhaesit pavimento anima mea*: "È stata aderente al pavimento l'anima mia! Così incomincia quel prego, che dicendo tosto di poi, *Ravvivami secondo la tua parola*, pone in bel raffronto le ricchezze

As soon as I came forth into the fifth Circle, I saw people upon it that were weeping as they lay upon the ground altogether turned (face) downwards. *Adhæsit pavimento anima mea*, I heard them say with such deep sighs, that one could hardly distinguish the words,

Virgil now addresses the spirits, asking them to point out the way, and one of them at once replies. This spirit is evidently in doubt as to whether the Poets are to suffer at all in this Circle, or whether they have come into Purgatory by some special grace of God. Dante, anxious for further information, by one of those rapid interchanges of signs so common in Italy, asks and obtains Virgil's permission to converse with this new spirit.

—“O eletti di Dio,\* li cui soffriri †  
E giustizia e speranza fan men duri,  
Drizzate noi verso gli alti saliri.”—  
—“Se voi venite dal giacer sicuri,  
E volete trovar la via più tosto,

80

della terra e quelle del cielo; la morte e la vita dell' anima, la ruggine del basso metallo e la luce del Verbo divino. *L'aderirsi dell' anima* esprime acconciamente la sede del peccato, che è nell' affetto, e non già nella ricchezza; e insieme accenna la quasi materiale tenacità di quell' affetto. *Pavimento* parmi ivi parola ancor più bella che *terra*, se si riguardi alla sua origine nel verbo *parari*, o *calpestare*: chè veramente cosa degna d' essere calpestata e' offre adesso a que' contriti il tesoro ove posero il cuore.” (Perez, *op. cit.* p. 213.)

\* *O eletti di Dio*, et seq.: Gioberti notices that every time Dante addresses the spirits in Purgatory, he does so in words that are full of courtesy and kindness, always with a thought of what may best give them consolation in their trial.

† *Soffriri* and *saliri* (l. 78): There were many similar words in use in Dante's time, now obsolete, such as *amari*, *abbracciari*, *parlari*. We find them frequently in Boccaccio. These are plural substantives formed from the infinitives of the verbs. Compare *Conv.* iv, canz. iii. *Le dolce rime d' amor*. Str. iv, ll. 14, 15:—

“Per che a intelletti sani  
È manifesto i lor diri esser vani.”

"O ye elect of God, whose sufferings are less hard by justice and hope, direct ascents on high (*i.e.* to the stairway leading next Cornice)." "If you come exempt to lie prostrate, and wish to find speedily, let your right hand be always raised." Thus did the Poet make his request, and an answer come to us from a little in our fore I by the voice discerned that other was) concealed; and then I turned my Lord: whereupon he with a cheerful smile to what my wistful countenance had be-

Armed with Virgil's permission, Dante took his name, the reason of the prostrate countenance of himself and his companions in suffering, and his good offices for him with his friend

---

\* *di fuori* is for *di fuori*, *all' esterno*. We must remember that if the Poets on reaching the top of the stairway turned right, as they walked along the new Cornice, they would naturally be nearest to the outer margin.

† *Nel parlare avvisai l' altro nascosto*: Torraca "Avvisai, intesi, colsi, nelle parole, ciò che esprime il dubbio e il desiderio: Possibile che costoro non si marsi in questo cerchio?—Dirigeteci alla scalinata." E lo spirito aveva risposto pronto: "giacer sicuri." Cf. *Inf.* x, 18, 19."

‡ *volsi gli occhi*: See *Purg.* xv, 10.

Poi ch' io potei di me fare a mio senno,  
 Trassimi sopra quella creatura,\*  
 Le cui parole pria notar mi fenno, 90  
 Dicendo:—"Spirto, in cui pianger matura †  
 Quel senza il quale a Dio tornar non puossi,  
 Sosta un poco per me tua maggior cura. ‡  
 Chi fosti, e perchè vòlti avete i dossi  
 Al su, mi di', e se vuoi ch' io t' impetri 95  
 Cosa di là ond' io vivendo mossi."

As then I was empowered to act according to my inclination, I moved on (and stood) over that being, whose words had first made me notice him, saying: "Spirit, in whom tears are ripening that (fruit of repentance) without which one cannot return to God, lay aside for a while thy greater care for my sake. Tell me, who thou wast, and why (all of) you have your backs upturned, and whether thou wouldst have me obtain aught for thee there whence I set forth alive."

Benvenuto points out that by these last words Dante indirectly answers the implied question on the part of the spirit (l. 79), when he says: "If you come exempted from having to lie prostrate." The whole scene reminds one of that described in *Inferno* (Canto xix), where

\* *Trassimi sopra quella creatura*: Benvenuto interprets this in its plain unvarnished sense: "I came and stood over that being, that is, Pope Adrian, because he, being on his face, could not see to me." Some Commentators attempt to put far-fetched interpretations on the passage.

† *matura*: Gioberti prefers Lombardi's explanation of *matura*, "coco, affretta, accelera."

‡ *Sosta un poco per me tua maggior cura*: "Qui *cura* non val forse sollecitudine, come si suole interpretare; ma sollecitudine unita ad ansia, ad ambascia, ad affanno, quale è quello degli spiriti purganti, secondo indica lo stesso v. 91. E mi sembra che la *cura* del v. 93, sia appunto il *piangere* del v. 91. Intorno al qual significato della voce *cura* v. supra Canto ix, v. 67. Benchè forse possa anch' essere la chiosa comune; e che ivi dica Dante *maggior cura* nel senso in cui la disse sup. ii, 129, il che dà anche buon senso." (Gioberti.)

Dante has been carried by Virgil to the place where the wicked Pope Nicholas Orsini is being punished, and stands over him like a friar confessing an assassin going to be buried alive.\* We have here one of those curious and felicitous contrasts of which Dante is so fond. In *Inf.* xix we read the story of a wicked Pope. In *Purg.* xix is told the story of a good Pope. The speaker is Ottobuoni Fieschi, who was elected Pope as Adrian V, July 12, 1276. He died at Viterbo on the 3rd of August the same year. Sestri and Chiavari (in the text *Chiaveri*) are two towns of the Eastern Riviera, which were subject to Genoa. The river is the Lavagna, whence the Fieschi family took their title. Adrian died before his admission to the priesthood, and was therefore neither consecrated nor crowned as Pope. He had been sent by Innocent IV, in 1268, as a legate, to reconcile Henry III, King of England, and his barons, and to reform abuses in the Church. Adrian was, Benvenuto tells us, a nephew of Innocent IV, and when his friends and relations came to congratulate him on his election, he is reported to have said: "It was better for you to have a live Cardinal than a dead Pope." He only sat on the throne of St. Peter one month and eight days. Benvenuto gives the date as 1273. Pope Adrian's speech is one of the fine passages in the *Purgatorio*. He begins by notifying to Dante that his second question, as to the mode of their punishment, will be answered later, but meanwhile he tells him what had been his dignity,

---

\* Compare *Inf.* xix, 49, 50 :—

"Io stava come il frate che confessa

Lo perfido assassin," etc.

So, too, here has Dante to stoop to converse with this Pope. In *Inf.* xix, Nicholas tells him (*ver.* 69) :—

"Sappi ch' io fui vestito del gran manto."

and what the place of his birth, how long he occupied the Papal Throne, and the hardship he found it.

Ed egli a me:—"Perchè i nostri diretri  
 Rivolga il cielo a sè, saprai: ma prima,  
*Scias quod ego fui successor Petri.\**  
 Intra Siestri e Chiaveri si adima 100  
 Una fiumana bella, e del suo nome  
 Lo titol del mio sangue fa sua cima. †  
 Un mese e poco più ‡ prova' io come  
 Pesa il gran manto a chi dal fango il guarda,  
 Che piuma sembran tutte l' altre some. 105

And he to me: "Why Heaven makes us turn our backs to it, thou shalt learn: but first know that I was the successor of Peter. Between Sestri and Chiavari

\* *successor Petri*: Of Adrian V the *Falso Boccaccio* relates: "Costui tutto il tempo di sua vita non avea atteso ad altro che a raunare pecunia e avere, per giungere a quel punto d'essere papa, posto che poco il godesse: e veggendosi papa e nella maggior signoria che si possa avere, si riconobbe e parvegli essere entrato nel maggior lacciato [*net*] del mondo, e così de' essere avere a governare e avere cura dell' anime di tutta la cristianità; e ricognosciutosi sè medesimo ispregiò l' avarizia e tutti gli altri vizii."

† *fa sua cima*: On this Buti says: "cioè fa sua altezza: imperò che infine a quel grado d' altezza montonno, che prima erano chiamati quelli dal Fiesco; poi funno chiamati conti di Lavagna." *Cesari (Bellezze, vol. ii, p. 349)*: "Ed egli ere Adriano Papa V Fieschi, de' Conti di Lavagno: e questo è ciò, che dice Dante al modo suo proprio; che il titolo della sua casa fa sua cima del nome di quel fiume; cioè piglia il titolo da quel fiume, ne fa suo cognome o arme. Ma perocchè questo *far sua cima* mi suona un contal che d' onore (*something after the fashion of an honourable distinction*); vorrà forse dire, che da Lavagno fu la sua famiglia nobilitata della contea."

‡ *Un mese e poco più*, et seq.: "E appresso lui a dì dodici di Luglio fu chiamato Papa messere Ottobuono cardinale dal Fiesco della città di Genova, il quale non vivette che trentanove di nel papato, e fu chiamato papa Adriano quinto." (*Giov. Villani, Lib. vii, cap. 50.*) Compare *Purg. xvi, 127-129*:—

"La Chiesa di Roma,

Per confondere in sè due reggimenti,  
 Cade nel fango, e sè brutta e la soma."



there rushes down a fair river, and from its name (Lavagna) the title of my race takes its proudest distinction. For one month and a little more I experienced how heavily the great mantle weighs on him who keeps it out of the mire (*i.e.* wears it with dignity), so much so that all other burdens seem but feathers.

Pope Adrian now goes on to show when and why he recognised the error of his ways.

La mia conversiōne, omè l fu tarda; \*  
 Ma come fatto fui Roman Pastore,  
 Così scopersi la vita bugiarda. †  
 Vidi che lì non si quetava il core, ‡  
 Nè più salir poteasi § in quella vita ;

110

\* *conversione . . . tarda*: Scartazzini thinks Adrian must have delayed his conversion until after his election as Pope, and we know that he was old when so elected, and only lived 38 days afterwards. He should rightly therefore be still in Ante-Purgatory. Was he rescued therefrom by righteous prayers, or was his penitence so saintly as to wipe off the years that he should have tarried in Ante-Purgatory?

† *la vita bugiarda*: Gioberti says "perchè promettitrice di cose che non attende." Compare *Conv.* iv, 12, ll. 39-50: "Promettono le false traditrici, se ben si guarda, di torre ogni sete e ogni mancanza, e apportar saziamento e bastanza. E questo fanno nel principio a ciascuno uomo, questa promessa in certa quantità di loro accrescimento affermando; e poichè quivi sono adunate, in loco di saziamento e di refrigerio, danno e recano sete di casso febricante e intollerabile: e in loco di bastanza, recano nuovo termine, cioè maggior quantità a desiderio." Compare also *Purg.* xxx, 131, 132.

‡ *non si quetava il core*: "poichè interminabili gli umani desiderii, a contentare i quali solo basta una beatitudine infinita, e una vita immortale." (Gioberti.)

§ *Nè più salir poteasi*: Benvenuto considers this is very good reasoning, for what sovereign has such dignity and power as the Pope? Others have to rule over mortal affairs; but he over spiritual matters. Others get their pre-eminence from man; but he from the earthly wisdom of God. Others have power over earthly matters; he has the freedom of eternal ones, and indeed, as they say, he is the ruler over both the living and the dead. Therefore there neither is, nor can be anything greater in the whole Christian world, although now-a-days that great office does not seem to be highly esteemed.

Per che di questa in me s' accese amore.  
 Fino a quel punto misera e partita  
 Da Dio anima fui, del tutto avara : \*  
 Or, come vedi, qui ne son punita.

My conversion, alas! was tardy; but, when I had become the Roman Pastor (*i.e.* Pope), then I discovered how false (human) life is. In it I found that the heart had no repose, nor was it possible to rise higher in that life; wherefore the desire for this (immortal life) was kindled in me. Up to that time I was a wretched soul, and severed from God, wholly given up to Avarice: now, as thou seest, I am punished for it here.

Benvenuto says that Adrian speaks true, for the followers of Avarice are cut off from communion with God; nor, indeed, is the Avaricious man satisfied by the gratification of his desires. Benvenuto tells in illustration a story of a kinsman of this same Adrian. This was the head of the Fieschi, who was the richest of all churchmen; he was appointed by the Emperor Rudolph Vicar of the Empire, and the expense utterly ruined him.

In the early days of the Christian Church the dignity of the Papacy was not one at all to be coveted, as nearly all the early Pontiffs were dragged off to execution and martyrdom; but now the dignity is sought after with such ambition, that fraud, bribes and promises have a large share in influencing the election. That is the probable explanation of Benvenuto saying that now-a-days the office is not greatly esteemed; it is coveted

\* *del tutto avara*: "wholly avaricious." *del tutto* is a regular adverb, meaning "wholly, altogether." Many of the English translations render it "covetous of all," as if it were "di tutto." Dr. Shadwell (now Provost of Oriel College, Oxford), whose renderings of Italian are faithful and elegant, translates it correctly.



E nulla pena il monte ha più amara.\*

Si come l' occhio nostro non s' aderse †

In alto, fisso alle cose terrene,

Così giustizia qui a terra il merse.

120

Come avarizia spense a ciascun bene

Lo nostro amore, onde operar perdèsi, ‡

Così giustizia qui stretti § ne tiene

Nè' piedi e nelle man legati || e presi ;

\* *nulla pena il monte ha più amara*: The best interpretation of this will be found in Perez (*op. cit.* p. 201): "Ogni vero penitente, io penso, è inclinato a credere il proprio fallo più grave di ogni fallo altrui; e però se gli fosse imposta tal pena che gli porgesse viva e continua ricordanza di quello, egli dovrebbe giudicar siffatta pena più amara di ogni altra. La pena poi del quinto cerchio sembra più delle altre accomodata a dar di continuo all' anima le atroci punture della memoria: poichè mentre negli altri cerchi il doloroso andare o sedere rappresenta più o meno gli atti della virtù contraria al vizio antico, qui invece il doloroso aderire alla terra col dosso rivolto al cielo rende imagine dello stesso antico vizio nella sua parte più rea e sconoscente. Ma lasciata per questa ragione, all' altero e libero petto di Dante poteva parer pena più amara di tutte quella che più sembra all' uomo togliere di sua dignità, e legatolo quasi vile mancipio, diniegarli la signoria de' propri atti. Forse per tal ragione a chi peccò di superbia e di avarizia, vizi capitalissimi e radice degli altri, egli assegna a espiazione un atteggiamento tutto servile: la gente del primo cerchio oppressa da gran pesi; la gente del quinto gravata di dure catene."

† *aderse*: *Adergere* is from *ad-erigere*.

‡ *onde operar perdèsi*: Scartazzini says this must not be translated: "All our work was lost, was in vain," but "All our power, our faculty for good works was lost."

§ *stretti*: Scartazzini advocates the joining of *stretti* with *legati*, a mode I have adopted. He thinks *stretti* is used adverbially for *strettamente*.

|| *Nè' piedi e nelle man legati*: Compare *St. Matt.* xxii, 13: "Then said the king to the servants, Bind him hand and foot, and take him away, and cast him into outer darkness; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth." And Perez: "I lacci poi, che tengono avvinti e mani e piedi al duro terreno; i lacci, a cui nella Bibbia son paragonate le insidie delle ricchezze, bene esprimono i raggiri onde l' avaro annoda sè e altrui nell' acquistarle, le cure che lo stringono nel custodirle, la passione da cui non può stricarsi quand' egli deve e pur non vorrebbe lasciarle. Meritamente stanno allaccio le mani, che nel sacro eloquio raffigurano le opere, e che

E quanto fia piacer del giusto Sire,\* 125  
Tanto staremo immobili † e distesi."—

What is the effect of Avarice, is here made manifest in the purgation of the converted souls, and the mountain has no more bitter penalty. As our eyes, fixed on earthly things, were not lifted up on high, even so has justice sunk them to the ground in this place. Even as Avarice extinguished our love for all things good, whereby our faculty for good works was lost, so justice here doth hold us in restraint, fast bound and fettered by the hands and feet; and for so long as it be the will of the Righteous Lord, so long shall we remain motionless and stretched out."

*Division IV.*—Dante now solves a point which has always been a doubtful one to him, namely, whether temporal dignity ceases with temporal death. He pictures himself as having knelt down with the intention of doing homage to the Pope's high office and was probably about to say, thinks Benvenuto: "Holy Father, I entreat Your Holiness, to excuse my natural ignorance, for I was not aware of your being Pope."

Benvenuto wishes us to take note that to no living person among Christians is any greater reverence paid than to the Pope, even though he may be the vilest and

---

così a lungo furono chiuse, così raro s' allargarono. Meritamente allacciati i piedi, che figurano gli affetti e quasi i passi con cui l' anima cammina: i piedi, che l' avaro non move mai a' bisogni de' fratelli non diparte mai dalla guardia de' male amati tesori. Siffatti vincoli sono convenienti simboli del modo con cui gl' ingiusti possessori a sè avvincolano i beni esterni." (*I Sette Cerchi*, p. 199-200.)

\* *quanto fia piacer del giusto Sire*: It would seem from this line that these spirits are in ignorance of how long they will have to lie on the ground.

† *immobili*: "L' immobilità poi e l' irrigidimento di tutta la persona ci fa riconoscere la condizione dell' anima avara, a sè e agli altri arida e dispietata: quel suo indurare, e quasi non più muoversi umano." (*Perez*, p. 201.)

most vicious of men, and many think this is almost a miracle. Dante himself touched elegantly on this once at Verona, when, supping with some distinguished persons, some one asked out of curiosity: "Why is it, most learned Dante, that a sailor who has suffered shipwreck ever goes to sea again: that a woman who has once borne a child ever wishes to conceive again: and that such thousands of poor do not swallow up the few rich?" To which the very prudent Dante, fearing to furnish error to the least intelligent guests, evading the question, replied: "Add a fourth question, Why do all the kings and princes of the earth reverently kiss the foot of the son of a barber and washerwoman when he is made Pope?" Although Dante had not yet spoken, he may have uttered some sound of his voice or his throat preparatory to doing so, and Pope Adrian perceives that Dante has stooped nearer to him. He asks the reason, and, on hearing from Dante that it is out of reverence for his dignity on earth, hastily bids him to rise up on his feet, and to treat him as an equal.

Observe, Dante now addresses the Pope with the reverential "voi," whereas before, he had spoken to him with the more colloquial "tu." See l. 91, *et seq.*

Io m' era inginocchiato, e volea dire;  
Ma com' io cominciai, ed ei s' accorse,  
Solo ascoltando, del mio riverire :\*

\*At the end of his conversation with Pope Nicholas, Dante breaks forth into a reproach against the avarice of the Pastors of the Church. At the end of his interview with this Pope, also doing penance for avarice, he humbly bends the knee to do homage to his high dignity. And even in *Inf.* xix, ver. 100, while using words that were somewhat forcible, he says:—

"E se non fosse, che ancor lo mi vieta  
La riverenza delle somme chiavi,  
Che tu tenesti nella vita lieta,  
I' userei parole ancor più gravi," &c.

- “Qual cagion,”—disse,—“in giù così ti torse?”— 130  
 Ed io a lui:—“Per vostra dignitate  
 Mia coscienza dritto mi rimorse.”\*—  
 —“Drizza le gambe, lèvati su, frate,”—  
 Rispose:—“non errar, conservo † sono  
 Teco e con gli altri ad una potestate. 135

I had fallen on my knees, and was about to speak; but as I began, only by listening he became aware of my act of reverence. “What cause,” said he, “has thus bent thee downward?” And I to him: “Because of your rank my conscience rightly gave me compunction (for standing).” “Straighten thy legs, my brother, rise up,” he answered: “Err not, I am a fellow servant with thee and others to one Power.

Adrian had learnt the lesson of *Acts* x, 26; *Rev.* xix, 10, xxii, 9.

Another token of humility is that, instead of using the usual formula of a Pope, who addresses others as

\* *Mia coscienza dritto mi rimorse*: I follow Lombardi and Witte in reading *dritto* and in interpreting it “rightly,” “justly.” Some, among whom is Biagioli, read *mia coscienza dritta*. This would in Dante’s mouth ill befit the state of humility to which he has been schooling himself since entering into Purgatory.

† *conservo sono Teco*: Benvenuto says: “These words are taken out of the xviii<sup>th</sup> chapter of the *Apocalypse* (xix<sup>th</sup> in A.V.) where, when St. John had cast himself at the feet of the Angel, it was said to him: ‘See thou do it not: I am thy fellow-servant and of thy brethren who have the testimony of Jesus: worship God.’ And notice how Adrian brings forward an excellent example from a most excellent book of Holy Scripture; for, if it be lawful to make a comparison of such a nature, Dante, a man of a highly speculative nature, can be compared to St. John, who was of a most contemplative nature, for both Dante and St. John, although in different manners, while in rapt ecstasy of the mind, saw wonderful and various imageries. As then St. John had knelt at the feet of the Angel, so did Dante kneel at the feet of the great High Priest; and as the Angel did not accept this honour, calling himself the fellow-servant of St. John, and of all them that had the testimony of Jesus, so did Pope Adrian now, calling himself the fellow-servant of Dante, and all other Christian men.”

"my son," he speaks to Dante as a brother. Adrian confirms his words by adding testimony from Holy Scripture.

Se mai quel santo evangelico suono  
Che dice *Neque nubent*\* intendesti,  
Ben puoi veder perch' io così ragionò.

If ever thou hast rightly understood those words from the Holy Gospel, which say *Neque nubent* (they neither marry) well wilt thou be able to perceive why I speak thus.

Adrian now dismisses Dante with a hint that their further conversation would interrupt the godly sorrow with which he is expiating the sin of Avarice. But he has not up to now answered Dante's third question, as to whether he wishes Dante to get intercessions offered up for him on earth. He tells him that, of all his kinsfolk on earth, the only one left is his niece Madonna Alagia, the wife of Moroëllo Malaspina, Marchese di Giovagallo. He says that she is as yet a virtuous woman, but that he is not without fears lest the notorious immorality of the Fieschi family may eventually corrupt her.

Vattene omai; † non vo' che più t' arresti,  
Chè la tua stanza mio pianger disagia, 140

\* *Neque nubent*: "For in the resurrection they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in heaven" (*S. Matt. xxii, 30.*) Dante uses these words in an allegorical sense, to show that earthly distinctions do not exist in the spiritual world.

† *Vattene omai*: Compare Marco Lombardo's farewell words, *Purg. xiv, 124-126*:—

"Ma va' 'sta Tosco, omai, ch' or mi diletta  
Troppo di pianger più che di parlare,  
Si m' ha nostra ragion la mente stretta."



Col qual maturo \* ciò che tu dicesti.  
 Nepote ho io di là ch' ha nome Alagia,†  
 Buona de sè, pur che la nostra casa  
 Non faccia lei per esempio malvagia ;‡  
 E questa sola di là m' è rimasa."—

141

Now go thy way; for I will not have thee tarry longer, because thy stay here impedes my weeping, with which I bring to perfection that which thou hast said (*i.e.* my repentance). Yonder on earth I have a niece who is named Alagia, good in herself, if indeed our house do not by its evil example make her wicked; and she alone is left to me yonder (in the world)."

\* *maturo*: See l. 91, in which Dante had said to Pope Adrian:—

Spirto, in cui pianger matura  
 Quel senza il quale a Dio tornar non puossi."

† *Alagia*: As we read in the supplemental note at the end of *Purg.* viii, there is not always absolute certainty as to the identity of the various Marquises of Malaspina, but Alagia would seem to have been the wife of Moroëllo, Marchese di Giovagallo, and to have borne him three children, Manfredi Luchino, and Fiesca. She was the daughter of Niccolò di Tedisio di Ugone de' Fieschi, and Benvenuto says of her "Multum complacuit Danti." The *Anon. Fiorent.* writes of her: "Ebbe nome la gran donna di gran valore et di gran bontà; et l'Auttoire, che stette più tempo in Lunigiana con questo Moroello de' Malespini, conobbe questa donna, et vidde che continuamente faceva gran limosine, et facea dire messe et oratione divotamente per questo suo zio."

‡ *per esempio malvagia*: "Malvagi chiama poi i Fieschi, per bocca d' uno di loro, e tra tutti, non fa eccezione che per una donna di questa casa, la quale fu moglie d' un Malaspina memore gratitudine dell' ospite, più forse che giudizio severo di storico: o, se anche giudizio imparziale certo menzionò studiosamente cercata per ricordi personali cari al Poeta." Bartoli (*Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, vol. vi, part ii, p. 134).

## CANTO XX.

THE FIFTH CORNICE (CONCLUDED)—AVARICE AND PRODIGALITY  
 —EXAMPLES OF POVERTY AND LIBERALITY—HUGH CAPET  
 —THE CAPETIAN KINGS, EXAMPLES OF SORDID AVARICE—  
 —THE MOUNTAIN QUAKES ON A SOUL COMPLETING ITS  
 PURGATION.

In the last Canto Dante dealt generally with the penance and purgation of the Avaricious. He now teaches his readers that this sin of Avarice, so common an evil of the human race, may be avoided in two ways.

*First*, by considering the good effects of Liberality and Voluntary Poverty, and

*Secondly*, by considering the evil effects of Avarice and Cupidity.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

*In Division I*, from ver. 1 to ver. 33, Dante expresses his hatred of Avarice, "*hostiliter insurgit contra avaritiam infectis armis*" (Benvenuto). Dante then commends Liberality.

*In Division II*, from ver. 34 to ver. 96, the spirit of Hugh Capet is introduced, himself avaricious, and the head of a long line of avaricious persons.

*In Division III*, from ver. 97 to ver. 123, Hugh Capet, with marked brevity, runs over a number of instances of the sins of many avaricious men.

*In Division IV*, from ver. 124 to ver. 151, Dante de-

scribes a wonderful phenomenon that took place, namely the shaking of the Mountain of Purgatory, and a simultaneous outburst of all the spirits into a song of *Gloria in Excelsis Deo*.

*Division I.*—The Canto opens with a short continuation of the closing scene of the last Canto. Dante begins by saying that, although he was obliged to yield to the command of Adrian to pass on, yet he did so unsatisfied, as there were many things he would have liked to ask him, but could not. He therefore, in Virgil's company, continues his progress round the Cornice, but the Poets have to do so by stepping between the rocky cliff-wall and the recumbent spirits who are lying so close to the edge of the precipice, that they cannot get near it.

Contra miglior voler voler mal pugna ; \*  
 Onde contra il piacer mio, per piacerli, †  
 Trassi dell' acqua non sazia la spugna. ‡

\* *Contra miglior voler voler mal pugna*: The will of Dante, which prompted him to stay and seek further information, was unable to resist the more powerful will of Pope Adrian, who wished to return to his penance, and therefore gave Dante an order to leave him, which was too decisive to be disobeyed. Not only was Adrian's the stronger will, but it was a better will than Dante's, inasmuch as Adrian's desire was a holy one, in wishing to fulfil God's ordinances as completely as lay in his power.

† *il piacer mio, per piacerli*: In *Readings on the Inferno*, 2nd ed. vol. i, p. 456, in the footnote, I have quoted this among a number of similar passages, which in Blanc's opinion lead one to the conclusion that Dante somewhat relished such-like play of words as *voler . . . voler*, and *piacer mio per piacerli*.

‡ *Trassi . . . la spugna*: Dante describes his unsatisfied desire for information as resembling a sponge which, taken out of the water too soon, is not fully saturated. Compare xxi, 1:—

"La sete natural che mai non sazia," et seq.

Dante also compares information incompletely recounted, to

Mossimi; e il Duca mio si mosse per li  
 Lochi spediti \* pur lungo la roccia, 5  
 Come si va per muro † stretto ‡ ai merli;  
 Chè la gente, che fonde a goccia a goccia  
 Per gli occhi il mal che tutto il mondo occûpa,§  
 Dall' altra parte in fuor troppo s' approccia.||

Against a will that is better the will strives in vain; therefore to please him (Pope Adrian), against my own pleasure I withdrew from the water my sponge (*i.e.* my desire for information) not filled. I moved on; and my Leader moved on over the spaces left vacant along the cliff-side, as on a wall one walks close up to the battlements: because those people (the spirits), who drop by drop pour forth through their eyes the ill which pervades all the world (*i.e.* Avarice or Cupidity), approach too near to the outer edge on the side (of the Cornice).

Benvenuto observes that Avarice carries its own punishment with it, costing a vast amount of toil and tears.

the shuttle of a loom that has not been drawn right up to the head. See *Par.* iii, 94-96:—

“Così fec’ io con atto e con parola,  
 Per apprender da lei qual fu la tela  
 Onde non trasse infino a co’ la spola.”

\* *Lochi spediti*: *Spediti* here is equivalent to *non impediti, liberi*, and Tommaséo explains the words: “dove non erano anime di purganti distese a terra.”

† *per muro*: By this is to be understood the wall of a mediæval city, on the top of which a footway ran, so that one could walk close up to the battlements.

‡ *stretto*: Not an adjective with the signification of “narrow,” but an adverb, meaning “close up to.”

§ *il mal che tutto il mondo occûpa*: In *Inf.* vi, 74-75, Dante mentions Avarice, the sin alluded to here, in company with Pride and Envy, enkindling all hearts in Florence:—

“Superbia, invidia ed avarizia sono  
 Le tre faville che hanno i cori accesi.”

|| *approccia*: for *s' approssima*. Tommaséo sees an allegory in the avaricious spirits lying so near the edge of the precipice, as indicating that their profitless life brings them very close to headlong destruction.

So unhappy is the covetous man, that whatever he fails to get hold of, he esteems a great calamity.

Dante now sternly inveighs against Avarice, which he likens to a she-wolf, and implores the aid of Heaven against so ferocious a wild beast, and again, as in *Inf.* i, 99-101, invokes the advent of that mysterious personage who is to put her to flight.

Maledetta sie tu, antica * lupa,	10
Che più che tutte l' altre bestie hai preda,†	
Per la tua fame senza fine cupa! ‡	
O ciel, nel cui girar § par che si creda	
Le condizion di quaggiù trasmutarsi,	
Quando verrà per cui questa disceda ?	15

\* *antica*: The lusting after illusive benefits seduced our first parents in the Garden of Eden. Avarice and Cupidity therefore are as old as the world itself, or at all events as old as Man.

† *più che tutte . . . hai preda*: St. Paul (1 *Tim.* vi, 10) says that the love of money is the root of all evil. Compare St. Thom. Aquin. *Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. lv, art. 8: "Pæcipuè autem inter alias virtutes morales usus rationis rectæ apparet in justitiâ, quæ est in appetitu rationali. Et ideò usus rationis indebitus etiam maximè apparet in vitiis oppositis justitiæ; opponitur autem ipsi maximè avaritia. Et ideò prædicta vitia maximè ex avaritiâ oriuntur."

‡ *cupa*: *Cupo* is more generally known as signifying "dark," but the word is quite as much used as meaning "deep, bottomless, boundless," and therefore "dark because deep." Compare *Par.* iii, 122-123, where Piccarda de' Donati is described as fading from Dante's view, as something heavy sinking in deep water:—

"e cantando vanio

Come per acqua cupa cosa grave."

Compare also Tasso, *Ger. Liber.* x, st. 2:—

"Della sua cupa fame anco non sazio."

*Cupa* there means "insatiable."

§ *O ciel, nel cui girar*, et seq.: Compare *Purg.* xvi, 67 et seq., and *Conv.* ii, 14, ll. 27-36: "quanto alla prima perfezione, cioè della generazione sustanziale, tutti li filosofi concordano che i cieli sono cagione; avvegnachè diversamente questo pongano; quali dai motori . . . quali da esse stelle . . . e quali da virtù celestiale, che è nel calore naturale del seme."

Accursed be thou, O ancient She-Wolf, that more than all the other beasts hast prey, by reason of thy greed unfathomable in its depth. O Heaven, in whose revolving courses some appear to think conditions here below are changed, when will he come by whom she (the wolf, Avarice) will be put to flight?

Scartazzini says that this passage is most important, nay, even decisive for the true understanding of the fundamental idea of the Divina Commedia. For if the *lupa* of which Dante speaks here is the same that he spoke of in *Inf.* i, and if the Wolf that he curses here is Avarice, it follows of necessity that the Wolf in *Inf.* i, can only be a symbol of Avarice. And if there the Wolf is the symbol of a vice, it also follows of necessity that the other two wild beasts, the *lonza* and the *leone*, must each also symbolize a vice and not some political power. There can be no doubt that the Wolf here cursed by Dante is the identical one that opposed him at the commencement of his journey. In this passage the Wolf is styled *antica*; in *Inf.* i, 111, it is the *prima invidia*, which at the beginning of the world Satan called forth from Hell, and therefore it is as ancient as the world. In *Inf.* i, 51, the Wolf, *se' già viver grame molte genti*; the Poet curses the one here because *ha preda più che tutte l' altre bestie*, and because it makes the penitents in this Cornice *viver grame*, who are *molte genti*. In both passages is its ravenous hunger mentioned. Finally, Dante concludes his malediction of the Wolf by exclaiming: *Quando verrà per cui questa disceda?* And what other motive can he have had for thus expressing his impatience, but that Virgil had prophesied to him (*Inf.* i, 101, 102), *che il veltro verrà che la farà morir con doglia?* Dante makes use of the same word, *verrà*, for both. Therefore, the two wolves are one and the

same. The Wolf in this Cornice is cursed by Dante for being the cause of the torments of the Avaricious, and therefore the Wolf is Avarice, and consequently the Wolf, in *Inf.* i, is also certainly a figure of Avarice.

As Dante picks his way among these prostrate spirits, who are lamenting and weeping aloud in their godly penitence, he hears one of them\* adducing examples of voluntary poverty and liberality, which are the virtues most opposed to Avarice.

Noi andavam con passi lenti e scarsi,  
 Ed io attento all' ombre ch' io sentia  
 Pietosamente piangere e lagnarsi :  
 E per ventura udi' : †—“ Dolce Maria ” :—  
 Dinanzi a noi chiamar così nel pianto,

20

\* The spirit that speaks is not that of *King* Hugh Capet, but that of his father, Hugh Capet, Duke of France and Count of Paris, better known as Hugh the Great. But, as will be seen at different points further on, Dante evidently shifts his allusions from one to the other in a way that is very confusing. Pasquier, in his *Recherches de la France*, p. 452, describes him as both valiant and prudent, and says that, although he was never king, yet was he a maker and unmaker of kings. He died in 956. His name is said to have been more accurately Huon Chapet, some say, because when at school he was always pulling off other little boys' caps. Ducange, *Gloss.* under *Capetus*, repeats this story from an old chronicle, but ascribes the name, with more probability, to the hood or cowl which Hugh was in the habit of wearing.

† *per ventura udi'* : “ Non imagini o voci recate da fuori, insegnano la meditazione a queste anime ; ma prostese e chiuse in sè, come le vedemmo, propongono a sè medesime i tipi da meditare, e nella meditazione cotanto s' infiammano, che già veggono e odono i personaggi meditati, e con essi parlando, benedicono durante il giorno in dolci parole a' buoni e nella notte maledicono a' rei. Così coll' aurora si vien rinfrescando l' amoroso sentimento della virtù, e col sorgere dell' ombre cresce l' orrore al vizio : nella luce del giorno contemplasi il bene, e s' ascende nelle liete speranze ; tra il bujo della notte l' anima è sopraffatta dall' aspetto del male, e si chiude più addentro nel dolore.” (Perez, *I Sette Cerchi*, p. 202.)

Come fa donna che in partorir sia ; \*  
 E seguitar :—“ Povera fosti tanto,  
 Quanto veder si può per quell' ospizio, †  
 Ove sponesti il tuo portato santo.”—

With slow and measured steps we went along, and I attentive to the shades that I could hear weeping piteously and lamenting: and by chance I heard: “O blessed Mary,” † cried out in front of us amidst the wailing, even as a woman does who is in labour; and, in continuance: “How poor thou wast can well be seen by that (lowly) hostelry, where thou didst lay down thy sacred burden.”

And for fear, says Benvenuto, that anyone might say: Ah! but it is not everyone who could endure the inconveniences of poverty like the Virgin Mary, Dante brings forward another example of sober poverty in a virtuous heathen, Fabricius Caius Luscinus, whose whole life was a protest against greed of gain. When he was censor he had banished P. Cornelius Rufinus for his luxury and prodigality. He refused the gifts offered him by the Samnites, and the bribes of Pyrrhus,

\* *Come fa donna che in partorir sia*: Venturi (*Similitudini Dantesche*, Simil. 304, p. 176) exclaims upon the beauty and aptness of this simile; for in the spirits of the Avaricious the poignancy of their grief is compensated by the sacred joy of a blessing that is yet afar off; even as it is with a woman in her secret heart, from the chaste thought of becoming a mother. Compare *St. John* xvi, 21.

† *quell' ospizio*: The stable at Bethlehem where the Blessed Virgin laid our Lord in a manger.

‡ Perez (p. 203) observes that the first words of benediction are addressed to Mary, blessed, though of low estate, in the humble place of refuge in which she gives birth to Jesus. And this spirit who piteously sighs, as he lies face downwards on the ground, and who calls upon Kings and Queens to fall down in reverence before the lowly cot where the Queen of Angels offers to Man the newly born King of the Universe, this spirit was one of the rich and mighty upon earth, Hugh Capet, of France, the progenitor of our of the most illustrious royal houses in the world.



and died so poor that he had to be buried at the public expense, and the Romans were obliged to give a dowry to his daughters. Virgil (*Æneid*, vi, 844), calls him "powerful in poverty." Dante extols him in the *Convivio*, iv, 5.

Seguentemente intesi :—"O buon Fabbrizio,\* 25  
 Con povertà volesti anzi virtute,  
 Che gran ricchezza posseder con vizio."—

Thereafter heard I: "O good Fabricius, thou didst choose virtue with poverty, rather than to possess great wealth with wickedness."

Dante probably had reason to hope that he might with this spirit enter into a profitable conversation which would not be so abruptly broken off as the last one had been with Adrian. Hugh Capet at once proceeds to tell Dante a story of the noble liberality of St. Nicholas, Bishop of Myra in Lycia, whose body is entombed at Bari. Of him Benvenuto observes: "Here the Poet brings forward an example of noble generosity in a few short clear words; how the holy Nicholas, having lost his parents, wished to spend his money on

\* *Fabbrizio*: Compare *Conv.* iv, 5, ll. 107-110: "E chi dirà che fosse senza divina spirazione, Fabrizio infinita quasi moltitudine d' oro rifiutare, per non volere abbandonare sua patria?" And *De Mon.* ii, 5, l. 90: "Nonne Fabricius altum nobis dedit exemplum avaritiæ resistendi, quum pauper existens, pro fide qua Reipublicæ tenebatur auri grande pondus oblatum derisit, ac derisum, verba sibi convenientia fundens, despexit et refutavit? Huius etiam memoriam confirmavit Poeta noster in sexto (Virg. *Æn.* vi, 844-5), cum caneret 'parvoque potentem Fabricium.'" And Petrarch, *Trionfo della Fama*, cap. i, terz. 19:—

"Un Curio ed un Fabrizio, assai più belli  
 Con la lor povertà, che Mida o Crasso  
 Con l' oro, ond' a virtù furon ribelli."

I note that in the *Divina Commedia* Dante spells *Fabbrizio* with two b's, and in the *Convivio* with only one; but this may be only the mistake of a copyist.

the poor. There was a nobleman with three grown-up daughters, who was reduced to such extreme poverty that he had determined to send them out to beg for the support of the family. One night, St. Nicholas, passing the house, took a bag of gold from under his cloak and threw it in at the window. The eldest girl was thus dowered, and as all three were beautiful girls, was at once married. St. Nicholas repeated this a second and a third time, with short intervals between, and thus secured for all three daughters honourable marriages. Not long after the marriage of the youngest girl, the father ascertained who was their benefactor."

Queste parole m' eran sì piaciute \*

Ch' io mi trassi oltre per aver contezza †

Di quello spirto, onde parean venute.

30

Esso parlava ancor della larghezza

Che fece Niccolao ‡ alle pulcelle,

Per condurre ad onor lor giovinezza.

\* *Queste parole m' eran sì piaciute*: Poletto in his Commentary notices that these words spoken by the spirit in praise of poverty would be quite in accordance with the feelings of Dante, the unhappy exile, who in his letter to Can Grande della Scala (*Ep. x*, 32, ll. 600-602) wrote: "Urget enim me rei familiaris angustia, ut hæc et alia utilia reipublicæ derelinquere oporteat;" who wrote to the Counts of Romena (in the *Epistle ii*, of suspected authenticity, ll. 47-49): "nec negligentia neve ingratitude me tenuit, sed inopina paupertas quam fecit exilium." Dante very frequently sang the praises of honest poverty, as well as the evils, both private and public, of concupiscence.

† *per aver contezza di quello spirto*: In the *Dizionario della Lingua Italiana nuovamente compilato da Niccolò Tommaséo e Bernardo Bellini*, Torino, s. d. (and which will be alluded to in these pages, as the *Gran Dizionario*), 4 vols. in 8, 4to, I find under *contezza*: "aver contezza, conoscere, esser informato." Compare *Purg.* xxiv, 36:-

"Che più pareva di me voler (some read *aver*) contezza."

‡ *Niccolao*: In the *Breviarium Romanum* (6 December) we find:

"Adolescens parentibus orbatus, facultates suas pauperibus distribuit. Cujus illud insigne est Christianæ benignitatis exemplum,

These words were so pleasing to me that I moved a little farther on, to get knowledge of that spirit, from whom they seemed to come. He went on to speak of the liberality that Nicholas showed to the three damsels, so as to guide their young life to honour.

*Division II.*—Dante, finding that all the other spirits on this Cornice are silent, and that that of Hugh Capet alone has spoken, asks him who he is, who brings back to Dante's recollection these beautiful instances from sacred and profane history of voluntary poverty and open-handed liberality. Dante offers, as a return for such information to speak a good word for his reputation, and enlist the intercessions of his surviving descendants.

—“ O anima che tanto ben favelle,\*  
 Dimmi chi fosti,”—dissi,—“ e perchè sola 35  
 In queste degne lode rinnovelle ?  
 Non fia senza mercè la tua parola,  
 S' io ritorno † a compier lo cammin corto  
 Di quella vita che al termine vola.”—

quod, cum ejus civis egens tres filias nobiles in matrimonio collocare non posset, earumque pudicitiam prostituere cogitaret, re cognita, Nicolaus noctu per fenestram tantum pecuniæ in ejus domum injecit, quantum unius doti satis esset: quod cum iterum et tertio fecisset, tres illae virgines honestis viris in matrimonium datae sunt.” See also St. Thom. Aquin. *Summ. Theol.* pars. ii, 2<sup>da</sup>, qu. 107, art 3.

\* *tanto ben favelle*: Fraticelli (1864), followed by Tommasèo (1869), and Scartazzini (1875), is of opinion that *ben* must be taken here as a substantive, not as an adverb, and begs one to compare ll. 121-124 of this Canto:—

“ Però al ben che il dì ci si ragiona,  
 Dianzi non er' io sol; mai qui da presso  
 Non alzava la voce altra persona.”

In the *Gran Dizionario*, s.v. *bene*, (subst.) § 17: “ Della parola. Parlare e tacere il bene—Predicarlo, Annunziarlo *O anima, che tanto ben favelle*, cioè, tanti beni della povertà generosa rammenti. Più bello farlo Sostantivo che Avverbio.”

† *S' io ritorno*: Others, among whom is Witte, read *S' io ritorno*.

"O soul," said I, "who relatest so much that is excellent (*i.e.* such holy examples) tell me who thou wast, and why thou art the only one to renew these well deserved praises (*i.e.* of Mary, of Fabricius, and of St. Nicholas)? Without requital thy speech (if thou repliest) shall not remain, if I return to finish the short journey of that life, which is speeding on to the end."

Hugh Capet replies, and tells Dante that, if he enlightens him about what Dante wants to know, he does so for the sake of a human being so marvellously favoured by God while yet alive. He declines Dante's proffered good offices. It would hardly seem indeed that he could stand in need of them, for he had died in 956, nearly 350 years before, and his purgation must have been, at the time of Dante's meeting him, nearly at its completion. Before telling Dante his name, Hugh Capet confesses that he is the founder of a race of kings so degenerate, that they are a disgrace to Christendom.

Ed egli :—" Io 'l ti dirò, non per conforto \* 40  
 Ch' io attenda di là, ma perchè tanta  
 Grazia in te luce prima che sii morto.  
 Io fui radice della mala pianta,†  
 Che la terra cristiana tutta aduggia ‡  
 Sì che buon frutto rado se ne schianta. 45

\* *conforto* : Before meaning "consolation," *conforto* has the sense "Alleggiamento del dolore cagionato da infermità, o da disgrazie." (*Grav Diz.*) Ozanam translates it here "*soulagement*," and I therefore take it in the sense of actual relief to Hugh from torment, rather than mental consolation.

† *mala pianta* : Tommaséo says that in Dante's time the Capetians held sway in France, Spain and Naples; the Guelph family in Modena, in Brunswick, and elsewhere.

‡ *Che la terra cristiana tutta aduggia* : On this, and the preceding line, Gioberti writes: "Non si potrebbe dipinger più acerbamente la dinastia de' Borboni. Quanto Dante adorava l' Imperatore, tanto convien dire che odiasse il Re di Francia. Nota come già

And he: "I will tell thee, not for any relief that I can expect from yonder world (through my descendants), but because so large a measure of (divine) grace shines forth in thee before that thou art dead. I was the root of that malignant tree (the Capetian dynasty), which casts its (evil) shadow over the whole Christian world, so that good fruit is seldom gathered from it.

"And yet," says Benvenuto, "there were some illustrious kings of that line, such as St. Louis, and Charles of Anjou, his brother, and this family down to the present time (Benvenuto wrote about 1375) is most powerful *in our west*, where there are such men as the King of France, [Charles V, the Wise, 1364-80]; the King of Navarre [probably Charles the Bad]; the King of Hungary, [Louis the Great, 1370]; the Queen of Apulia [probably daughter of the Emperor Charles IV]."

Hugh goes on to prove what he has said about the degeneracy of his descendants, by alluding to the reigning King, Philip the Fair. Dante makes Hugh speak of Philip's expulsion from Flanders as an unlikely impossibility, whereas it was already historically an accomplished fact, or at all events the series of events had commenced in 1297, which culminated in the battle of Courtrai on 25th March, 1302.

Milman (*Latin Christianity*, xi, ch. 8, p. 176), says:

---

quei tempi la Francia esercitasse un certo dominio, e una certa prepotenza su tutta Europa; il che Dante indica dicendo che la Francia è una mala pianta che aduggia tutta la cristiana terra, e impedendole il beneficio del Sole, fa che rado se ne schianti buon frutto. Il Petrarca pensava su questo tutto l'opposto di Dante; e benchè inveisse contro tutte le armi straniere, non disse però la francese, ma la tedesca rabbia. Nota però che se Dante è acerbo alla dinastia dei Re di Francia, non lo però è al popolo francese. Quel poeta della virtù che dicea tutto il mondo essergli patria potea condannare per le male sue geste una peculiare famiglia anche di monarchi, ma non un' intera nazione."

"In Philip the Fair the gallantry of the French temperament broke out on rare occasions; his first Flemish campaigns were conducted with bravery and skill, but Philip ever preferred the subtle negotiation, the slow and wily encroachment; till his enemies were, if not in his power, at least at great disadvantage, he did not venture on the usurpation or invasion. In the slow systematic pursuit of his object, he was utterly without scruple, without remorse. He was not so much cruel as altogether obtuse to human suffering, if necessary to the prosecution of his schemes; not so much rapacious, as finding money indispensable to his aggrandisement, seeking money by means of which he hardly seemed to discern the injustice or the folly. Never was man or monarch so intensely selfish as Philip the Fair; his own power was his ultimate scope; he extended so enormously the royal prerogative, the influence of France, because he was King of France. His rapacity, which persecuted the Templars, his vindictiveness, which warred on Boniface after death as through life, was this selfishness in other forms." He was defeated at the battle of Courtrai, 1302, known in history as the battle of the Spurs of Gold, from the great number found on the field after the battle. This is the vengeance imprecated on him by Dante in l. 47. It had already taken place when Dante wrote these lines.

Ozanam, commenting on the whole passage relating to Hugh Capet and his descendants, observes: "La Divine Comédie rappelle ces grandes représentations du jugement dernier que les artistes du moyen âge sculptèrent sur le portail de nos cathédrales. Devant le tribunal du poëte paraissent les rois et les peuples; et dans les jugements qu'il en porte, il y a toute une

philosophie de l'histoire. Au XXe chant du *Purgatoire*, c'est le tour de la France; et il importe de connaître ce que le poète pensa des destinées de notre pays; ce qu'était la France hors de chez elle, dans l'opinion de ses voisins, de ses ennemis, de ceux qu'elle avait vaincus."

Ma, se Doagio,\* Lilla, Guanto, e Bruggia  
Potesser, tosto ne saria vendetta;  
Ed io la cheggio a lui che tutto giuggia.†

But, if Douai, Lille, Ghent, and Bruges had the power, there would soon be vengeance for it, and I implore it from Him who judges all things.

Hugh now names himself, and at the same time alludes

---

\* *Ma, se Doagio, Lilla, Guanto, e Bruggia*, et seq. On this *terzina*, Ozanam writes: "Guerres de Flandre. Philippe le Bel contre Guy de Dampierre. Le roi gagne une partie des communes. Bataille de Furnes, Philippe vainqueur réunit la Flandre à la couronne, la traite en pays conquis. Trente chefs de métiers dans la prison de Bruges. Pierre König, consul des tisserands, et Jean Beide, consul des bouchers, délivrés de leur prison, entrent dans Bruges, soulèvent le peuple, toute la Flandre est en armes à la bataille de Courtray, 11 juillet, 1302. Les Français y perdent six mille cavaliers, le connétable et la fleur de la noblesse de France. En 1304 revanche de Mous-en-Puelle; paix avec les Flamands. Ils abandonnent à Philippe Lille et Douai. Il semble que Dante ait écrit ce chant entre 1302 et 1304. Mais l'allusion aux Templiers nous renvoi à 1307." See also the *Ottimo* on this passage.

† *giuggia*: Gioberti observes that this is "un francesismo posto in bocca a un franzese." Nannucci (*Analisi Critica*, 147-8) quotes from the Provençal poem on Boëthius:—

"El Capitoli lendema (*P' indomani*) al dia clar,  
Lai o solien las autras leis jutjar."

And Nannucci adds that from *jutjar* is derived the *giuggiare* of early Italian writers. He quotes two passages from Fra Guittone where the word occurs:—

"Non poria meo fallor giuggiarsi bene;"

and

"Ahi lasso or foss' io in corte,  
Ove uomo giuggiasse  
Chi ver d' amor fallasse in pena forte."

to the number of his descendants whose names were either Philip or Louis.

Chiamato fui di là Ugo Ciapetta :  
 Di me son nati i Filippi e i Luigi, 50  
 Per cui novellamente Francia è retta.  
 Figlio fu' io d' un beccaio di Parigi.

I was called Hugh Capet yonder (on earth) ; of me are born the Philips and the Louises by whom in recent times France has been ruled. I was the son of a butcher of Paris.

For two centuries and a half, that is from 1060 to 1316, there was either a Louis or a Philip on the throne of France.\* Hugh Capet was the son of Hugh the Great, Duke of France, Burgundy, and Aquitaine, and Count of Paris and of Orleans, but legends were ever busy to make him out something different from what he really was. Ozanam divides these legends into three classes.

(A) *Religious legend.* This made Hugh descend from St. Arnoul, and relates how St. Valéry appeared to him and enjoined him to restore to religion the monastery

\* The succession was as follows :—

Hugh Capet, Duke of France,	died 956.
Hugh Capet, King of France,	died 996.
Robert II,	died 1031.
Henry I,	died 1060.
Philip I,	died 1108.
Louis VI (the Fat),	died 1137.
Louis VII (the Young),	died 1180.
Philip II, Augustus, (the Conqueror),	died 1223.
Louis VIII (the Lion),	died 1226.
Louis IX (Saint Louis),	died 1270.
Philip III (the Bold),	died 1285.
Philip IV (the Fair),	died 1314.
Louis X (the Quarrelsome),	died 1316.
Philip V (the Long),	died 1322.



of St. Valéry, which had been desecrated, and promised him, in requital, that by his intercessions and prayers he would get Hugh made King of France, and that his heirs should reign down to the seventh generation.

(B) *Royal legend.* According to this fable, Hugh was lineally descended from Charlemagne. This legend prevailed down to the time of Louis XI, and in 1478, when the action at law of that monarch against the Archduchess of Austria was pleaded before the Pope, the ambassadors of Louis XI gave assurance that it was their King's great boast and glory that he was the true, legitimate and undoubted successor of Charlemagne, and it was replied to them that the fact could not be denied.

(C) *Popular legend.\** This was the popular fallacy

\* Ozanam quotes from "*Le Chanson de Geste Hugues de Capet* MS. du quinzième siècle. (Arsenal. Le fond très ancien, dernier remaniment au treizième siècle)." This poem was first printed by the Marquis de la Grange, Paris, 1864.

"Ce fu Huez Capetz, c' on appelle bouchier,  
Ce fut voirs mais moult pou'en savoît du métier  
. . . ly peres Huon que je vous dis  
Sire fu d'une ville qui ot non Bougenis;  
Sages fu et soutis, et si estoit toudis  
A Paris a le court du fort rois Louis . . .  
Or ama par amour ly chevalier nouris  
Une gente pucelle qui ot non Béatrix,  
Tante estoit belle et douce; car si en fu surpris  
Li nobles chevalier qui son cuer y ot mis  
Qui le fist demander a donc par ses amis  
Au père la pucelle qui d'avoir fu garnis;  
Bouchier fu li plus riche de trestout le pais."

The chronicle represents Hugh at sixteen years old having dissipated his fortune, and coming to Paris to ask assistance from his uncle Simon le Boucher.

"' Biaux niez,' dist ly bourgeois,' nous vous responderon  
Je n' ai fil ne fille de men generasion . . .  
Ou demeurez chéens sy vous aprendron

which believed Hugh Capet to be descended from a butcher. The tradition was current in Italy in Dante's time, and he seems to have believed it himself. But it had spread far and wide beyond France and Italy, and *Le Roman de Hugues Capet*, was even translated into Icelandic. At the end of the thirteenth century, about 1294, the monk Iperius, in the Chronicle of St. Bertin, felt himself obliged to combat the opinion "des ignorants et rôturiers qui faisaient venir Hugues Capet de souche plébéienne." Villani gives a very hesitating version of the circumstance, saying that while some have affirmed that Hugh was of an ancient and noble race, and had no ancestors of a lower degree than dukes, by far the larger number insist that his father was a great and rich burgher of Paris, of a race of butchers or dealers in cattle.

---

A tuer un pourchiel ou buef ou un mouton . . .  
 Se tres bien vous portez, quonque vaillant avon  
 Avez apres me mort. Je n' ai hoir, se vous non . . ."

But Hugh refuses to accept his uncle's money.

"'Biaux oncle,' dist Huon qui le cors avait bel  
 De votre marchandise ne saize point le piel  
 Vos buez ne quier tuer, ne mouton ne aignel . . .  
 Car j' ai appris mestier plus faites et plus bel,  
 Je sais de toutes armes armer un damoiseil  
 Et courir à le joute aussi sur un moriel.'"

The French Commentators all vigorously deny the truth of this legend. Pasquier (*Recherches de la France*, liv. vi, ch. 1), thinking it a King Hugh Capet that speaks, protests: "Et au surplus combien Dante Poëte Italien fut ignorant, quand au livre par luy intitulé le Purgatoire, il dit que nostre Hugues Capet avoit esté fils d'un Boucher. . . . Et depuis Agrippa Alleman en son livre de la Vanité des sciences, chap. de la Noblesse, sur ceste première ignorance déclame impudemment contre la généalogie de nostre Capet. Si Dante estima Hugues le Grand, du quel Capet estoit fils, avoir esté un boucher, il estoit mal habile homme. Que s' il usa de ce mot par metaphore, ainsi que je le veux croire, ceux qui se sont attachez à l'escorce de ceste parole sont encore de plus grands lourdaux."

In the lines that now follow it seems evident that Dante is confusing as one single personage both Hugh the Great and his son (King) Hugh Capet, and that his words will not be found to be in accordance with history. He makes the spirit of Hugh allude to a mysterious scion of the Carolingian race, as to the identity of whom there is the greatest uncertainty and doubt.

Quando li regi antichi venner meno \*  
Tutti, fuor ch' un, † renduto in panni bigi,

---

\* *regi antichi venner meno* : I translate Scartazzini, who says: "Let us begin with history. When Louis IV died in the year 954, his eldest son Lothair was elected king in his stead, at the early age of fourteen years. He was but in name a king, for Hugh the Great, in the first instance, and later on his son Hugh Capet were so in reality. Lothair died in 986. He was succeeded by Louis V, *Le Fainéant*, who died without issue in 987, but fifteen months after the death of Lothair. After the death of Louis V there was but one branch left of the Carolingian dynasty, namely, Charles, brother of Lothair, and uncle of Louis V. He had a son named Otto. But Charles had constituted himself a vassal of the Emperors of Germany, and had thereby incurred the odium of the French nation. Hugh Capet took advantage of this circumstance to lay hands upon the throne, and the same year he had himself crowned at Rheims. Charles, wishing to win the throne of his ancestors by the sword, was besieged by Hugh Capet at Laon, betrayed by Adalbéron, Bishop of Laon, and delivered into the hands of his enemy on Palm Sunday, 989. Hugh Capet imprisoned him, together with his wife, in a tower, and kept him there until his death in 991. Otto, Charles's son, died without issue in 1005; two other sons, born during his imprisonment, took refuge in Germany, and died in obscurity. The line of the Carolingians thus came to an end."

† *fuor ch' un* : Scartazzini says there can be no doubt that the spirit who is conversing with Dante is Hugh Capet the son, and not Hugh the Great, the father, because in Hugh the Great's time there were still *two at least* living of the descendants of the "*regi antichi*." If therefore it is Hugh Capet the son who is speaking with Dante, then the only *one* left of the Carolingian dynasty would be Charles, brother of Lothair, and so far Dante is in accordance with history. But now Dante goes on to say that this personage had become a grey friar (*renduto in panni bigi*), and here we get into difficulties. Vellutello tried to interpret it that

Trovaimi stretto nelle mani il freno  
 Del governo del regno, e tanta possa  
 Di nuovo acquisto, e sì d' amici pieno,

Charles of Lorraine walked about in the grey dress of a subject, having been stripped of his royal purple. But as I have pointed out in my *Readings on the Inferno*, 2nd ed., vol ii, p. 396, footnote, *rendersi*, in the weighty opinion of Nannucci, means by itself *farsi frate*, and Dante here distinctly makes Hugh refer to *one* survivor of the dynasty who was a monk. Now, Charles of Lorraine, whom we have just mentioned, never did become a monk. According to Ozanam, at the assembly at Senlis, he was very severely reproved by Adalbéron, Archbishop of Rheims, for generally lacking kingly qualities, for his servility to a foreign sovereign, and lastly for having married a woman who was not of royal blood: The Archbishop said: "Nous n'ignorons pas que Charles a ses lauteurs qui soutiennent qu'il doit arriver au trône du chef de ses parents. Mais s'il faut examiner ce point, le trône ne s'acquiert point par droit héréditaire, et l'on ne doit élever à la royauté que celui qui se distingue non-seulement par la noblesse du sang, mais par la sagesse de l'esprit, celui que l'honneur appuie, que la magnanimité rend inébranlable. . . . Quelle dignité pouvons-nous conférer à Charles que l'honneur ne gouverne pas, que l'engourdissement énerve, qui s'est dégradé au point de n'avoir point horreur de servir un roi étranger et de se mésallier à une femme de l'ordre des vassaux. Comment le puissant duc (Hugh Capet) souffrirait-il qu'une femme issue du sang de ses vassaux devint reine et dominât sur lui? Comment courberait-il la tête devant celle dont les pères et même les supérieurs fécissaient le genou devant lui et posent les mains sous ses pieds. . . . Si vous voulez le malheur de la république, créez Charles souverain; si vous la voulez prospère, couronnez Hugues, l'illustre duc. . . . Donnez-vous donc ce chef illustre par ses actions, par sa noblesse, par les forces dont il dispose. Vous trouverez en lui un défenseur, non-seulement de la chose publique, mais des intérêts privés. Par sa bienveillance vous aurez en lui un père. Qui en effet recourut à lui et n'y trouva point protection? Qui, abandonné du secours des siens, ne leur a point été rendu par lui?" *Philalethes* has little doubt that Dante has confused the last of the Carolingians with the last of the Merovingians. Childeric III was the last of these latter, and he really did become a monk after his deposition in 752. So that although the *uno* of whom Dante speaks here is historically Charles of Lorraine, it is not easy to determine whether Dante intended to speak of him or of some other prince. The *Ottimo* thinks this unnamed king was Rudolph, who became a monk, and afterwards Archbishop of Rheims. Benvenuto gives no name, but says "only a monk

Ch' alla corona vedova promossa  
 La testa di mio figlio \* fu, dal quale  
 Cominciâr di costor le sacrate ossa.†

60

When the ancient kings (the Carolingian dynasty) had all passed away, save one, who had taken orders in grey vestments, I found fast in my hands the reins of the government of the kingdom, and so great a power from my new possessions, and such an array of friends, that the head of my son was promoted to the widowed (*i.e.* vacant) crown, and from him the consecrated bones (*i.e.* the anointed line of the Capets), took their descent.

Hugh now goes on to tell Dante of the evil deeds wrought by his descendants through Avarice. He begins by speaking of their first avaricious annexation. All the ancient Commentators (according to Ozanam

in poor coarse garments." Buti states the same. Daniello thinks it was "some Franciscan, perhaps St. Louis!" forgetting that St. Louis did not see the light for some two centuries afterwards—nor did the Order of St. Francis exist then. Biagioli decides that it must be either Charles the Simple, who died a prisoner in the Castle of Péronne in 922; or Louis d'Outre-Mer, who was carried to England by Hugh the Great in 936. The Man in cloth of green says Longfellow, remains as great a mystery as the man in the Iron Mask.

\* *la testa di mio figlio*: Philaethes feels sure that Dante has shifted about his allusions from Hugh Capet the father to Hugh the son, without any very accurate discrimination. It is evidently Hugh the son who is speaking, as the preceding lines show, but Scartazzini points out that Dante cannot have been very well versed in the genealogies of those times. It is known that Hugh Capet (the son) had his son, Robert I, crowned in the year after his own election. Ozanam asserts this: "Selon la chronique de Saint Martial de Limoges, Hugues refusa de porter le diadème. Mais, voulant assurer la succession au trône, il veut faire couronner son fils Robert."

† *le sacrate ossa*: Supposing *mio figlio*, then, to be Robert I, son of King Hugh Capet, these lines would mean that with him commenced the line of Capetian kings, whose bones, Scartazzini says, mean their persons, which were consecrated with holy Unction by the Archbishop in the Cathedral of Rheims at their coronation, and hence the term *le sacrate ossa*.

p. 327) consider that this refers to the marriage of two daughters of Raymond Bérenger, Count of Provence; one with Louis IX (*Saint Louis*) and the other with Charles of Anjou, his brother, who was afterwards King of Apulia and Sicily. Louis IX married Margaret the eldest daughter, and Charles of Anjou married Beatrice, a younger daughter.\* In the increased wealth and power which they brought to the royal house of France, Dante saw the source of all the miseries of Italy, and the failure of the Empire, which was to him the ideal polity. King Louis and his brother Charles, under the pretence of claiming the dowries of their wives, usurped the province of Narbonne † (according to Benvenuto), out of which, Provence fell to the share of Charles of Anjou.

We may notice in the lines that now follow the thrice-repeated ironical *per ammenda* (for compensation); which is meant to imply that Hugh's descendants, to atone for preceding faults, committed a succession of other faults always worse and worse.

Mentre che la gran dote Provenzale

Al sangue mio non tolse la vergogna, †

Poco valea, ma pur non facea male.

\* Raymond Bérenger had two other daughters, one married to our Henry III of England (*il re della semplice vita. Purg. vii, 130*), and the other to his brother Prince Richard.

† "Les conquêtes que Dante reproche à la maison de France peuvent s'expliquer par le traité de 1259, où Saint Louis restituait à Henri III le Périgord, le Limousin, l'Agénois, une partie de Quercy et de la Saintonge; Henri III renonça à ses droits sur la Normandie, l'Anjou, la Touraine, le Maine et le Poitou, et fit hommage pour l'Aquitaine." (Ozanam, p. 327.)

‡ *vergogna*: There is great difference of opinion among the Commentators as to which of two perfectly legitimate significations of *vergogna* is to be understood here. (a) The sense of shame for their wrong-doing by Capet's descendants; or (b)

Lì\* cominciò con forza e con menzogna  
 La sua rapina ; e poscia, per ammenda,  
 Pontì e Normandia prese e Guascogna.†  
 Carlo ‡ venne in Italia, e, per ammenda,

The reproach, the dishonour, of Hugh Capet's supposed low origin. This latter signification will be found in the *Gran Dizionario*, *vergogna*, par. 4: "*Biasimo grande, Vituperio*," in which sense it is used occasionally by Boccaccio and Petrarch. But Tommasèo, the author also of the *Dizionario*, points out, Hugh himself had married a sister of the Emperor Otho I, and before the death of St. Louis, who was the first to seize Provence, there had been eight kings all allied to the first houses of Europe. All this considered, the interpretation (a), which I follow, is much to be preferred.

\* *Lì* is here not an adverb of place, but of time. See *Gran Dizionario*, s.v. *lì*, adverb, § 3: "*Lì* trovasi anche avverbio, riferente tempo, cagione, o altra cosa detta innanzi, usandosi invece di pronomi, come di altre simili parti avverbiali si costuma." Compare *Par.* xiv, 128-129:—

Che infino a lì non fu alcuna cosa  
 Che mi legasse con sì dolci vinci."

† *Pontì e Normandia prese e Guascogna*: Normandy had been taken from King John in 1202; Gascony, Guienne and Pontivy had been formally ceded by Edward I to Philip the Fair in 1259, with a secret understanding, afterwards repudiated, that the cession was only a formal one. Guienne was recovered in 1264.

‡ *Carlo . . . Vittima fe' di Corradino*: Conradin, son of Emperor Conrad IV, when only 16 years old, was captured after his defeat at the battle of Tagliacozzo, and imprisoned in Castel dell' Uovo at Naples. By order of Charles of Anjou he was afterwards beheaded in the public square of Naples in 1268. He was the last of the Hohenstaufens, and in him that illustrious line became extinct. A graphic account of his end may be read in Milman, *Lat. Christ.* xi, 3. Benvenuto says that Charles's best friends and counsellors repudiated the act. Did not this Charles receive unpunished Guy de Montfort, who had slain a kinsman of the King of England, even "in the bosom of God"? (*i.e.* in sanctuary. See *Inf.* xii). Did he not condemn to perpetual imprisonment Henry, brother of the King of Spain, for some sum of money that he would not pay him? Benvenuto adds that a just Judge inflicted heavy advices on Charles before his death, for, just when he seemed at the zenith of his success in arms, he saw the rebellion in Sicily, the captivity of his son, whom his victorious adversary Pedro of Aragon might well have slain, to revenge Conradin, had he chosen to so abuse his victory, 1284. And Charles died of grief, with his son was still in prison.

Vittima fe' di Corradino; e poi  
Ripinse al ciel Tommaso,\* per ammenda.

So long as the great dowry of Provence had not deprived my race of the sense of shame, it was not good for much, but at least it did no harm. Then began its rapine both by violence and fraud: and afterwards, for amends, took Ponthieu, and Normandy and Gascony. Charles came into Italy, and, for amends made a victim of Conradin; and then again, for amends, drove Thomas (Aquinas) back to Heaven.

Three Charleses are mentioned in this Canto: 1. Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis, who had Conradin beheaded, and possibly poisoned Thomas Aquinas; 2. Charles of Valois, surnamed *Sans Terre*, brother of Philippe *le Bel*, who used the *lancia con la qual giostrò Giuda*; 3. Charles II, surnamed *le Boiteux*, of Naples and Apulia, son of Charles of Anjou, and father of Dante's friend Charles Martel, the titular King of Hungary mentioned in *Par.* viii. This Charles II was taken prisoner in a naval action off Naples, in 1284, by Ruggieri di Lauria, Admiral of Pedro of Aragon. He was imprisoned four years, and was not restored to his throne till 1288, three years after his father Charles

\**Ripinse al ciel Tommaso*: Dean Plumptre remarks that the story of St. Thomas Aquinas having been poisoned by order of Charles of Anjou, 1274, has fallen into such discredit, that it is not even mentioned in the current biographies of the great Dominican Doctor. In Dante's time, however, it was currently believed throughout Italy, and is mentioned by Villani, and by all the early Commentators. Thomas had lived some years at Naples, and had been much respected by the King, at all events outwardly. On his departure to attend Gregory X at a Council at Lyons, the King asked him what he should report of him. "I shall tell the truth," was the answer. This alarmed Charles, and it is said that he commissioned a physician to follow and poison him at the Cistercian Monastery of Fossa Nuova, near Terracina, when he was 47 years old.



of Anjou had died. It was he who accepted a large bribe to give his daughter in marriage to Azzo d' Este.

Having spoken of Charles of Anjou, Hugh Capet goes on to speak of the second Charles. This is Charles of Valois (*Sans Terre*), who was summoned into Italy by Boniface VIII, in 1301, on pretence of being a pacificator, to settle the disorders of Florence. Dante's opposition to his intervention led to his own banishment, as well as that of the other *Bianchi*.

Tempo vegg' io,* non molto dopo ancoi,†	70
Che tragge un altro Carlo † fuor di Francia,	
Per far conoscer § meglio e sè e i suoi.	
Senz' arme    n' esce solo, e con la lancia	
Con la qual giostrò Giuda; e quella punta	
Sì, ch' a Fiorenza fa scoppiar la pancia.	75

\* *Tempo vegg' io*: Scartazzini remarks that Dante, according to his usual custom, is here as it were prophetically describing events that had occurred subsequent to A.D. 1300 as though they were yet to take place.

† *ancoi* or *anchoi*, akin to *Hoc* or *Hâc die*. The *Gran Dizionario* says that this form is still found in the Trentino and in Venetia in the cognate form *ancuo*. But the *Dizionario* lays stress on *ancoi* meaning rather "in the present time, nowadays," than "on this very day." It is used once again in the *D. C.* Compare *Purg.* xiii, 52, 53:—

"Non credo che per terra vada ancoi  
Uomo sì duro."

‡ *tragge un altro Carlo*: "tragge è qui azione del tempo; Carlo ne è l' accusativo, non il nominativo." (Gioberti.) *Traggere* is one of the several forms of *trarre*. See Nannucci, *Analisi Critica*, pp. 719-724.

§ *Per far conoscer*: Buti on this: "imperò che per le sue viziate opere fece cognoscere sè vizioso e quelli de la casa sua, mello che non avea fatto l' altro Carlo suo zio, conte di Provenza e re di Puglia e di Sicilia."

|| *Senz' arme* is *senza esercito*. "Nel detto anno 1301 del mese di Settembre, giunse nella città d' Alagna in Campagna, ov' era Bonifazio colla sua corte, messer Carlo conte di Valos e fratello del re di Francia con più conti e baroni, e da cinquecento cavalieri franceschi in sua compagnia." (*Giov. Villani*, viii, 49.)

I see a time, not long after this present time, which brings another Charles forth from France, to make him and his race get better known. From it (*i.e.* from France) he goes out alone, unarmed save with the lance wherewith Judas josted; and with that he thrusts in such fashion as to cause the paunch of Florence to burst.

Let us paraphrase this: He comes without any army, or exhibition of open strength, but only with the weapon of Judas, that is, treachery bought by corruption; for, as Judas betrayed our Lord to the Chief Priests for money, so is Charles de Valois bribed by Boniface VIII to carry out his policy at Florence; and with such malignant dexterity does he use these weapons of deceit, that he tears out from overgrown Florence its very vitals, in the persons of its chief citizens, among them Dante himself.

By way of exacerbation of his preceding taunts, Dante next throws in Charles's teeth the good cause there is for his nickname of *Sans Terre*, as well as the total failure of all his efforts at conquest, and the acquisition of honour and renown.

Quindi non terra, ma peccato ed onta  
Guadagnerà, per sè tanto più grave,  
Quanto più lieve simil danno conta.\*

Therefrom (from this expedition) will he win no territory, but sin and shame (as a perjured traitor) so much the more grievous to himself, as the more light such disgrace counts in his eyes.

Reference is now made to the third Charles. He was King Charles II of Naples and Apulia, and the son of

\**crisis*: Scartazzini says that this fully confirms the explanation of l. 62. This descendant of Hugh's is so fearfully corrupt that he no longer feels any shame for his wicked deeds, but counts them as nothing. "Messere Carlo venne in Toscana per paciario, e lasciolla in guerra; e andò in Sicilia per guerra fare e reconne vergognosa pace." (*Villani*, viii, cap. 49, or in some editions 50.)

Charles (I) of Anjou, whom he succeeded. The previously mentioned Charles de Valois was his brother-in-law, having married his sister, Charles of Anjou's daughter.

L' altro,\* che già uscì preso di nave,  
Veggio vender sua figlia, e patteggiarne, 80  
Come fanno i corsar dell' altre schiave.

\* *L' altro* : Ozanam (*Le Purgatoire de Dante*, pp. 328-330) says that this passage is "*Vengeance du poète*." He adds: "Toutes les colères de Dante contre la France n'attestent que mieux sa grandeur. La France succédait à l'Empire dans la mission de gardienne de la chrétienté . . . Nous savons maintenant pourquoi Dante poursuivit d'un ressentiment si implacable la race de Hugues Capet et ce royaume de France dont l'ombre malfaisante menaçait, disait-il, de couvrir tout l'univers. Nous avons vu comment la France succédait à l'Empire dans la tutelle de la chrétienté. Cette grande pensée de Charlemagne ou plutôt de Léon III, cette inspiration hardie de relever l'empire romain, de le régénérer par l'esprit catholique et d'en confier la garde à l'épée des Germains, ce dessein, poursuivi pendant 450 ans, périssait par la faute des empereurs d'Allemagne, par la querelle des investitures, par le schisme de Frédéric Barberousse, par l'apostasie de Frédéric II, devenu l'ennemi public du christianisme. La décadence de l'Empire était complète. Rodolphe de Habsbourg réduit à accommoder son pourpoint gris; Albert d'Autriche en guerre avec les pâtres de la Suisse; les équipages de Charles IV arrêtés par les bouchers de Worms; Wenceslas déposé pour avoir manqué de protéger la paix de l'Eglise, diminué l'Empire, donné des blancs-seings et fait coucher des chiens dans sa chambre. Pendant ce temps là, grandeur croissante de la France. Le nom de Saint Louis couvrait la faiblesse de ses descendants. Dans sa maison était venus se réunir les couronnes de Navarre, de Sicile, de Hongrie. Des princes d'origine française régnaient en Chypre et en Portugal, et le souvenir de l'Empire latin de Constantinople n'était pas effacé. La France, qui avait pris la défense du saint-siège et la conduite des croisades, semblait donc appelée à cette monarchie universelle, idéal de tous les publicistes contemporains. Les craintes du poète n'avaient donc rien de chimerique. Et comment n'eut-il pas poussé le cri du patriotisme irrité quand il voyait commencer l'exécution de ces desseins? Comment n'eut-il pas été blessé dans toutes ses convictions politiques, lui l'auteur du traité de *Monarchia*, où il s'efforçait d'établir la perpétuité de la monarchie universelle chez les empereurs d'Allemagne, en voyant

The other, who but lately went forth from his ship a prisoner, I see selling his own daughter, and haggling for the price to be paid for her, just as corsairs do with other female slaves.

We must remember that at that time the whole coast of Italy was subject to the depredations of Saracen corsairs, who used to seize maidens and sell them for slaves in the East. Benvenuto tells us, that in 1284, while Charles of Anjou had gone into Provence, to collect troops to revenge the massacre of the French at the Sicilian Vespers, he had particularly charged his son Charles, who is mentioned in the above lines (79-81), not on any account to be drawn into any action by sea or by land during his absence. Ruggieri d' Oria, a most distinguished naval commander of Pedro, King of Aragon, knowing this, came with a great fleet to Naples, and even entered the port, shooting missiles into the city, and luring Charles the younger to come out. Ruggieri well knew that Charles of Anjou was already off Pisa with a great fleet on his way back from Provence.

---

Charles de Valois, sénateur de Rome, marié à l'héritière de l'empire de Constantinople, porter la main sur la Toscane, sur cette cité vierge de Florence qui avait fermé ses portes aux empereurs ? Enfin comment ne pas excuser la colère de l'exilé ? Mais la colère est mauvaise conseillère ; elle aveugla Dante à ce point, que ce juge des vivants et des morts, cet historien de tous les siècles, ne semble pas s'être aperçu de saint Louis. Il connaît les affaires du monde, il n'oublie ni les khans des Tartares, ni les princes d'Angleterre, ni les querelles des plus petits seigneurs de Lombardie et de Romagne. Il ne peut ignorer le nom de saint Louis, qui vient d'être mis sur les autels ; mais il ne comprend pas, il ne veut pas comprendre la destinée héroïque d'un prince qui porta si haut la monarchie française ; mémorable exemple de l'injustice des passions politiques. Deux grandes âmes traversent le même siècle sans se connaître, pour nous apprendre à croire à la vertu, au génie dans d'autres rangs que les nôtres, et, sans déserrer notre cause, à respecter nos ennemis."

Charles the younger fell into the trap, and embarked with all his chief officers and engaged d' Oria. Like the King of Syria, in battle with Ahab, who said to his chief captains, "Fight neither with great nor small, but only with the King of Israel," so did d' Oria order his captains that their chief duty was to capture young Charles and only to attack that galley which bore the royal standard. The result satisfied his expectations. The youth was captured with nine long ships, and with all his great officers of state, who were utterly useless in a naval action. He was taken to Messina. Two hundred of his nobles were slain with the sword to requite the death of Conradin, but young Charles was reserved with a few of his companions, and Benvenuto says he would certainly have been slain, had not Queen Constance (wife of King Pedro, and daughter of Manfred, who alludes to her, Canto iii, 115), ordered his life to be spared. The following day his father, Charles of Anjou, touched at Gaeta, and hearing the disastrous news, broke out into a great explosion of wrath against his son and said: "I wish he had died, rather than disobey my distinct orders." After four years' imprisonment, during which Charles the Elder had died, the younger Charles made peace with Pedro, and was restored to his kingdom in 1288. It was then that he gave his beautiful daughter Beatrice in marriage to Azzo, Marquis of Este, either for 30,000 or 100,000 florins, according to two different authorities, Azzo being much older than Beatrice, and of evil reputation.

Hugh cannot here repress an exclamation of indignant reprobation of the conduct of so unworthy a descendant

O avarizia, che puoi tu più farne,  
 Poscia' ch' hai lo mio sangue a te sì tratto,

Che non si cura della propria carne? \*

Oh Avarice, what more canst thou do with us, since thou hast so drawn my race unto thyself, that it cares not for its own flesh?

But now Hugh comes to speak of what he evidently considers a crime which leaves all the above-mentioned ones in the shade.

Perchè men paia il mal futuro e il fatto † 85  
 Veggio in Alagna entrar lo fiordaliso, ‡  
 E nel Vicario suo Cristo esser catto.  
 Veggiolo un' altra volta esser deriso ;  
 Veggio rinnovellar l' aceto e il fele ; §

\* *Propria carne*: Gioberti says that the expression is "viva naturale, bellissima. Ella è antica quanto la Genesi e moderna quanto i volgari di oggi giorno." Compare *Gen.* xxxvii, 27; and *Luzia* lviii, 7: "Carnem tuam ne despexeris."

† *il mal futuro e il fatto*: This line is very obscure, but the explanation of Lana seems much the most clear. He says that Dante wishes to feign that Hugh was prophesying to him what was going to happen, though as a matter of fact it had already taken place. Mr. Tozer puts this well: "As if to cast into shade by contrast the crimes, past and future, of my descendants," I will tell you what is going to happen.

‡ *Veggio in Alagna entrar lo fiordaliso*: Dante means that he sees with the eyes of a Catholic the indignities to which Pope Boniface VIII, the Vicar of Christ, was subjected at Alagna (now Anagni) by Guillaume de Nogaret and Sciarra della Colonna by order of Philip the Fair in 1303, and from the mortification of which he died shortly afterwards at Rome. The event is related by Milman (*Lat. Christ.* book xi, ch. 9). Although Dante entertained feelings of bitter hostility towards Boniface, he viewed with the utmost abhorrence his treatment by the emissaries of Philip. No personal enmity could make him forget that, as Pope, he was the Vicar of Christ.

§ *l' aceto e il fele*: It is thought by many Bible Commentators that the "vinegar mingled with gall," given to our Lord at His Crucifixion by the Roman soldiery, was in reality the thin wine (*hipo*) such as they themselves drank, mercifully offered for the purpose of quenching His burning thirst, and with some spice or drug in it that would tend to alleviate His sufferings.

\* *tra vivi ladroni esser anciso* : Dr. Moore (*Textual Criticism*, pp. 395-397) in disposing summarily of the variant *nuovi ladroni* says of it : " For in the case of the *ladroni* here intended, viz. Nogaret and Sciarra Colonna, the parallel with 'the thieves' so far fails, that though branded by Dante as *ladroni*, and though assisting at this 'crucifying afresh' of Christ in the person of His Vicar, yet they were not themselves sufferers, they were not put to death or injured in any way like the thieves to whom they are compared. This distinction is pointedly brought out by *vivi*, and so this epithet gives a fresh character to the scene . . . *vivi* would represent to us Boniface as it were crucified between Nogaret and Sciarra Colonna, who were standing on either side of him mocking and insulting him, yet still *vivi*." Dr. Moore adds that, though it does not bear on this reading, he cannot help mentioning the interesting points of resemblance between this whole passage and the prayer to the Virgin composed by Boniface VIII. This is given by Nannucci in his *Manuale della Letteratura*, vol. i, p. 421. The resemblance can scarcely be accidental, and it is most curious that Dante should have thus imitated a composition of his bitter enemy. It should be noted however that this occurs in the one passage in which he speaks of him with sympathy. Nannucci states that these verses were discovered by Girolamo Amati in an ancient MS. in the Vatican Library, wherein it is said that, in the fifteenth century, they could be seen in the Basilica of San Paolo Fuori Le Mura, with the following curious inscription : *Santo Bonifazio papa ottavo fece la infrascritta orazione, e concesse a chi la dicerà liberazione di morte subitanea.* A few of the verses are subjoined here :—

" Stava la Vergin sotto della cruce :  
 Vedeve patir Jesu, la vera luce,  
 Madre del re di tutto l' universo.  
 Vedeve il capo che stava inchinato,  
 E tutto il corpo ch' era tormentato  
 Per riscattar questo mondo perverso.  
 Vede lo figlio, che guarda e dice :  
 Oh! donna afflitta, amara ed infelice  
 Ecco il tuo figlio : e Joan le mostrava.  
 Vede l' aceto, ch' era col fiel misto,  
 Dato a bere al dolce Jesù Cristo,  
 E un gran coltello il cor le trapassava.  
 Vede lo figlio tutto passionato  
 Dicer colla Scrittura : è consumato :  
 Fiume di pianto dagli occhi disserra :  
 E Cristo pate e muor tra le flagella."

Dr. Moore invites especial comparison between *Veggio*, four times repeated in Dante, and *Vedeve* and *Vede*, similarly recurring at

Veggio il nuovo Pilato\* sì crudele,  
 Che ciò nol sazia, ma, senza decreto,  
 Porta nel tempio le cupide vele. †

In order that the evil deeds (of my descendants) whether future or past may appear less atrocious, (I will tell thee that) I see the Fleur-de-lys enter into Alagna, and Christ Himself taken captive in the person of His Vicar (Boniface VIII). I see Him mocked a second time; I see renewed the vinegar and the gall, and Himself slain (once more) between living thieves. I see the modern Pilate (Philip IV) so relentless, that even this does not sate him, but without any legal authority he pushes on his covetous sails into the Temple.

In the following interesting passage, Ozanam (*Purgatoire*, pp. 330-332) discusses the relative demerits of Pope Boniface and the King of France:—

the beginning of four lines in Boniface's poem. Notice also the *acto* and the *fiel* or *fele* in both. He also thinks that the comparison of the sufferings of the Pope with those of our Lord may have been suggested by the Pope himself, who we are told by Milman (*op. cit.*) awaited the arrival of his persecutors, sitting with calm dignity on his throne, and refusing to fly, saying: "If I am betrayed like Christ, I am ready to die like Christ."

\* *novo Pilato*: Dante applies this epithet to Philip the Fair, who delivered up Boniface VIII into the hands of his mortal enemies the Colonna, even as Pontius Pilate delivered up Our Lord to the Jews. In *Inf.* xix, 85-87, Dante styles Bertrand de Got, who purchased the Papacy by Simony, *Nuovo Jason*.

"Nuovo Jason sarà, di cui si legge  
 Ne' Maccabei: e come a quel fu molle  
 Suo re, così fia a lui chi Francia regge."

This Bertrand de Got, as Pope Clement V, was the subservient tool of Philip the Fair in his wicked deeds, among which was the unjustifiable destruction of the Knights Templars.

† *senza decreto, Porta nel tempio le cupide vele*: In 1314, Philip suppressed the Order of the Templars on a number of trumped-up charges. He seized on their Preceptories, their property and their persons, and, after putting them to the most inhuman tortures, obtained from Pope Clement V a reluctant assent to these illegal proceedings. Dante especially censures in these lines the absence of a fair trial, and the real motive of Philip's zeal against the Templars, which was his covetousness of their possessions.



“ Sur Boniface, qui avait fait trembler les rois, les évêques, les religieux et le peuple, fondirent tout coup la crainte et le tremblement, pour apprendre aux prélats à ne point dominer avec orgueil, mais à rendre le modèle de leur troupeau et à se faire moi craindre qu'aimer.

“ Mais que penser de Philippe le Bel, ce prince fa monnayeur, entouré de légistes, ne travaillant qu accréditer la maxime de Pierre du Bois: ‘ Que souveraine liberté du roi consiste à ne reconnaître auc supérieur, mais à se faire obéir sans crainte d'aucu censure humaine, ’ qui fabrique une fausse bulle; longtemps d'avance négocie clandestinement avec l Colonna!

“ Dante fut trop sévère pour la mémoire de Bonifa et au XIX<sup>e</sup> chant de *l'Enfer*, il lui marque sa pla parmi les Simoniaques, mais non parmi les hérétique ni les impies. Dante est l'ennemi politique de Bonifa il croit lui devoir son exil, l'asservissement de sa patri il l'accuse de fraude, de simonie, d'usurpation; il se blera même, au XXVII<sup>e</sup> chant du *Paradis*, révoquer e doute la légitimité de ce pape. Mais en présence d crime d'Anagni, son âme catholique s'émeut; il ne ve plus que le Christ captif en la personne de son vicair Il fait preuve une fois de plus de cette orthodoxie qu'o a vainement contestée. Ce grand homme crut ce qu nous croyons; il ne pensa pas qu'il y eût deux révéltions, une extérieure et chargée de fables pour l peuples, les femmes, les enfants, les petits, l'autre tou rationnelle pour le petit nombre des savants et d philosophes. Il ne pensa point se venger sur la papau du tort que le gouvernement temporel d'un pays lui av fait, ni s'en prendre au christianisme des fautes d

chrétiens. S'il eut contre plusieurs papes de son temps des paroles amères, s'il n'épargna pas les mœurs du clergé, c'est qu'il aimait l'Eglise, comme il aimait Florence, d'un amour jaloux et exigeant; il la voudrait sans tâche, il la censure, il l'injurie; mais comme saint Bernard, comme saint Thomas, comme ces grands hommes qui virent le mal, mais qui ne désespèrent pas de Dieu."

Hugh Capet concludes by invoking the vengeance of God upon so much infamy.

O Signor mio, quando sarò io lieto \*

A veder la vendetta, che nascosa

Fa dolce l'ira tua nel tuo segreto ?

95

Oh! my Lord, when shall I be made joyful by seeing the vengeance, which, hidden in Thy secret counsels, allays Thy (just) wrath?

Benvenuto points out that this means that, when a man who has suffered an injury knows that speedy vengeance will fall on the offender, he secretly rejoices in his heart, and he says the same thing will happen here with the anger of God, which in brief space will fall on Philip and his descendants.

*Division III.*—Several flagrant instances are now given of Avarice as exhibited in persons both of sacred and profane history, and Hugh Capet answers the second of the questions which Dante had put to him (ll. 35, 36) as to why he alone, of all the spirits in the

\* *lieto A veder la vendetta*: Compare *Psalm*, lviii, 10: "The righteous shall rejoice when he seeth the vengeance: he shall wash his feet in the blood of the wicked." God abides His own time, knowing that what is ordained will surely come to pass. "There is a calmness even in the wrath of God, because He foresees the working out of His own righteous vengeance." (Plumptre.)

Cornice, seems to care to renew these well deserved praises. That, we may remember, was the recalling to notice certain instances of voluntary poverty and great liberality.

Ciò ch' io dicea di quell' unica sposa  
 Dello Spirito Santo, e che ti fece  
 Verso me volger per alcuna chiosa,  
 Tanto è risposta \* a tutte nostre prece,  
 Quanto il dì dura ; ma, quand' e' s' annotta,  
 Contrario suon † prendemo in quella vece.

100

As to what I said of that one only Bride of the Holy Ghost (the Blessed Virgin), and which occasioned thee to turn to me for some explanation, that is the response to all our prayers for so long as the day lasts; but, when night comes on, we take up the contrary sound instead of that.

The meaning of this is: These examples of virtuous persons, conspicuous for their voluntary poverty and liberality, as long as the day lasts, follow all our prayers, as though they were the natural answer to them; but, when the night comes on, then we proclaim instead the evil examples of those who were friends of Avarice and Cupidity, and their just punishments. Liberality makes men to shine, Avarice makes them obscure.

Hugh next runs rapidly over several examples of the hateful sins of avaricious and covetous persons. First he mentions Pygmalion, the brother of Dido, who, through blind greed of gold, murdered her husband, Sichaeus, King of Tyre, and drove his sister an exile to Carthage.

\* *risposta* : Others read *disposto*.

† *Contrario suon* : Compare *Purg.* xiii, 40-42 :—

“Lo fren vuol esser del contrario suono;  
 Credo che l' udirai, per mio avviso,  
 Prima che giunghi al passo del perdono.”

Noi ripetiam Pigmalion \* allotta, †  
 Cui traditore e ladro e patricida ‡  
 Fece la voglia sua dell' oro ghiotta; 105

Then we recall to mind Pygmalion, whom his insatiable lust for gold made a traitor and a thief and a parricide.

He was a *traitor* because, when bound to Sichæus by an oath of faith, he killed him unawares while sacrificing at the altar of Hercules, in whose temple he was priest. A *thief*, because he took his brother-in-law's gold; and a *parricide*, because Sichæus was not only his brother-in-law, but also his kinsman. Parricide, Benvenuto tells us, is commonly used as a term for the murderer of any kinsman.

The next example of Avarice is that of Midas, King of Lydia, whose father Gordius tied the famous Gordian knot. Midas was supposed to have obtained from Bacchus the faculty that everything he touched should become gold, but, the result of this being that he found himself on the point of dying of hunger and thirst, he besought deliverance from so perilous a privilege. Benvenuto says that, by this allegorical tale, the poets wished it to be understood that the Miser, while rolling

\* *Pigmalion*: This story is told in Virgil, *Æn.* i, 340-352.

† *allotta*: Another form of *allora*. The meaning of it here is in connection with *quando s' annotta* in l. 101, where Hugh told Dante that after nightfall the spirits take up a different strain (*contrario suono*) to what they have been singing before. Then, says he, (*allotta*) we begin to sing about Pygmalion, Midas, Achan, Ananias and Sapphira, Heliodorus, Polymnestor, and Crassus.

‡ *patricida*: "Et quia cognatum occidit, vocatur parricida: nam ita punitur lege Pompeja de parricida, sicut occidens patrem suum." (Pietro di Dante.) The *Anon. Fior.* thinks Pygmalion was a parricide because Sychæus was the High Priest of the Temple of Jupiter, and thereby a father to Pygmalion in a spiritual sense.

in riches and gold, lives in the greatest penury even deprived of the common necessities of life.

E la miseria dell' avaro Mida,\*  
 Che seguì alla sua domanda ingorda,  
 Per la qual sempre convien che si rida.

And the misery of the greedy Midas, that follow after his covetous request, at which one always ne must laugh.

Dante next turns to sacred history, of which he Hugh give three instances; following closely on come two more from profane history.

Del folle Acán † ciascun poi si ricorda,  
 Come furò le spoglie, sì che l' ira  
 Di Josuè qui par ch' ancor lo morda.  
 Indi accusiam col marito Safira : ‡  
 Lodiamo i calci ch' ebbe Eliodoro : §  
 Ed in infamia tutto il monte gira  
 Polinestòr ch' ancise Polidoro. ||

\* *Mida*: The Story of Midas will be found in Ovid, *Met* 85-179.

† *Acán*: See *Joshua* vii, 1-26.

‡ *Safira*: See *Acts* v, 1-11. Scartazzini says that Anan Sapphira do not so much symbolize an avarice that is rapacious, as a fraudulent, lying, and hypocritical avarice seeks to disguise itself in the garb of liberality.

§ *Eliodoro*: This refers to the miraculous horse that appeared in the temple of Jerusalem, when Heliodorus, the treasurer of King Seleucus, went there to remove the treasure. We find it in 11 *Maccabees* iii, 25: "For there appeared unto the horse with a terrible rider upon him, and adorned with a fair covering, and he ran fiercely, and smote at Heliodorus his forefeet, and it seemed that he that sat upon the horse complete harness of gold." This subject is one of the ornaments of Raphael's Stanze in the Vatican.

|| *Polinestòr ch' ancise Polidoro*: Polydorus, the youngest son of Priam, King of Troy, being too young to take part in the defence of Troy, was placed under the care of his father's brother, Polymnestor, King of Thrace. The latter murdered him for the sake of the treasure which he had brought with him. See

Ultimamente ci si grida: 'Crasso,\*  
Dicci, chè il sai, di che sapore è l' oro?'

Then every one bethinks himself of the foolish Achan how he stole the plunder, so that the wrath of Joshua still seems to fall upon him here. Then we accuse Sapphira with her husband; we laud the kicks that Heliodorus received; and in infamy (the name of) Polymaester, who murdered Polydorus circles round the whole mountain. Last of all the cry rings through the Cornice (*lit.* in this place it is cried out) 'Tell us, Crassus, for thou knowest, what is the taste of gold?'

Up to this point Dante's second question has remained unanswered, as to why Hugh Capet, of all the spirits in the Cornice, was the only one that he found singing.

In reply to this, Hugh concludes his long discourse by explaining that he and his companions in penitence vary the modulation of their strains, and that, at the time when Dante first noticed him, he was not the only one of them who was then singing, but the only one whose song was loud enough to be heard in that part of the Cornice.

Talor parla l' un alto, e l' altro basso,  
Secondo l' affezion ch' a dir ci sprona,†

*Æt.* iii, 19-68; and Ovid, *Metam.* xiii, 429-438. And Euripides, *Heracles*, 7.

\* *Crasso*: Marcus Licinius Crassus was, with Julius Cæsar and Pompey, one of the Triumvirs of Rome. When governor of Syria, he undertook a war against the Parthian King Orodes. He was defeated, captured and slain, by Surena the Parthian general, B.C. 53. See Plutarch's *Crassus*. Florus the historian (iii, 11) relates that, when the head of Crassus was brought to Orodes, that king in derision of the avarice of Crassus caused molten gold to be poured down his throat. Scartazzini says that Crassus is here mentioned as a symbol of that arrogant avarice which violates the common rights of all nations.

† *ch' a dir ci sprona*: I follow Dr. Moore's reading *ch' a dir*. The other reading is *ch' ad ir*, which I adopted in my first edition.

Ora a maggiore, ed ora a minor passo ;                    120  
 Però al ben che il dì ci si ragiona,  
 Dianzi non er' io sol ; ma qui da presso  
 Non alzava la voce altra persona."—

Sometimes one speaks loud, and another low, according as our affection impels us to speak, now in a higher, and now in a softer strain ; therefore (in singing) the examples of good of which we discourse during the day, I was not alone just now, but (it chanced) that no other person was uplifting his voice near by here."

Benvenuto remarks that, if Hugh Capet was a Miser or Covetous as regards money during his life-time, he certainly cannot be accused of want of liberality in his words, judging from the extent of his speech.

*Division IV.*—Dante now describes a wonderful phenomenon. Just when he and Virgil have recommenced their journey, which, owing to the path being encumbered with the prostrate forms of the spirits, is necessarily slow, and somewhat toilsome, the whole mountain suddenly quakes, and the entire region, from all quarters, re-echoes with a simultaneous outburst of *Gloria in Excelsis Deo*. This, we shall learn in the next Canto (xxi, 70), was occasioned by Statius having completed his term in Purgatory.

Noi eravam \* partiti già da esso,

---

Scartazzini so reads it in his Leipzig commentary (1875), but in his Milan commentary (1893) he has *ch' a dir*, and he observes that we are clearly told in *Purg.* xix, 124, that the spirits on this cornice are quite unable to move, being

"Ne' piedi e nelle man legati e presi ;"

and *cadir*, *theadir*, *chadir*, in the MSS. must be understood to refer, not to moving, but to speaking.

\* *Noi eravam* : Compare *Inf.* xxxii, 224 :—

"Noi eravam partiti già da ello."

E brigavam \* di soperchiar la strada † 125  
 Tanto, quanto al poter, n' era permesso ;  
 Quand' io senti', come cosa che cada,  
 Tremar lo monte ; ‡ onde mi prese un gielo,  
 Qual prender suol colui che a morte vada.  
 Certo non si scotea sì forte Delo, 130  
 Pria che Latona in lei facesse il nido,  
 A partorir li due occhi del cielo.§

We had already departed from him (Hugh Capet), and were striving to get over the ground as much as was permitted to our power, when I felt the mountain tremble, like a thing that is tottering to its fall; whereupon a chill seized upon me as that which seizes upon him who is going to his death. Assuredly, Delos did not quake so violently, before

\* *brigavam* : In the *Gran. Diz.* and in the *Voc. della Crusca*, *brigare* is said to be equivalent to *Cercare*, also *figliarsi briga*, *far diligenza*, *far opera*, *procurare*, *ingegnarsi*. In the *Poeti del Primo Secolo*, 2 vols. 8vo, Florence, 1816, vol. ii, p. 339, Guido Cavalcanti has the following :—

"Tu m' hai sì piena di dolor la mente,  
 Che l' anima si briga di partire."

† *soperchiar la strada* : Costa interprets this : "*di avanzarci nel cammino*." Brunone Bianchi : "*vuol dire, percorrerla, giungerne a capo* (get to the end of it)." The great dictionaries say that *soperchiare* is, properly speaking, more used to express going up hill, but Andreoli very happily observes : "*Ma quando vi sieno altre difficoltà che quella del salire, può dirsi egualmente ; e qui i due Poeti dovevan procedere rasente la roccia, ed attenti a non pestare (tramp upon) le ombre distese in terra.*"

‡ *Tremar lo monte* : Compare the earthquake mentioned in *Inf.* iii, 130, 131 :—

"Finito questo, la buia campagna  
 Tremò," etc.

And the earthquake experienced by Æneas on entering the Infernal Regions (*Virg. Æn.* vi. 255-257) :—

"Ecce autem, primi sub lumina solis et ortus,  
 Sub pedibus mugire solum, et juga cœpta moveri  
 Silvarum, visaeque canes ululare per umbram."

§ *due occhi del cielo* : This beautiful expression is probably borrowed by Dante from Ovid, who (*Metam.* iv, 228) calls the Sun *Mundi oculus*. Gioberti speaks of the line in enthusiastic praise and admiration, but prefers to think that Dante invented it over again.



that Latona made her nest therein to give birth to the twin-eyes of Heaven (Apollo and Diana, the Sun and Moon).

The Island of Delos, in the Archipelago or Ægean Sea, was thrown up by an earthquake, by order of Jupiter, in order to receive Latona, one of his wives, when she gave birth to Apollo and Diana. Other accounts say it was left floating about after the separation of land and sea, and Jupiter made it stand still. Herodotus and Thucydides both mention its constant earthquakes.

Dante now describes a loud cry that followed the earthquake. It was the jubilant shout of the spirits in Purgatory at the liberation of Statius.

Poi cominciò da tutte parti \* un grido  
 Tal che il Maestro invèr di me si feo,  
 Dicendo :—" Non dubbiar, † mentr' io ti guido."—135  
*Gloria in excelsis, tutti, Deo*  
 Dicean, per quel ch' io da vicin compresi,  
 Onde intender lo grido si poteo.  
 Noi stavamo immobili e sospesi,  
 Come i pastor che prima udir quel canto, 140  
 Fin che il tremar cessò, ed ei compièsi. ‡

\* *da tutte parti*: It must be understood that, on the completion of a soul's purgation, an exulting congratulatory shout, giving the glory however to God, arose, not only from the Cornice in which that spirit was, but from all the Cornices in Purgatory.

† *Non dubbiar*: *Dubbiare* or *dubitare* has the secondary distinct meaning of "to fear." See *Gran. Diz.*, s. v. *dubbiare*, par. 2: "Nel senso aff. di *Temere* o *Dottare*." Compare *Par.* xxvi, 1:—

"Mentr' io dubbiava per lo viso spento,  
 Della fulgida fiamma che lo spense."

Which Norton very properly translates: "While I was apprehensive," etc.

‡ *compièsi*: Compare *Purg.* xiv, 76:—

"Perchè lo spirito, che di pria parlòmi."

And *Purg.* xix, 121, 122:—

Then upon all sides there arose a cry so great, that my Master drew nearer to me, saying: "Fear not, while I am guiding thee." *Gloria in Excelsis Deo* all were saying, so far as I could make out from those near at hand, whose cry it was possible to distinguish. We remained motionless and in uncertainty—as the shepherds who first heard that song—until the trembling ceased, and it (the hymn) had come to a conclusion.

Benvenuto thinks that Dante deserves much commendation for this beautiful idea. For, as the Angel Host sang with joy the hymn *Gloria in Excelsis Deo* on the evening of the Nativity of the Redeemer of the World, so now the spirits in Purgatory do the same, when a soul is set free to go to Heaven.

Dante concludes the Canto by relating how he and Virgil, having stopped short in great fear and perplexity, on feeling the earth quake, and on hearing the outburst of song, again move on. The phenomenon, however, has aroused intense curiosity in Dante.

Pio ripigliammo nostro cammin santo : \*  
Guardando l' ombre che giacean per terra,

\* Come avarizia spense a ciascun bene  
Lo nostro amore, onde operar perde' si."

*Anal. Purg.* xxix, 66 :—

E tal candor di qua giammai non fuci."

See, as to these forms, Nannucci, *Anal. Crit.*, pp. 199, 200.

*Cammin santo* : Gioberti, after remarking that the path of *our* life is not generally a holy one, adds that by this *cammin santo* we are to understand that one which Dante's fancy has pictured in his great poem : he terms it a holy path because it ran through the regions of Purgatory that were tenanted by sanctified spirits, and because its direction was towards a good that was altogether religious and moral. Gioberti says he never will be on the side of those who think—though the belief is a popular one—that Dante wrote this poem to revenge himself on his enemies. He may, indeed, in some few places yield to this strictly human passion of vindictiveness ; and, considering his stern and fiery temperament, this is not altogether inexcusable ; but the complexion

Tornate già \* in sull' usato pianto. †  
 Nulla ignoranza mai con tanta guerra ‡ 145  
 Mi fe' desideroso di sapere,  
 Se la memoria mia in ciò non erra,  
 Quanto pare' mi allor pensando avere :  
 Nè per la fretta domandarn' er' oso, §  
 Nè per me li potea cosa vedere : 150  
 Così m' andava timido e pensoso.

We then resumed again our holy path : watching  
 the shades that lay upon the ground, (who had)  
 already returned to their customary wailing. Never,

and general conception of the poem is in no sort of way inspired by such unworthy sentiments. Were it otherwise Dante would make himself out a wretched hypocrite, and would feign to be writing in the cause of virtue when in reality writing in the cause of a passion diametrically the contrary, and would not be the Poet of Rectitude [*Cantore della Rettitudine*]. Therefore he rightly terms his poetic journey "a holy path."

\* *Tornate già* : Some read this *Tornate giù*, in allusion to the posture of the spirits lying on their faces, supposing them to have all raised themselves for the purpose of singing the *Gloria in Excelsis*, but had prostrated themselves again when their song was at an end.

† *usato pianto* : Compare *Inf.* xvi, 19, 20, where Guido Guerra and his two companions, having paused for an instant in their lamentations to address Dante, take up the refrain again :—

"Ricominciâr, come noi ristemmo, ei  
 L' antico verso."

‡ *con tanta guerra* : "Qui Dante manifesta come l' ignoranza fesse guerra al suo spirito desideroso di saper tutto; marchio (the true sign) di un ingegno sommamente nato alla Scienza." (Gioberti.) Compare *Purg.* xxi, 1 :—

"La sete natural (di sapere) che mai non sazia," etc.

Compare also *Wisdom* xiv, 22 : "They erred in the knowledge of God; but whereas they lived in the great war of ignorance, those so great plagues called they peace." The *Gran Dizionario* quotes the present passage, s. v. *guerra*, § 43, and interprets the word "Per Ansietà, Desiderio impaziente."

§ *er' oso* : This is probably a Latinism from *ausus sum*. We find it used in a similar way by Petrarch, *Trionfo della Fama*, cap. iii, terz. 27 :—

"Vid' Ippia, il vecchierel che già fu oso  
 Dir: 'I' so tutto.'"

if my memory is not at fault about this, did my ignorance (on any matter) with such keen anxiety make me desirous of knowing it, as I seemed then to have (about this matter) when I thought it over. Nor did I dare to ask, on account of our haste, nor of myself could I perceive anything there, so I pursued my way timorous and thoughtful.

Perez (*I Sette Cerchi*, pp. 211, 212) remarks that the attentive reader of Dante must certainly have noticed that the examples of vice, against which the penitents inveigh so fiercely, abound most in the first Cornice and in this one. In the other Cornices not more than two or three are given, whereas in the First Cornice we have twelve, and in this one seven instances of the sin to be avoided. In these seven examples of bestial Concupiscence, it would be easy to distinguish the seven daughters of Avarice which St. Thomas Aquinas assigns to her.\* To these Scartazzini adds: "Treachery in Pygmalion; who treacherously murders his uncle and his brother-in-law; Restlessness (*Inquietudo*)

\* Filie avaritiæ dicuntur vitia quæ ex ipsa oriuntur, et præcipuè secundùm appetitum finis. Quia verò avaritia est superflua amor habendi divitias, in duobus excedit: primò enim superabundat in retinendo, et ex hac parte oritur ex avaritia *obduratio contra misericordiam*, quia scilicet cor ejus misericordiâ non emollitur, et de divitiis subveniat miseris. Secundò ad avaritiam pertinet superabundare in accipiendo; et secundùm hoc avaritia potest considerari dupliciter: uno modo secundùm quòd est in affectu; et sic ex avaritiâ oritur *inquietudo*, in quantum ingerit hominibus sollicitudinem et curas superfluas; *avarus enim non imitatur paucitatem*, ut dicit *Eccles. v. 9*. Alio modo potest considerari in effectu: et sic in acquirendo aliena utitur quandoque quidem vi, quod pertinet ad *violentiâs*; quandoque autem dolo, qui quidem si fit in verbo, *fallacia* erit: quantum ad simplex verbum, *perjurium*, si addatur confirmatio juramenti: si autem dolus committatur in opere, sic quantum ad res erit *fraus*; quantum autem ad personam erit *proditio* ut patet de Juda, qui ex avaritiâ prodidit Christum." (St. Thom. Aquin. *Summ. Theol.* ii, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. cxviii, art. 8.)

*tudo*) in Midas, who gets literal experience that the Covetous man does not ever get satiated with gold and silver; *Fraud*, in Achan, who fraudulently appropriates to his own use a part of the booty of Jericho; Perjury, in Ananias and Sapphira, who 'lied unto the Holy Ghost'; *Trickery (Fallacia)*, in Heliodorus, who went to rob the treasures in the Temple at Jerusalem 'under colour of visiting the cities of Celosyria and Phenice'; *Inhumanity (Obduratio contra misericordiam)* in Polymnestor, who from rapacity becomes the assassin of an innocent youth, the only surviving son of a broken-hearted mother; and finally *Violence* in Crassus, whose avarice forced him into a battle in spite of adverse auguries and menacing portents from the gods. All this is a fresh proof of the profundity of Dante's knowledge and learning."

END OF CANTO XX.

## CANTO XXI.

THE FIFTH CORNICE (CONTINUED)—AVARICE AND PRODIGALITY  
—APPEARANCE OF STATIUS—EXPLANATION OF THE CAUSE  
OF THE EARTHQUAKE—MEETING BETWEEN VIRGIL AND  
STATIUS.

BENVENUTO remarks that, whereas in the preceding Canto Dante taught his readers many ways of avoiding the sin of Avarice, so in this one he treats of Prodigality, which is chastised with the same punishment and in the same cornice as Avarice.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

*In the First Division*, from ver. 1 to ver. 33, a spirit is introduced, who has just completed his purgation of the vice of Prodigality, to whom Virgil explains the respective conditions of himself and Dante.

*In the Second Division*, from ver. 34 to ver. 75, the spirit, in compliance with Virgil's request, tells the poets the reason of the quaking of the mountain, and of the universal chant mentioned in the preceding Canto.

*In the Third Division*, from ver. 76 to ver. 102, the spirit declares himself to be the poet Statius.

*In the Fourth Division*, from ver. 103 to ver. 136, Dante reveals to Statius who Virgil was.

*Division I.*—Dante confirms and reiterates the last few lines of the preceding Canto, in which he ill concealed his disappointment at not being allowed to gain

all the information he sought, as to the cause of the earthquake, and the outburst of song from the whole of the spirits in Purgatory. He begins by showing that his thirst for knowledge was only capable of being quenched by that water of Life, of which our Lord told the Samaritan woman beside Jacob's Well.\*

La sete natural † che mai non sazia,  
 Se non con l' acqua onde la femminetta ‡  
 Sammaritana domandò la grazia,  
 Mi travagliava, § e pungeami la fretta  
 Per la impacciata via retro al mio Duca 5  
 E condoleami alla giusta vendetta.

\* *St. John* iv, 14, 15: "Whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst. . . . The woman saith unto him, Sir, give me this water that I thirst not, neither come hither to draw." Compare *Par.* xxx, 73, 74:—

"Ma di quest' acqua convien che tu bei,  
 Prima che tanta sete in te si sazii."

† *La sete natural*: Compare *Conv.* i, 1: "Siccome dice il Filosofo nel principio della Prima Filosofia: 'tutti gli uomini naturalmente desiderano di sapere.' La ragione di che puote essere, che ciascuna cosa, da provvidenza di propria natura impinta, è inclinabile alla sua perfezione; onde, acciocchè la scienza è l' ultima perfezione della nostra anima, nella quale sta la nostra ultima felicità, tutti naturalmente al suo desiderio siamo soggetti."

‡ *femminetta* means more than *femmina*. See Tommaséo (*Dizionario dei Sinonimi*, Milan, 7th edition, p. 342. Sin. 1413). "Il Manzoni, di femmina povera, ma venerabile e per la povertà e per la pietà, ben dice *femminetta*. *Femminuccia* ha sempre senso di spregio, etc."

§ *Mi travagliava*: Compare *St. Thomas Aquinas, Summ. Theol.* pars i, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. iii, art. 8: "Homo non est perfectè beatus quamdiu restat ei aliquid desiderandum et quærendum . . . In tantum procedit perfectio intellectùs, in quantum cognoscit essentiam alicujus rei. Si ergo intellectus aliquis cognoscat essentiam alicujus effectùs, per quam non possit cognosci essentia causæ, ut scilicet sciatur de causa quid est, non dicitur intellectus attingere ad causam simpliciter: quamvis per effectum cognoscere possit de causa an sit. Et ideò remanet naturaliter homini desiderium, cum cognoscit effectum, et scit eum habere causam, ut etiam sciat de causa quid est: et illud desi-

The natural thirst (for knowledge) that never can be quenched, save with that water of which the lowly Samaritan woman besought the free gift, was tormenting me, and our haste urged me along behind my Leader over the pathway encumbered (with the prostrate forms of the Avaricious), and I was grieving, in sympathy, for their just punishment.

Benvenuto observes that in truth the penalty of these shades was a very bitter one, deprived as they were of the greatest benefits; of light, for they could only see the earth, and of freedom in all their limbs. And Dante had three causes of trouble, first, his eager desire for knowledge; secondly, the pace at which they were walking; and, thirdly, compassion for the sufferers.

Dante now describes the sudden appearance of Statius. Benvenuto says: "Many wonder that the most Christian Dante should have placed Statius, who was not a Christian, in Purgatory, and do not see the reason for it; but I declare, to begin with, that Dante might imagine, from many signs, that Statius was a Christian. For if Virgil, who lived before Christ, had some foreknowledge of Him, from the songs of the Sybil, as Augustine testifies, how much more might not Statius

---

*desium est admirationis, et causat inquisitionem, putà si aliquis cognoscens eclipsim solis considerat quòd ex aliqua causa procedit, de qua, quia nescit quid sit, admiratur, et admirando inquiri; nec ista inquisitio quiescit, quousque perveniat ad cognoscendum essentiam causæ. Si igitur intellectus humanus cognoscens essentiam alicujus effectûs creati non cognoscat de Deo nisi an est, nondum perfectio ejus attingit simpliciter ad causam primam, sed remanet ei adhuc naturale desiderium inquirendi causam; unde nondum est perfectè beatus. Ad perfectam igitur beatitudinem requiritur quòd intellectus pertingat ad ipsam essentiam primæ causæ. Et sic perfectionem suam habebit per unionem ad Deum sicut ad objectum, in quo solo beatitudo hominis consistit."*



have had, who saw the Christians ever increasing, although he had seen them nearly exterminated by cruel and unheard of persecutions, even before the time that Titus dealt as he did with the Jews; and, besides this, he had seen so many miracles performed by the martyrs whom Domitian, the brother of Titus, so cruelly persecuted, when the Christian name was continually waxing. . . . Statius was most high-minded and moral in his writings; but to whether or no he was a Christian I do not attach much importance, for Dante has probably with much ingenuity pretended that he was, because many subjects have to be treated by him, as we see in the xxvth Canto and in other passages, which could only be treated by a Christian. But our Poet rather introduces him here, because it is known that he lived in the greatest poverty and want; which one would not think would happen to a man of such distinction in the city (Naples) in which he taught rhetoric, unless he had fallen into the fault of great extravagance."

Ed ecco, sì come ne scrive Luca \*

Che Cristo apparve ai due ch' erano in via,

Già surto fuor della sepulcral buca,

Ci apparve un' ombra, e retro a noi venia

10

Da piè † guardando la turba che giace;

\* *sì come ne scrive Luca*: See *St. Luke* xxiv, 13-15: "And, behold two of them went that same day to a village called Emmaus, which was from Jerusalem about three-score furlongs. And they talked together of all these things which had happened. And it came to pass that while they communed together and reasoned, Jesus himself drew near, and went with them."

† *Da piè and dappiede*: These forms are used adverbially (says the *Voc. della Crusca*), and mean "at the bottom, down, below." "I Ghibellini facendo tagliare dappiè la detta torre, sì la fecero puntellare (*The Ghibellines having had the said tower cut away at the bottom, so got it supported with props*)." (*Giov. Villani*, lib. vi, cap. 33.)

Nè ci addemmo \* di lei, sì parlò pria,  
Dicendo :—"Fрати miei, Dio vi dea pace."—  
Noi ci volgemmo subito, e Virgilio  
Rende' gli il cenno ch' a ciò si conface.

15

And lo! even as Luke writes to us that Christ, lately risen from the sepulchral cave, appeared unto the two that were in the way, so did a shade appear unto us, and it was coming up behind us, looking down on the throng that lay at its feet; nor were we aware of it, so it spoke first, saying: "My brothers, may God give you peace." We turned round suddenly, and Virgil rendered back to it the countersign that corresponds to that (*i.e.*, to the spirit's salutation).

Benvenuto interprets this last line as only meaning that Virgil courteously returned the greeting of Statius, but Longfellow states that among the monks of the Middle Ages there were certain salutations, which had their customary replies or countersigns. Thus one would say: "Peace be with thee," and the answer would be: "And with thy spirit!" Or, "Praised be the Lord!" and the answer "World without end!"

Virgil then goes on to reply to the words, "May God give you peace!" for he perceived that Statius was under an erroneous impression that both he and Dante were bound for Paradise after completing their purgation, and so in his answer he shows Statius that he (Virgil) is not destined to enjoy that peace which Statius had augured them.

---

\* *Nè ci addemmo*: Blanc (*Vocabolario Dantesco*) refers to this word, which Dante only uses in this one place. It comes from *addarsi*, "di origine incerta, accorgersi, avvedersi." Tommaséo (*Diz. dei Sin.* p. 91, *Sin.* 472) says: "*Addarsi* (che s' approssima all' *apporsi*) denota un accorgersi quasi per indovinamento, non per indizii certi."

Poi cominciò :—" Nel beato concilio\*  
 Ti ponga in pace la verace corte,†  
 Che mi rilega nell' eterno esilio.—" ‡

He then began : " May the tribunal of truth, which relegates me into eternal banishment (from Heaven) establish thee in peace within the Assembly of the Blessed."

" See," says Benvenuto, " how Virgil enlists the good will of Statius, by wishing for him what he (Virgil) can never hope to obtain for himself." Virgil was probably about to ask Statius the reason of the earthquake followed by the song of praise, but Statius is so greatly astonished at Virgil's intelligence, which he professes himself wholly unable to understand, that he interrupts Virgil with an exclamation of wonder.

—" Come,"—diss' egli, e parte andavam forte,§

\* *beato concilio* : Compare *Psalm* i, 5 : " Therefore the ungodly shall not stand in the judgment, nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous."

† *la verace corte* : Gioberti explains *verace* here, as accentuating the fact that the Courts of the world are as it were theatres. Perhaps Dante's meaning is to indicate by the epithet *verace* that Truth's only dwelling-place is in the Courts of Heaven, where falsehood, fraud, dissimulation, deception, and every species of falsity are unknown, whereas they congregate in the Courts on earth.

‡ *eterno esilio* : Virgil was in the eternal banishment of *Limbo* among those " only so far afflicted, that without hope they live in desire " (*Inf.* iv, 42). Compare *Inf.* xxiii, 125, 126, where it is said of Caiaphas :—

" Colui ch' era disteso in croce  
 Tanto vilmente nell' eterno esilio."

And Horace, *Carm.* ii, iii, 27-28 :—

" Sors exitura, et nos in æternum  
 Exilium impositura cymbæ."

§ *parte andavam forte* is the reading of all the best Commentators. Some read " e perchè andate forte ? " But Benvenuto, expressly points out that *parte*, as used here, is not a noun, but an adverb, and has the sense of " meanwhile " (*interim*). " *Interim ibamus velociter, nec tardabamus illis loquentibus, ita quod hic parte non*

—“Se voi siete ombre che Dio su non degni,\* 20  
Chi v' ha per la sua scala tanto scorte?”—†

“How!” said he—and meanwhile we were stepping quickly onwards—“If ye are shades whom God accepts not on high, who has escorted you so far up His staircase?”

Virgil resumes his explanation, calling the attention of Statius to the three P's still remaining unobliterated on Dante's brow (out of the seven traced upon it by the sword of the Angel Warder), as a sure sign that Dante is of the elect destined in God's own time for Paradise. He then goes on to answer a doubt unspoken, but none the less felt, in the mind of Statius, who might, after Virgil's explanation, understand the presence of Dante in Purgatory while still alive, but is wholly unable to account for Virgil being there, who is not alive.

E il Dottor mio :—“Se tu riguardi i segni ‡

*denotat portionem, nec est nomen, imo adverbium, et tantum valet quantum in isto medio, et est vulgare florentinum [is used in the popular speech at Florence].*”

\* *che Dio su non degni*: The primary meaning of *degnare* is as a neuter verb “to condescend.” But in the *Voc. della Crusca* (§ 3) we find it also used in the active sense: “*Degnare uno per amico . . . vale Accettarlo per tale; e dicesi di persona superiore ad inferiore.*” The *Vocabolario* quotes the following illustration from Annibal Caro (*Lettere*, 3 vols., 8vo, Padua, Comino, 1735, vol. i, letter or page 99): “*Promettili che, degnandomi per amico, le risponderò con ogni sorte d' officio.*”

† *scorte* is the past participle of the verb *scorgere*, to be an escort to any one, and it is in the feminine plural to agree with *ombre*, understood.

‡ *i segni*: Compare *Purg.* ix, 112-114 :—

“*Sette P nella fronte mi descrisse  
Col puntón della spada, e: ‘Fa che lavi,  
Quando sei dentro, queste piaghe,’ disse.*”

Che questi porta e che l' angel profila,\*  
 Ben vedrai che coi buon convien ch' ei regni.†  
 Ma perchè lei che dì e notte fila 25  
 Non gli avea tratta ancora la conocchia,‡  
 Che Cloto impone a ciascuno e compila,§  
 L' anima sua, ch' è tua e mia sirocchia,||  
 Venendo su, non potea venir sola ;¶  
 Perocch' al nostro modo non adocchia.\*\* 30

\* *profila*: The *Voc. della Crusca* says that, though the usual meaning of *profilare* is "to draw in profile," it is used by Dante in this one passage simply to signify "to delineate, trace."

† *regni*: Compare *St. Matt.* xxv, 34: "Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world." And 2 *Tim.* ii, 12: "If we suffer, we shall also reign with him." Gioberti remarks that in this line Dante is paying honour to himself.

‡ *conocchia*: Tommaséo (*Dizionario dei Sinonimi*, p. 47, Sin. 247) defines the difference between *Rocca* "arnese noto con cui le donne filano" (the distaff), and *Conocchia* "la materia (*lino, stoppa, canapa*, i.e. flax, tow, or hemp) avvolta sopra per filarla."

§ *compila*: Two operations (according to Lombardi) take place in putting the wool on the distaff; the first is to lay on a great mass of it, twisting the distaff round until it becomes attached; this operation Dante terms *imporre*; the second is to run the palm of the hand over the wool to unite and compress it; this he calls *compilare*, aptly rendered by more than one translator "packed together."

|| *sirocchia* for *sorella*. Scartazzini says Dante's soul is said to be sister to those of Statius and Virgil, because all three souls had issued from the hand of the same Creator. Compare *Purg.* xvi, 85, 86, where Dante says of *l'anima semplicetta* :—

"Esce di mano a Lui, che la vagheggia  
 Prima che sia, a guisa di fanciulla."

*Sirocchia* is also used in *Purg.* iv, 110, 111:

"Colui che mostra sè più negligente  
 Che se pigrezza fosse sua sirocchia."

¶ *sola*: "la umana civiltà, che a uno fine è ordinata, o vita felice; alla quale nullo per sè è sufficiente a venire l' aiuto d' alcuno." (*Conv.* iv, 4, ll. 4-6).

\*\* *al nostro modo non adocchia*: Dante's soul, as Virgil and Statius, does not see as do souls that have been set free from the body. These discern the truth instantaneously, but Dante's soul, not being yet liberated from corporeal bonds, is unable to do so.

Ond' io fui tratto fuor dell' ampia gola \*  
 D' inferno, per mostrargli, e mostrerolli  
 Oltre, quanto il potrà menar mia scuola.†

And my Teacher: "If thou observe the tokens that this one bears, and which the Angel traces, thou wilt readily perceive that he must in due course reign among the just. But because she (Lachesis) who spins day and night, had not yet for him (Dante) wound off the full yarn which Clotho puts on (the distaff) for each, and packs together, his soul, which is sister to thine and mine, in its upward ascent could not come alone (*i.e.*, without a guide), for the reason that it does not see after our fashion. On this account was I drawn forth from the wide mouth of Hell, to show him (the way), and I shall guide him as far onward as my teaching (*lit.* school) has power to conduct him.

Virgil's meaning is that, as Dante has not yet exhausted the full span of life, and is still alive, his soul, joined to his body, is unable to discern after the fashion of spirits; that he (Virgil) will guide Dante as far as mere human knowledge can be efficacious; after that, he must look to Beatrice, the type of theological science, to lead him on.

\* *ampia gola D' inferno*: By the Throat of Hell is meant its first Circle, *Limbo*, which was supposed to be situated at the summit thereof. It was wide because Hell, according to Dante, was funnel-shaped, and the Circles diminished in size as one went lower down, and *Limbo*, being the uppermost, was the widest.

† *quanto il potrà menar mia scuola*: "Cioè la Scuola umana, la Scuola di filosofia, a cui succederà la Scuola della Scienza rivelata in Beatrice." (Gioberti.) Virgil has already told Dante this in *Purg.* xviii, 46-48:—

"Ed egli a me: 'Quanto ragion qui vede,  
 Dirti poss' io; da indi in là t' aspetta  
 Pure a Beatrice; ch' opera è di fede.' "

*Division II.*—In the extremely difficult passage that now follows Dante relates how Virgil, of his own initiative, asked Statius for an explanation of the cause of the earthquake and the outburst of song, and how the mere fact of Virgil asking the question, quieted Dante's mind, as he could now form a hope of knowing what he wanted.

Ma dinne, se tu sai, perchè tai crolli  
 Die' dianzi il monte, e perchè tutti ad una 35  
 Parver\* gridare infino ai suoi piè molli? †  
 Si mi die' domandando per la cruna ‡  
 Del mio disio, che pur con la speranza  
 Si fece la mia sete men digiuna.

But tell us, if thou knowest, why the mountain gave such shocks just now, and why down to its moist base, all (the spirits upon it) seemed with one voice to send forth a shout." In asking this question he so threaded the needle's eye of my desire, that merely with the hope my thirst became less burning.

Statius replies that the earthquake cannot be ascribed to any natural causes, but only to the Will of God.

\* *Parver gridare*: Dante and Virgil seem to have had an intuitive idea that the jubilant shout of *Gloria in Excelsis* was a unanimous outburst on the part of every spirit throughout the whole mountain. They could not know it positively. Virgil says it *seemed* as if all had done so.

† *piè molli* are (says Benvenuto) the roots of the mountain where the rushes grow in the soft mud. See *Purg.* i, 109 where Cato informs the Poets that no other plant than the humble reed could stand the shocks of the surf.

‡ *cruna* is properly the eye of a needle. Blanc (*Vocabolario Dantesco*) interprets this passage: "toccò propriamente cuna desiderava." Others read: "cuna del mio disio;" cuna is a cradle, and Benvenuto, who adopts this reading, speaks of it as the desire of a child in the cradle for its food. *Cruna* is much the more satisfactory reading.

Quei cominciò:—"Cosa non è che senza 40  
 Ordine senta la religione\*  
 Della montagna, o che sia fuor d' usanza.  
 Libero è qui da ogni alterazione:  
 Di quel che il ciel da sè in sè riceve  
 Esserci puote, e non d' altro, cagione: 45

He began: "There is nothing without due order which can be suffered by the Holy Congregation (*religione*) of the mountain, nor which is contrary to custom. This place is free from every permutation; what Heaven receives into itself from itself can be the cause (of these phenomena) and naught else.

Dr. Moore (*Textual Criticism*, p. 401) writes: "On the difficulties of interpretation of lines 43-45, Scartazzini's exhaustive note should be consulted." I give a nearly *verbatim* translation of it:—

"Let us interpret it by the context. Virgil has asked Statius the reason of the earthquake and of the universal song that had occurred shortly before. Statius tells the two wayfarers that what they heard was neither extraordinary, nor contrary to the regulations of the mountain (ll. 40-42). He goes on to say that the mountain, from its entrance-gate up to its summit is free from all those alterations to which the earth inhabited by Man is subject, and that therefore the cause of the marvels

\* *religione*: Benvenuto explains that *religio* is the same thing towards God, as *reverentia* towards parents or elder persons. He interprets the passage: "Nothing here in Purgatory happens by chance, or fortuitously (*senza ordine*), but yet what does happen, does not occur from natural causes, as is the course in the world." But I take *religione* in the same sense as in *Par.* xi, 99-101, where *religione* is used to signify the monastic Order (of St. Francis):—

"Ma regalmente sua dura intenzione  
 Ad Innocenzio aperse, e da lui ebbe  
 Primo sigillo a sua religione."



that occur upon it (the mountain), cannot be from other than what Heaven receives into itself from itself (ll. 43-45). This *terzina* already contains *in nuce* the answer to Virgil's question. But Statius develops two conceptions that are expressed in it more fully. First he explains to him why the mountain is free from every permutation (46-57); next, what is the nature of the only possible cause of the wonderful phenomena that take place upon it (58-60, 61-66); and, lastly, how this cause had just occurred (67-69), whence he draws the conclusion that for that very reason the two wayfarers heard the earthquake and the chant. Lines 43-45 are therefore, so to speak, *the theme* of all that Statius goes on to explain in the lines that follow. And as ll. 46-57 unfold the idea of verse 42, so do ll. 58-69 unfold the idea of ll. 43-44. Now, if the mountain quakes when a soul rises to ascend to Heaven, the cause of this quaking is that Heaven receives that soul into itself (*il cielo riceve essa anima in sè*). But the soul originally issued from the hand of God whose throne is in Heaven, and therefore when it ascends to Heaven it returns to God: ("*siccome a quello porto, ond' ella si partio quando venne a entrare nel mare d' questa vita.*"—*Conv.* iv, 28). When, therefore, a soul ascends to Heaven, that Heaven does not receive a being alien to itself, but one that takes its origin in Heaven; *riceve dunque in sè quel che è da sè*. Statius means then that nothing of what happens up there can be caused by anything which Heaven may receive from elsewhere (as is the case lower down, where the sky receives the vapours that rise from earth and cause its permutations), but only from what it receives into itself from itself, as in fact is the case with that soul

which returns to the Heaven from which it originally issued."

Statius then, as explained above, now goes on to show why the mountain is free from every permutation.

Perchè non pioggia, non grando, non neve,  
 Non rugiada, non brina più su cade,\*  
 Che la scaletta dei tre gradi breve.  
 Nuvole spesse non paion, nè rade,  
 Nè corruscar, nè figlia di Taumante,† 50  
 Che di là cangia sovente contrade.  
 Secco vapor non surge più avante  
 Ch' al sommo dei tre gradi ch' io parlai,  
 Ov' ha il vicario di Pietro le piante.  
 Trema forse più giù poco od assai; 55  
 Ma per vento, che in terra si nasconda  
 Non so come, quassù non tremò mai :

And this is why neither rain, nor hail, nor snow, nor dew, nor hoar-frost fall higher up than the short staircase of the three steps (*i.e.*, at the entrance-gate of Purgatory). Neither dense nor rarified clouds appear,

\* *più su cade, Che la scaletta dei tre gradi*: "The atmosphere is supposed barely to reach the three steps at the Gate of Purgatory, and above the uppermost one there are no rains, winds, earthquakes, etc. Therefore in that elevated region, as Statius says, there can only be those influences that Heaven undergoes (*il Cielo in il vicere*), caused and produced by the heavens (*prodotto da il, cioè dai cieli*)." (Lubin.) We afterwards see Dante in the Terrestrial Paradise (*Purg.* xxviii, 85-120), wondering, after this explanation from Statius, that there should be a light wind in the thick forest. Dante remarks to Matelda that the phenomenon appears to be at variance with the principles that Statius had laid down. Matelda confirms the doctrine of Statius, and makes it clear to Dante that the uniform currents, which he then feels, come (according to the Ptolemaic system) from the revolution of the air, caused by that of the *Primum Mobile*, which communicates its motion to all the other spheres.

† *figlia di Taumante*: Iris was the daughter of the Centaur Taumantas, and of Electra. Her sisters were the Harpies. She was the goddess of the rainbow, the joiner or conciliator, the messenger of heaven, restoring peace in Nature.

nor flashes of lightning, nor the daughter of Thaumas (*i.e.*, Iris the rainbow), who yonder (on earth) often changes her place. No dry vapour (*i.e.*, wind) ascends any higher than the summit of the three steps I mentioned, on which the (Angel) Vicar of St. Peter sets his feet. It may perchance tremble, more or less, lower down (*i.e.*, below the top step of the Gate of Purgatory); but by reason of the wind that is hidden in the earth,—how, I know not,—it never quaked up here.

Statius is here touching upon the natural causes of winds and earthquakes, "for wind (says Benvenuto) is a dry and impalpable vapour raised by the Sun. An earthquake takes place, when the wind enters into the bowels of the earth, and being imprisoned cannot come forth: it therefore causes a violent disturbance in the earth and makes it tremble." Aristotle (continues Benvenuto) asserts that from humid vapours are derived rain, snow, hail, dew, and hoar-frost; from dry vapour, if it be light is produced wind; but if it be strong, then the earthquake.

Statius finally assigns the real spiritual and moral cause of the recent earthquake.

Tremaci quando alcuna anima monda  
Sentesi, sì che surga \* o che si mova  
Per salir su; e tal grido seconda. 6

It trembles here (above the three steps) when any soul feels itself so purified that it rises, or moves to ascend up above; and this cry accompanies it.

---

\* *surga* . . . *Per salir su*: Scartazzini notices that some of the Commentators have understood *surga* to refer to the passing of a soul up to the Cornice immediately above the one it has left. With this he rightly disagrees, for in that case, he says, there must have been an earthquake every time Dante completed a fresh ascent. Dante was not a spirit in Purgatory.

As soon as any one of the spirits within the gate of Purgatory proper has completed its purgation, or, if it is not wholly purified, moves so far on its ascent that it reaches the Cornice where it can undergo the next part of its purification, immediately the mountain quakes down to its lowest base, and all the spirits throughout Purgatory break out simultaneously into a song of *Gloria in Excelsis*.

But in case Virgil should ask, "In what manner, or by what token canst thou become aware of the fact that a spirit has completed its term of purgation?" Statius anticipates the question by saying:—

Della mondizia sol voler fa \* prova,  
Che, tutta libera a mutar convento,†  
L' alma sorprende, e di voler le giova.

Of its purification the will alone gives proof, which (higher will) takes by surprise the soul, wholly free (as it is) to change its abode (*lit.* convent), and (now) to have that will avails it.

The volition, which is suddenly generated in the soul

\* *sol voler fa*: "This passage exhibits the curious phenomenon of the loss of the true reading '*sol voler fa prova*' in all but a small minority of MSS., though it is preserved and rightly explained by all the old Commentators, who notice the passage, without exception (*viz.* Lana, *Ottimo*, *Anon. Fior.*, Benvenuto, Buti, Landino, Vellutello and Daniello), nor do they so much as mention any variation in the text. Notwithstanding this, the feeble and almost unmeaning reading '*Della mondizia solversi fa prova*' is found in the large majority of MSS. This is perhaps to be explained by the fact that the clue to the right understanding of the true reading '*sol voler fa prova*' was one easily lost, and depending on a knowledge of Aristotelian, and still more of the scholastic, teaching, which the copyists could not generally command." Dr. Moore (*Textual Criticism*, pp. 401, 402).

† *tutta libera a mutar convento*: Others read *tutto libero*, meaning *il volere*. But (Scartazzini asks) which is it that changes its abode, the will or the soul? Unquestionably the soul. On this line Gioberti enthusiastically exclaims: "Bella, vera, e sublime filosofia!"

to rise up and ascend to Heaven, is the sole proof of its complete purification. The soul is gladdened at having such a will, which, as Scartazzini observes, is not sterile but effective.

Benvenuto remarks that Statius keeps on anticipating possible questions or objections of Virgil. He now seems to say: "But thou wilt ask if the soul does not always desire to escape from punishment?" And he answers that, however desirous the soul is to ascend forthwith to Heaven, yet God instils into it the will to continue in penance, so as to satisfy Divine justice.

Prima vuol ben; ma non lascia il talento,\*  
Che divina giustizia contra voglia,  
Come fu al peccar, pone al tormento.

65

\* *talento*. The modern meaning of "talent" is comparatively recent. By Dante it is more often used to express a right impulse or desire, *i.e.* la *volontà relativa* or *condizionata* of the Scholiasts. Compare *Inf.* x, 55:—

"D' intorno mi guardò come talento  
Avesse di veder s' altri era meco."

But contrast *Inf.* v, 38:—

"I peccator carnali,  
Che la ragion sommettono al talento."

Scartazzini says that the following passage from St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* p. iii, *Suppl. Append.* qu. ii, art. 2) elucidates better than any commentary what is Dante's idea of there being an absolute and conditional will: "Aliquid dicitur voluntarium dupliciter. Uno modo voluntate absolutâ; et sic nulla poena voluntaria, quia ex hoc est ratio poenae quod voluntati contrariatur. Alio modo dicitur aliquid voluntarium voluntate conditionatâ; sicut ustio est voluntaria propter sanitatem consequendam. Et sic aliqua poena potest esse voluntaria dupliciter. Uno modo quia per poenam aliquod bonum acquirimus; et sic ipsa voluntas assumit poenam aliquam, ut patet in satisfactione: vel quia ille libenter eam accipit, et non vellet eam non esse, sicut accidit in martyrio. Alio modo quia quamvis per poenam nullum bonum nobis accrescat, tamen sine poena ad bonum pervenire non possumus, sicut patet de morte naturali; et tunc voluntas assumit poenam, et vellet ab ea liberari: sed eam supportat, et quantum ad hoc voluntaria dicitur." Dr Moore (*Textual Criticism*, p. 403) remarks that the above passage quoted in Scartazzini's

From the first indeed it has the desire (to ascend to Heaven); but the impulse which Divine Justice, opposed to that desire, instils into it for its (allotted) torment, as formerly there was in it (the impulse) for sin, suffers it not (to arise and ascend to Heaven).

The late Padre Giuliani (*Postilla Inedita*) made the following comments on this passage: "Contra miglior voler voler mal pugna, *prima vuol surgere e salir su, ma il talento (la voglia) che la divina Giustizia pone (in quell'anima), al tormento (come in essa anima fu qui al peccare), non lascia (non consente) che essa anima surga e si muova per salir su.*"

Lana says: "The will ever desires the ultimate and perfect end, but the justice of God wills (to be fully and entirely satisfied), that as the sinner had the will (*volontà*) to sin and sinned, so he may have the impulse (*talento*) to stay, and may stay for his subjugation and purgation; so that *lo talento* is the will (*volontà*) *secundum quid.*"

Dr. Moore (*Textual Criticism*, pp. 402, 403), remarks: "It is easy to imagine philosophical, moral, or theological objections arising to the statement of Dante here (viz.

note on l. 64 "is a most instructive commentary on the idea of Dante here. To use another Aristotelian distinction, we may say that this purgatorial punishment presents itself as actually desirable, *'ἀγαθόν'*, or *'ἡ ἐπιποθέσιμος'*. The enlightened understanding knows that it is now the essential condition of, and the only road to, Happiness, and consequently the well-regulated will desires it:—

'son contenti

Nel fuoco, perchè speran di venire,

Quando che sia, alle beate genti.'" (*Inf.* i, 118-120.)

"Dacchè ella [*l'anima*], posta nelle regioni della verità, vede che beatitudine non può acquistarsi se non col patire, ella dee avere il talento del patire, come Dante lo chiama, dee volere il patire con *quell'ardore* con cui vuol la beatitudine: solo quando sentesi perfettamente rimonda non può più volerlo, non può pur sentirlo, perchè è già beata in Colui al quale s'è perfettamente congiunta." (*Perez*, i *Sette Cerchi*, p. 50.)

that the mere wish to pass upwards is a proof that the soul's purgation is completed) if unqualified by a consideration of the technical teaching out of which it sprung. There is an opposition between *voglia* and *talento*—the key to the whole passage—which is excellently explained by Jacopo della Lana . . . So again Buti: 'come la volontà respettiva (*i.e.* *talento*) fu contra la volontà assoluta a fare lo peccato (chè la volontà assoluta non può volere lo peccato e lo male, se non ingannata sotto specie di bene); così è contra a volere lo bene, se prima non è sodisfatto a la giustizia.' In other words:—In *this* life *volontà*, were it not for *talento*, would choose τὰγαθόν, but it allows itself to be misled by *talento* into choosing τὸ φαινόμενον ἀγαθόν, 'ἦν δὲ, εἰ οὕτως ἔτυχε, κακόν' (*Eth.* III, iv, 2).

"Accordingly *hereafter*, in retribution for this, the *volontà* has again to submit itself to the *talento*, which now chooses pain and punishment (ll. 65, 66), and until the 'uttermost farthing' is paid, the *volontà* is compelled to follow the *talento* in choosing this purgation, instead of *il sommo Bene* (τὰγαθόν).\* When all is paid, then the *volontà* is at once set free to aspire again to its natural object, the *talento* now no longer opposing it and the feeling that this is so, is proof that the purgation is complete: 'Della mondizia sol voler fa prova.' †

\* Thus we read of the spirits in the Seventh Cornice:—

"Poi verso me, quanto potevan farsi,  
Certi si feron, sempre con riguardo  
Di non uscir dove non fossero arsi."

(*Purg.* xxvi,

† Dr Moore (*Text. Crit.* p. 403) says that we might then apply the language of Virgil in *Purg.* xxvii, 140-141:—

"Liberò, dritto e sano è tuo arbitrio,  
E fallo fora non fare a suo senno."

And now Statius, citing his own case as an example in confirmation of what he has said, tells Virgil that the earthquake and the chant were on account of him.

Ed io che son giaciuto a questa doglia \*  
 Cinquecento anni e più, † pur mo ‡ sentii  
 Libera volontà di miglior soglia.§  
 Però sentisti il tremoto, e li pii  
 Spiriti per lo monte render lode  
 A quel Signor, che tosto su gl' invii."—||

70

And I, who for five hundred years and more have lain in this misery, have but now felt in me the free will for a better sphere. On that account didst thou feel the earthquake, and (hear) the devout spirits all

\* *doglia* for *pena*, meaning the penalty of the Avaricious in the Fifth Cornice.

† *Cinquecento anni e più*: Statius had been undergoing penance in the Cornice of the Avaricious, but for Prodigality, not for Avarice, as we shall read in the next Canto, where we shall also find (xiii, 92) that before passing his 500 years in the cornice of Avarice, he had had to pass 400 in the Cornice of Sloth, 900 years in all. Statius died 96 A.D. Dante supposes his vision to take place in 1300. Counting 500 years in the Cornice of Avarice, 400 years in the Cornice of Sloth, 96 the year A.D. that Statius died, gives 996, which, deducted from 1300, leaves 304 years unaccounted for, and these he may be supposed to have passed in *Ante-Purgatory*.

‡ *pur mo*. Compare *Inf. x, 21* :—

"E tu m' hai non pur mo a ciò disposto."

And *Inf. xxvii, 20* :—

"E che parlavi mo Lombardo."

§ *soglia* is the name given to the different degrees or spheres of Heaven, as *Cornice* is for those of Purgatory, and *Girone* or *Cerchio* for those in Hell. Compare *Par. iii, 82* :—

"Si che, come noi sem di soglia in soglia

Per questo regno, a tutto il regno piace."

|| *che tosto su gl' invii*: Some take *che* for *acciocchè*, with the sense "the spirits rendered praise . . . in order that He may speedily send them up to Heaven." But I adopt the interpretation of Buti, Cesari, Br. Bianchi, Fraticelli, and Scartazzini, viz., that *che gli invii* is a prayer of Statius to God that He will soon give the same benefit to all the spirits in Purgatory, who have united in offering praises to Him for the liberation of Statius himself.



over the mount render praise to that Lord, Who soon  
may He speed them up (to Heaven)!"

Dante's unceasing desire to know the causes of such  
wonders, is completely satisfied by these words of  
Stattius.

Così ne disse; e però ch' ei si gode \*  
Tanto del ber quant' è grande la sete,  
Non saprei dir quant' ei mi fece prode.† 75

Thus he spake to us; and since one enjoys drinking  
in proportion as one's thirst is great, so could I hardly  
describe how much he did me good.

Benvenuto says: "Note that a drink is agreeable, not  
so much from the quality of the wine, as from the dis-  
position of the drinker; as for example, when Xerxes,  
the mighty Persian king, had been ignominiously de-  
feated, and was timidly flying, he saw, by the side of  
the way, some muddy dirty water, and immediatel  
stooped down and began to drink greedily; on h  
soldiers expostulating with him for doing so, he said  
had never in his life drunk better, for he had never,  
then, known what thirst was."

*Division III.*—Virgil now asks Stattius who he was  
in life; but, before doing so, he tells him that his

\* *ei si gode*: Gioberti notices these words as significant of how  
intense Dante's desire for further information had been. Other  
read: *Così gli disse; e peròchè si gode.*

† *mi fece prode*: *prode* means profit, advantage.  
Compare *Purg.* xv, 41, 42:—

"io pensai, andando,

Prode acquistar nelle parole sue."

Compare also *Par.* vii, 25-27:—

"Per non soffrire alla virtù che vuole

Freno a suo prode, quell' uom che non nacque,

Dannando sè, dannò tutta sua prole."

Compare also *Conv.* i, 6, ll. 24, 25: "dico in genere, che cotali  
sono quasi bestie, alle quali la ragione fa poco prode."

explanation has cleared away all difficulty of understanding the matters in doubt.

E il savio Duca :—" Omai veggio la rete \*  
 Che qui vi piglia, e come si scalappia, †  
 Per che ci trema, e di che congaudete.  
 Ora chi fosti piacciati ch' io sappia,  
 E perchè tanti secoli giaciuto 80  
 Qui sei, nelle parole tue mi cappia."— ‡

And my wise Leader: "Now I see the net that retains you on this spot, and how one can get disentangled from it, why it (the mountain) trembles

\* *veggio la rete Che qui vi piglia*: Brunone Bianchi paraphrases this: "veggo la cagione che vi trattiene legati e presi in questo cerchio."

† *scalappia*: Brunone Bianchi goes on: "e come cotal rete si apre, come si esce dal *calappio* (the trap, the snare): e ciò avviene per la voglia di soddisfare alla giustizia divina." *Scalappiare* is derived from *s* privative, and *calappio*, which Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) derives from the German *klappe*, a flap, a valve. *Mettere alcuno nel calappio*, is, to put any one into a strait. Compare Pulci, *Morgante Maggiore*, xxii, 89:—

"Ah credi tu, Orlando, ch' io non sappi  
 Per che cagione io v' abbi qui invitati,  
 E quel che disse Rinaldo m' incappi [*ensnares me*]?  
 E se di qui voi non fussi passati,  
 Egli eron ben più là tesi i calappi:  
 Voi siete nella trappola ingabbiati."

‡ *mi cappia*: Scartazzini observes that nearly all the Commentators are agreed that this word is derived from the verb *capere*, "to contain," and distinctly not with the meaning of *capire*, "to understand." In the *Voc. della Crusca* it will be seen that *capere* also signifies "to enter into, to have room, place in, to inhabit, to receive into oneself," etc. Compare *Par. iii*, 76:—

"Che vedrai non capere in questi giri."

And *Par. xvii*, 14, 15:—

"Come veggion le terrene menti  
 Non capere in triangolo due ottusi," etc.

Compare also Boccaccio, *Decam. Giorn. vi, Nov. 10*: "E tante femmine concorrono nel castello, che appena vi capeano." Compare also Petrarch, part i, *Son. cxxx* (in some editions, 149):—

"Di queste pene è mia propria la prima,  
 Arder di e notte; e quanto è 'l dolce male,  
 Nè 'n pensier cape, non che 'n versi o 'n rima."

here, and at what you all rejoice together. Now may it please thee that I should know who thou wast, and let it also be contained in thy words to me, why thou hast lain here for so many ages."

Statius begins by answering Virgil's first question as to who he was, and he does so much in the same fashion as Virgil in the first Canto of the *Inferno* had replied to a similar question from Dante. Virgil answered Dante "*Nacqui sub Julio*," and only ten lines lower down is the name of Virgil mentioned by Dante. Here the same order is followed. Statius first says that he lived in the reign of Titus, and discloses his name just ten lines after.

—“Nel tempo che il buon Tito \* con l' aiuto  
 Del sommo Rege vendicò le fora,  
 Ond' uscì il sangue per Giuda venduto,  
 Col nome che più dura e più onora 85  
 Era io di là,”—rispose quello spirto,  
 —“Famoso assai, ma non con fede ancora.  
 Tanto fu dolce mio vocale spirto,†

\* *il buon Tito*: The siege and destruction of Jerusalem under the Emperor Titus, took place in A.D. 70. Statius was born at Naples, according to one account, in 65, in the reign of the Emperor Claudius, and had already become famous as a poet before the accession of Titus. His works are the *Sylva*, or miscellaneous poems; the *Thebaid*, an epic in twelve books; and the *Achilleid*, of which he speaks in l. 92 as being unfinished at the time of his death. He also wrote a tragedy, *Agave*, which is lost.

† *Tanto fu dolce mio vocale spirto*: Compare Juvenal, *Sat.* vii, 82-87:—

“Curritur ad vocem jucundam, et carmen amicæ  
 Thebaidos, lætam fecit cum Statius urbem,  
 Promisitque diem: tanta dulcedine captos  
 Afficit ille animos, tantaque libidine vulgi  
 Auditur: sed, cum fregit subsellia versu,  
 Esurit, intactam Paridi nisi vendat Agaven.”

Dante seems to have ranked Statius as a poet next to Virgil. The epics of Statius were extremely popular in the middle ages.

Che, Tolosano,\* a sè mi trasse Roma,  
Dove mertai le tempie ornar di mirto.†

90

Stazio la gente ancor di là mi noma :

Cantai di Tebe, e poi del grande Achille,  
Ma caddi in via con la seconda soma.

"At the time when the good Titus," replied that spirit, "with the aid of the Most High King, took vengeance for the wounds from which gushed forth the blood sold by Judas (*i.e.*, when God, by the hand of Titus, avenged upon Jerusalem the murder of Jesus Christ), was I (in the world) yonder, famous indeed for the name which lasts longest and honours most (namely, a poet's), but not as yet, with faith (*i.e.*, Christianity). So sweet was my genius in song, that Rome drew me, (though) a native of Toulouse, within her walls, and there I was thought worthy to have my brows decked with myrtle. Yonder (in the world) people still call me Staius: I sang of Thebes

In a recent article in the *Edinburgh Review* (April 1895) entitled *The Classical Studies of Dante*, pp. 303-307, evidently written by a Dantist of the first rank, and which merits the most careful study, the reviewer writes: "Dante's treatment of Staius constitutes one of the most singular problems or anomalies of the *Divina Commedia*. We are surprised at his enthusiastic, and, as it appears to us, somewhat extravagant admiration of a poet whose prolix and often inflated style is the very antipodes of his own. We have already seen that, on one occasion, he has substituted the name of Staius for that of Horace, when selecting the Latin poets as models of style, though in other respects repeating the well-known list in *Inf.* iv. This and other indications convince us that the name of Staius would have certainly been the next to be admitted to the charmed circle of *la bella scuola*, were its limits to be enlarged."

\* *Tolosano*. Dante has evidently confused Staius the poet, who was born at Naples, with Staius the rhetorician, of Toulouse. Staius himself speaks of Naples as his birthplace, but he does so in the *Sylva*, one of his books which was not discovered until after Dante's death.

† *mertai le tempie ornar di mirto*: On this Scartazzini observes that history is not known to have recorded the fact of Staius being crowned as a poet; nor indeed does the present passage assert it; but only that his muse merited such recognition.

and then of the great Achilles; but I sank down by the way under the second burden.

This means that he died before he had completed the *Achilleid*, the second of his works. Benvenuto relates that Statius, seeing the great disagreement that existed between the two brothers Titus and Domitian, took as his subject for their instruction the history of the two brothers Eteocles and Polynices the rival kings of Thebes.

Benvenuto sees two interpretations in the six lines that follow, according to the first of which Statius, unaware of who is standing by him, would show that Virgil was the model from whom he became a poet: or secondly, that he became a Christian from reading Virgil's poems. We will adopt the former, which is preferred by Benvenuto, as we have no evidence whatever that either Virgil or Statius had any pretence to be Christians.

Statius concludes by showing the immensity of his love for Virgil.

Al mio ardor fur seme \* le faville,  
Che mi scaldâr, della divina fiamma, 95  
Onde sono allumati più di mille; †

\* *seme*: At the conclusion of the *Thebaid* (811-817) Statius shows in what honour he held the *Æneid*. Addressing his own poem, he says:—

"O mihi bisse nos multum vigilata per annos  
Thebai? . . .  
Vive, precor: nec tu divinam Æneida tenta,  
Sed longe sequere, et vestigia semper adora."

† *allumati più di mille*: "The countless multitude," for which, so often in the *Divina Commedia più di mille* stands as the equivalent, means the great host of poets of whom Dante himself was one. In *Inf.* i, 82-85, he alludes to the celestial fire of poetry being kindled both in himself and others by the example of Virgil:—

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

Dell' Eneida dico, la qual mamma \*  
 Fummi, e fummi nutrice poetando:  
 Senz' essa non fermai peso di dramma.

E, per esser vivuto di là quando 100  
 Visse Virgilio, assentirei un sole †  
 Più che non deggio al mio uscir di bando."—

The seeds of my flame were those sparks of the celestial fire, by which more than a thousand (*i.e.*, innumerable) poets have been enkindled; I mean the *Aeneid*, which was my mother and my nurse in poesy! without it (as my model) I had not made stationary (in the scale) the weight of a (single) drachm. And to have lived (in the world) yonder, when Virgil lived, I would consent to one Sun (*i.e.*, to one year's penance) more than I need perform before going forth from banishment."

Benvenuto says that Statius tried to imitate Virgil in the *Thebaid*, not only in the number of books [twelve] as in the *Aeneid*, but also in everything (*in omnibus*), so that

\* *mamma*: This term of endearment to a mother is in Tuscany far more used by grown-up people than is the case in England, and is by no means confined to infants and children. Tommaséo (*Dizionario dei Sinonimi*, p. 766, Sin. 2591) observes: "*Mamma*, è voce infantile, ma non isdegnata da Dante; e l' usano anco gli adulti, segnatamente quando si volgono a lei stessa, o parlando in famiglia."

† *un sole*: This expression is meant to signify "*un giro di sole*," *i.e.*, a whole year. It is used in the same sense by Ciaccio in *Inf.* vi, 67-68:—

"Poi appresso convien che questa caggia

*Infra tre soli* (*i.e.*, within three years' time)."

Gioberti remarks upon the marvellous expression of a wish that Dante has contrived here for the purpose of passing an encomium upon his beloved Virgil. But of course any one must see that this conception is only so far true, in that it is used by way of hyperbole. Scartazzini says that the Jesuits, and those Commentators who were detractors of Dante, were highly scandalized at such a sentiment being put into the mouth of Statius. Scartazzini points out how well Francis Bacon illustrates this passage (*De dignitate et augmentis Scientiarum*, lib. vii, c. 1): "*Legimus, non-nullo ex Electis et Sanctis viris optasse se potius crasos e Libro Vitae, quam ut salus ad fratres suos non perveniret, ecstasi quâdam charitatis et impotenti desiderio Boni Communions incitatos.*"

✓ he was not undeservedly called Virgil's ape (*simia Virgilio*).

*Division IV.*—We must now picture to ourselves the scene that ensues, in which the rapid interchange of signs between Dante and Virgil, and the way in which these are observed by Statius, is related by Dante in a most spirited manner. The whole incident is so thoroughly Italian, that one might, on reading it, fancy oneself in the Via Calzaioli at Florence, or the Mercatello at Naples. The last words of Statius have convinced Virgil that Statius has not the slightest idea that the subject of his encomium is standing by his side. Virgil turns quickly round, and by a rapid contraction of his eyes (*con viso*) imposes silence on Dante, who cannot all the same restrain a smile on his features. This Statius is quick to detect, and after a look of silent wonder, he asks for an explanation.

Dante remarks that it is only the most sincere and ingenuous people who are unable to disguise their emotions. If they feel a desire to laugh, the laugh shows itself on their countenance, and the same with weeping. It is only the deceitful man who feigns a smile while rage is in his heart. It is only the hypocrite who can simulate grief for some misfortune which he is secretly rejoicing.

Dante then shows exactly how this difficulty of concealing his thoughts happened to him, for, though he uttered not a word, he spoke by his expression, and Statius detected his thought.

Volser Virgilio a me queste parole

Con viso che tacendo disse :—"Taci :"—\*

\* *Taci*: Gioberti, commenting on this at length, says that he thinks that by this word Virgil not only wished to impede Dante

Ma non può tutto la virtù che vuole ;\* 105  
 Chè riso e pianto son tanto seguaci †  
 Alla passion da che ciascun si spicca, ‡  
 Che men seguon voler nei più veraci.

from uttering a word, but even from making a sign ; for he knew by his own sagacity how quickly the smallest sign might awaken the suspicions of Statius, who he was anxious should remain in ignorance of his being that identical Virgil upon whom Statius had been passing such high encomiums. In describing this modesty on the part of Virgil, Dante himself is in reality pronouncing even higher praises upon him, showing him to have had the ornament of that humility, of which history records him to have been possessed ; and moreover in making Statius of his own *proprio-motu* pass these encomiums upon Virgil, while quite unaware that he was standing at his side.

\* *non può tutto la virtù che vuole* : Benvenuto considers this a very difficult passage : " Et ad declarandam istam literam fortem est primo notandum, quod appetitus, alius est intellectivus, alius sensitivus : et sensitivus, alius est irascibilis, alius concupiscibilis : et sic gaudium, quod ostenditur per risum procedit ab appetitu concupiscibili ; et planctus qui movetur per injuriam procedit ab irascibili : et ambo isti appetitus sunt de potentia sensitiva, et alter sequitur alterum. Et appetitus intellectivus qui est voluntas, et per quem regulatur appetitus sensitivus, non semper est potens supra sensitivum, quia non semper irascibile, et concupiscibile obedit rationi, sive rationali voluntati, quæ est suum fundamentum in intellectu."

† *riso e pianto . . . seguaci Alla passion*, etc. : Andreoli explains this as meaning that laughter and weeping do not act in obedience to the will, but follow directly after that particular modification of the mind from which each of them respectively proceeds, namely laughter follows upon joy, and weeping upon sorrow. *Philalethes* observes that St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars. i, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. xvii, art. 9) also assumes that the movements of the body are not all governed by the will, nor in the next place all those which belong to the vegetable spheres. Each movement moreover does not proceed from the sensual or carnal influences, nor does its origin always begin through the will ; but more frequently the limbs follow in the first instance that natural inclination which is dictated to them by the sensitive faculty.

‡ *spicca* : Laughter takes its origin in joy or merriment, and weeping takes its origin in grief or sorrow. In the *Gran Dizionario*, "*spicarsi da un luogo o di una persona, vale Lasciarlo, Partirsene, Staccarsene.*" Compare *Inf.* xxx, 35, 36 :—



Io pur sorrisi, come l' uom ch' ammicca; \*  
 Perchè l' ombra si tacque, e riguardommi †  
 Negli occhi, ove il sembiante più si ficca. ‡

These words made Virgil turn round to me with  
 look which silently said: "Be silent!" but our

"non ti sia fatica

A dir chi è, pria che di qui si spicchi."

Buti explains the use of *spiccarsi* in the present passage as *la passion da che*, cioè da la quale, *ciascun si spicca*; cioè atti di sopra nominata, *si spicca*; cioè, procede sì, come cagione."

\* *ammicca*. Blanc (*Vocabolario Dantesco*) derives the word from the Latin *Micare*, to make a sign with the eyes. Other scholars derive it from the Latin *nictare*, *adnictare*. Tommaséo (*Dizionario Sinonimi*, p. 969, Sin. 3137) says: "*Ammicare*, sebbene segnatamente l' occhio, comprende un po' l' atto di tutta l' anima. . . . Si accenna e con gli occhi e col capo e con le mani. accennare senza ammiccare, ma non vice versa."

† *e riguardommi*: The editions of Mantua, Foligno, and Naples read "e" (or "et") before *riguardommi*, which has a much better sense.

‡ *gli occhi, ove il sembiante più si ficca*: In *Conv.* iii, 8, 11 Dante lays down that the eyes are the window of the soul through which all the passions can be observed, and says that it happened to some to put out their own eyes in order to avoid the shame from within should not be seen without: "E per questa ragione nella faccia, massimamente in due luoghi adopera l' Animo: l' occhè in quelli due luoghi quasi tutte e tre le nature dell' anima hanno giurisdizione, cioè negli occhi e nella bocca, que- sta parte simamente adorna, e quivi pone l' intento tutto a far l' anima puote. E in questi due luoghi dico io, che appariscono i piaceri, dicendo: *Negli occhi e nel suo dolce riso*. Li quali due luoghi per bella similitudine si possono appellare balcone. Donna che nell' edificio del corpo abita, cioè l' Anima, per quivi, avvegnachè quasi velata, spesse volte si dimostra. E strasi negli occhi tanto manifesta, che conoscer si può la presente passione, chi ben la mira. . . . Onde alcuno già si mostra negli occhi, perchè la vergogna d' entro non paresse di fuori. Dimostrasi nella bocca, quasi siccome colore dopo vetro. E non è *vedere*, se non una corruscazione della diletta- zione dell' anima, cioè un lume apparente di fuori secondo che sta dentro. Further illustration, Tommaséo in his commentary quotes the following words of the Jesuit Padre Segneri, the author of the celebrated *Quaresimale* or series of Lenten sermons, printed in Florence in 1679: "L' occhio, visibile ritratto dell' anima visibile."

cannot perform all that it would; for laughter and weeping follow so promptly after the passion from which each takes its rise, that in the most truthful men they least obey the will. Notwithstanding (Virgil's hint) I smiled, as one who makes a sign of intelligence, whereat the spirit stopped speaking, looked me in the eyes, wherein the expression is best marked.

Stattius makes his petition.

E,—“se tanto lavoro in bene assommi,—”<sup>\*</sup>  
Disse,—“perchè la tua faccia testeso †  
Un lampeggiar di riso ‡ dimostrommi?—”

<sup>\*</sup> *assommi*: In the *Gran Dizionario* it will be seen that the primary signification of *assommare*, is to add up a sum, to compute; thence it takes the meaning, “to reduce the ideas to the summing up, i.e., to conclude”; and hence Tommaséo (one of the authors) says that the way is prepared for the signification in the present passage, namely, “*Condurre al sommo, per Finire più o meno compiutamente*,” i.e. to bring to a conclusion or end. Compare *Par.* xxxi, 94-96:

“E il santo Sene: ‘Acciocchè tu assommi  
Perfettamente,’ disse, ‘il tuo cammino,  
A che prego ed amor santo mandommi,’” etc.

† *testeso*: Another form of *testè*, an adverb of time past, signifying “a little while ago, just now.” Compare Boccaccio, *Decam.* Giorn. vii, Nov. ix: “tu non sentivi quel ch’ io, quando tu mi tiravi testeso i capelli.” It has sometimes a present meaning; e.g. in 1 *Sam.* ix, 16: “Tomorrow, about this time (in one Italian version, this is, *a quest’ ora ch’ è testeso*; in the *Vulgate*, *hic hora qua nunc est*) I will send thee a man out of the land of Benjamin.” Compare also *Par.* xix, 7-10:—

“E quel che mi convien ritrar testeso, [*at the present time*]  
Non portò voce mai, nè scrisse inchiostro,  
Nè fu per fantasia giammai compreso.”

In the *Decameron*, Giorn. ix, Nov. iv, there is a sentence in which we have *testeso* with the future sense in a short time, and *testè* with the present sense: “Egli dee venire qui testeso uno, che ha pegno al mio farsetto per trentotto soldi: son certo che egli cel renderà per trenta-cinque, pagandol testè.”

‡ *Un lampeggiar di riso*: *Lampeggiare* is, properly speaking, an derivative of *lampare*. It is used here in the form of a substantive;

And, "So mayest thou bring to a happy conclusion," said he, "all thy arduous enterprise, why did thy face just now display to me a flash of merriment?"

Dante is perplexed by the contradictory injunctions of his two companions.

Or son io d' una parte e d' altra preso ; 11  
 L' una mi fa tacer, l' altra scongiura  
 Ch' io dica : ond' io sospiro, e sono inteso  
 Dal mio Maestro, \* e :—" Non aver paura,"—  
 Mi disse,—" di parlar ; ma parla, e digli  
 Quel ch' ei domanda con cotanta cura."— 12

and Scartazzini says that Petrarch and Tasso often used it in that way. Compare Petrarch, part ii, *Son.* xxiv :—

"Le cresse chiome d' or puro lucente  
 E 'l lampeggiar dell' angelico riso," etc.

And *Trionf. Morte*, cap. ii, terz. 29 :—

"Appena ebb' io queste parole ditte,  
 Ch' i' vidi lampeggiar quel dolce riso," etc.

And Tasso, *Ger. Liber.* iii, st. 22 :—

"Lampeggiâr gli occhi e folgorâr gli sguardi  
 Dolci nell' ira."

And Boccaccio (*Decam.* Giorn. ii, *Nov.* ii) : "Rinaldo queste parole udendo, e il lampeggiar degli occhi della donna veggendo," etc. And *Decam.* Giorn. iii, *Nov.* v : "Ma pur lei riguardando nel viso e veggendo alcun lampeggiare d' occhi di lei verso di alcuna volta . . . alcuna buona speranza prese." These quotations are one of the numberless instances of the truth of the words of the writer of the article in the *Edinburgh Review* cited above, in a footnote at p. 293 : "The *Trionfi* of Petrarch, the . . . works of Boccaccio, . . . of Ariosto, etc., abound in fragments of Dante embedded in the language like fossils." Buti's words on the passage we are discussing are very lucid : "Un lampeggiar di riso ; cioè uno aprimento di risa : imperò che Dante fece come fa lo lampo, che prima apre l' aire quando esce fuori, e possa (*poscia*) chiude, e così fece Dante ; prima aperse li occhi a ridere mosso da passione, avendo allegrezza che tanto bene volesse Stazio al suo maestro Virgilio e possa chiuse per obedire Virgilio che l' avea ammonito che tacesse."

\* *e sono inteso Dal mio Maestro* : I much regret that the discrepancy of reading in this passage is not among those treated and discussed by Dr. Moore in his *Textual Criticism*, but I follow him (in his new edition of Dante's Works), Witte, and Scartazzini in reading as above. This is the reading (says Scartazzini

Now am I caught both on the one side and the other ; the one (side *i.e.*, Virgil) bids me be silent, the other (Statius) entreats me to speak : on which I heave a sigh, and am understood by my Master, and said he to me : " Fear not to speak, but say on, and tell him that which he asks with so much anxiety."

Buti thinks Virgil had stopped Dante speaking before, so as not to interrupt what Statius was saying ; but when he saw Statius look perplexed, he thought it would be kinder to tell him what it was about which they were making signs.

Fortified by Virgil's permission, Dante gives to Statius the information asked.

Ond' io :—" Forse che tu ti maravigli,  
Antico spirto, \* del rider ch' io fei ;  
Ma più d' ammirazion vo' che ti pigli. †

adopted by all the best Codices, and by the following Commentators: *Anon. Fior.* ; Benvenuto ; Buti ; Landino ; Vellutello ; Camerini, etc. But by far the larger number of Commentators follow the variant adopted by the Vatican and Caetani MSS., *e sono inteso*. "Di", *il mio Maestro, "e non aver paura," mi disse*. If (says Scartazzini) numbers were always right, the question would be already decided. But mere plurality, in cases like these, is not of the slightest importance, all the less so, that they that have eyes to see must have remarked hundreds and hundreds of times that Commentators by no means unfrequently follow each other. *E ciò che fa la prima, e l'altre fanno* (*Purg.* iii, 82). Besides the tautology of "Di"—non aver paura—parla—digli," four times repeated would be insufferable. Scartazzini thinks that, as it is, three times is rather more than sufficient.

\* *Antico spirto*. Benvenuto remarks that Statius may well be called ancient, since he wrote poems more than a thousand years before the scene here described is supposed to occur.

† *più d' ammirazion vo' che ti pigli*. This almost reminds one of Mark Anthony, who first shows the mob Cæsar's mantle stabbed all over, and then, suddenly plucking it aside, shows them the dead body.

" Kind souls, what weep you, when you but behold  
Our Cæsar's vesturè wounded ! Look you here,  
Here is himself, marred, as you see, by traitors."  
—Shakespeare (*Julius Cæsar*, act iii, sc. ii).

Questi, che guida in alto \* gli occhi miei,  
 È quel Virgilio dal qual tu togliesti 125  
 Forza a cantar † degli uomini e de' Dei. ‡  
 Se cagione altra al mio rider credesti,  
 Lasciala per non vera esser, e credi  
 Quelle parole che di lui dicesti."—

Whereupon I: "Perchance thou marvellest, spirit of days gone by, at the smile I gave; but I will that greater wonderment seize upon thee. This one, who is guiding my eyes up towards heaven, is that Virgil from whom thou didst gain strength to sing of men and of the gods. And if thou didst believe in any other cause for my smiling, abandon it as not being true, and believe those words (rather) that thou didst speak of him."

Cesari (*Bellezze*, vol. ii, p. 387) points out the poetic art with which Dante describes what took place upon the sudden disclosure of Virgil's identity. Doubtless Statius broke forth into warm exclamations of devout reverence, at the unexpected realization of his longed-for hopes; but Dante has supplied the place of these demonstrations of affection by merely recording that Statius at once

✓ \* Scartazzini contends that *in alto* means as far as the summit of the mountain, beyond which Virgil, representing Reason, would have no power to go, and not as Benvenuto interprets it, as meaning to Heaven. I agree, however, with Benvenuto.

† *Forza a cantar*: This is the reading adopted by Dr. Moore, Witte, Scartazzini, Fanfani, Brunone Bianchi, Gioberti, Andreoli, Blanc, and others; following the Sta. Croce, Caetani MSS., and eleven others mentioned by Dr. Barlow. Some, including Buti, read *Forse* or *Forsi*; but by far the larger number read *Forte a cantar*, including Benvenuto and Landino. As Scartazzini points out, Dante is merely re-echoing the sentiments expressed by Statius at l. 94. Statius never said that Virgil taught him to sing *courageously*, nor in a loud tone, nor loftily; he merely has said that he took from the *Aeneid* poetic fire, and style in his verse, as is fully expressed by the reading *Forza a cantar*.

✓ ‡ In the *Thebaid*, Statius introduces both gods and men as performing feats of arms, and therein imitated Virgil, who in his turn had imitated Homer.

dropped upon his knees, or bent down, intending to embrace Virgil's feet as (in *Purg.* vii, 15) Sordello had done: *ove il minor s' appiglia*. Virgil forestalls his intention, reminding him that they are both spirits, and impalpable. Statius makes a courteous excuse for having forgotten their want of substance, and explains that it arose from his intense delight at seeing before him the spirit of one for whom he felt such profound reverence.

Già si chinava \* ad abbracciar li piedi 130  
 Al mio Dottor ; ma egli disse :—" Frate,  
 Non far, chè tu se' ombra, ed ombra vedi."—  
 Ed ei surgendo :—" Or puoi la quantitate †  
 Comperder dell' amor ch' a te mi scalda,  
 Quando dismento ‡ nostra vanitate, 135

\* *Già si chinava*: Some Commentators, especially the Jesuits, remarks Gioberti, find fault with Dante for representing Statius, a spirit that had completed his purgation, and was already one of the elect to Heaven, secure of his salvation, thus inclining himself before Virgil, who was everlastingly condemned to *Limbo*. We may however note that whatever Statius may have been going to do, he was by Virgil himself prevented from doing. The spirits, in Purgatory, were not supposed to be omniscient, and Statius would not yet know that Virgil's fate was different from his own blessed lot. He has simply learned the fact that Virgil is before him, and is on his way up the mountain as Dante's guide. Gioberti adds: "Il Venturi trova a ridire in questa dimenticanza di Stazio; noi ci veggiamo per lo contrario una natural incomparabil bellezza, e un modo peregrino (*an instance of singular beauty*) ad esprimere come l' improvvisa novella mettesse Stazio fuori di sè com' egli stesso dichiara nell' ultima terzina."

† *la quantitate*: Compare *Conv.* i, 4: "La fama dilata lo bene e lo male oltre la vera quantità." Scartazzini says that *la quantitate* is used in its scholastic meaning, though Poletto questions the fact.

‡ *dimento*: The *Gran Dizionario* says that *dimentare* is the contrary of *ammentare* (to remember, not by recalling a thing to one's mind, but by retaining it there). *Dimento* here is a "*ἀπαξ λεγόμενον*," there being no other instance of the word in Dante's works. *Ammentare* occurs twice in the *Divina Commedia*, namely *Purg.* xiv, 56; and *Purg.* xxv, 22.

Trattando l' ombre come cosa salda."\*

Already was he stooping to embrace my Teacher's feet; but he (Virgil) said to him: "Brother, do it not, for thou art a shade, and a shade thou seest!" And he (Statius) rising: "Now canst thou comprehend the sum of the love which warms me to thee, when I can forget our emptiness, treating shades as substantial matter."

There is a certain inconsistency in the way that Dante has dealt with the three episodes of the interviews of himself and Virgil with (1) Casella in *Purg.* ii; (2) Sordello in Cantos vi and vii; and (3) with Statius in this Canto.

In *Purg.* ii, Dante, a living man, tries in vain to embrace Casella, who, as a spirit, is impalpable to his touch.

✓ In *Purg.* vi and vii, Virgil and Sordello, both impalpable spirits, embrace each other without any difficulty. And now in the present passage we find Statius

\* *Trattando l' ombre come cosa salda*: On these last verses (130-136) there is a very interesting retraction by Gioberti in 1823 of opinions that he had previously expressed unfavourable to Dante's being a true Christian. Speaking of Christianity he had said: "Dante vedeva il Cristianesimo, e la sua Scienza, con occhio umano, . . . senza sentirne la vera natura, cosa concessa solo al vero Cristiano, *qual pur troppo non era Dante.*" This is followed by a noble recantation: "Mi ritratto, 1823.—Dante in tutto il suo poema è pieno di vera e profonda religione. Ebbe difetti; ma li temperò; e non crederemo mai che del suo divino poema far volesse un teatro di scortesie e vili vendette, o di orgoglio. Non ne conosce che la corteccia [*the outer bark of Dante*] chi l'accusa di sconoscere il Cristianesimo e di trattarlo con man profana." Poletto alludes to this, advising his readers to notice how a man in maturer age and after more profound study, may modify his judgment, and he urges them to take example from great genius like Gioberti, who, finding his opinions so modified had the greatness of mind to make a declaration of them, for fear that by not doing so he might have done injury to his neighbour's good name.

seeking to embrace Virgil's feet, and on being reminded by him that they are both impalpable spirits, acquiesces in the reproof as being deserved by his forgetfulness.

This interview between Virgil and Statius is one of the passages quoted by the late Dean Church in that beautiful contribution to English literature, his *Essay on Dante*, as illustrative of the great Poet's descriptive power: "Nor is he less observant of the more delicate phenomena of mind, in its inward workings, and its connection with the body. The play of features, the involuntary gestures and attitudes of the passions, the power of eye over eye, of hand upon hand, the charm of voice and expression, of musical sounds even when not understood—feelings, sensations, and states of mind which have a name, and others, equally numerous and equally common, which have none—these, often so fugitive, so shifting, so baffling and intangible, are expressed with a directness, a simplicity, a sense of truth at once broad and refined, which seized at once on the congenial mind of his countrymen, and pointed out to them the road which they have followed in art, unapproached as yet by any competitors." (*Dante and Other Essays*, Macmillan, London, 1888, pp. 171, 172.)



## CANTO XXII.

ASCENT TO THE SIXTH CORNICE—STATIUS RELATES HIS SIN OF PRODIGALITY—AND HIS CONVERSION TO CHRISTIANITY—VIRGIL'S REPLY TO HIS ENQUIRY AS TO MANY ILLUSTRIOUS PERSONAGES WHO ARE IN *LIMBO*.

THE SIXTH CORNICE—GLUTTONY—THE GLUTTONOUS—THEIR CHASTISEMENT—THE MYSTIC TREE—EXAMPLES OF TEMPERANCE.

At the beginning of the last Canto, Benvenuto stated that in it would be discussed the purgation of Prodigality in connection with the purgation of Avarice, but as a matter of fact Prodigality was not mentioned at all until the present Canto. Here again, in his opening words, Benvenuto repeats the statement, saying: "As in the preceding chapter, our poet treated of the vice of Prodigality in the person of Statius, so now in this chapter xxii, he concludes the subject of Prodigality in the same personage, and enters upon the subject of Gluttony, which is punished in the sixth Cornice."

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

*In the First Division*, from ver. 1 to ver. 54, Dante relates how he found that his purgation from Avarice had already taken place, and how he learns that it was for Prodigality and not for Avarice that Statius had to suffer.

*In the Second Division*, from ver. 55 to ver. 93, Statius

informs Virgil, in answer to a question, that it was from Virgil's writings that he had learnt the Christian Faith.

*In the Third Division*, from ver. 94 to ver. 114, Statius asks Virgil what has become of certain illustrious writers of antiquity.

*In the Fourth Division*, from ver. 115 to ver. 154, the Poets reach the Sixth Cornice, and the purgation of the sin of Gluttony is described.

*Division I.*—It would seem that, between the conclusion of the last and the commencement of the present Canto, Dante had passed before the Angel of the Fifth Cornice, who had erased another P from his brow, so that two only now remain upon it, the P of Gluttony, and the P of Sensuality, which will be erased in the Sixth and Seventh Cornices above.

The three poets, Dante, Virgil, and Statius, appear to have already entered upon the stairway leading up to the Sixth Cornice. Dante tells us that they have left the Angel behind them at the foot of the steps.

Già era l' Angel retro a noi rimaso,  
 L' Angel che n' avea vòlto al sesto giro,  
 Avendomi dal viso un colpo raso :  
 E quei ch' hanno a giustizia lor disiro  
 Detto n' avea \* *Beati*, e le sue voci

5

\* *n' avea* : Scartazzini says that this is one of the passages that have been terribly tortured, first by the amanuenses, and then by the Commentators. The variations in the reading are many, but the most common alternative reading is *n' avean*, which would imply that it was not the Angel, but the spirits of the Fifth Cornice, who pronounced the words, "*Beati quei ch' hanno a giustizia lor disiro.*" But such an interpretation would simply destroy the beautiful symmetry of the poem. While everywhere else it is the Angel guarding the exit who, when dismissing the purified souls, chants the appropriate Beatitude, according to the reading *n' avean*, the Angel in this Cornice would be made to act

Con *sitiunt*,\* senz' altro, ciò fornìo.

differently, and to allow the travellers to depart unnoticed by him. Dr. Moore (*Textual Criticism*) says at page 405: "the right reading *n' avea* (unless I am mistaken) is not found in any of the earlier Commentators, yet it has considerable support among the MSS., being found in about half those examined . . . Still on fuller and wider consideration, both of context and parallel passages, *avea* will, I think, prove to be decidedly more appropriate."

\**sitiunt*: Dr. Moore (*ut supra*) remarks that the reading *sitiunt* is almost entirely devoid of MS. authority, only about six instances being known to him, one of which is in one of the Vernon MSS. On the other hand the reading *sitio* was found in about 170 MSS. He observes: "Now no one can doubt the unity of plan and method, not only throughout the whole poem, but also in each of its three great divisions, and this unity of plan is nowhere more marked than in the circumstances of Dante's passage from one *Cornice* to another of the *Purgatorio*. In every case the Angel in charge of the *Cornice* removes one of the seven P's that have been impressed on his forehead, leaving him lighter for his upward journey. In every case also, putting out of sight for the moment the present passage, *i.e.* in six cases out of seven, this act is accompanied by the recitation of one of the Beatitudes from *St. Matt.* ch. v." These six cases are *Purg.* xii, 110; xv, 38; xvii, 68; xix, 50; xxiv, 151; and xxvii, 8. The analogy therefore requires that in the case of the Fifth *Cornice* also the Angel should dismiss the Poets with a Beatitude. The words of the full text of the Beatitude (in *St. Matt.* v. 6) are: "Beati qui esuriunt et *sitiunt* (not *sitio*) *justitiam*," etc. Dr. Moore (p. 407) continues: "We may then, I think, take it for granted, (1) that the quotation is certainly a Beatitude; and (2) that it is *probably* spoken by the Angel guarding the ascent: and consequently we should certainly read *sitiunt*, and most probably also *avea* . . . The reference (p. 409) to the Beatitude is here obscured by the somewhat awkward way in which the words *Detto n' avea* break into the quotation; also by the inversion of order which makes *Beati* come last instead of, as usual, first; also by the free and altered form in which the quotation is made, and the mixture of Italian and Latin in it; and finally by its fragmentary character. On this last point a few words may be added in conclusion. In order to supply the required number of appropriate Beatitudes for the several *Cornici*, this one had to be divided, and a separation introduced between 'hungering' and 'thirsting' after righteousness. The former is reserved for the Sixth *Cornice*, where it affords a natural contrast to the sin of Gluttony, while the latter offers an equally natural antithesis here in the Fifth *Cornice* to the sin of

informs Virgil, in answer to a question, that it was from Virgil's writings that he had learnt the Christian Faith.

*In the Third Division*, from ver. 94 to ver. 114, Statius asks Virgil what has become of certain illustrious writers of antiquity.

*In the Fourth Division*, from ver. 115 to ver. 154, the Poets reach the Sixth Cornice, and the purgation of the sin of Gluttony is described.

*Division I.*—It would seem that, between the conclusion of the last and the commencement of the present Canto, Dante had passed before the Angel of the Fifth Cornice, who had erased another P from his brow, so that two only now remain upon it, the P of Gluttony, and the P of Sensuality, which will be erased in the Sixth and Seventh Cornices above.

The three poets, Dante, Virgil, and Statius, appear to have already entered upon the stairway leading up to the Sixth Cornice. Dante tells us that they have left the Angel behind them at the foot of the steps.

Già era l' Angel retro a noi rimaso,  
L' Angel che n' avea vòlto al sesto giro,  
Avendomi dal viso un colpo raso :  
E quei ch' hanno a giustizia lor disiro  
Detto n' avea \* *Beati*, e le sue voci

5

\* *n' avea* : Scartazzini says that this is one of the passages that have been terribly tortured, first by the amanuenses, and then by the Commentators. The variations in the reading are many, but the most common alternative reading is *n' avean*, which would imply that it was not the Angel, but the spirits of the Fifth Cornice, who pronounced the words, "*Beati quei ch' hanno a giustizia lor disiro.*" But such an interpretation would simply destroy the beautiful symmetry of the poem. While everywhere else it is the Angel guarding the exit who, when dismissing the purified souls, chants the appropriate Beatitude, according to the reading *n' avean*, the Angel in this Cornice would be made to act

this Scartazzini observes that these last words imply that as there are seven Angels, into whose mouths Dante wishes to put a Beatitude, he finds himself obliged to leave out from this text the words, "Blessed are they that hunger," "*Beati qui esuriunt*," which comes in very appropriately in the next Cornice, where Gluttony is chastised.

Dante having been disburdened of five out of the seven mortal sins, of which the emblems, the seven P's, had been traced on his brow, describes how relieved he feels.

Ed io, più lieve \* che per l' altre foci,  
M' andava sì, che senza alcun labore †  
Seguiva in su gli spiriti veloci :

\* *più lieve*: Compare *Purg.* iv, 88, where Virgil, in answer to Dante's inquiries as to the ascent, replies:—

"Questa montagna è tale,  
Che sempre al cominciar di sotto è grave,  
E quanto uom più va su, e men fa male,"

and *Purg.* xii, 112, where Dante compares the Cornices of Purgatory to those of the Circles of Hell.

"Ahi! quanto son diverse quelle foci  
Dalle infernali; chè quivi per canti  
S' entra, e laggiù per lamenti feroci."

† *labore*: A primitive word from the Latin, used instead of *lavoro*, and has the signification of fatigue. Dante makes use of it in *Conv.* ii, 16, ll. 39, 40: "se non teme labore di studio e lite di dubitazioni." Compare also *Par.* xxiii, 5, 6:—

"E per trovar lo cibo onde li pasca,  
In che i gravi labor gli sono aggrati."

It was much used by the early Italian writers. Compare Brunetto Latini, *Tesoretto*, cap. iv (quoted in Nannucci's *Teorica de' Nomi*, p. 108; and by the *Gran Dizionario*):—

"Ma tutto mio labore,  
Quanto che io l' allumi,  
Convien che si consumi;"

and *Tesoretto*, cap. vii:—

"Volsè tutto labore  
Finir nello migliore."

Compare also Pannuccio dal Bagno (*Poeti del Primo Secolo*, 2 vols. 8vo, Firenze, 1816, vol. i, p. 387):—

And I, more light-footed than through the other entrances, was walking on, so much so, that without any distress I could follow upwards after those swiftly moving spirits (Virgil and Statius).

Benvenuto remarks that Virgil now addresses Statius in a few noble words, and, to win his good graces, prefaces his remarks with a noteworthy opinion about honourable love. After laying down this opinion on the reciprocity of love, Virgil proceeds to tell Statius that, though only knowing him by hearsay from Juvenal, whom he had met in *Limbo*, he had loved him for many centuries, so that, now that he has met him, the ascent of the remaining stairways of Purgatory will in his company be but a light task.

Quando Virgilio cominciò: "Amore,\* 10  
 Acceso di virtù, † sempre altro acceso,  
 Pur che la fiamma sua paresse fuore.  
 Onde, dall' ora che tra noi discese

"Ma quei, che men si tragga in ver valore  
 Non si neghisca in essenza, ov' in vegli,  
 Che sia divisa da vero labore (footnote explains, '*fatica*')."

\* *Amore . . . sempre altro acceso*: Compare *Inf.* v, 103:—

"Amor, che a nullo amato amar perdona."

Buti comments: "Purchè sappia l' amato esser amato incontanente ama." Virgil states this proposition in order to show that on hearing of the writings of Statius, in which admiration for himself is expressed, he too had felt a sympathetic touch of love for Statius. ✓

† *Acceso di virtù*: "From this we see that we often love a virtuous man, even though we have never seen or known him, just as I, Benvenuto, love Dante, who is dead." (Benvenuto.) Petrarch expresses a like idea (part iv, canz. ii, st. 8):—

"Digli: un che non ti vide ancor da presso,  
 Se non come per fama uom s' innamora."

The *Anon. Fior.*: "Quello amore ch'è impreso da virtù ha tanto potere s'elli appare di lui alcuno segno, che gli conviene accendere nello amato amore inverso quello che così prima ama."

Nel limbo dello inferno \* Juvenale †  
 Che la tua affezion mi fe' palese, 15  
 Mia benvoglienza ‡ inverso te fu quale  
 Più strinse mai di non vista persona,§  
 Sì ch' or mi parran corte queste scale.

When Virgil began: "Love, kindled by virtue, has  
 always enkindled another (*i.e.*, a reciprocal love),

\* *limbo dello inferno*: Compare St. Thom. Aquin. *Summ. Theol.* pars iii, suppl. qu. lxxix, art. 5: "Limbus vel est idem quod infernus, vel est pars inferni . . . Si ergo considerentur limbus patrum et infernus secundum locorum qualitatem prædictam, sic non est dubium quòd distinguuntur, tum quia in inferno est pœna sensibilis, quæ non erat in limbo patrum; tum etiam quia in inferno est pœna æterna; sed in limbo patrum detinebantur sancti temporaliter tantum. Sed si considerentur quantum ad situm loci, sic probabile est quòd idem locus, vel quasi continuus, sit infernus et limbus; ita tamen quòd quædam superior pars inferni, limbus patrum dicatur."

† *Juvenale*: Many read *Giovenale*. Gioberti observes that Dante would seem to place Statius before Lucan; since he makes Virgil say that he loves Statius more than any other poet, besides giving to Statius and not to Lucan the honour of this beautiful episode. Scartazzini remarks that Dante would name Juvenal, both because he was an admirer of the *Thebaid*, and also a contemporary of Statius; but the truth is that, although Dante was acquainted with Juvenal's writings, he does not seem to wish to bestow upon him either praise or censure.

‡ *benvoglienza*, a word which can be spelt in seven different ways, is, says the *Gran Dizionario*: "più e men dell' affetto, e più manifesta; e sempre è men dell' amore." "The *Dizionario* quotes the following from the *Filosofia Morale* of Francesco Maria Zanotti, the celebrated Bolognese philosopher, 1695-1777: "La benevolenza non è amicizia, ma è principio di amicizia," cf. also Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* xxxvi, st. 27:—

"è l' un fiamma e furore,

L' altro benivolenza più ch' amore."

§ *non vista persona*: Compare Cicero, *De Amicitia*, cap. viii, 28, from which Dante may have taken the ideas expressed in the present passage: "Nihil est enim amabilius virtute; nihil, quod magis allicit ad diligendum: quippe quum, propter virtutem et probitatem, eos etiam, quos nunquam vidimus, quodam modo diligamus." And Petrarch, *Trionfo dell' Amore*, cap. ii, terz. 8:—

\* "Ma tua fama real per tutto aggiunge,  
 E tal che mai non ti vedrà nè vide,  
 Con bel nodo d' amor teco congiunge."

provided only that its flame appear outwardly. Wherefore, from the hour that Juvenal, who made me acquainted with thy affection (for me), descended into the *Limbo* of Hell, my good will towards thee has been such as never bound me before to an unseen person, so that now these stairs will appear short to me.

Virgil does not appear to mean that he had hitherto found the ascent toilsome, but only wishes to express his regret that he will not be able to go beyond the summit of the stairway of the last *Cornice*, and will consequently have so short a time to pass in the company of Statius.

Benvenuto says that Virgil, having addressed the above graceful words to Statius by way of prelude, now asks him how it is possible that he can have been guilty of the sin of Avarice.

Ma dimmi, e come amico mi perdona  
 Se troppa sicurtà m' allarga il freno,\* 20  
 E come amico omai meco ragiona:  
 Come potè † trovar dentro al tuo seno

\* *m' allarga il freno*: Petrarch uses the words in the same figurative sense in *Canzone i* (in some editions iv), st. 6:—

"Alle lagrime triste allargai 'l freno,  
 E lasciaile cader come a lor parve."

† *Come potè*, etc.: Scartazzini thinks that Virgil's mistake was very natural. The Poets had heard from Adrian V that in the Fifth *Cornice* was punished the sin of Avarice, *Purg.* xix, 115. Moreover, Statius, in *Purg.* xxi, 67, has told them that he had lain in that *Cornice* for five centuries. Nothing had been said about Prodigality being punished there, and Virgil consequently took it for granted that Avarice had been one of the sins of Statius. Alfieri in his marginal notes, quoted by Biagioli, says that Dante's aim in these words was to show how utterly impossible it was that Avarice, the most ignoble of all vices, could ever abide in any noble soul, much less in that of a distinguished writer (*letterato vero*).



Loco avarizia, tra cotanto senno \*  
Di quanto, per tua cura, † fosti pieno ? ”

But tell me—and as a friend forgive me if too great freedom loosens my rein (of speech), and henceforth converse with me as a friend—how could Avarice find a place within thy breast, amid wisdom so great as thou wast filled with by thy diligence ? ”

Stattius cannot forbear from smiling at this misapprehension on the part of Virgil, just as Dante had previously laughed at that of Stattius.

Queste parole Stazio mover fenno 25  
Un poco a riso ‡ pria ; poscia rispose :  
—“ Ogni tuo dir d’ amor m’ è caro cenno.

These words made Stattius smile a little at first ; then he answered : “ Every saying of thine is to me a cherished token of love.

Stattius says this because Virgil had asked him for pardon, if he used too much freedom in speaking about his supposed sin of Avarice.

Benvenuto observes that, after this preliminary remark, Stattius commences his speech, and does so in a style which one cannot sufficiently admire, both from its artistic merit, worthy of so great an orator, and also as being quite after Virgil’s manner. He says it often happens that things which are perfectly true are not believed, from ignorance of causes. It seems incredible that, under a clear sky and on a tranquil sea, a ship

\* *tra cotanto senno* : Compare *Inf.* iv, 102 :—

“ Si ch’ io fui sesto tra cotanto senno.”

† *per tua cura* : “ Senno non solo naturale, ma coltivato da studii onesti.” (Tommaséo.) “ Perchè il senno è la scienza non vengon da sè, ma si acquistano per indefesso studio.” (Brunone Bianchi.)

‡ *mover fenno Un poco a riso* : Compare *Purg.* iv, 121, 122 :—

“ Gli atti suoi pigri, e le corte parole  
Mosson le labbra mie un poco a riso.”

should suddenly go to the bottom and not be seen again; and in the same way the statement made in the last Canto, that Titus attacked Jerusalem to avenge the death of Christ, is false. Titus made war against the Jews on his own account. Statius then deals with Virgil's misapprehension, and he immediately shows where the mistake lies.

Veramente \* più volte appaion cose,  
 Che danno a dubitar falsa matera, †  
 Per le vere ragion che sono ascose. 30  
 La tua domanda tuo creder m' avvera ‡

\* *Veramente*, et seq.: Compare Tennyson, *Idylls of the King*, Enid, 892-898:—

"O purblind race of miserable men,  
 How many among us at this very hour  
 Do forge a life-long trouble for ourselves,  
 By taking true for false, or false for true;  
 Here, thro' the feeble twilight of this world  
 Groping, how many, until we pass and reach  
 That other, where we see as we are seen!"

† *matera*: Used by the early Italian prose writers, as well as by the poets, for *materia*. Nannucci (*Teorica dei Nomi*, p. xxi) quotes this as one of the many words that Dante is erroneously supposed to have altered arbitrarily for the sake of the rhyme, a fact which Nannucci indignantly denies; and after proving his point, by quoting instances in prose of the use of each of these words, he adds: "Ed ecco dimostrato per questi esempi se il nostro poeta fosse tirato dalla rima, siccome mancante di vena poetica e di compensi, a prendersi delle irregolari licenze a danno e a pregiudizio della lingua e del buon gusto, come il Signor Canonico sentenziava . . . ma la conclusione è questa, che non v' ha nessuna voce fra le tante che i Commentatori dicono usate in grazie della rima, che non mi sia venuto fatto di rinvenirla fuori di rima, e la più parte di esse anche in prosa." The Canonico referred to was Moreni who, in his preface to *Il Viaggio in Terra Santa di Ser Mariano di Siena*, had dared to write in such disparaging terms about Dante.

‡ *m' avvera*: Compare *Purg.* xviii, 34-36:—

"quant' è nascosa  
 La veritade alla gente ch' avvera  
 Ciascuno amore in sè laudabil cosa."

To this quotation the *Gran Dizionario* subjoins: "In Toscana dicono: 'M' è stato avverato che . . . (Meno di *Asseverato*).'"

Esser ch' io fossi avaro in l' altra vita,  
 Forse per quella cerchia dov' io era.  
 Or sappi ch' avarizia fu partita  
 Troppo da me, e questa dismisura  
 Migliaia di lunari \* hanno punita. 35

Ofttimes indeed things appear, which afford false matter for doubt, because their real causes are hidden. Thy question convinces me that it is thy belief, perchance from that Cornice where I was, that I was avaricious in the other life. Know then that Avarice was too far removed from me, and this excess (*i.e.* Prodigality) thousands of months have chastised.

Buti remarks that, instead of hoarding the things he ought to have given away or reserved, he gave away both the things he ought to have given away, and also the things he ought to have reserved.

Status now goes on to relate that it was a passage in Virgil's writings that had wrought an amendment in him, and then, having quoted the words of Virgil, tells him how reflection on those weighty lines influenced his life, for he then began to understand that both Misers and Prodigals have a sinful thirst for gold, though with the intent of using it in opposite ways; and that they often seek it by sinful fraud, or violence.

---

\* *Migliaia di lunari*: Statius died A.D. 96, which, deducted from A.D. 1300, leaves 1204 years, of which, as we noticed before, he had spent 500 in the Cornice of Avarice; 400 in the Cornice of Sloth; and 304 in Ante-Purgatory. Total, 1204 years = 14,448 calendar months. *Lunare* is, says the *Gran Dizionario*, a substantive, *il tempo del corso della luna*. Buti commenting on the present passage writes: "Lunare si chiama una innovazione di Luna, che si fa in venzette (27) dì e ore nove, cioè che la Luna compie di girare tutto 'l zodiaco." Compare Giov. Villani, *Cronica*, xi, cap. ii: "E nel cominciamento e grande parte di quello lunare dinanzi al diluvio furono grandi piogge in Firenze e in molte parti, e questo fu segno del futuro diluvio." Notwithstanding Buti's assertion, the true period of the "lunation" is about 29½ days.

E se non fosse ch' io drizzai \* mia cura, †  
 Quando' io intesi ‡ là dove tu esclame, §  
 Crucciato quasi all' umana natura :  
 † Per che || non reggi tu, o sacra fame

40

\* *drizzai*: Both *drizzare* and *dirizzare* can signify, as here, to make straight (*raggiustare, correggere, indirizzare*) to amend. In the present passage it means *feci dritta mia cura*, I made straight, amended, my zeal, which before had been crooked, *i.e.* misdirected. Compare *Purg.* xxiii, 125, 126:—

“Salendo e rigirando la montagna

Che drizza voi che il mondo fece torti.”

(*i.e.* which makes straight you whom the world has made crooked).

† *mia cura*: Buti interprets *cura*, “i miei pensieri”; Fraticelli, “mio contegno” (this I have adopted); *Philalethes* and Witte “Bestreben”; Lubin “inclinazione”; and Lacaïta (personally, who agrees with Fraticelli, told me): “rectified my conduct.”

‡ *intesi*: *intendere* has a vast number of significations—the principal of these are “to hear” and “to understand.” Both these are used by the different Commentators, Witte translates *ich las*, but I can find no authority for that as a literal translation. Tommaséo (*Dizionario dei Sinon.* p. 247, Sin. 1101) writes: *Intendere* riguarda, più specialmente, il significato delle parole,” and at p. 1072, Sin. 3380:—“*Intendere*, veramente del senso della parola udita. . . . Si può udire un discorso senza intenderlo; si può udire senza voler intendere, perchè taluni disprezzano come non intelligibile tutto quello che non piace loro.”

§ *dove tu esclame*: There is a graceful courtesy in Statius quoting a passage from Virgil's own writings, and telling him the influence it had upon his life. It reminds one of Casella the musician, mentioned in the second Canto, who, when asked by Dante to comfort his soul with song, after the bodily and mental prostration he felt from his passage through Hell, commenced singing one of Dante's sonnets set to music of his own.

|| *Per che*: Some read *perchè* and translate: “Why dost thou not regulate and confine within due bounds the appetite of mortals?” Others, *a che*: translating: “To what pitch dost thou not drive?” Some take *sacra* in a good sense, as though the words meant: “Why dost not thou, O holy hunger of gold, restrain the desire of mortals?” Scartazzini says that it is clear, before everything else, that Dante intends here either to translate or to imitate the well-known verses of Virgil (*Æn.* iii, 56):—

“Quid non mortalia pectora cogis,

Auri sacra fames?”

This is evidently the opinion too of Benvenuto, who translates it:—

“O execrabilis cupiditas auri.”

Dell' oro, l' appetito dei mortali ?  
 Voltando sentirei le giostre grame.\*

Scartazzini says that, of four different ways of interpreting the passage, he prefers the following: "Per che distorte vie, per che malvagità, non conduci e guidi tu, o esecranda fame dell' oro, l' appetito degli uomini?" (*Through what crooked ways and through what wickedness, dost thou not conduct, etc.*) He also cites a number of Commentators who say that rightly to understand how Virgil's severe censure of the hunger of gold serves to condemn Prodigality (for both the Miser and the Prodigal have the sinful love of money), the following passage from Aristotle (*Ethics*, book iv, ch. 1, R. W. Browne's translation) may be quoted: "But the majority of prodigals, as has been stated, also receive from improper sources, and are in this respect illiberal (in the Italian version ἀνελεύθεροι is translated, guilty of the sin of Avarice). Now they become fond of receiving because they wish to spend, and are not able to do it easily, for their means soon fail them; they are therefore compelled to get supplies from some other quarter, and at the same time, owing to their not caring for the honourable, they receive without scruple from any person they can; for they are anxious to give, and the how or the whence they get the money matters not to them." Biagioli has the following note: "*Sacra*, esecrabile. *Fame*, per desiderio smoderato." *Fame* is used by Petrarch, part ii, *Canz.* iv, st. 8: *Quella per ch' io ho di morir tal fame*. Every one can see that this is the Virgilian *Quid non mortalia pectora cogis Auri sacra fames?* "When (adds Biagioli) I read for the first time this *perchè*, written thus as one entire word, I confess that I did not succeed in understanding the construction of it, although the sentiment of it can be so clearly seen. . . . I returned to my house and commenced the analysis, separating the preposition *per* from the adjective *che*, knowing that, in whatever aspect it presents itself, *che* is nothing but an adjective, and therefore connected with a noun either expressed or understood, and I quickly found that I could fill the void, by writing: 'per che (*per quali*) scelleraggini non reggi, etc. (*through what crimes dost thou not conduct, etc.*),' and in this way the construction becomes quite simple."

\* *giostre grame*: This of course refers to the collisions between the Misers and Prodigals, as they encounter one another in their ceaseless course backwards and forwards each in their own half of the Fourth Circle of Hell. Compare the words in that passage (*Inf.* vii, 31-35):—

"Così tornavan per lo cerchio tetro,  
 Da ogni mano all' opposto punto,  
 Gridandosi anche loro ontoso metro:  
 Poi si volgea ciascun, quando era giunto  
 Per lo suo mezzo cerchio all' altra giostra."

Allor m' accorsi che troppo aprir l' ali\*  
 Potean le mani a spendere, e pente' mi  
 Così di quel come degli altri mali.

45

And had it not been that I rectified my conduct, when I understood that passage (*là*) where thou, as it were indignant against human nature, dost exclaim — 'Through what (crooked channels) dost not thou, O accursed hunger of gold, drive the appetite of mortals?'—I, rolling the weight should (even now) be experiencing the grim jousts (of the Misers and Prodigals in Hell). Then did I perceive that the hands could spread their wings too much in spending, and I repented me as well of that as of my other sins.

Stattius next condemns Prodigality in men, who like himself in his life-time, seem to be ignorant of how great a sin it is. Benvenuto says we may suppose that Stattius now anticipates the possibility of Virgil asking him: Why then did he remain so long doing penance among the Misers? We may assume that Dante represents Stattius as replying to this imaginary question, by stating that the two sins of Avarice and Prodigality, diametrically opposed to one another, are rightly punished in the same *Cornice*.

Quanti risurgeran coi crini scemi, †

\* *aprir l' ali*: In *Purg.* x, 25, Dante gives wings to the eyes, as here to the hands:—

"E quanto l' occhio mio potea trar d' ale  
 Or dal sinistro ed or dal destro fianco," etc.

† *crini scemi*. Compare *Inf.* vii, 46, where Virgil, in describing to Dante the punishment in Hell of the Avaricious and the Prodigal, says of the former:—

Questi fur cherchi, che non han coperchio  
 Piloso al capo, e Papi e Cardinali,  
 In cui usa avarizia il suo soperchio."

And at verse 55:—

"In eterno verranno alli due cozzi;  
 Questi risurgeranno del sepulcro  
 Col pugno chiuso, e questi co' crin mozzi."

Per ignoranza,\* che di questa pecca  
 Toglie il penter vivendo, e negli estremi †  
 E sappi che la colpa, che rimbecca ‡  
 Per dritta opposizione alcun peccato,

50

\* *ignoranza*: Scartazzini explains that there are two kinds of ignorance: the one sinful, and the other not. Ignorance is sinful which could be overcome by exercising and perfecting reason. See St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* p. i, 2<sup>da</sup>, qu. lxxvi, art. 2): "Quicumque negligit habere vel facere id quod tenetur habere vel facere, peccat peccato omissionis. Unde propter negligentiam ignorantia eorum quæ aliquis scire tenetur est peccatum; non autem imputatur homini ad negligentiam si nesciat ea quæ scire non potest. Unde horum ignorantia *invincibilis* dicitur, quia studio superari non potest. Et propter hoc talis ignorantia, cum non sit voluntaria, eo quod non est in potestate nostrâ eam repellere, non est peccatum. Ex quo patet quod nulla ignorantia *invincibilis* est peccatum; ignorantia autem *vincibilis* est peccatum si sit eorum quæ aliquis scire tenetur, non autem si sit eorum quæ quis scire non tenetur."

† *negli estremi*: Benvenuto has a fanciful interpretation for *estremi* "... the extremes, for such are Avarice and Prodigality".

‡ *rimbecca*: Blanc (*Vocabolario Dantesco*) says that *rimbeccare* is a word of uncertain origin, and that Dante uses it in the sense of being directly opposed to anything. It properly signifies to strike the ball backwards and forwards from one player to another. The word is used in Corsica as the title of a kind of song to excite the backward when unwilling to carry on a *vendetta*. It would seem to correspond with the English word "return," and the French "riposter," terms familiar in the tennis-courts of London and Paris. The *Gran Dizionario* gives the following quotation from the Florentine translation by Varchi, of Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, Florence, 1554, 4to, in which allusion is made to the ancient game of *Pallone*, the original parent of the game of Tennis: "se aremo a far con uno che sia buono giuocatore ed esercitato, noi manderemo la palla più sicuramente; perché in qualunque modo gli venga, saprà rimbeccarla agevolmente e con destrezza." And in the sense of repartee or retort, compare Varchi, *L' Hercolano, Dialogo nel quale si ragiona generalmente della lingue, ed in particolare della Toscana, e delle Fiorentine*, Venice, 1580, 4to, p. 48: "Se alcuno ha detto alcuna cosa, o vera, o falsa, che ella sia, e un' altro per piaggiarlo, e fare, ch' ella si creda gliela fa buona, cioè l' approva, affermando così essere, come colui dice, e tal volta accrescendola, sono in uso questi verbi, *rifiorire, ribadire, rimettersela, o rimandarcela l' un l' altro, rimbeccarsela, o rimpolpettarsela.*"

Con esso insieme qui suo verde secca.\*  
 Però, s' io son tra quella gente stato  
 Che piange l' avarizia, per purgarmi,  
 Per lo contrario suo m' è incontrato."—

How many shall rise again with shorn hair, through ignorance, which cuts off repentance for this sin, (both) in life, and at the extreme hour! And know that the fault which sets itself in direct opposition to any sin, here (in Purgatory) together with it dries up its verdure. Wherefore, if I have for my purgation been among that multitude who bewail their avarice, it has happened to me by reason of its contrary."

The first of the two faults undergoes the same purgation, and is punished in the same place in Purgatory, as the fault which is the direct opposite to it. Benvenuto says of *la colpa che rimbecca* "idest, adversatur et occurrit a becco a becco," and of *qui secca suo verde*, "id est luit poenam æqualem" . . . "And mark here, reader," he adds, "that our poet rightly assigns the same penalty to both those sins, for, although Avarice is always the most detested of the two, yet in real truth Prodigality is a damnable pest, and hostile to the public weal. For the Prodigal, who spends more than nature requires, and more than fortune supplies, soon replaces plenty with emptiness, sweet with bitter, light with darkness, praise with derision, much with nothing. The prodigal soon renders himself contemptible in the eyes of those, by whom, but shortly

---

\* *suo verde secca*: This is taken from the figure of a plant that is withered up, consumed. On this Gioberti writes: "*suo verde*, cioè il troppo suo rigoglio (*over exuberance*), finchè torni la cosa alla sua giusta misura." Compare *Ezekiel* xx, 47: "Thus saith the Lord God; Behold, I will kindle a fire in thee, and it shall devour every green tree in thee, and every dry tree."



before, he was held in respect. . . . O how many worthy and great men has this sin cast down into rage and despair!"

In the Article in the *Edinburgh Review* for April, 1895 (referred to in the last Canto) on *The Classical Studies of Dante*, the reviewer writes at p. 304: "Virgil is made to express his surprise that one so wise as Statius could have been stained with so sordid a vice (and it is to be observed that Dante had a very special contempt for the vice of Avarice). Statius explains that his was the contrary vice, *viz.* that of Prodigality, . . . and that in Purgatory, as in Hell, the excess and defect are punished together as connected forms of vice, on strict Aristotelian principles. Statius then declares that he was indebted to Virgil for his recovery from his vice, as well as for the more important boon of his conversion to Christianity, which comes later. In particular his conversion was effected by Virgil's well-known lines (see above, p. 225); the form, however, in which these words are quoted by Statius is very difficult to explain. . . . We are not aware of the existence of any such tradition as to the character and habits of Statius. It appears to be a pure invention on the part of Dante, as much so as the alleged conversion to Christianity. The object in both cases seems to be to connect the benefits received with the influence of Virgil, and with some definite passage that could be quoted from his works. What makes this particular invention more singular is that it is somewhat inconsistent with the picture of Statius's condition presented by Juvenal in *Sat.* vii, 82-87, which Dante appears to have been acquainted with, though we cannot point out the indications of this here. For *Prodigality* implies

the possession of considerable means, whereas Juvenal implies that Statius was poor, and that even his great popularity would not have saved him from starvation, unless it had been relieved by the more substantial support of Domitian's powerful favourite, Paris. *Esurit intactam Paridi nisi vendat Agaven.*"

*Division II.*—In this, the principal division of the Canto, Statius relates to Virgil the cause of his supposed conversion to the Christian Faith. Virgil begins by asking Statius: "How were you guided to this Faith? there is no evidence of it in your writings. On the contrary, in your *Thebaid*, there would seem to be direct evidence that when you wrote it, you were a pagan."

- "Or quando tu cantasti le crude armi  
Della doppia tristizia di Jocasta,"\*— 55  
Disse il Cantor de' bucolici carmi,†  
—"Per quello che Cliò † teco li tasta,

\**la doppia tristizia di Jocasta*: Eteocles and Polynices, twin sons of Œdipus and Jocasta, having succeeded their father as Kings of Thebes, had agreed to rule in alternate years, and that the non-reigning brother should pass the year in voluntary exile. Eteocles reigned first, but, when at the end of the year, Polynices came to claim the sceptre, Eteocles refused to give it up, and thence arose the celebrated war of the Seven Kings against Thebes so magnificently described by Æschylus.

† *Cantor de' bucolici carmi*: Compare Horace, *1 Sat.* 10, 45:—  
"molle atque facetum

Virgilio annuerunt gaudentes rure Camenæ."

On this Mr. Maclean (*Horatii Opera Omnia*, London, 1881) remarks that whether Virgil had at this time published his *Georgics* or not is uncertain, but at any rate he had them in hand, and his friends had probably heard a great part of them recited in private. The *Bucolics* had been published some time, but, until the *Æneid* had made some progress, we have no reason to suppose that Virgil was classed by his contemporaries with poets of the first rank.

‡ *Cliò*: Statius begins the *Thebaid* with an invocation to Clio, the Muse of History, whose office it was to record the heroic actions of brave men. See *Thebaid*, i, 40-45.

"Now when thou didst sing of the hier  
the two-fold affliction of Jocasta (*i.e.* 1  
Polynices)," exclaimed the Singer of the  
"it does not appear by that which Clio  
thee there (in thy poem), that the Faith, w  
good works do not suffice, had as yet  
believer. If this be so, what Sun (light f  
or what candles (light from earth), did  
darkness for thee, that thou didst afterwa  
sails into the wake of the Fisherman (St

Status replies, premising that the l  
luminated his mind came to him from a  
in Virgil's writings.

\* *La fè, senza la qual ben far non basta:*  
34-36:—

" . . . ei non peccaro: e s'elli hanno me  
Non basta, perchè non ebber batte  
Ch'è parte della fede che tu credi.  
And *Hebrews* xi, 6: "But without faith it is in  
him."

† *qual sole o quai candele:* Fraticelli on  
simbolo della grazia divina; la *candela*, della sc

‡ *dietro al pescator:* According to Dean Pl  
had become familiar through the *Sigillum*  
by the Roman Pontiffs, on which there was  
Christ fishing with a line, and St. Peter wit  
mention of this seal occurs in a letter of Cl  
the year of Dante's birth. "Con questa perifi  
di qual lume soprannaturale fosse mestieri a  
mente vano della sua sapienza. l'inchinarsi al

Ed egli a lui:—"Tu prima m' inviasti  
Verso Parnaso a ber nelle sue grotte,\*  
E poi appresso Dio m' alluminasti.†  
Facesti come quei che va di notte,‡

65

into the sea: for they were fishers. And Jesus said unto them, Come ye after me, and I will make you to become fishers of men."

\* *grotte*: I follow Camerini in taking *grotte* as "banks, slopes," and not as "caves, grottoes." He says: "*Grotte*, qui pure per *rippe*, come *Inf.* xxi, 110, e *Purg.* xiii. 45." And Landino says that "nele sue *rippe* erano le fonti pargasee (*Pegasee*) consacrate ale muse." The *Gran Dizionario* specially quotes the present passage, and says *grotta* must be taken to signify "*Rialto di terra, Argine, Ripa.*" Trissino also accentuates this signification of *grotte*.

† *E poi appresso Dio m' alluminasti*: Gioberti exclaims: "Non potea Dante far un più grande elogio a Virgilio. (1) fa che da lui Stazio riceva l' educazione poetica, e l' idea de' suoi poemi (xxi, 94, *et seq.*); (2) la buona dottrina che lo converte alla virtù (xxii, 37, *et seq.*); (3) il lampo stesso che lo conduce alla fede (v. 64, *et seq.*); onde fa di Virgilio non solo un maestro in poesia, e in morale, ma eziandio di religione, e di religione cristiana. Ricavasi da ciò pertanto come Virgilio fosse riputato da Dante un poeta religioso, e mezzo cristiano."

‡ *quei che va di notte*: An allusion to the attendant who at night walks in front of his master, carrying a lantern behind him, so that, giving light, he himself remains in the dark. A passage nearly identical is found in a sonnet of Messer Polo da Reggio in Lombardy who flourished about 1230 (*Poeti del Primo Secolo della Lingua Italiana*, Florence, 1816, 2 vols. 8vo, vol. i, p. 129):—

"Sì como quel, che porta la lumera  
La notte, quando passa per la via,  
Alluma assai più gente della spera,  
Che se medesimo, che l' ha in balia."

Compare also Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure*, act 1, sc. i:—

"Heaven doth with us as we with torches do,  
Not light them for themselves."

So, according to Dante, Virgil walking in the darkness of ignorance, but bearing the light of wisdom, gave to Statius, who came after him, the knowledge of the true faith. The Edinburgh Reviewer says that the *duro giudizio* by which Virgil, though able to save others, is not able to save himself, is a touching and exquisite metaphor. Gioberti after asking himself the question, why this should be, says that by this example Dante wishes to demonstrate a profound theological truth. "Dio non guarda per salvare ai meriti della natura; nella sua elezione il suo ordine di giudicare

Che porta il lume retro, e sè non giova,  
 Ma dopo sè fa le persone dotte,  
 Quando dicesti: 'Secol si rinnuova;\*'  
 Torna giustizia, e primo tempo umano,  
 E progenie discende dal ciel nuova.'

70

And he to him: "Thou first didst shew me the way to Parnassus, to drink (of the waters) on its slopes, and then didst illumine me (in drawing) near to God. Thou didst like him who walks by night and carries the light behind him, and profits not himself, but makes wise the persons behind him, when thou saidst: 'The world is born again: Justice is returning, and man's primeval time, and a new progeny descends from heaven.'

Comparetti (*Virgilio nel medio evo*, Livorno, 1871, vol. i, p. 128, etc.) says that this prophecy of the Cumæan Sybil is applied by Virgil, who was a courtier, to the birth of the son of Asinius Pollio, but that Dante sees in the words an announcement of the birth of the Redeemer. Nor was Dante the first so to understand it. The presentiment that breathes through the whole

è imperscrutabile: ei si serve per far l' eletto bene spesso delle opere e dei detti del riprovato."

\* *Secol si rinnuova*, et seq. The passage referred to is contained in the words put into the mouth of the Sibyl, Virgil's *Bucolics*, *Eecl.* iv, 5-7:—

"Magnus ab integro saeculorum nascitur ordo.  
 Jam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna;  
 Jam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto."

It will be seen that Dante translates it almost literally. I have rendered *secol si rinnuova* (and I see Mr. Shadwell does the same), "the world is born again." The *Gran Dizionario*, s.v. *secolo*, § 8 has: "Vale anche il Mondo e le Cose mondane." It also quotes the following from Giov. Villani, lib. v. cap. xvi, where is related the seizure of Constance of Sicily, while a nun, and her enforced marriage to the Emperor Henry V: (*Par.* iii, 109-120): "Costanza serocchia che fu del re Guiglielmo . . . la quale era monaca a Palermo . . . la fece (il detto papa Clemente) uscire del munistero, e dispensò in lei ch' ella *potesse essere al secolo* e usare matrimonio."

*Eclogue* of a speedy renewal of the world, in an age of happiness, justice, love, and peace, and the way that such expectation is linked on to the birth of an infant, were things too seductive for Christians to read and not to connect with the birth of Christ, and the renewal of the world in the new and gentle doctrines which he offered to it. In fact the Christian interpretation of the Fourth *Eclogue* is seen to have been much in vogue among the Christian writers of the Fourth Century. The fullest interpretation of it in this sense is to be found in an allocution delivered (according to Eusebius, *Vita Const.* iv, 32; and *Constantini Oratio*, cap. xix) by the Emperor Constantine before an ecclesiastical assembly. The Emperor, examining that composition of Virgil in its various parts, sees in it the prediction of the Advent of Christ, shown forth very circumstantially; the virgin that returns is Mary; the new progeny sent down from Heaven is Jesus; the serpent that shall be no more is the ancient tempter of our fathers; the *amomum* that will be born everywhere is the Christian race, cleansed from sin; and he goes on interpreting after this wise other details in the *Eclogue*. He maintains that Virgil wrote with the clear intention of predicting the birth of Christ, but that he expressed himself in veiled language, mixing up with the words even the names of heathen divinities, so as not too openly to shock the beliefs of that time, and not to draw upon himself the displeasure of the spiritual authorities. Lactantius also, who lived in the same century as Constantine, interprets this *Eclogue* in the Christian sense, referring it however not to the first, but to the second coming of Christ. (Lactantius, *Div. Institut.* lib. vii, ch. 24). St. Augustine, while admitting the

existence among the heathen of prophets who foretold the coming of Christ, also cites the Fourth *Eclogue*, and curiously enough takes up verses 13 and 14, which he refers to the remission of sins, through the merits of the Saviour. (August. *Epist.* 137, *ad Volus.* ch. 12; *Epist.* 258, ch. 5; *De Civ. Dei*, lib. x, ch. 27.) In vain did St. Jerome inveigh against such ideas, ridiculing those who could believe that Virgil could be a Christian without a Christ. (Hieron. *Epist.* 53, *ad Paulin.* ch. 7.) Christian theologians continued to interpret the famous *Eclogue* in their own way, and even those who did not believe that Virgil had himself understood his own words in the sense which they attribute to them, still maintained that, though personally unconscious of the fact, he offered a testimony and an argument for the true faith.

The pretended irresistibility of that argument also gave rise to ecclesiastical legends of conversions due to the verses of the Fourth *Eclogue*, that of Statius, and that of three heathens Secundianus, Marcellianus, and Verianus, who, being suddenly enlightened by Virgil's lines, from being persecutors of Christians became martyrs for Christ. Pope Innocent III quotes the lines in confirmation of the Christian faith in a Christmas sermon (*Serm.* ii, *in fest. Nativ. Dom.*), and they were understood in the Christian sense during the middle ages and afterwards. We may conclude then that Dante is here following the exegesis of a tradition generally accepted in his time, that made Virgil a prophet of Christ.

Benvenuto, without going so far as to deny that the lines refer to the birth of Jesus Christ, is far more inclined to think that they allude to that of Augustus Cæsar.

Per te poeta fui, per te cristiano ;  
 Ma perchè veggi mei \* ciò ch' io disegno, †  
 A colorare stenderò la mano.

75

Through thee was I poet, through thee a Christian ;  
 but that thou mayest better discern what I am sketch-  
 ing out, I will put forth my hand to fill in the colours.

Statius means that he will explain in detail what he has merely shadowed forth in outline. This he proceeds to do, and relates how he became acquainted with the early Christians, his sympathy for them in their persecutions, the help he gave them, his conversion to Christianity, and his weakness in not daring to confess it.

Già era il mondo tutto e quanto pregno  
 Della vera credenza, seminata  
 Per li messaggi dell' eterno regno ;  
 E la parola tua sopra toccata  
 Si consonava ai nuovi predicanti,  
 Ond' io a visitarli presi usata. ‡  
 Vennermi poi parendo tanto santi,  
 Che, quando Domizian li persegutte, §

80

\* *mei*: "Mei si disse eziandio in vece di *meglio* per abbreviamento degli antichi, siccome lo disse Buonagiunta: 'Perchè la gente mei me lo credesse:' e Messer Cino: 'Dunque sarebbe mei ch' i' fossi morto.'" (*Gran Dizionario*.)

† *disegno* . . . *colorare*: Gioberti interprets *disegno* as the *abbozzo in iscorcio*, and a *colorare*, a *colorar l' abbozzato disegno*. Blanc (*Vocabolario Dantesco*) says that *colorare* is here used in the figurative sense, and thus signifies: "to explain anything in detail." Brunone Bianchi explains: "Il disegno adombra la cosa e li colori l' avvivano."

‡ *usata for usanza*: Scartazzini notices that the past participles were anciently used as nouns; *il destinato for il destino*; *la disposta for la disposizione*; *il cogitato for la cogitazione*.

§ *quando Domizian li persegutte*: The persecution of the Christians by the Emperor Domitian took place in A.D. 95, and continued until his death in the following year. Statius himself died about the same time.



Senza mio lagrimar non fur lor pianti.  
 E mentre che di là per me si stette, 85  
 Io li sovvenni, e lor dritti costumi  
 Fêr dispregiare a me tutte altre sette ;  
 E pria ch' io conducessi i Greci ai fiumi \*  
 Di Tebe poetando, ebb' io battesmo ;  
 Ma per paura chiuso † cristian fu'mi, 90  
 Lungamente mostrando paganesmo ;  
 E questa tepidezza il quarto cerchio ‡  
 Cerchiar mi fe' più ch' al quarto centesmo.

Already was the whole world teeming with the true belief, sown by the messengers of the eternal Kingdom (*i.e.* the Apostles); and thy words touched upon (by me) above were so much in harmony with the new preachers, that I adopted the practice of visiting them. After that, they began to seem so holy to me, that when Domitian persecuted them, their lamentations were not unaccompanied by my tears. And so long as I remained in yonder world, I gave them assistance, and their upright ways made me despise all other sects; and ere I had led the Greeks as far

\* *conducessi . . . ai fiumi*: There are twelve books in the *Thebaid*. In the ninth book Statius describes how the Greeks, under Adrastus, their king, came to the assistance of Polynices, and how they reached the Ismenus and Asopus, rivers of the Thebais. Statius is thus made to say that he was baptized before he had completed his poem, and his lukewarmness would be shown by there being no profession of his faith, or praise of the Christian religion, in his three last books.

† For *chiuso* in the sense of "hidden," compare *Inf.* xvi, 134, 135:—

"I' ancora ch' aggrappa

O scoglio od altro che nel mare è chiuso."

And *Inf.* xxv, 147, 148:—

"Non potêr quei fuggirsi tanto chiusi,

Ch' io non scorgessi ben Puccio Sciancato."

‡ *quarto cerchio*: In the Fourth Cornice of Purgatory Sloth is chastised. Compare *Purg.* xvii, 85-87:—

"L' amor del bene, scemo

Di suo dover, quiritta si ristora ;

Qui si ribatte il mal tardato remo."

as the rivers of Thebes in my poem (the *Thebaid*), I had received baptism: but through fear remained a hidden Christian, for a long time making a show of Paganism; and that lukewarmness obliged me to pace round the Fourth Circle for more than four hundred years.

An interesting paragraph in the before-mentioned article in the *Edinburgh Review* (p. 306) asks the very pertinent question: "What does Statius symbolize in the *Divina Commedia*? The part assigned to him is almost, if not quite, as conspicuous as that of the mysterious personage Matelda in the Earthly Paradise, and only surpassed in importance by the parts played in the action of the poem by Beatrice and Virgil." The reviewer offers as a suggestion that if Virgil represents Human Reason, and Beatrice Revelation or Theology, Statius might be supposed to typify something intermediate, such as "Human Reason generally enlightened by Christianity, but not specially instructed or interested therein; the cultivated 'lay' mind in an age that has received the general impress of Christianity . . . one that is unconsciously rather than consciously under its influence. . . . Dante *may* have intended to create a type of this intermediate condition between Virgil and Beatrice, between the highest type of pre-Christian intellect, or merely human reason, and the fullest development of the soul enlightened by the treasures of wisdom and knowledge which are imparted by revelation and dogmatic theology."

*Division III.*—Statius concludes his speech by asking Virgil what has become of certain of the Latin writers whom he considers most worthy of fame. Virgil in reply, gives him the information, and at the same time

tells him about many other writers, Greek as well as Latin, but reverently assigns the first place to Homer.

Tu dunque, che levato hai il coperchio\*  
 Che m'ascondeva quanto bene io dico, 95  
 Mentre che del salire avem soperchio,†  
 Dimmi dov' è Terenzio ‡ nostro antico,  
 Cecilio,§ Plauto e Varro,|| se lo sai :

\* *coperchio* : This must be taken in connection with ll. 61, 62 :—  
 "qual sole o quai candeale

Ti stenebraron sì," etc. Compare 2 *Cor.* iii, 15, 16 :—  
 "But even unto this day, when Moses is read, the veil is upon their heart. Nevertheless, when it shall turn to the Lord, the veil shall be taken away."

† *Mentre che del salire avem soperchio* : The poet Alfieri, in his marginal notes, quoted by Biagioli, paraphrases this "*mentre che ci sopravanzava il tempo per salire.*"

‡ *Terenzio* : The readings vary between "*Terenzio nostro antico*" and "*nostro amico.*" The reading "*antico,*" is much to be preferred, for "*nostro*" distinctly implies friendship. See Dr. Moore's *Textual Criticism*, pages 410-413, on this passage.

§ *Cecilio* : Statius Cæcilius was a comic poet, and dramatist, a contemporary and friend of Terence, who is said to have submitted his own compositions to the criticism of Cæcilius, as to a man of superior judgment. He died A.D. 168.

|| *Varro* : Scartazzini observes that, in the history of Roman literature, two poets of this name are recorded. The most renowned was Marcus Terentius Varro Reatinus, born at Reate, B.C. 116. He filled various public offices with great credit. During the civil wars he at first followed Pompey, but promptly abandoned him to go to Rome with Julius Cæsar, who intended employing him to collect the public library which he wished to form at Rome. After Cæsar's death he was included in the proscription of the Triumvirs, but concealed himself until he was taken under the protection of Augustus. He passed the remainder of his life in studies, and died at the age of 89, B.C. 27. He was the friend of Cicero, who (*Brut.* xv, 60) styled him *Diligentissimus investigator antiquitatis*. Seneca (*Consol. ad Helv.* ch. 8) calls him "the most learned of the Romans." Quintilian, x, l. 95, "*Vir Romanorum eruditissimus.*" Lactantius (*Inst.* i, ch. 6) styles him the most learned man among the Latins and Greeks. Far less distinguished was the other Varro, Publius Terentius Varro Atacinus, born at Atace in Gallia Narbonensis, B.C. 82. There has been much controversy as to which of the two Dante is speaking of here. Witte was the first to suggest that the

Dimmi se son dannati, ed in qual vico.\*—  
 —“Costoro, e Persio, ed io, ed altri assai,”— 100  
 Rispose il Duca mio,—“Siam con quel Greco  
 Che le Muse lattâr † più ch' altro mai,  
 Nel primo cinghio del carcere cieco. ‡

reading ought to be *Vario*, and that the person spoken of is Lucius Varius, a dramatic poet, friend of both Virgil and Horace. But Scartazzini concludes a long and very close argument by saying that, as both Varros were poets, either can well be mentioned by Dante with the others he names in this passage. And when one remembers that all the old MSS. and all the old editions read *Varro* or *Varo*, not *Vario*, and that M. Terentius Varro, as being much the more renowned, would have been so much the better known to Dante than Varius, one must come to the resolution of rejecting the ingenious conjecture, and admit with the many that Dante intended to speak of Varro, though it is not impossible that he may have made the two Varros into one person. Dr. Moore (*Text. Crit.* p. 411) thinks that it is not without bearing on the readings *antico v. amico*, and *Varro v. Vario* to observe that Dante has apparently been guided in the selection of these names,—Terence, Cæcilius, Plautus, and Varro (*al. Vario*)—by the recollection of one (or perhaps both) of two passages in Horace. These are:—

“*Plautus ad exemplar Siculi properare Epicharmi;  
 Vincere Cæcilius gravitate, Terentius arte.*”  
 (2 *Epist.* I, 58, 59.)

And “*Cæcilio Plautoque dabit Romanus ademptum  
 Virgilio Varioque ?*” (*Ars Poetica*, 54, 55.)

Varius is mentioned twice again by Horace in conjunction with Virgil, *viz.* 2 *Epist.* I, 247, and *Sat.* I, vi, 55, besides—which is curious in reference to the controversy noticed above—a passage in *Sat.* I, x, 44-46, where Varius, Virgil, and Varro (*Atacinus*) all occur together.

\* *vico*: This word in Italy means either “a street,” or “a village,” or “a small town.” Instances of all three will be found in the *Gran Dizionario*.

† *lattâr*: Compare *Par.* xxiii, 55-57:—

“Se mo sonasser tutte quelle lingue  
 Che Polinnia con le suore fêro  
 Del latte lor dolcissimo più pingue,” etc.

‡ *carcere cieco*: Compare *Inf.* x, 58-9, where Cavalcante Cavalcanti uses the same expression, when asking Dante for news about his son Guido, Dante's great friend:—

Spesse fiate ragioniam del monte  
 Che sempre ha le nutrici nostre seco.

105

Thou then, who didst lift the veil which was hiding from me that good which I now proclaim (*i.e.* the knowledge of the Christian Faith), while in our ascent we have time to spare (*lit.* excess of ascent), pray tell me where is our ancient Terence, (where are) Cecilius, Plautus, and Varro, if thou knowest it; tell me if they are damned, and (if so) in what circle (*lit.* street). "They," replied my Leader, "and Persius, and I myself, and a great many others, are with that Greek (Homer), whom the Muses suckled more than they ever did another, in the first zone of the darksome prison (*i.e.* in *Limbo*, the first Circle of Hell). Oftentimes do we converse about that mountain (Parnassus), which is always the abode of (*lit.* has with itself) our nursing-mothers (the Muses).

Having named Homer as the patriarch of Greek poesy Virgil now proceeds to mention certain other Greek poets.

Euripide v' è nosco, ed Antifonte,\*

"Se per questo cieco  
 Carcere vai per altezza d'ingegno,  
 Mio figlio ov' è, e perchè non è teco?"

Compare also 1 *St. Peter* iii, 19: "by which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison."

\**Antifonte*: Antiphon, also a tragic poet, lived first at Athens and afterwards at Syracuse at the court of the tyrant Dionysius, who had him put to death for being too frank in his speech (see *Arist. Rhet.* ii). Aristotle praises him as a poet, and Plutarch speaks particularly of him as one of the best tragic writers. The reading *Antifonte* is adopted by all the best Codices, the first four editions, and many of the best Commentators, including Benvenuto, Buti, Lana, Pietro di Dante, Witte, etc.; but others read *Anacreonte*, the lyric poet. Scartazzini points out the improbability of Dante, a grave, serious poet, making mention of one who was all softness and effeminacy, and placing him among the greatest representatives of dramatic, epic, and lyric poetry. Especially does this argument gain force when one notices that Dante here neither mentions Catullus nor Propertius, nor Tibullus, nor Ovid, with whose names he would be far more

Simonide,\* Agatone,† ed altri piùe  
Greci che già di lauro ornâr la fronte.

Euripides is there with us, and Antiphon, Simonides, Agathon, and many other Greeks, who in former times (*già*) decked their brows with laurel.

Benvenuto says of *ed altri piùe Greci*, that Dante means Greek poets not less famous, such as Pindar the Theban, Sophocles, Æschylus, Alcaeus, all tragic poets, Aristophanes, Philemon, comic poets, and many others, from all of whom Virgil took many ideas.

And having now spoken of certain Greek poets, he goes on to mention some Greek women well known to Statius.

Quivi si veggion delle genti tue †  
Antigone, Deifile ed Argia  
Ed Ismene si trista come fue.

110

familiar than with that of Anacreon. Moreover, it would not be in the least probable that amanuenses would change the well-known name of Anacreon into the much less known name of Antiphon, but an amanuensis, who had never heard of Antiphon, might quite well be supposed to yield to the temptation of altering the word into Anacreon.

\* *Simonide*: Simonides was a distinguished Greek lyric poet, born B.C. 559. He was brought to Athens by Hipparchus. He beat Æschylus in a competition for a prize offered by the Athenians for the best elegy upon the warriors who fell at Marathon. He also wrote celebrated compositions upon Thermopylæ, Artemisium, Salamis and Platea. He died at Syracuse, B.C. 469.

† *Agatone*: Agathon was a Greek tragic poet, a disciple of Socrates, born at Athens, B.C. 448, and died about 401.

‡ *genti tue*: Tommaséo remarks that the artificer loves the children of his thoughts, and lives in them. Thus Statius may almost be said to have created these personages for Dante, who was but imperfectly acquainted with the Greek poets, so much so, that while speaking of Euripides he omits Sophocles and Æschylus. *Antigone* was daughter of Ædipus and Jocasta, and sister of Eteocles, Polynices and Ismene. *Ismene*, her sister, is here represented as still mourning for the death of her betrothed. *Deipyle*, wife of Tydeus, and daughter of Adrastus, King of the Argives. *Argia*, her sister, wife of Polynices.

Scartazzini points out the difficulty  
Commentators at the apparent contra  
making Virgil say that the daughter  
*quivi*, which is usually understood to  
*primo cinghio* of Hell, *i.e.* *Limbo*; while  
daughter of Tiresias, mentioned by Virgil  
(who is also introduced in the *Thebaid*)  
has been placed by Dante in Hell among  
in the fourth pit of the *Malebolge*. It  
has been taken for granted that this was  
Dante, and that he had taken a nap.  
Scartazzini asks, Is it so? Was he asleep?  
He suggests a way of interpretation to  
solve the difficulty, and that is, by  
(verse 109), *vedesi* (112) and *evvi* (113),  
*primo cinghio*), but to Hell in general (ca  
of the spirits being only in *Limbo*, but  
Circles lower down. According to which  
Virgil would say that all the personages  
and by Statius introduced into the *Thebaid*  
leaving it uncertain in what Circle (i

---

*Hypsipyle*, who conducted Adrastus to the

fate is laid, and the contradiction disappears. Scartazzini adds: "I do not say that one *must*, but only that one *might* understand it so."

*Division IV.*—Benvenuto says that the Fourth and concluding Division of this noble Canto is not less curious and copious than the other three. In it the Poets are made to reach the Sixth Cornice, in which Gluttony is punished.

Dante begins by describing how he and the two shades of Virgil and Statius had emerged from the stairway, and were now in the Sixth Cornice. He then, according to his custom, tells his readers what the time was. By Virgil's advice they turn as usual to the right.

Tacevansi ambo e due già li poeti,	115
Di nuovo attenti a riguardare intorno,	
Liberi dal salire e dai pareti ;	
E già le quattro ancelle eran del giorno *	
Rimase addietro, e la quinta era al temo,†	
Drizzando pure in su l' ardente corno ;	120

\* *le quattro ancelle . . . del giorno* : Tommaséo in his Commentary quotes Antonelli on this passage: "Arrived at the summit of the stairway which led into the Sixth Cornice, we are informed what the time was, which would be one hour before noon. Dante had already, in Canto xii, made us understand that the handmaidens of the day were the hours, and allowing the hypothesis to be correct that the Sun rose at 6.30, if four of the handmaidens had remained behind, and the fifth was at the pole, directing her blazing point upwards (that is, not yet having reached the half of her course) . . . it follows that four and a half hours since sunrise were nearly accomplished, and therefore it was not far from being eleven o'clock." Compare *Purg.* xii, 80, 81, where noon is described in similar language:—

"vedi che torna  
Dal servigio del di l' ancella sesta."

† *la quinta era al temo . . . ardente corno* : The fifth was approaching the extreme point of the pole of the chariot of the Sun, and its point is termed *ardente* (says Antonelli) because the fifth hour is the one nearest to mid-day



Quando il mio Duca :—" Io credo ch' allo estremo \*  
 Le destre spalle volger ci convegna,  
 Girando il monte come far solemo."—  
 Così l' usanza fu li nostra insegna,  
 E prendemmo la via con men sospetto 125  
 Per l' assentir di quell' anima degna.†

Both the Poets had now become silent, their attention awakened anew to look around, being freed from the ascent and from the walls; and by this time four of the handmaidens (hours) of the day were left behind, and the fifth was at the pole (of the car), still directing upwards its blazing point; when my Leader: "I think we shall have to turn our right shoulders to the outer edge, encircling the mountain as we are wont to do." Thus was custom there our guide, and we took the way with less doubt, through (having) the assent of that noble soul (Stadius).

Buti observes that up to this point Dante has demonstrated how Man by penitence may be purged from the five spiritual sins of (1) Pride; (2) Envy; (3) Accidie; (4) Anger; (5) Avarice, and for this, Reason (*i.e.* Virgil) has sufficed, which taught him how such vices can be purged from the soul. But now that he has got to show how the two sins of the flesh, namely Gluttony and Sensuality, have to be purged, he has represented Stadius

\* *allo estremo Le destre spalle volger*: By turning their right shoulders to the outer edge of the mountain, they would of course turn to the right. In this *Cornice* they do so without asking their way, as they have done previously. Probably they had taken the directions given to them in Canto xix, 81: "Le vostre destre sien sempre di furi," as general directions for their guidance in each successive *Cornice*, and not necessarily only applying to that Fifth *Cornice*. It is hardly needful to remind the reader that in Hell, as they entered each Circle, they had always turned to the left.

† *quell' anima degna*: Stadius, having been liberated from further penance in Purgatory, was duly qualified to ascend to Heaven, and might therefore be supposed to have the guidance of divine inspiration in his way upwards.

as being added as a further guide, and by him we are to understand the passive intellect accompanied by Reason, which (Reason) by itself would not be able to comprehend the loftier matter to be now discussed (*imperò che lo intelletto passibile\* apprende le cose divine, le quali per la loro altezza non apprende la ragione*).

The three Poets walk forward along the Cornice, and Dante testifies to the benefit he had in his earlier days derived from the works of Virgil and Statius, by relating the attention he gives to their words as he follows in their steps, literally and figuratively.

Elli givan dinanzi, ed io soletto  
Dietro, ed ascoltava i lor sermoni †  
Ch' a poetar mi davano intelletto.

They were walking on in front, and I by myself after them, and I was listening to their discourse, which gave me understanding for Poesy.

This entrancing conversation is interrupted by the sight of a tree in the midst of the path, of a peculiar shape, such as will be described, laden with the most fragrant and luscious fruit. A crystal stream falling from the cliff-wall percolates through its branches. This is the instrument of the penalty of the Gluttonous, who hungry, thirsty, and emaciated, have before their eyes the most appetizing food, and the most refreshing drink, but are

---

\* "*Intellectus passivus, sive passibilis dicitur intellectus, quatenus recipit species impressas priusquam efformet cognitionem, et dicitur etiam intellectus possibilis, eo quod potens sit recipere rerum omnium species.*" (Joseph Zamae Mellinii, *Lexicon quo Veterum Theologorum Locutiones explicantur*, Coloniae, 1855.)

† *sermoni . . . intelletto*: Compare *Ps. cxix, 130*: "The entrance of thy words giveth light; it giveth understanding unto the simple," which in the *Vulgate* is: "Declaratio sermonum tuorum illuminat: et intellectum dat parvulis."

prevented by the formation of the tree from ascending to the object of their desire, which is placed beyond their reach.

Ma tosto ruppe le dolci ragioni 130  
 Un arbor che trovammo in mezza strada,  
 Con pomi \* ad odorar soavi e buoni.  
 E come abete in alto si digrada  
 Di ramo in ramo, così quello in giuso,  
 Cred' io perchè persona su non vada.† 135  
 Dal lato onde il cammin nostro era chiuso,  
 Cadea dell' alta roccia un liquor chiaro,  
 E si spandeva per le foglie suso.

But soon was the pleasant converse interrupted by a tree that we encountered mid-way in the path, with fruit sweet and grateful to the smell. And as a fir-tree tapers upwards from branch to branch, so that (tree tapered) downwards, in order, I suppose, that

\* *pomi*: The primary meaning, as in Latin *pomum*, of *pomo* or *poma* is the fruit of any tree, round fruit for choice. It never means "apple" in Tuscany, except in such a sense as "*pomo della discordia*," the apple of discord, and "*pomo d' Adamo*," "Adam's apple" in anatomy. Tommaséo (*Dizionario dei Sinonimi*, p. 469, Sin. 1800) says: "*Poma*, poeticamente, le *frutte*, ma quel d' albero, e alquanto grosse. Non per esempio le fragole, nè le more (*mulberries*). In altri dialetti le mele (*apples*) chiamansi pomi." The proper word for "apple" is *mela*, as in Latin *malum*, and for an "apple-tree," *melo*. (Cf. *Readings on the Inferno*, 1906, vol. i, p. 94, note.)

† *su non vada*: Lubin is amused at the idea of the branches being too weak to support the weight of spirits. Benvenuto explains the tree in a natural way, namely that the foliage was abundant at the top, but that the branches diminished in the lower parts so as to offer no opportunity of access. But many of the old Commentators actually believed that the tree was upside down with its roots in the air; and the commentaries of Landino and Vellutello as well as the illustrations of Botticelli contain engravings so representing it. Even so intelligent a Commentator as Perez falls into the same error, and moreover represents the water, after falling upon the tree, as *re-ascending upwards!* The illustration by Doré shows an ordinary forest tree, of which the upper branches spread out widely, but are fewer as the tree tapers downwards.

no one might climb up it. From the side, on which our path was closed, a limpid water fell from the high cliff, and was distributed over the foliage above.

As the three Poets have turned to their right, they have the margin of the *Cornice* on their right hand, and the cliff from which the water splashes down would be on their left hand.

We shall find that later on (*Purg.* xxiv, 100 *et seq.*), the Poets encounter another tree, precisely similar to this one, and learn that it is an off-shoot from the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil that God planted in the Garden of Paradise. Scartazzini says that we may therefore conclude that this first tree, before which they have now been brought to a standstill, must be an off-shoot of the Tree of Life that was in the same sacred spot.\* Perez thinks the two water-falls on the trees, were the rivers Eunoe and Lethe.†

A voice is now heard from the inside of the foliage of the tree, forbidding the spirits of the Gluttonous to eat of the fruit, and then citing examples of the blessings of abstinence. The first example is as usual an episode in the life of the Blessed Virgin, when she intervened in the marriage feast of Cana, not for her own gratification, but from a kind thought for others.

\* "Finge l' autore che nel sesto cerchio, nel quale si purga la colpa della gola, siano du' arbori; l' uno presso a l' entrata del girone, e l' altro presso alla salita dell' altro girone." (Buti.)

† "Due alberi carichi de' più belli e soavi e odorosi frutti, e lieti della più vivace verdura, fan di sè mostra allettevole, l' uno presso all' entrata, l' altro presso all' uscita del cerchio. Son due rampolli levati da quell' albero della scienza del bene e del male, che è posto sulla cima del monte, nel Paradiso terrestre [Perez here refers to the above quotation from Buti], e dal cui frutto la gola immoderata de' nostri parenti bevve e trasfuse ne' posteri tanto veleno. Hanno le radici verso il cielo, la cima verso la terra (see note on l. 135); i rami vengono sempre allargandosi e

Li due poeti all' arbor s' appressaro ;  
 Ed una voce \* per entro le fronde 140  
 Gridò :—" Di questo cibo avrete caro."†—  
 Poi disse :—" Più pensava Maria ‡ onde  
 Fosser le nozze orrevoli § ed intere,  
 Ch' alla sua bocca, ch' or per voi risponde.

The two Poets drew near to the tree, and a voice from within the branches cried out: "Of this food ye shall have want." Then it said: "Mary thought more how to make the marriage festivities honourable and complete than of her own mouth, which now responds for you.

Dante is of course expressing the opinions of the Roman Church, and, by the words *sua bocca, ch' or per voi risponde* means that out of the mouth of the Blessed Virgin

---

ingrossandosi ad alto, sì che persona non li potrebbe salire. E sopra il primo (che potremo dire il rampollo [*offshoot*] della scienza del bene) vien giù dal monte, e spandesi per le foglie, e *ritorna in suso* (?) l' acqua d' un chiarissimo rivo, certamente del rivo Eunoè. E sopra il secondo (che potremo chiamare il rampollo della scienza del male) piove pur dalla roccia, e infondesi per le fronde, e *risale in alto* (?) l' acqua d' altro rivo freschissimo, che sembra dover essere Letè." (Perez, 1 *Sette Cerchi*, pp. 218, 219.)

\* *una voce*: Buti comments: "Questa voce finge che sia la voce dell' angelo posto a guardia del detto albero, lo quale finge che stia tra le frondi." Scartazzini reminds us that this tree is not there for the three Poets, but for the spirits undergoing purification for Gluttony, and to these latter is the voice addressed.

† *caro*: This is another form of *carestia*, "famine." It here means "total privation." Brunone Bianchi explains, "*avrete caro*, avrete carestia, ne sarete privati in pena della golosità di che siete puniti in questo cerchio."

‡ *pensava Maria*, etc.: Compare *Purg.* xiii, 28-30:—

"La prima voce che passò volando,  
*Vinum non habent*, altamente disse,  
 E retro a noi l' andò reiterando."

§ *orrevoli* for *onorevoli*. The same form occurs (in some editions) in *Inf.* iv, 72:—

"*orrevol* gente possedeo quel loco."

But I follow Dr. Moore's new text as well as Witte, and read *onorevol* in *Inf.* iv, 72.

there still proceed prayers to God on behalf of mankind.

Benvenuto remarks that here, for fear that some woman might object that the Blessed Virgin being full of the Holy Spirit, her example would not apply to women with ordinary feelings and appetites, an instance is next given, not of one, but of many abstemious women in heathen times. For the Roman ladies, as Valerius relates, used not to drink wine, lest they might be led into any breach of good manners. But in later days, in the time of the Emperors, things were changed, and Seneca complained that women did not drink less than men, and also incited men to drink; pointing out that formerly baldness and gout were not prevalent among Roman ladies, as was then the case. And therefore the voice from the tree spoke these words in addition.

E le Romane antiche \* per lor bere  
Contente furon d' acqua, e Daniello †  
Dispregiò cibo, ed acquistò sapere. 145

\* *le Romane antiche*: "Vini usus olim Romanis fœminis ignotus fuit, ne scilicet in aliquod dedecus prolaberentur: quia proximus a Libero patre intemperantiæ gradus ad inconcessam Venerem esse consuevit." (Valerius Maximus, *Factorum Distorumque Memorabilium*, lib. ii, cap. i, § 5.) Gioberti observes that in more than one passage in his poem Dante inveighs against the vices and the corruptions of women (*Purg.* xxiii, 100; *Par.* xv, 100, etc.), for well did he know what immense influence women have upon men. Compare St. Thom. Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. cxlix, art. 4): "Sobrietas maximè requiritur in juvenibus et mulieribus, quia in juvenibus viget concupiscentia delectabilis propter fervorem ætatis; in mulieribus autem non est sufficiens robor mentis ad hoc quod concupiscentiis resistent. Unde secundùm Valerium Maximum mulieres apud Romanos antiquitus non bibebant vinum."

† *Daniello*: See *Daniel* i, 8: "But Daniel purposed in his heart that he would not defile himself with the portion of the King's meat, nor with the wine which he drank: therefore he requested

And the Roman dames of old time for their drink were satisfied with water, and Daniel despised food, and acquired wisdom.

Benvenuto says: "Would that the Roman ladies nowadays were satisfied with one kind of wine!" Daniel was an example of rigorous abstinence in the midst of the luxuries of the Chaldees.

The voice then alludes to the Golden Age which the ancients believed to have been while Saturn reigned over Crete; when men lived soberly, without war, and without any artificially prepared food. And with this the Canto concludes.

Lo secol primo \* quant' oro fu bellò ;  
Fe' saporose con fame le ghiande, †

of the prince of the eunuchs that he might not defile himself."  
. . . v. 11: "Then said Daniel to Melzar, whom the prince of the eunuchs had set over Daniel, Hananiah, Mishaël, and Azariah, 'Prove thy servants, I beseech thee, ten days: and let them give us pulse to eat, and water to drink.'" . . . v. 17: "As for these four children, God gave them knowledge and skill in all learning and wisdom; and Daniel had understanding in all visions and dreams." . . . v. 20: "And in all matters of wisdom and understanding, that the King enquired of them, he found them ten times better than all the magicians and astrologers that were in all his realm."

\* *Lo secol primo*: Compare *Purg.* xxviii, 139-144:—

"Quelli che anticamente poetaro  
L' età dell' oro e suo stato felice,  
Forse in Parnaso esto loco sognaro.  
Qui fu innocente l' umana radice;  
Qui primavera è sempre, ed ogni frutto;  
Nettare è questo di che ciascun dice."

And Ovid, *Met.* i, 89-91:—

"Aurea prima sata est ætas, quæ, vindice nullo,  
Sponte sua, sine lege, fidem rectumque colebat."

† *Fe' saporose con fame le ghiande, E nettare, et seq.*: Ovid, *Met.* i. 101-106:—

"Ipsa quoque immunis, rastroque intacta, nec ullis  
Saucia vomeribus, per se dabat omnia tellus:  
Contentique cibus, nullo cogente, creatis,

E nèttare con sete ogni ruscello. 150  
 Mele \* e locuste furon le vivande,  
 Che nutiro il Batista nel deserto ;  
 Perch' egli è glorioso, e tanto grande  
 Quanto per l' Evangelio v' è aperto."—

The primal age was beautiful as gold; it seasoned its acorns with hunger, and (made) every stream into nectar with thirst. Honey and locusts were the nourishment that fed the Baptist in the wilderness; for which reason he is so glorious and great, as is by the gospel revealed unto you."

It should be remembered that St. John the Baptist is the patron saint of Florence. †

Arbuteos foetus, montanaque fraga legebant,  
 Cornaque, et in duris hærentia mora rubetis,  
 Et quæ deciderant patula Jovis arbore glandes."

And Boethius, *Philosoph. Consol.* ii, Metr. v :—

"Felix nimium prior aetas,  
 Contenta fidelibus arvis,  
 Nec inerti perdita luxu,  
 Facili quæ sera solebat  
 Jejunia solvere glande.  
 Nec Bacchica munera norant  
 Liquido confundere melle  
 Nec lucida vellera Serum  
 Tyrio miscere veneno."

\**Mele* (or *miele*) in this line is a masculine noun signifying "honey," and not to be confounded with *mele*, the feminine plural of *mela*, "an apple."

† Compare *Inf.* xiii, 143, 144 :—

"Io fui della città che nel Batista  
 Mutò 'l primo padrone."



## CANTO XXIII.

THE SIXTH CORNICE (CONTINUED)—THE PURGATION OF GLUTTONY—EMACIATED APPEARANCE OF THE GLUTTONOUS—FORESE DONATI—NELLA DONATI—DENUNCIATION OF THE WOMEN OF FLORENCE.

THERE is no break or change of scene at the opening of this Canto. At the end of the last, we left Dante, Virgil and Statius standing in wonder before the mysterious tree, with the luscious fruit on its branches, hanging far out of reach; and high up on their left hand the refreshing sight and sound of a fall of water dripping over its topmost leaves. They had also heard the voice, probably of an unseen Angel, speaking from the foliage, and informing the spirits of the Gluttonous that their penance was to be total deprivation of the fruit and the water, and that they should meditate upon certain instances of commendable abstinence.

In this Canto their punishment is described more in detail.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

*In the First Division*, from ver. 1 to ver. 36, Dante relates the gaunt appearance of the spirits of the Gluttonous, whose penance it is to endure the pangs of starvation.

*In the Second Division*, from ver. 37 to ver. 75, he introduces the spirit of Forese Donati, well known in life

as gluttonous, and from him he gets an explanation of the punishment inflicted on this Cornice, an explanation only obscurely hinted at in the last Canto.

*In the Third Division* from ver. 76 to ver. 111, Dante asks Forese, why, having delayed his repentance till his death, he is not still detained in Ante-Purgatory? Forese, in his reply, tells him it is due to the intercessions of his wife Nella, the only virtuous woman in Florence.

*In the Fourth Division*, from ver. 112 to ver. 133, Dante informs Forese who he is, and who are his guides.

*Division I.*—Dante first relates how he receives a reproof from Virgil for being led by curiosity to peer through the branches of the tree, in hopes of seeing from whom proceeded the mysterious voice before mentioned.

On hearing this admonition, Dante quits the tree and moves towards Virgil and Statius. As he does so, a solemn chant from unseen spirits breaks upon his ear. This rouses in him both delight, at hearing such deep devotion, and grief, out of compassion for those spirits suffering from hunger and thirst.

Dante, according to his wont, turns for information to Virgil, who tells him it is the penitents that are singing.

Mentre che gli occhi per la fronda verde  
Ficcava io così, come far suole  
Chi retro agli uccellin sua vita perde,\*

\* *sua vita perde*: "Est comparatio propria; sicut enim homo interdum fixe respicit intra ramos arboris ut videat aviculam ibi latentem, et sæpe perdit tempus inutiliter, quia non potest illam capere, ita recte poeta nunc respiciebat attente per frondes illius arboris, ut videret quis loquebatur ibi, sed frustra, quia non poterat illum cognoscere." (Benvenuto.) "È notabile che l' uc-

Lo più che padre mi dicea :—" Figliuole,\*  
 Vienne oramai, ché il tempo che c'è imposto 5  
 Più utilmente compartir si vuole."—  
 Io volsi il viso, e il passo non men tosto,  
 Appresso ai savi, che parlavan sie †  
 Che l' andar mi facean di nullo costo.  
 Ed ecco piangere e cantar s' udìe: 10

celatore . . . perde sua vita, andando di rieto alli uccellini ; che perde lo tempo che in più utile cosa si vorrebbe spendere ; che non è utile a nulla la vita dell' uccellatore se non a la gola ; e però meritevolmente la riprende qui." (Buti.) Compare Shakespeare (*As You Like It*, act ii, sc. 7):—

" But whate'er you are  
 That in this desert inaccessible,  
 Under the shade of the melancholy boughs,  
 Lose and neglect the creeping hours of time."

\* *Figliuole*: The *Gran Dizionario*, § 3, says that some writers have, from *figliuolo*, formed the vocative singular *figliuole*, and cites the present passage in illustration. The *Dizionario* adds that from the Latin *Domine* has come the familiar exclamation *Diamine!* Both the *Dizionario* and the *Voc. della Crusca* quote the following from the *Trattato* i (Nannucci says *Tr. ii*) of *Albertano Giudice da Brescia*, Firenze, 1610, 4to :—

" Non cessare, figliuole, d' udire insegnamento :"  
 and again :—

" Figliuole, dalla juventute tua ricevi la dottrina."  
 And this, from the translation published at Milan, 1829, in 8vo, of the MS. work *Trattato del Giuoco degli Scacchi* di Fra Jacopo da Cessole: " Aspettati, figliuole ; più sono i punti di questi dadi, che tu non credi." These three instances in prose sufficiently disprove Blanc's assertion that Dante altered the word *figliuolo* to suit his rhyme—a statement which cannot be contradicted too often. Nannucci (*Teorica dei Nomi*, p. 152) cites all the above quotations, and adds "*Figliuole*, dal vocat. *filiole*, dimin. di *filie*, desinenza primitiva. Così Liv. Andron. in *Odyss.* ' Pater noster, Saturni filie.' " Scartazzini cites an instance " Mando al suo figliuole," *et seq.*, to show that the form is not necessarily only the vocative case.

† *sie*: for *così*. Lombardi (in reference to *parlavan sie*) quotes from the fragments of Publius Syrus the following saying: " Comes facundus in via pro vehiculo est." Daniello says that Dante bent his steps in the wake of " i savi Poeti, i quali parlavan sì bene, e di sì belle cose, che seguendoli, non sentiva fatica di camminare."

*Labia mea Domine,\* per modo*  
 Tal che diletto e doglia parturie.†  
 —“O dolce Padre, che è quel ch' i' odo?”—  
 Comincia' io; ed egli:—“Ombre che vanno,  
 Forse di lor dover solvendo il nodo.”‡—

15

While I was straining my eyes through the green foliage, as one is wont to do that wastes his life after a little bird, my more than father (Virgil) said to me: “My Son, come on now, for the time that is ordained to us must be more usefully portioned out.” I turned my eyes, and not less quickly my steps towards the Sages, who were holding such converse as made it of no cost to me to proceed. And lo! both in lamentation and in song was heard: “*Labia mea Domine,*” chanted in such fashion as gave birth both to delight and to grief. “O beloved Father,” I began, “what is that which I hear?” And he: “Shades, perchance, who pass, while unloosing the bond of their debt.”

This means, that they are performing the due expiation of their sins, tormented by the pangs of hunger and thirst. The above passage, and especially the word *perde*, denotes censure, and shows the severe character of Dante's mind, to which fowling was a waste of time.

\* *Labia mea*: From the *Miserere*, Psalm li, 15: “O Lord, open thou my lips; and my mouth shall show forth thy praise.” This Psalm forms part of the service of *Lauds* for Tuesdays, and it is on Easter Tuesday that the present scene is supposed to be taking place. The words in the *Vulgate* are “Domine, labia mea aperies, et os meum annuntiabit laudem Tuam.”

† *Tal che diletto . . . parturie*: Compare *Purg.* viii, 13-15:—

“*Te lucis ante* sì devotamente

Le usci di bocca, e con sì dolci note,

Che fece me a me uscir di mente.”

‡ *solvendo il nodo*: Andreoli on this: “Sciogliendosi dal debito loro, soddisfacendo per il loro peccato alla divina giustizia.” Compare *Purg.* xvi, 22-24:—

“Quei sono spirti, Maestro, ch' i' odo?”

Diss' io. Ed egli a me: ‘Tu vero apprendi,

Ed d' iracondia van solvendo il nodo.’”

The spirits of the Gluttonous now come into view, overtaking the Poets from behind and passing beyond them, and Benvenuto points out that their actions and demeanour exactly correspond with those of the pilgrims in his own time, who, if they passed other pilgrims whom they did not know, would just glance back at them, but would not interrupt their meditations by addressing them.

Sì come i peregrin pensosi \* fanno,  
 Giugnendo per cammin gente non nota,  
 Che si volgono ad essa e non ristanno ;  
 Così diretto a noi, più tosto mota,  
 Venendo e trapassando, ci ammirava  
 D' anime turba tacita † e devota. 20

\* *i peregrin pensosi*: Scartazzini says their thoughts would be upon the goal of their pilgrimage. "Per la forza della astinenza . . . sono pensosi. Il digiuno rende l' animo attento alle sue cure, e la satollezza dà sopore alli membri." (*Ottimo*.) "Non a caso i penitenti qui ci offrono atteggiamento diverso da quello degli impenitenti golosi dell' Inferno: poichè dove quelli, a rappresentare il loro eterno vizio, sedevano tra puzzo e lordura di acqua, neve e grandine, questi, a espiare il prolungato sedere alle mense antiche, e la tardità delle membra e dell' ingegno, di cui sovente quel sedere è cagione, camminano di continuo, onde son rassomigliati a solleciti e pur meditabondi pellegrini. Nè a caso in questi pellegrini il Poeta nota il divoto portamento e l' austerità del silenzio, che non cessa nemmeno quando s' incontrano in uomo vivo: chè silenzio e gravità d' atti è bella soddisfazione a un vizio, onde procede tanta abbondanza di parole e d' atti vani, e tanto scemasi di decoro al passo e a tutta la persona." (*Perez, Sette Cerchi*, pp. 220, 221.) Compare also *Rom.* xiii, 13: "Let us walk honestly, as in the day; not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness." These pilgrims appear to be closely following St. Paul's precept.

† *tacita*: Vellutello, but no Commentator before him, observes that this word implies a contradiction of l. 10, in which it says that the spirits were lamenting and singing. Lombardi justly points out that Dante never said that they wept and sang unceasingly, but only when in their circuit they approached the mysterious trees. The Poets had, it is true, already passed the first tree, not so far however but what they could hear the utterances of the spirits near it.

Even as do pilgrims, who, wrapt in thought, when overtaking on their way people unknown, turn round to them but tarry not; so did a crowd of spirits, silent and devout, come up behind us at a more rapid pace, and passing by, gazed upon us in wonder.

Dante now describes the lean and attenuated appearance of the suffering spirits, whose features are marked by the pangs of starvation. After first citing an instance of extreme emaciation in a single individual, and then that of the whole population of Jerusalem during its siege and subsequent destruction by Titus, he goes on to speak of a curious fancy prevalent among the theologians and mystics who professed to be able to read in the human face the words *HOMO DEI*, traced there by God himself, when man was created. Longfellow translates an extract (see below) from a sermon by Brother Berthold, a Franciscan monk of Regensburg, in the thirteenth century.\* Dante says that, for those who profess to read these

\* "Now behold, ye blessed children of God, the Almighty has created you soul and body. And he has written it under your eyes and on your faces, that you are created in His likeness. He has written it upon your very faces with ornamented letters. With great diligence are they embellished and ornamented. This your learned men well understand, but the unlearned may not understand it. The two eyes are two *o*'s. The *h* is properly no letter; it only helps the others; so that *homo* with an *h* means Man. Likewise the brows arched above and the nose down between them are an *m*, beautiful with three strokes. So is the ear a *d* beautifully rounded and ornamented. So are the nostrils beautifully formed like a Greek *e*, beautifully rounded and ornamented. So is the mouth an *i* beautifully adorned and ornamented. Now behold, ye good Christian people, how skilfully he has adorned you with these six letters, to show that ye are his own, and that he has created you! Now read me an *o* and an *m* and another *o* together; that spells *homo*. Then read me a *d* and an *e* and an *i* together that spells *dei*. *Homo dei*, man of God, man of God!" (Wackernagel, *Deutsches Lesebuch*, 4th edition, Basel, 1895, vol. i, p. 678.)

letters in the human face, it would be easy to do so here, for the nose and cheek-bones were conspicuously prominent in those unfortunate penitents. Dante however only speaks of "*Omo*," and not "*Homo Dei*."

If, as Brother Berthold states, his M was made "with three strokes," it was probably the mediæval (I), of which there are frequent examples in old documents.\* This mediæval (I) gives the shape of the human face better than the Roman M can do.

Negli occhi † era ciascuna oscura e cava,  
 Pallida nella faccia, e tanto scema,  
 Che dall' ossa la pelle s' informava.  
 Non credo che così a buccia estrema ‡  
 Eresitone § fosse fatto secco  
 Per digiunar, quando più n' ebbe tema.

25

\* I am most grateful to my friend Mr. D. R. Fearon, C.B., for having favoured me with this as well as many other suggestions for this Third Edition.

† *Negli occhi*: The poet Alfieri in one of his marginal references (quoted by Biagioli) writes: "Sfido Michelagnolo, non che quanti ci vivono, e pittori e poeti, a ritrar sì vero e forte." Compare Ovid, *Metam.* viii, 803-808:—

"Hirtus erat crinis; cava lumina; pallor in ore;  
 Labra incana situ; scabri rubigine dentes;  
 Dura cutis, per quam spectari viscera possent;  
 Ossa sub incurvis extabant arida lumbis;  
 Ventris erat pro ventre locus; pendere putares  
 Pectus, et a spinæ tantummodo crate teneri.  
 Auxerat articulos macies, genuumque rigebat  
 Orbis, et immodico prodibant tubere tali."

‡ *a buccia estrema*: Compare Virg. *Æn.* iii, 590-592:—

"Cum subito e silvis, macie confecta suprema,  
 Ignoti nova forma viri, miserandaque cultu,  
 Proccedit, supplexque manus ad litora tendit."

§ *Eresitone*: Erisichthon, son of Triops, a Thessalian, out of derision of Ceres, cut down a grove sacred to her. The enraged goddess punished him by perpetual hunger, and he at last devoured his own limbs. The story is related by Ovid (*Metam.* viii, 740-880).

Io dicea fra me stesso pensando :—"Ecco  
 La gente che perdè Jerusalemme,  
 Quando Maria nel figlio die' di becco,"\*— 30  
 Parean l' occhiaie anella senza gemme.†  
 Chi nel viso degli uomini legge *omo*,  
 Ben avria quivi conosciuto l' emme.

Each was dark and cavernous in the eyes, pallid in the face, and so emaciated, that the skin took the outline from the bones. I do not believe that Eri-sichthon could have been withered up through starvation to such an extremity of mere skin, at the time when he had the most fear of it (*i.e.* of starvation). Thinking within myself I said: "Behold the people who lost Jerusalem, when Marian thrust her beak into her own son." The orbits appeared like rings without their gems. Those who in the face of men can read *o m o*, might readily here have distinguished the *m*.

Dante concludes his description of the Gluttonous in general by expressing his inability to understand from what this extraordinary emaciation proceeded, for he cannot imagine that it could be caused by the tree.

\* *Maria nel figlio die' di becco*: Josephus (*De Bello Jud.* lib. vi, cap. 3), in his account of the horrors of the siege of Jerusalem, relates how a noble lady, Mariam or Mary, the daughter of Eleazar, maddened with hunger, killed her own little son and cooked and ate half of his body. Gioberti, agreeing with Venturi, thinks the expression *die' di becco* beautiful and happy, inasmuch as it likens this miserable mother to a bird of prey.

† *anella senza gemme*: Compare Petrarch (part ii, *Son.* lxvi):—

"Pianger l' aer e la terra e 'l mar dovrebbe  
 L' uman legnaggio, che, senz' ella, è quasi  
 Senza fior prato, o senza gemma anello."

And Shakespeare (*King Lear*, act v, scene iii):—

"and in this habit

Met I my father with his bleeding rings,  
 Their precious stones new lost."

And Chaucer (*Troilus and Criseyde*, book v, st. 79):—

"O ring, fro which the ruby is out-falle,  
 O cause of woe, that cause hast been of lisse!" [*comfort.*]



Chi crederebbe che l' odor d' un pomo \*  
 Si governasse, generando brama, 35  
 E quel d' un' acqua, non sapendo como ? †

Who could believe that the perfume of a fruit, and  
 that of a spring, could have such influence, begetting  
 craving, if he did not know how ?

*Division II.*—Dante now introduces the spirit of  
 Forese de' Donati, kinsman † of his wife Gemma, and

---

\* *l' odor d' un pomo . . . E quel d' un' acqua* : Compare *Job* xiv, 9 : " Yet through the scent of water it will bud, and bring forth boughs like a plant." Biagioli notices the expression " the perfume of a water," and says we have a poetical proof in the *Fiera* of Michelangelo Buonarroti the younger (*Giorn.* v, act. iv, sc. ii) that water can throw out a perfume :—

" Voglio inferir, ch' io dir non risaprei  
 Quanto mi sia quel gentiluom sembrato  
 Felice nel goder degli orti suoi,  
 Suoi semplicisti, suoi boschetti e prati,  
 E del verde dell' erbe e delle frondi  
 Perpetue, e de' fior che successivi  
 Vi ridon per le fervide o gelate,  
 Non men che per le tiepide stagioni  
 Dar vita al guardo, e confortar gli spirti  
 Nella soavità d' odori, e d' acque  
 Sorgenti e mormoranti."

Biagioli, as usual, omits to give the reference, by no means easy to verify.

† *como*, derived from the Latin *quomodo*, like *mo*, from *modo*. Nannucci (*Teorica dei Nomi, Prefaz.* pp. xix, xx, and footnote (1)) says it was of very frequent use amongst old Italian writers, and is " voce primitiva e regolare." Nannucci gives the two following illustrations of its use by prose writers: Guittone (*Lettere* i, 2), " Alquanto dimosterrò voi como," and (*Lett.* 3), " E como dicono i Sapienti."

‡ Some have maintained that Gemma was a sister of Forese, Corso, and Piccarda de' Donati, but Professor Isidoro Del Lungo, in his appendix to the *Commento di Dino Compagni (Dino Compagni e la sua Cronica, Florence, 1879, 4 vols., 8vo), vol. ii, p. 540*, specifically denies this. " Non cognato però, come lo chiama il Tommaséo, era a Dante il Donati: la Gemma Donati era figlia di Manetto; Corso, Forese, Piccarda, di Simone." And in vol. i, p. 168, after speaking of the feuds of the Cerchi with the Donati, Prof. Del Lungo adds: " Ci troviamo Manetto de' Por-

his intimate friend, though certain vituperative sonnets addressed to Dante, and attributed to Forese, if authentic, would show that their friendship was not uninterrupted.\* The brother of Forese, Corso de' Donati, the celebrated Guelph leader, was Dante's bitter foe. He was the head of the *Neri*, by whom Dante was driven into banishment. According to Buti, Forese had an unenviable reputation for gluttony.

Dante first relates how Forese recognises him.

Già era † in ammirar che sì gli affama,  
Per la cagione ancor non manifesta  
Di lor magrezza e di lor trista squama ; ‡

tinari, uno de' fratelli di Beatrice, e probabilmente quello che Dante pone secondo fra gli amici suoi dopo il Cavalcanti, e fa partecipe delle proprie lacrime nella morte di quella gentile. Dante vi ha poi anche Manetto Donati, padre della buona sua Gemma, il quale fu uno de' primi a tener l' ufficio di Camarlingo."

\* The Sonnets are reproduced by Prof. Del Lungo, with his comments upon them (*op. cit.* vol. ii, pp. 610-624). There is a translation of them in *Dante and his Circle*, by Dante Gabriel Rossetti, London, 1892, pp. 220-222.

† *Già era in ammirar . . . Di lor magrezza*: Dante repeats the sense of this in ll. 59, 60, where he begs Forese not to make him speak while he is still under the effects of his first wonderment at his repulsive appearance. In *Purg.* xxv, 20, 21, we find Dante asking Virgil to solve this doubt for him, which Virgil does. Dante asks:—

“Come si può far magro  
Là dove l' uopo di nutrir non tocca?”

He could not understand how impalpable spirits, who have no need of food, could grow thin from the lack of it. Virgil's answer is the leading feature in Canto xxv, showing how bodily feelings are given to souls in Hell and Purgatory in order that they may undergo their punishment.

‡ *squama* primarily means the scale of a fish or of a serpent, or the husk of anything. In Sermon xi, § viii, of the *Quaresimale* of Padre Segneri (Turin, 1876), he says men will ever offer to God the husk, and keep the fruit for themselves: “Or che fate voi? Gli date forse il meglio che sia su vostra tavola? Oh questo no. Anzi gli solete dare sempre il peggio. Per voi

Ed ecco del profondo della testa \* 40

Volse a me gli occhi un' ombra, e guardò fiso,  
Poi gridò forte :—" Qual grazia m' è questa ? "†—

I was still in wonderment at what could thus a-hunger them, through the as yet unrevealed cause of their leanness and their desquamation; and lo! from the innermost cavities (*i.e.* eye-sockets) of his head a shade turned his eyes upon me, and looked (at me) attentively; after which he cried out loudly: "What grace to me is this?"

Dante looks at the gaunt attenuated figure, whose features convey no recognition to his mind, but, as Isaac fancied he could identify Jacob by his voice, so does Dante identify the well-remembered sound of his old friend's speech.

Mai non l' avrei riconosciuto al viso;  
Ma nella voce sua mi fu palese  
Ciò che l' aspetto in sè avea conquiso. ‡ 45

tenete le polpa, al cane date l' osso, date le squame, date le scaglie, date gli avanzi più vili. Ora così appunto alcuni trattano Iddio, lo trattan da cane. Gli voglion dare sempre il peggio." This is the only passage in the *Divina Commedia* in which the word occurs. The Commentators generally render it *pelle inaridita*. The *Gran Dizionario* says that the more usual form is *squamma*, and rarely *squamo*.

\* *profondo della testa*: In verse 22 we read that:—

"Negli occhi era ciascuna oscura e cava,"

and now, when he speaks of one of the shades moving his eyes from the innermost cavities of his head, he paints with terrible emphasis the hollowness of the eyes.

† *Qual grazia m' è questa?* Compare *Purg.* vii, 19:—

"Qual merito o qual grazia mi ti mostra?"

And *Purg.* viii, 65, 66:—

"Su, Corrado,

Vieni a veder che Dio per grazia volse."

‡ *conquiso*: In translating this word "obliterated" I take my stand upon Blanc's interpretation which is the best I have found. "*Conquiso*, particip. di *conquidere*. Sebbene i vocabolari italiani diano a questo verbo il signif. di *vessare*, *affliggere*, *abbattere*, *annichilare*, io nondimeno son d' opinione che abbia l' istesso valore del francese *conquis*, usurpato in signif.

Questa favilla \* tutta mi raccese

Mia conoscenza alla cambiata labbia,†

E ravvisai la faccia di Forese.‡

più esteso; poiché la conquista trae seco per lo più distruzione e ruina. Sarebbe adunque quasi sinonimo di: *conquistare* o *vincere*. Il solo luogo della D. C. dove *conquiso* si trovi, cioè *Purg.* xxiii, 45, 'Ma nella voce sua mi fu palese Cid che l' aspetto in sé avea *conquiso*,' significa: 'Io lo riconobbi alla voce: avendo il suo aspetto, il suo volto attuale, totalmente distrutto, invaso, i sembianti che portava durante le sua vita.'" The *Gran Dizionario* quotes Castelvetro, *Giunta al ragg. di Bembo*, lib. i: "Conquiso è voce italiana ed è intera latina, cioè *Concisus* [ruined]. Nè [neither] significa 'Quello che fu conquistato.'" Scartazzini in his more recent Milan Commentary thinks that although some interpret *conquiso* as "conquered, subdued," and some "destroyed, wrecked, annihilated," the two interpretations come to the same thing, as Blanc remarks above. The broader sense of conquest is to bring ruin in its train.

\* *favilla*: Others read *favella*, "the voice," but Dante has just said *voce* in verse 44: and *favilla* means that the voice acted like a spark.

† *labbia*: *Faccia, aspetto* (*Gran Dizionario*). See *Inf.* xix, 122, footnote, in *Readings on the Inferno*, and illustrations therein given. Compare Guido Cavalcanti (in *Rime di Diversi Autori Toscani*, Vinegia, 1532), p. 68:—

"Veder mi par della sua labbia uscire

Una sì bella Donna, che la mente

Comprender non la può."

And Poliziano, *La Giostra*, lib. i, st. 24:—

"E quale è uom di sì sicura labbia,

Che fuggir possa il mio tenace vischio?"

And Lapo Gianni, Canzone beginning *Angelica figura nuovamente* (in *Scrittori del Primo Secolo*, Firenze, 1816, vol. ii, p. 113):—

"Onde mia labbia sì mortificata

Divenne allora ohimè! che io non pare."

‡ *Forese*: This person, as we showed at p. 262 was brother of Piccarda (*Par.* iii), and Corso de' Donati, the powerful chief of the faction of the *Neri*. Of him the *Falso Boccaccio* says, p. 436: "Forese de' Donati, fratello di Messer Corso Donati involto in questo vizio, e fu costui delicato uomo e piacevagli ogni buono cibo e fu grande amico di Dante; poi per parte [i.e. by civil discord] diventarono nimici cioè che Dante era di parte *Bianca* e Forese di parte *Nera*." Ozanam (*Purgatoire de Dante*, p. 384) alluding to the fact of Forese and his holy-minded sister being kinsfolk of Dante's wife, observes: "Dante parle peu de sa famille.

Never should I have recognized him by his face ; but in his voice was made manifest to me that, which his aspect had obliterated within itself. This spark re-kindled in me all my (former) knowledge of the altered countenance, and I recognized the features of Forese.

Benvenuto, pointing out that Dante never would have known by the face that he was looking at Forese, observes that a prolonged indulgence in gluttony so changes a man's appearance, that Domitian, who had been a beautiful youth, grew ugly, bald, and fat, and in a letter told a friend that nothing was more delightful, nor more short lived than beauty.

Forese begs Dante not to heed the wreck of his face, but to tell him who he is, and who are his companions.

—“Deh non contendere \* all' asciutta scabbia

---

Parcourez la Divine Comédie. Béatrix la remplit de ses rayons ; mais jamais le poète ne nous entretient ni de Gemma Donati sa femme, ni de ses fils, qui cependant semblent n'avoir pas été indignes de leur glorieux père, puisque deux d'entre eux, Pierre et Jacques, devinrent ses commentateurs. C'est donc avec un plaisir inattendu qu'on trouve dans un coin du Purgatoire une scène d'intérieur, un souvenir des premiers jours, où Dante, nouvel époux, trouvait dans la maison de sa femme de fraternelles affections, avant que la guerre civile fut venue détruire ce fragile bonheur.”

\* *contendere* : I confess to feeling very undecided which of two interpretations of this verb to adopt. Scartazzini thinks there are only two, and neither of them present the slightest difficulty —either (a) to explain *contendere* as *attendere* in the sense of *por mente, badare tendere l' attenzione*. He would translate the passage : “Heed not the disfigurement of my features,” etc. ; or (b) to take *contendere* in the sense of “to deny, to refuse.” In his Leipzig Commentary (1875) Scartazzini, while thinking both these interpretations good, slightly inclines to the latter, but in his Milan Commentary (1890) his view seems to have undergone a change to the former of the two interpretations, which makes *contendere* = “non fermare l' attenzione.” There do not seem to be wanting examples of the word being used in that sense. Both the *Voc. della Crusca*, and the *Gran Dizionario*

Che mi scolora,"—pregava,—“la pelle,  
Nè a difetto di carne ch' io abbia;

50

quote, to illustrate this, from the 59th sermon of Fra Giordano da Ripalta, of the Order of the *Predicatori*, 1300-1306, MS.: “Santo Stefano fu dato in guardia dagli Apostoli sopra le donne che amministravano le necessitadi degli Apostoli i quali non poteano contendere alle cose mondane.” This interpretation is so overwhelmingly supported by Lana, Buti, Vellutello, Daniello, Volpi, Lombardi, Costa, Brunone Bianchi, Tommaséo, Fraticelli (who reads *intendere*), Camerini, *Philaethes*, and Ozanam, that I feel compelled, somewhat against the grain, to adopt it. But the interpretation of *contendere* in the sense of “to refuse, to deny,” is by no means one to be overlooked. It is supported by some very good authorities, namely Witte, Blanc, Giuliani, Andreoli, Lamennais, Biagioli, Poletto, and Cesari; and *contendere* has been more frequently used in this sense than in the other. Compare Petrarch, part iv, *Son.* ix (quoted by Cesari, and both the Dictionaries):—

“Io per me prego il mio acerbo dolore

Non sian da lui le lagrime contese.”

And Petrarch, part iv, *Canz.* i, st. 8:—

“Tu vedra' Italia e l' onorata riva,

Canzon, ch' agli occhi miei cela e contende,

Non mar, non poggio o fiume,

Ma solo Amor.”

Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*), after expressing his dislike to the previous interpretation, adds: “Si potrebbe prender *contendere* nel signif. latino di: *ricusare*, non voler ricusare al mio aspetto il compimento della mia preghiera, ma dimmi.” The strongest advocate of the interpretation “refuse,” is Cesari (*Bellezze*, vol. ii, p. 418): “Questo *contendere* . . . a me par tutto chiaro e netto. *Contendere* vuol pur dire, *negare*, *vietare*. . . . *Deh pregava non contendere (negare)*—per conto della pelle cruda e scolorata, e della magrezza ch' io abbia . . . il vero: *Ma dimmelo*, etc.” Both Cesari and Blanc recall the similarity of this passage with that in *Inf.* xvi, 28, *et seq.* where the shades of three Florentines, once great men, but whose hideous crime has reduced them to the lowest depths of degradation and infamy, appeal to Dante not to disregard them, or refuse to listen to them on account of their blackened and peeled faces. It is remarkable that, in these two different passages, allusion is made in both to the alteration in the texture of the skin (*brolo*, *scabbia*); and to the colour of the skin (*tinto che scolora la pelle*). I must reluctantly give up this latter interpretation which I should have preferred to render thus: “Ah do not deny me (the truth),” was his prayer, “because of this ‘scabby rind’ (as Dr. Shadwell renders it) which so discolours my skin, nor of the want of flesh that I may have

Ma dimmi il ver di te, e chi son quelle  
 Due anime che là ti fanno scorta :  
 Non rimaner che tu non mi favelle."

"Ah," entreated he, "do not give heed to this dry leprosy that discolours my skin, nor to the want of flesh that I may have; but tell me the truth about thyself, and who are those two spirits yonder who bear thee company. Do not delay in speaking to me."

As we shall see by Dante's reply he had been looking fixedly at Forese's altered countenance, hardly being able to recognise the once familiar features, and Benvenuto remarks it is as though he would say: I am full of the desire to make thee speak thyself to gratify my curiosity, but am really not capable of answering thy questions rationally at this moment.

—"La faccia tua, ch'io lagrimai già morta,  
 Mi dà di pianger mo non minor doglia,"—\*  
 Rispos' io lui,—"veggendola sì torta.†

—but tell me the truth about thyself," etc. Witte translates: "Versage nicht dem dürren Aussatz . . . Deine Antwort."

\* *Mi dà di pianger mo non minor doglia*: This reading is the one adopted by Witte and by Dr. Moore (*Tutte le Opere di Dante Alighieri*, Oxford, 1894). There is a very important variant which occurs in the Vatican MS., in one of the Chigi, as well as in other MSS., *Mi dà di pianger mo minor la doglia*, which would quite alter the sense of the passage. Lana does not give this latter reading, but interprets the words as if he did so: "I wept for thee in the first life when thou didst die, but now I do not grieve for thee thus, for I see thee not among the lost, but on the way to reach life eternal." The reading *mo minor doglia* is also found in a Riccardi MS., in the *Falso Boccaccio*, and in the early Mantua edition, and comes to the same signification. Scartazzini would prefer the reading *mo minor la doglia*, as according better with *Purg.* iv, 123, *et seq.*, where Dante tells Belacqua that he no longer feels any uneasy misgivings about his salvation; only against this, Scartazzini says, the context *veggendola sì torta* speaks too clearly in favour of the usual reading, the one I have adopted.

† *veggendola sì torta*: In Hell (*Inf.* xv) Dante gave way to unbounded grief at seeing his old instructor Brunetto Latini among the lost, and with a face that was scorched (*colto*) nearly

Però mi di', per Dio, che sì vi sfoglia,\*  
 Non mi far dir mentr' io mi maraviglio,  
 Chè mal può dir † chi è pien d' altra voglia."— 60

"Thy face," I answered him, "which once I wept for when dead, makes me now weep with no less a grief, seeing it so disfigured. Tell me therefore, in the name of God, what so denudes you; do not make me speak while I am marvelling, for ill can he speak who is full of other longing."

Foresc concisely answers Dante's question as to his emaciation, and adds that all the other spirits are undergoing a similar punishment. Their hunger and thirst are caused by the sight and the smell of the water and of the fruit, which, as the *Ottimo* remarks, sharpened their desire, and this desire dried up their limbs.

beyond recognition. But there is a great difference in the condition of a soul supposed to be in Hell, from one in Purgatory. It is the contrast between eternal damnation and sure and certain hope of salvation. Brunetto's countenance would remain scorched to all eternity, but Foresc's case is quite different. When Dante wept over his dead friend he knew not what was to be his future destiny. But now, seeing him in Purgatory, he has full assurance that his sufferings are but for a while, and therefore tells him that his altered features (*faccia torta*) give him less cause for bitter weeping than when he mourned for him at his death. Benvenuto interprets *torta*, "tantum transmutatam ab illa."

\* *vi sfoglia*: We must compare this expression with *buccia estrema* in l. 25. The literal meaning of *buccia* is the rind or skin of any plant. The literal meaning of *sfogliare* is to strip off the leaves, hence to "denude." As a plant is covered with leaves and thus beautified, so are the bones covered with flesh and with a healthy colour. Compare *Purg.* xxiv, 38, 39, where Dante is speaking of another Gluttonous spirit undergoing the same punishment, which he describes by the verb *piluccare*, i.e. to pluck the grapes from off a vine, and with the allegorical sense of gradually consuming the body:—

"là ov' ei sentia la piaga

Della giustizia che si li pilucca."

† *Non mi far dir . . . Chè mal può dir*: Tommaséo remarks that this reiteration of *dir* is, because quite artless, by no means displeasing.



Ed egli a me:—"Dell' eterno consiglio  
 Cade virtù nell' acqua, e nella pianta  
 Rimasa retro,\* ond' io sì m' assottiglio.†  
 Tutta esta gente che piangendo canta,‡  
 Per seguitar la gola oltra misura,§  
 In fame e in sete qui si rifà santa.||  
 Di bere e di mangiar n' accende cura  
 L' odor ch' esce del pomo,¶ e dello sprazzo\*\*  
 Che si distende su per la verdura.

65

\* *pianta Rimasa retro*: We are to infer that the Poets had already left the Tree some distance behind them.

† *m' assottiglio*: Others read *mi sottiglio*, but the difference is wholly unimportant.

‡ *piangendo canta*: We may conclude that the spirits only wept and sang as they drew near one or other of the trees.

§ *Per seguitar la gola oltra misura*: Compare St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol. pars ii, 2<sup>da</sup>, qu. cxlviii, art. 1*): "Gula non nominat [*Gregorius*] quemlibet appetitum edendi et bibendi, sed inordinatum. Dicitur autem appetitus inordinatus ex eo quòd recedit ab ordine rationis, in quo bonum virtutis moralis consistit."

|| *si rifà santa*: Dante elsewhere speaks of spirits going to become beautiful. Compare *Purg. ii, 75*:—

"Quasi obbliando d' ire a farsi belle."

And *Purg. xvi, 31*:—

"O creatura che ti mondi,  
 Per tornar bella a colui che ti fece . . ."

¶ *pomo*: Dante uses *pomo* as a symbol of the highest good. In *Inf. xvi, 61*, he says to the three Florentines: "Lascio lo fele, e vo per dolci pomi." And, as Virgil is taking leave of Dante at the entrance into the Terrestrial Paradise (*Purg. xxvii, 115-117*), he says to him:—

"Quel dolce pome, che per tanti rami  
 Cercando va la cura dei mortali,  
 Oggi porrà in pace le tue fami."

And in *Purg. xxxii, 73-74*, Christ Himself is spoken of as  
 il "melo [*the apple-tree*],

Che del suo pomo [*fruit*] gli Angeli fa ghiotti."

On the smell of the water, see *Job xiv, 9*:—"Yet through the scent of water it will bud, and bring forth boughs like a plant."

\*\* *sprazzo* or *sprazza*: This the *Gran Dizionario* explains to be "the distribution of any liquid matter in very minute quantities," in English "spray." It is only used this once in the

And he to me: "By the Eternal Will, power descends into the water, and into the tree you have left behind you, whereby I become thus emaciated. All this multitude who, while they lament, sing, because they followed their appetite beyond measure, in hunger and in thirst are here renewing their sanctification. The odour that issues from the fruit, and from the spray which is diffused all over the verdure, enkindles in us the desire to eat and to drink.

It is not merely passing suffering, Forese tells Dante, that they are undergoing. The intensity of their torment lies in the continued renewal of it, but he hastens to add that they all strive to think of it as a mercy granted to them in accordance with their desires and, by way of testifying to their complete submission to the penance imposed upon them by God, he compares it to the way that Our Lord set His face steadfastly to drink the Cup of suffering which His Father had given Him.

Some Commentators understand the renewal of torment to come from the return to the same tree again and again. Others think that, as the shades go round the Cornice, they meet with similar trees at different intervals. We will assume that there are two, the first being the offshoot of the Tree of Knowledge, and the second one from the Tree of Life.

---

*Divina Commedia*, but it is found in the works both of Berni and Pulci. See Pulci, *Morg. Magg.* xxvii, st. 56 :—

"Il vento par certi sprazzi avviluppi  
Di sangue in aria con nodi e con gruppi."

And *Morg. Magg.* xxviii, 142 :—

"Convien che se n' appicchi qualche sprazza."

Tommaséo thinks *sprazzo* corresponds to *aspergo* in Virgil. See *Æn.* iii, 534 :—

"Objectæ salsa spumant adspergine cautes."

E non pure una volta, questo spazzo\* 70  
 Girando, si rinfresca nostra pena;  
 Io dico pena, e dovrei dir sollazzo; †  
 Chè quella voglia all' arbore ci mena,  
 Che menò Cristo lieto a dire: 'Eli,' ‡  
 Quando ne liberò con la sua vena."— 75

And not once only, as we circle round this path, is  
 our penalty renewed; I say penalty, and I ought to  
 say solace. For that same Will leads us to the tree,

\* *spazzo*: The proper meaning of *spazzo* is the surface of the ground, and ultimately "floor." Compare *Inf.* xiv, 13-15:—

"Lo spazzo era un' arena arida e spessa,  
 Non d' altra foggia fatta che colei,  
 Che fu da' piè di Caton già soppressa."

We find it in the sense of "floor," in the *Viaggi in Terra Santa* di Lionardo Frescobaldi e d' altri del Secolo xiv, Florence, 1862. (My own copy was given to me by a much lamented friend, the late Marchese Dino de' Frescobaldi, a descendant of the author.) See p. 25, where the palace of Alexandria is described: "Era bene insino al terzo dalla sala pieno lo spazzo di bellissimoi drappi e tappeti." In Borghini, *Studi*, ed. Gigli, Florence, 1855, pp. 247-8, the author utters his indignation against the Commentators who attempt to see in *spazzo* merely an alteration from *spazio* for the sake of the rhyme, and he adds that "this accursed rhyme is the salvation of ignoramuses." *Spazio*=intervallum. *Spazzo*=solum. From *spazzo d' una sala* is derived *spazzare* to sweep, and *girar quello spazzo* is precisely the same as *girar quella via* or *girar quello smalto*, i.e. either "path" or "beaten floor." The quotation above, from *Inf.* xiv, shows that the word was not used for the rhyme's sake, as it is not at the end of a line.

† *sollazzo*: Compare St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars iii, Supplem. Append. qu. ii, art. 2): "Videtur quòd illa pœna sit voluntaria, quia illi qui sunt in purgatorio, rectum habent cor. Sed hæc est rectitudo cordis, ut quis voluntatem suam divinæ voluntati conformet, ut Augustinus dicit, conc. i, in psal. 32 a princ. Ergo cùm Deus velit eos puniri, ipsi illam pœnam voluntariè sustinent. Præterea, omnis sapiens vult illud sine quo non potest pervenire ad finem intentum. Sed illi qui sunt in purgatorio, sciunt se non posse pervenire ad gloriam, nisi priùs puniantur. Ergo volunt puniri." And *Rom.* v, 3: "And not only so, but we glory in tribulations also."

‡ *Eli*: Compare *St. Matt.* xxvii, 46: "And about the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani? that is to say, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?"

as led Christ rejoicing to say 'Eli,' when He ransomed us with His blood (*lit. vein*)."

Benvenuto says that the truth of this may be seen in the purgatory of the heart (*in purgatorio morali*), because the man who wishes to purge himself from the sin of Gluttony will abstain from toothsome food and from luscious wines, although it will seem to him an exceedingly hard struggle to forgo his accustomed dainties. And note that penitential expiation is in a man's lifetime more voluntary, because it is his own will that imposes it; but the expiation of Purgatory is by the will to endure, because the spirits there accept their penance voluntarily, and, while performing it earnestly, aspire to reach their heavenly country, and, to attain that, entreat the help of the intercessions of others.

*Division III.*—Dante had been told by Belacqua (*Purg.* iv, 130) that the souls of those who delayed their repentance till death, had to remain in the *Anti-Purgatorio* for a term equal in duration to the length of their lives on earth, and as Dante knew that his friend Forese had only died five years before, and probably knew also that he had delayed his repentance until the very end of his life, he is surprised to find him already in one of the Cornices of Purgatory proper.

He evidently knew that Forese had made some sort of repentance, or else he would not have expected to find him even in the *Anti-Purgatorio*, but in Hell with Ciaccio and the other Gluttons.

Ed io a lui:—"Forese da quel dì  
Nel qual mutasti mondo a miglior vita,\*"

---

\* *miglior vita*: Lombardi remarks that they who are lost change the world for a worse life.

Cinqu' anni\* non son vòliti † infino a qui.  
 Se prima ‡ fu la possa in te finita  
 Di peccar più, che sorvenisse l' ora 80  
 Del buon dolor § ch' a Dio ne rimarita,||  
 Come se' tu quassù venuto? ¶ Ancora  
 Io ti credea trovar laggiù di sotto,  
 Dove tempo per tempo si ristora."—

\* *Cinqu' anni*, etc. Benvenuto says that, according to the text, Forese must have died in 1296 ("quasi dicat: tu mortuus es jam quasi quinque annis elapsis, scilicet in millesimo ducentesimo nonagesimo sexto: hoc præsupposito, come se' tu venuto ancor di qua, ad verum purgatorium," etc.).

† *vòliti*: Compare Petrarch, part i, *Son.* 40 (in some editions 48):—

"Or volge, Signor mio, l' undecim' anno  
 Ch' i' fui sommessò al dispietato giogo."

‡ *Se prima . . . Di peccar*, et seq.: The *Ottimo Comento*, which professes to have been written by a contemporary of Dante, refers to this passage, possibly not without foundation of fact: "E queste cose sa bene l' Autore per la *conversione* (meant for *conversione*) continova, ch' elli aveva col detto Forese; ed esso Autore fu quegli che, per amore che aveva in lui e familiaritate, lo indusse alla confessione: e' confessossi a Dio anzi l' ultimo fine." See also *Convivio* iv, 88.

§ *buon dolor*: Compare 2 *Cor.* vii, 10: "For godly sorrow worketh repentance to salvation not to be repented of: but the sorrow of the world worketh death."

|| *a Dio ne rimarita*: Compare *Par.* xii, 61-63, where the espousals of St. Dominic were said to have been celebrated at his baptism:—

"Poichè le sponsalizie fur compiute  
 Al sacro fonte intra lui e la fede,  
 U' si dotâr di mutua salute;" etc.

The man that falls into sin is, as it were, divorced from God. We find in many passages of the Old Testament (e.g. *Ezek.* xxiii, 37; *Hosea* ii, 2) the idolatry of Israel called its adultery. Therefore, in like manner, the repentant sinner is said to be re-wedded to God.

¶ *Come se' tu quassù venuto?*: Some read *di qua* instead of *quassù*. Differences have arisen among modern Commentators as to whether the note of interrogation should be placed after *venuto* or *ancora*, the next word, but neither MSS. nor early editions can decide that point, for, as Scartazzini observes, orthographical signs were not invented until a later date. By far the larger number of editions place the note of interrogation after *ancora*.

And I to him: "Forese, from that day when thou didst change the world for a better life, five years have not yet rolled by. If the power to sin more was ended in thee, before the hour supervened of the goodly sorrow which re-weds us to God, how is it that thou art arrived up here? I thought to find thee still down there below, where time (of penance) makes restitution for time (wasted)."

Forese answers Dante, telling him that the intercession of his wife Nella, and her virtuous devout life, have been efficacious in helping him to ascend more speedily. Benvenuto relates that Nella did all in her power to check Forese in his excessive gluttony, and, though she had to prepare the dishes likely to tickle his fastidious palate, she never herself gave way to excess, and after his death devoted herself to praying for the peace of his soul, and as we know from *Purg.* iv, 134, that such intercessions would be listened to in heaven, we may infer that, from her prayers having been heard, she was known by Dante as a saintly woman.

Ond' egli a me:—"Sì tōsto m' ha condotto  
A ber lo dolce assenzio \* de' martiri

85

Bianchi and Scartazzini point out that, if that punctuation be adopted, *ancora* must be taken in the sense of *a quest' ora così presto*. "How is it that thou art arrived up here so soon (or, at this time)?"

\* *assenzio*: From the Latin *absinthium*, wormwood. In its conjunction here with *dolce*, it is supposed to be bitter to the taste, but sweet to the intellect. Likewise the torments of Purgatory are supposed to be bitter to endure, but sweet to the soul, as they prepare it to enter into Life Eternal. *Dolce assenzio* is an instance of the figure in rhetoric *oxymoron*, a seeming paradox, such as there are numerous instances of both in Greek and Latin, *e.g.*:—

"νύμφην τ' ἄνυμφον, παρθένον τ' ἀπαρθένον."

(Eurip. *Hecuba*, 612).

Compare also Horace, *Carm.* i, xxxiv, 2:—

La Nella \* mia col pianger suo dritto.  
 Con suoi preghi devoti e con sospiri  
 Tratto m' ha della costa † ove s' aspetta,  
 E liberato m' ha degli altri giri.

90

Whereupon he to me: "It is my Nella with her overflowing tears, who has brought me thus speedily to drink the sweet wormwood of these torments. By her

"*Insanientis dum sapientiae  
 Consultus erro.*"

Also Horace, *Epist.* i, xi, 28:—

"*Strenua nos exercet inertia.*"

And Catullus, *Carm.* lxiv, 81-83:—

"*Ipse suum Theseus pro caris corpus Athenis  
 Projicere optavit potius, quam talia Cretam  
 Funera Cecropiae ne—funera portarentur.*"

Also Milton, *Paradise Regained*, iii, 310:—

"He look'd, and saw what numbers numberless  
 The city gates outpour'd."

\* *La Nella* is the Florentine contraction of *Giovanna*, *Giovanella*. It is a custom at Florence among the lower classes to attach the definite article to the names of women—*La Nella*, *L' Assunta*, *La Carla*, *La Concetta*, *La Nina*.

† *costa* in this passage means the lower slopes of the mountain, below and outside of the Gate of Purgatory or the *Anti-Purgatorio*. The primary meaning of *costa* is a gradual ascent (*salita poco repente*). Throughout Dante's poem it is used to express "hill-side," and sometimes the hill, or mountain itself. Compare *Inf.* xii, 61, 62, where Nessus addresses the Poets on seeing them descending the precipitous side of the cliff:—

"A qual martiro  
 Venite voi che scendete la costa?"

And the *Gran Dizionario* quotes from Varchi, *Giuoco di Pittagora*, a MS. in the Magliabecchiana Library at Florence, where an exact definition of *costa* is given: "La via che va da Firenze a S. Miniato, si chiama costa, ovvero erta [*steep*]; e la medesima via da S. Miniato a Firenze si chiama china, ovvero scesa." From "steep ascent" the word was used to describe a "steep ascent from the sea," as in Boccaccio, *Decam.* Giorn. ii, Nov. 4: where one of the most beautiful regions in the world is thus described: "Credesi che la marina da Reggio a Gaeta sia quasi la più dilettevole parte d' Italia: nella quale assai presso a Salerno è una costa sopra il mare riguardante, la quale gli abitanti chiamano la costa d' Amalfi." The meaning "coast, sea-shore," only comes ultimately from the above primary significations.

devout prayers and by her sighs, she has withdrawn me from the hill-side where one tarries (*i.e.* the *Anti-Purgatorio*), and has set me free from the other circles (*i.e.* the Cornices of Pride, Envy, etc.).

The better to accentuate the virtues of his excellent wife, the only righteous woman in a wicked city, Forese now draws an unpleasing picture of the dress and demeanour of the women of Florence, comparing that city to the district of Barbagia, in the island of Sardinia, where the women had an evil reputation, both for their immodest attire, and for their licentious morals.

Tant' è a Dio più cara e più diletta  
 La vedovella \* mia, che tanto amai,  
 Quanto in bene operare è più soletta ; †  
 Chè la Barbagia ‡ di Sardigna assai  
 Nelle femmine sue è più pudica  
 Che la Barbagia dov' io la lasciai. 95

\* *vedovella* : This is the diminutive of *vedova*, used (says the *Gran Dizionario*) sometimes in the sense of compassion, as here, but at other times as an expression of censure, to denote a widow who does not bear herself with due decorum in her widowhood. Dante uses it in the first of these two senses in the episode of Trajan and the widow, *Purg.* x, 76, 78:—

“Io dico di Traiano imperatore ;  
 Ed una vedovella gli era al freno,  
 Di lagrime atteggiata e di dolore.”

† *soletta* : Diminutive of *sola*, and here is evidently used with a certain tenderness to express the solitude of a beloved and modest woman. Some have tried to make out that Dante, by saying that *Nella* was *soletta* in *bene operare* just before attacking the women of Florence, meant to cast a reproach on his own wife Gemma. But, as Scartazzini remarks, it is not at all certain that Gemma was not already dead at the time these lines were written.

‡ *Barbagia* was a mountainous region of Sardinia, and took its name from the ancient Barbaricini, celebrated in the history of the island for their idolatry and independent ways. It lies in the heart of the principal chain of mountains. The Barbaricini



So much the dearer and more precious in the sight of God is my poor widow, whom I loved so tenderly, in proportion as she is the more solitary in good conduct. For the Barbagia of Sardinia is far more modest in its women than the Barbagia where I left her.

Forese means that Florence was a second Barbagia. He then tells Dante that he foresees a day of retribution on the Florentine women, when laws will have to be made to check the immodesty of their dress.

O dolce frate, che vuoi tu ch' io dica ?  
 Tempo futuro m' è già nel cospetto,  
 Cui non sarà quest' ora molto antica,\*  
 Nel qual sarà in pergamo † interdetto

100

are said to have been landed in Sardinia by the Vandals, and forthwith they took possession of the neighbouring mountains, and lived by robbery and plunder. St. Gregory (*Ep.* iv, 23) says of them: *omnes ut insensata animalia vivunt*. The *Codice Cassinese* says that in the Barbagia *mulieres vadunt seminude*. Pietro di Dante makes them worse: *ubi vadunt nudæ mulieres*. The *Codice Caetani*, quoted by Camerini: "In insula Sardinia est montana alta, quæ dicitur La Barbagia; et quando Januenses [*the Genoese*] retraxerunt dictam insulam de manibus Infidelium, nunquam potuerunt retrahere dictam montanam, in qua habitat gens barbara et sine civilitate, et fœminæ suæ vadunt indutæ subtili *pirgolato*, ita quod omnia membra ostendunt inhoneste; nam est ibi magnus calor." Benvenuto confirms this statement: "Nam pro calore et prava consuetudine vadunt indutæ panno lineo albo, excollatæ ita, ut ostendant pectus et ubera." It is said that, even at the present day, the costume of these women is somewhat scanty; although their conduct is without reproach.

\* *quest' ora . . . antica*: Compare *Par.* xvii, 118-120:—

"E s' io al vero son timido amico,  
 Temo di perder viver tra coloro  
 Che questo tempo chiameranno antico."

† *pergamo*, a pulpit, is not to be confused, as some Commentators have done, with *pergamena*, parchment. *Pulpito* is a desk, not pulpit. The words *in pergamo interdetto* may either mean the sermons that were preached against the gross immodesty of the women's dress, or better perhaps, the episcopal decrees, and canonical penalties which were proclaimed from the pulpit against such disgraceful habits. It is evident from verses 103-5 that Dante uses *interdetto* in the latter sense. Sacchetti (*Novelle*, 115, 178) speaks at length on this subject.

Alle sfacciate donne Fiorentine  
 L' andar mostrando con le poppe il petto.  
 Quai Barbare\* fur mai, quai Saracine,†  
 Cui bisognasse, per farle ir coperte,  
 O spiritali o altre discipline? †

105

O dear brother, what wouldst thou have me say?  
 A future time is already in my view, to which the  
 present hour will not be very old, when from the

\* *Barbare*: Some translate this simply "barbarian women." I prefer to follow Lana's explanation: "E dice quasi esclamando: quando avvenne mai nè in Barbaria nè in Saracina che le donne fosseno sì sfacciate ch' elle convenissero essere corrette da li spiritali predicatori?" The *Ottimo*: "Questo dice in infamia e vituperio delle dette donne; dicendo che il primo atto e il più popolesco e volgare della onestade della femmina, è il tenere coperte quelle membra, che la natura richiede che sieno chiuse; e però quello che è naturale, in ogni luogo è uno medesimo. Onde dice: le Barbare, le quali sono sì partite da' nostri costumi, e le Saracine, che sono così date alla lussuria, . . . si vanno coperte le mammelle e 'l petto."

† *Saracine*: In the middle ages all unbaptized persons except Jews were frequently called Saracens.

‡ *discipline*: G. Villani (lib. ix, c. 245) relates that in April 1324, "arbitri furono fatti in Firenze, i quali feciono molti capitoli e forti ordini contra i disordinati ornamenti delle donne di Firenze." He further relates (lib. x, c. 11) that in December, 1326, Carlo, Duke of Calabria, "a priego che le donne di Firenze aveano fatto alla duchessa sua moglie, si rendè alle dette donne uno loro spiacevole e disonesto ornamento di trecce grosse di seta gialla e bianca, le quali portavano in luogo di trecce di capelli dinanzi al viso, lo quale ornamento perchè spiacea ai Fiorentini, perchè era disonesto e trasnaturato, aveano tolto alle donne, e fatti capitoli contro a ciò e altri disordinati ornamenti." Benvenuto speaks of this matter at great length, and thinks the Poet has most deservedly uttered his reproach against these women. No artificers in the world possess such varied contrivances for the exercise of their handicraft, as the women of Florence for the decoration of their persons. For not content with natural beauty, they ever strive to add to it, and are always arming themselves against all defects with incredible art and sagacity. They assist shortness of stature with a high patten (*cum planula alta*); they whiten a dark skin; they rouge a pallid face; they make their hair yellow, and their teeth like ivory; "Mamillas breves et duras: et ut breviter dicam omnia membra artificiose componunt."

pulpit it shall be interdicted to the unblushing dames of Florence to go about displaying the bosom with the paps. What women of Barbary, what Saracen (women) were there ever, for whom either spiritual or other discipline was needed to enforce their going about (decently) covered?

Dante now puts into the mouth of Forese a prediction of the disasters that actually took place in Florence between 1300 and 1316.

Ma se le svergognate fosser certe  
 Di quel che il ciel veloce loro ammanna,\*  
 Già per urlare avrian le bocche aperte.  
 Chè se l' antiveder qui non m' inganna,  
 Prima fien triste che le guance impeli 110  
 Colui che mo sì consola con nanna.†

\* *quel che il ciel veloce loro ammanna*: Dante here alludes in the form of a prophecy to all the calamities that befell Florence immediately after the entry of Charles de Valois in November, 1302. (G. Villani, lib. viii, c. 49); and in the following year the massacres of which Fulcieri da Calboli was the author (G. Villani, lib. viii, c. 59). See also Canto xiv, 58-66, and my note thereon. In this same year a great famine took place; in the following year the city was excommunicated by Cardinal da Prato (G. Villani, lib. viii, c. 69), and the Ponte alla Carraja fell, causing the death of a vast number of persons *con grande pianto e dolore a tutta la cittade* (c. 70). Villani says over and over again that these misfortunes were sent as a punishment for the wickedness of the citizens. Compare this with *Inf.* xxvi, 7-12, where Dante, wishing to predict these same facts as events that would shortly take place after the year 1300 (though when he wrote the *Inferno* they were past occurrences), pictures himself as having dreamt them towards dawn, when dreams were popularly supposed to come true. See *Readings on the Inferno*, vol. ii, pp. 328-333. The primary meaning of *ammannare* is "to bind, or prepare, a sheaf of corn," and hence simply "to prepare." It is derived from *manna* a sheaf (Lat. *manipulus*). Cf. *Purg.* xxix, 49, 50:—

"La virtù ch' a ragion discorso ammanna,  
 Siccom' elli eran candelabri apprese."

† *nanna*: *La Ninna Nanna* is the song with which nurses in Italy send children to sleep. Compare Michelangelo Buonarotti il Giovane, *La Fiera*, Giorn. iv, act 1, sc. vi:—

But if the shameless creatures only knew for certain that which swift Heaven has in store for them, they would already have their mouths wide-open to howl. For, if my fore-sight here does not deceive me, they will become sad before that he who is now being hushed with lullabies (*i.e.* the infant) shall have put forth beard upon his cheeks.

"Note here, reader," says Benvenuto, "that I have heard some say rashly, that this prognostication is a discredit to Dante (*vituperium poetæ*) since such a long time had elapsed without those things taking place, which he seems to foretell as happening in so brief a space of time. To which I reply, that the author speaks here of things that are past and accomplished facts, and not merely of events about to take place. But he appears to prophesy, because he looks at the supposed time of his vision, which was in MCCC, as has already been so often said. For great misfortunes did follow after that date, such as intestine discords, civil wars, and the expulsion of the factions, which things took place in the second and third year following; and in the fourth year the *Bianchi* and *Neri* came again to arms against each other. And while the fury of war was raging, a fire broke out, whether kindled by accident, or, as many have said, the intentional work of a certain priest, *Neri degli Abati*, who first set it going in his own house: and in a short time the greater part of the city was burned, more than two thousand houses being de-

---

"Ed or n' andrete, dormiglione, a nanna."

Lana comments: "He wishes here to mark the time that will elapse before such vengeance can take place; and says that before the male child that is still in the cradle, and who is hushed to sleep with the *Ninna Nanna*, shall have put forth a beard, this vengeance will have come to pass—*i.e.*, within the space of 20 years."

stroyed, with a damage beyond all estimation. Nor did they meanwhile cease from strife, but all the time great pillage went on. And in the fifteenth year (1315) they (the Florentines) suffered a terrible slaughter at Monte Catini at the hands of Ugucione della Faggiuola."

*Division IV.*—After uttering his denunciation of the women of Florence, and predicting the woes that will shortly befall them, Forese entreats Dante to say who he is, as the whole band of penitents, of whom Forese is the spokesman, are lost in astonishment at seeing that Dante's body casts a shadow.

Deh, frate, or\* fa che più non mi ti celi :  
 Vedi che non pur io, ma questa gente  
 Tutta rimira là dove il sol veli." †

And now, my brother, I pray thee no longer to hide  
 thyself from me; see that not only I, but all this

---

\* *or* : In l. 58 *et seq.*, Dante had begged Forese to tell him the reason of the terrible alteration of his features. So now Forese, in so many words, says to Dante: "Now that I have given you the information you seek, do you, in your turn, tell us what we are so anxious to know, who are you who have a shadow here?"

† *dove il sol veli* : Compare *Purg.* iii, 88-93:—

"Come color dinanzi vider rotta  
 La luce in terra dal mio destro canto,  
 Sì che l' ombra era da me alla grotta,  
 Restaro, e trasser sè in retro alquanto,  
 E tutti gli altri che venieno appresso,  
 Non sapendo il perchè, fenno altrettanto."

In Tommaséo's Commentary, there are the following observations by the astronomer Antonelli: "Se quando i Poeti pervennero su questo sesto girone era già presso le undici ore, adesso doveva essere passato il mezzodì, come argomentasi dal principio del Canto seguente. E se proseguendo essi nel solito modo il cammino, fossero stati tra la tramontana e il ponente della montagna, come a suo luogo vedremo doversi ammettere, allora la velatura del sole, cioè l' ombra del nostro Poeta, sarebbe caduta verso la ripa del monte, nella direzione che è tra la spalla sinistra e la faccia."

multitude are gazing at that spot from which thou art screening the Sun."

Dante reminds Forese that, during the time of their friendship on earth, their lives were not such as to have left pleasing recollections. He then answers Forese's question, telling him how Virgil had been sent to his aid, and had guided him through Hell, and thus far up the Mountain of Purgatory.

Perch' io a lui: "Se ti riduci a mente \* 115  
Qual fosti meco † e quale io teco fui,  
Ancor fia grave il memorar presente.

\* *riduci a mente*: Compare *Par.* xxiii, 50, 51:

"s' ingegna

Indarno di ridurlasi all mente; "

and *Conv.* i, 9; ll. 7-9: "Se noi riduciamo a memoria quello che di sopra è ragionato," etc.

† *Qual fosti meco*: There is much difference of opinion as to the precise import of these words. Some take the purely unimagina- tive view, that during Forese's life-time, he and Dante had given way to gluttony, and had together taken part in many luxurious feasts. But all that one has heard of Dante strongly militates against that supposition, as he is credited with having been sparing in his diet. (On this, see Dr. Moore, *Dante and his early Biographers*, pp. 161-164, where we learn that both Boccaccio and Filippo Villani testify to Dante's abstemiousness, though he admired good cooking.) Others, with much more reason, maintain that the whole context of these lines agrees with Dante's account of himself (*Inf.* i, 1, 2) that at the age of 35 he was in a state of the greatest moral peril, and that, while he was hurrying down- wards to his ruin, Virgil met him and turned him back into the right path from the wrong one he was pursuing (*Che la diritta via era smarrita*). But Forese died, it is believed, in 1295, five years before the time of the supposed vision, and therefore Dante would have been walking in the wrong paths of the *selva oscura* for five years after Forese's death, before Virgil rescued him in 1300. Scartazzini in his more recent Milan commentary says that, in the set of vituperative sonnets (see p. 263, footnote \*), it is very easy to see that the virulence the two friends were displaying towards each other (Dante speaking in insulting terms of the mother of Forese, and Forese retorting against the father of Dante) was so great, that when now they meet, in a state of penitence and con- trition, their remembrance of their broken friendship, and their

Di quella vita mi volse costui  
 Che mi va innanzi, l' altr' ier,\* quando tonda †  
 Vi si mostrò la suora ‡ di colui 120  
 (E il sol mostrai). Costui per la profonda  
 Notte menato m' ha da' veri morti,§  
 Con questa vera carne || che il seconda.¶  
 Indi m' han tratto su li suoi conforti,

un-Christian conduct towards each other, could hardly fail to suggest the most painful reflections to them. This unseemly literary contest, in which each of the two former friends sought to wound the feelings of the other, must have attained a certain amount of publicity at Florence, and would have amounted pretty nearly to a scandal. They now may be supposed to be confessing to each other their mutual transgressions, and Dante would explain to Forese that he owes it to the influence of Virgil that he has been turned from his formerly thoughtless life into the paths of penitence that are to lead him to Heaven.

\* *l' altro ieri* is, properly speaking, "the day before yesterday"; but all the Commentators interpret it here, "the other day," "a few days ago." *L' altr' ieri* può dire tempo più remoto che ier l' altro, il qual significa *Due giorni* indietro." (*Gran Dizionario*, s. v. "Jeraltro".)

† *tonda*: Compare *Inf.* xx, 127: "E già iernotte fu la luna tonda." Antonelli (in Tommaséo's Commentary) referring both to *l' altro ieri* and *la luna tonda* makes the following remarks: "Stando al solito supposto del plenilunio ecclesiastico della Pasqua del 1300, al Purgatorio avrebbero visto la luna tonda nella notte dal 6 al 7 aprile, e di presente ivi correva il dì 12: dunque *l' altro ieri* significa cinque o sei giorni fa, cioè misura di tempo indeterminato; ma poco remoto."

‡ *suora*: The Sun (Apollo) and the Moon (Diana or Luna) were thought to be the children of Jupiter and Latona. Compare *Par.* xxix, 1:—

"Quando ambo e due i figli di Latona."

§ *veri morti*: Compare *Inf.* i, 115-117:—

"le disperate strida

Di quegli antichi spiriti dolenti,  
 Che la seconda morte ciascun grida."

|| *vera carne*: Compare *Purg.* ii, 109, when Dante, on asking Casella to sing, says to him:—

"Di ciò ti piaccia consolare alquanto  
 L' anima mia, che con la sua persona  
 Venendo qui è affannata tanto."

¶ *che il seconda*: Compare *Inf.* iv, 15:—

"Io sarò primo, e tui sarai secondo."

Salendo e rigirando la montagna  
Che drizza \* voi che il mondo fece torti.

125

Whereupon I to him: "If thou recall to mind what thou wast in my company, and what I was in thine, the present remembrance of it will even yet be grievous to us. From that life he who goes in front of me turned me but the other day, when the sister (the Moon) of him yonder—and I pointed to the Sun—showed herself to you at the full. He has led me through the profound darkness of the really dead, with this real flesh (*i.e.* my body) which is following him. Thence (from Hell) have his encouragements drawn me upwards, ascending and encircling this mountain which straightens (*i.e.* purifies) you whom the world made crooked.

Dante then speaks of the better hope he has to look to, and in conclusion tells Forese who are his two guides, in answer to his question:—"Who are those two spirits that bear thee company?" (ll. 52, 53).

Tanto dice di farmi sua compagna,†  
Ch' io sarò là dove fia Beatrice ;  
Quivi convien che senza lui rimagna.

---

\* *drizza* : Compare *Purg.* x, 1-3:—

"dentro al soglio della porta  
Che il malo amor dell' anime disusa,  
Perchè fa parer dritta la via torta."

† *di farmi sua compagna* : It was of common usage among the early writers to leave out the *i* of *compagnia*, as here. Compare *Inf.* xxvi, 100-102:—

"Ma misi me per l' alto mare aperto  
Sol con un legno e con quella compagna  
Picciola," etc.

And Poliziano (*La Giostra*, lib. i, st. 29):

"Spargesi tutta la bella compagna,  
Altri alle reti, altri alla via più stretta,  
Chi serba in coppia i can, chi gli scompagna ;  
Chi già 'l suo ammette, chi 'l richiama e alletta."

And Giov. Villani (lib. xii, cap. ix): "Quasi tutti i soldati ch'erano co' Pisani . . . e più di duemila pedoni di masnade ghibellini, si partirono da Pisa, e feciono una compagna con alcuno



Virgilio è questi che così mi dice 130  
 (E addita' lo), e quest' altro è quell' ombra \*  
 Per cui scosse dianzi ogni pendice  
 Lo vostro regno che da sè lo sgombra."—

So far he says he will afford me his company, until I shall be there (at the summit of the mount) where Beatrice will be ; there shall I have to be left without him. This one here who tells me so, is Virgil—and I pointed to him—And this other (Statius) is that shade for whom your kingdom (Purgatory) which is discharging him from itself, just now shook all its slopes."

This refers to the concluding lines of Canto xx.

---

piccolo soldo." Scartazzini (*Milan Edition*) remarks that one might also take *compagna* as the feminine of *compagno*, as agreeing with *anima*, or *ombra* understood.

\* *quell' ombra* : Dante does not name Statius, and Scartazzini says it is difficult to see why ; but Tommaséo thinks that the name of Statius would not have been of the slightest importance in the eyes of Forese.

END OF CANTO XXIII.

### CANTO XXIV.

THE SIXTH CORNICE—GLUTTONY (CONTINUED).—FORESE DONATI  
—PICCARDA DONATI—BONAGIUNTA DEGLI URBICIANI OF  
LUCCA—POPE MARTIN IV—UBALDINO DELLA PILA.—  
BONIFAZIO DEI FIESCHI—MESSER MARCHESE—GENTUCCA  
—DEATH OF CORSO DONATI PREDICTED—THE SECOND  
MYSTIC TREE—EXAMPLES OF INTEMPERANCE—THE AN-  
GEL OF ABSTINENCE.

DANTE continues the description of the penance and purgation of the Gluttonous, introducing a large number of spirits, most of whom had been his contemporaries, or had died shortly before his time

Benvenuto divides the Canto into five parts.

*In the First Division*, from ver. 1 to ver. 33, Dante, continuing the conversation that was broken off at the end of the last Canto, obtains from Forese information about his virtuous sister Piccarda, and Forese then points out several spirits, who had been in their life-time notorious for Gluttony.

*In the Second Division*, from ver. 34 to ver. 69, Dante converses with Bonagiunta Urbiciani of Lucca, who pays a graceful tribute to Dante's eloquence, while naming some of the most celebrated early poets who were his own contemporaries, and then hints that in a short time Lucca will have a special attraction for Dante.

*In the Third Division*, from ver. 70 to ver. 99, Dante resumes his conversation with Forese, and hears from him a prediction of the tragic end of Corso Donati, Forese's own brother, and the principal cause of the evils then existing at Florence. Forese then quits Dante and returns to his penance.

*In the Fourth Division*, from ver. 100 to ver. 129, the poets encounter a second tree. A description follows, of the checks that are used against Gluttony.

*In the Fifth Division*, from ver. 130 to ver. 154, an Angel appears, who purifies Dante from the sin of Gluttony, and points out to him the ascent to the Seventh Cornice.

*Division I.*—Benvenuto says that some people, when in conversation out walking, are in the habit of stopping their companion every time they speak; and other persons, from the haste at which they are walking, either shorten their talk or omit parts of it. Such however is not the case with Dante and Forese, whose rapid progress Dante compares to that of a ship in full sail. Benvenuto draws attention to the appropriateness of the comparison, for the ship of Dante and Forese is holding its course towards a good haven of rest, with a sure confidence in its two skilful pilots, Virgil and Statius, who are walking on before.

Nè il dir l' andar, nè l' andar lui \* più lento

---

\* *Nè il dir l' andar, nè l' andar lui*, et seq. : It will be noticed however, in l. 91, that Forese *did* after all find Dante's speed too slow, and apologises for leaving him behind. Dante estimates the rate of their progress by what is given to Man's powers. The spirits not being burdened with *quel d' Adamo* (*Purg.* ix, 10) can naturally move much more rapidly. It may be remembered that

Facea, ma ragionando andavam forte,  
 Sì come nave pinta da buon vento.  
 E l' ombre, che parean cose rimorte,\*  
 Per le fosse degli occhi † ammirazione  
 Traean di me, di mio vivere accorte.

5

Neither did our speech make our going, nor did our going make it (our speech) more slow, but as we talked we walked apace, even as a ship impelled by a fair wind. And the shades, that seemed things twice-dead, drew in through their cavernous eyes astonishment at me, perceiving I had life.

The spirits would know Dante to be alive, both from seeing his shadow, and from his unstarved appearance.

The last Canto broke off in the middle of the sentence in which Dante was telling Forese who Statius was.

the fact of Dante being a bad walker was noticed in the note on *Purg.* xi, 43-45, where Virgil says of him:—

“Chè questi che vien meco, per l' incarco  
 Della carne d' Adamo, ond' ei si veste,  
 Al montar su, contra sua voglia, è parco.”

Compare Ariosto (*Orl. Fur.* xxxi, st. 34):—

“Non, per andar, di ragionar lasciando,  
 Non, di seguir, per ragionar, lor via.”

*lui* refers to *il dir*, and Cesari (p. 427) remarks that “anche in cosa inanimata si adopera bene il pronome *egli*, come dicon gli esempi.” I have often noticed this use of *egli* and *lui* at Florence. A Florentine friend and I were much amused one day by hearing an old man selling what we might colloquially here describe as “Zadkiel's Almanacks,” in the old Market Place at Florence. His cry was “Ecco il Baccelli Lunario, *egli è lui* (*Here is Zadkiel's Almanack, it is he himself, or it is the real article*).”

\**rimorte*: This *terzina* reminds one of that in *Purg.* ii, 67-69, where Dante speaks of the band in which was Casella:—

“L' anime che si fur di me accorte,  
 Per lo spirare, ch' io era ancora vivo,  
 Maravigliando diventaro smorte.”

Scartazzini says that, by *rimorte*, Dante wishes to express something from which all form or comeliness has utterly vanished; the most extreme pallor and extenuation, even as one whose countenance is not only corpse-like, but doubly corpse-like.

†*fosse degli occhi*: I have translated the words as though they were *per gli occhi incavati*.

The whole sentence, when completed, would have run thus: "And this other is that shade for whom your kingdom, which is discharging him from itself, just now shook all its slopes. He walks on perchance more slowly upwards than he would, for the sake of some one else." But the Canto broke off before the last clause, which Dante proceeds to utter now, and at the same time asks Forese if he can give him any information about Piccarda, who was sister to Forese, and a cousin of Dante's wife Gemma. Dante's interview with Piccarda in Heaven is described in *Par.* iii, one of the most beautiful Cantos in the *Divina Commedia*. He also asks Forese if there are any personages of distinction doing penance in his company.

Ed io, continuando il mio sermone,  
 Dissi:—"Ella sen va su forse più tarda  
 Che non farebbe, per l' altrui cagione.\*  
 Ma dimmi, se tu 'l sai, ov' è Piccarda; †  
 Dimmi s' io veggio da notar persona  
 Tra questa gente che sì mi riguarda." 10

\* *per l' altrui cagione*: Scartazzini thinks this was solely for the purpose of talking with Virgil; but Benvenuto explains it to be for the sake both of Virgil and Dante, adding, that otherwise Statius would already have soared up to Heaven, "and thus see," observes Benvenuto, "how a real friend will for a while postpone his own comfort for a friend, as says the philosopher in the ixth book of the Ethics, and it is as though he (Dante) would say tacitly: 'I must hasten away from thee, lest we retard Statius who is going to Heaven, therefore tell me, I beseech thee, where is thy sister?'"

† *Piccarda* was the daughter of Simone de' Donati, and sister to Corso and Forese. She took the vows of the order of St. Clare, but was forcibly abducted from the cloister against her will, by order of Messer Corso her brother, and married to Rosellino della Tosa. She tells the tale herself in *Par.* iii, 97-108:—

"'Perfetta vita ed alto merto inciela  
 Donna più su,' mi disse, 'alla cui norma  
 Nel vostro mondo giù si veste e vela,

And I, continuing my speech, said: "He (Stattius) walks on upwards more slowly perchance, for the sake of some one else, than he would (naturally) do. But tell me, if thou knowest it, where is Piccarda; tell me whether, among all this people who thus gaze at me, I see any one to note."

Forese first speaks in affectionate admiration of his sister's beauty and virtue; and then answers Dante's question.

"La mia sorella, che tra bella e buona \*  
 Non so qual fosse più, trionfa lieta  
 Nell' alto Olimpo † già di sua corona."— 15  
 Si disse prima, e poi:—"Qui non si vieta  
 Di nominar ciascun, da ch' è sì munta ‡

---

Perchè in fino al morir si vegghi e dorma  
 Con quello sposo ch' ogni voto accetta,  
 Che caritate a suo piacer conforma.  
 Dal mondo, per seguirla, giovinetta  
 Fuggi' mi, e nel suo abito mi chiusi,  
 E promisi la via della sua setta.  
 Uomini poi, a mal più ch' a bene usi,  
 Fuor mi rapiron della dolce chiostra;  
 E Dio si sa qual poi mia vita fusi."

\**tra bella e buona*: Petrarch (Part ii, *Sonnet lxxi*) says of Laura:—

"chi tra bella e onesta,  
 Qual fu più, lasciò in dubbio."

†*Nell' alto Olimpo*: Scartazzini remarks that, according to Dante, the heathen poets had a presentiment of the truth, and their fancies are not mere fictions. Piccarda was in the lowest sphere of Heaven, as she says herself (*Par. iii, 49-51*):—

"Ma riconoscerai ch' io son Piccarda,  
 Che posta qui con questi altri beati,  
 Beata sono in la spera più tarda."

Benvenuto notices that Dante places the sister in Paradise, the one brother, Forese, in Purgatory, and Corso, the other brother, in Hell.

‡*sì munta Nostra sembianza via*: Although *mungere* has the primary meaning of "to milk," it has several others, among which, "to deprive anything of what it has possessed," and further "to disfigure"; and, besides these significations, I find in the *Gran Dizionario*, s. v. *munto* "*smunto*" (lean, meagre) and "*magro*." Therefore *mungere via* is literally, "to milk away, milk dry."

Nostra sembianza via per la dieta.\*

"My sister, who betwixt beautiful and good I know not which was most, already rejoices triumphant at her crown on lofty Olympus (*i.e.* in Heaven)." So said he first, and then: "Here it is not forbidden to name every one, since our countenances are so emaciated (*lit.* milked dry) by our abstinence.

Forese means that, as the whole of the spirits present are equally miserable in appearance, there can be nothing invidious in naming any one specially, and the more so, that otherwise, any recognition by a stranger would be impossible. Dante had named Piccarda, and Forese had in his answer said "my sister"; now lest Dante should think that he wished to reprove him, he hastens to reassure him, and names several of his fellow penitents, and as these included a poet, a pope, a great noble, an archbishop, and a reigning prince, we may take it for granted that the selection would satisfy even Dante, who rarely, if ever, notices any one of the middle or lower classes.†

\* *la dieta*: "Il mangiar poco e cose leggere, o anche nulla." (*Gran Dizionario.*) See Giusti, *Proverbi Toscani*, Firenze, 1853, p. 283:—

"Acqua, dieta, e serviziale  
Guarisce d' ogni male."

The *Gran Dizionario* quotes the following from the Sonnets of Bernardo Bellincioni, Milan, 1493, 4to [*Son.* 254] to show that *dieta* may mean deprivation of what anything ought to have, or that it is empty:—

"Ma perchè la borsa mia fa dieta."

† In *Inf.* xx, 103-105, Dante expresses this opinion to Virgil in precise terms:—

"Ma dimmi della gente che procede,  
Se tu ne vedi alcun degno di nota;  
Chè solo a ciò la mia mente rifiede."

In that same Canto Dante afterwards names one Asdente, a cobbler, but Bartoli thinks that Dante only mentions Asdente for the sake of grouping him and an astrologer of the highest order together as two diviners, and thereby bringing the pre-

Questi (e mostrò col dito) è Bonagiunta,\*  
Bonagiunta da Lucca; e quella faccia †

20

tentious astrologer into ridicule. In *Par.* xvii, 133-142, this contempt for ordinary personages is strongly inculcated upon him by his ancestor Cacciaguida, who bids Dante ignore them altogether, and only write about illustrious personages, whether good or bad:—

“Questo tuo grido farà come vento,  
Che le più alte cime più percolte;  
E ciò non fa d' onor poco argomento.  
Però ti son mostrate in queste rote,  
Nel monte, e nella valla dolorosa,  
Pur l' anime che son di fama note;  
Chè l' animo di quel ch' ode non posa,  
Nè ferma fede per esempio ch' haia  
La sua radice incognita e nascosa,  
Nè per altro argomento che non paia.”

\* *Bonagiunta* was the son of Riccoino di Bonagiunta Orbiccianni degli Overardi of Lucca. According to Scartazzini he died shortly after the year 1296, in the December of which year he was alive. Lana says he was a reciter of rhymes, and very corrupt in the vice of Gluttony. Nannucci (*Manuale della Letteratura del Primo Secolo della Lingua Italiana*, vol. i, p. 139) begs his readers to note that Bonagiunta's reputed friendship with Dante, and their interchange of sonnets, is well worthy of credence when asserted by Jacopo della Lana, who was already a writer of some celebrity at the time of Dante's death, and might quite well have been acquainted with them both. Benvenuto remarks: “*fuit maximus magister gulositatum*,” . . . and further on: “he was an honourable man, of the city of Lucca, a splendid orator in his mother tongue, with much facility in the matter of rhymes, but of greater facility in that of wines.” Dante however held Bonagiunta in low esteem as a poet, and in *De Vulg. Eloq.* i, xiii, includes him among certain other Tuscan writers of the time whose language was by no means pure, being the mere local dialect of their several native cities. See also the article by Carlo Minutoli, *Genlucca e gli altri Lucchesi nominati nella Divina Commedia* (in *Dante e il suo Secolo*, Florence, 1865), in which Bonagiunta is mentioned at pp. 222, 224.

† *quella faccia*: The idea of the intensity of the emaciation is impressed on us by Dante saying “that face beyond him” instead of “that spirit beyond him.” He wishes his readers to understand, that the sight of those cavernous eyes and hollow cheeks so seized upon the attention of the beholder, that for the time he would be unable to see anything but the faces. The spirit in question is that of Pope Martin IV, a Frenchman, by name Simon



Di là da lui, più che l' altre trapunta,\*  
 Ebbe la santa Chiesa in le sue braccia :  
 Dal Torso † fu, e purga per digiuno  
 L' anguille di Bolsena ‡ e la vernaccia. §—

This one here—and he pointed with his finger—is Bonagiunta, Bonagiunta of Lucca ; and beyond him (he with) that face more emaciated than the others, once held the Holy Church in his embrace : from

de Brion of Tours, who succeeded Nicholas III in 1281. G. Villani (lib. vii, ch. 58) says of him : “ Di vile nazione, ma molto fu magnanimo e di gran cuore ne' fatti della Chiesa, ma per sè proprio per suoi parenti nulla cupidigia ebbe : e quando il fratello il venne a vedere papa, incontanente il rimandò in Francia con piccoli doni e colle spese, dicendo, ch' e' beni erano della Chiesa e non suoi.” He was a strong partisan of Charles of Anjou, and an enemy of the Ghibellines. He retired to Orvieto, where the rich wines of Orvieto and Montefiascone, combined with the eels here mentioned, may have given him the surfeit from which he is said to have died. The *Postillatore Cassinese* states that, owing to his predilection for eels, the following verses are said to have been written on his tomb :—

“ Gaudent anguillae, quia mortuus hic jacet ille  
 Qui quasi morte reas excoriabat eas.”

\* *trapunta*, for *trapuntata*, lit. “ worked in embroidery,” but here “ extenuated.” “ Le inuguaglianze dell' arida pelle rendono imagine di trapunto. (Tommaséo.)

† *Torso* : The city of Tours.

‡ *Bolsena* Lake *Bolsena* is near Viterbo, and said to abound in fish. It is in a most fertile district, but has an evil reputation for *malaria*.

§ *vernaccia* : A species of white wine, both rich and sweet. It was said to have been produced from a thick skinned grape that imparted a sweet rough flavour to the wine, which Benvenuto says is excellent, and comes from the mountains near Genoa. He adds that he considers it to have been of special utility to that High Priest (meaning Martin IV) to have drunk of the wine in which eels had been slain ; for whoever drinks of wine so prepared straightway takes a disgust to all wine, as Albertus Magnus says. Benvenuto himself saw the experiment succeed with a great bishop. Chaucer mentions the wine in the Merchant's Tale :—

“ He drinketh ipocras, clarree, and vernage  
 Of spyces hote, t' encrenen his corage.”

Compare also Pulci (*Morg. Magg.* Canto xxv, st. 219) ; Boccaccio. (*Decam.* Giorn. x, Nov. ii) ; and Redi (*Bacco in Toscana*, ll. 511-518).



I saw through hunger using their teeth on emptiness  
 Ubaldino dalla Pila, and Boniface who with his crozier  
 pastured vast herds (of courtiers and retainers).

Benvenuto's explanation is that Dante describes Boniface by one of the chief insignia of his great dignity. The Archbishop of Ravenna is a great shepherd, who has under him many suffragan bishops from Rimini as far as Parma: and he says *col rocco*, for while the other shepherds (bishops) have the crooked pastoral staff he (the archbishop) has the whole staff straight and round at the top like a castle at chess (*ad modum calculi sive*

---

territory; he was nephew of Pope Innocent IV. He was appointed Archbishop by Gregory X at the time of the Council of Lyons in 1274. Honorius IV sent him as Nunzio to the Court of Philippe le Hardi, and afterwards to Philippe le Bel. On p. 120 of a very beautiful work, *L' Ultimo Rifugio di Dante*, Milan, 1891, Corrado Ricci records that Boniface held the Archbishopric for fully 20 years (1274-1294). That he was far more of a political agitator than a gentle pastor of souls is shown by the assistance he lent to the Ferrarese exiles against Obizzo d' Este, but no one except Dante records his gluttony. His wealth must have been enormous, and his purchases of castles and possessions, which he afterwards bestowed or sold to the clergy of Ravenna, were well-known. Corrado Ricci further explains the double meaning of the word *pasturò*, as ambiguously implying that Boniface used his pastoral staff, or in other words his episcopal or archi-episcopal office, to maintain a great host of attendants whom he enriched by his largesses. "Quando Dante scrive *Che pasturò col rocco molte genti*, dobbiamo interpretare che col pastorale, ossia nella sua posizione d' arcivescovo o di pastore mistico mantenne intorno a sè molte genti e visse lautamente e ben diversamente dai primi martiri e ben lontano da quella parsimonia e stato semplice ed austero imposto agli uomini che predicano sempre il sacrificio. Allora da quel verso emerge tutto un fine sarcasmo che aumenta il valore. Il verbo *pasturare* presenta in questo caso due tagli [*a double edge*] e con l' ambiguità determina epigramma fra il *pasturare* il gregge cristiano con la parola evangelica e la pietà, e il *pasturare* o sfamare [*fill the bellies of*] il gregge dei cortigiani che gli si addensavano intorno." Pietro di Dante writes: "Item de Archiepiscopo Bonifatio Ravennate . . . qui cum rocco, idest cum dignitate dicti Archiepiscopatus, super cujus pastoralis in summitate est forma unius rocchi, saepe convivatus est."

*rocchi*). This word has been the cause of much disagreement. Some have tried to make out that *rocco* means a belfry, others a rochet, but Scartazzini asks: "How can an Archbishop rule with a part of his dress?" Scartazzini adds: "It is derived, like *roque* in Spanish and Portuguese, and *roc*, Provençal and French (and *rook*, English), from the Persian *rokh*, and means neither more nor less than the castle in the game of chess. Now the ancient Commentators have told us, that the crozier of the Archbishop of Ravenna has on the top a piece shaped like a castle at chess. *Col rocco* therefore signifies 'with his crozier,' and all the other interpretations are but dreams."

The above is of course the right interpretation of *rocco*, and I have only used the term "pastoral staff" in the footnote by way of giving more effect to the play on the words which Corrado Ricci accentuates.

Dante passes from Ravenna to Forlì, where, says Benvenuto, there are stouter drinkers and better wines!

Vidi messer Marchese,\* ch' ebbe spazio  
Già di bere a Forlì con men secchezza,  
E sì † fu tal che non si senti sazio.

---

\* *messer Marchese*: Commentators seem to differ as to whether *Marchese* was the name or the title of this personage. I incline to the latter view, as Pietro di Dante writes: "Item de Domino Marchesio de Rigogliosis de Forlivo." Benvenuto's account of him states that he was of the family of the Argugliosi of Forlì, *et pater dominæ Laetæ, quæ fuit mater domini Bernardini de Polenta, qui fuit dominus Ravennatum*. He is said one day to have asked his secretary what was talked of him in the city. The secretary answered trembling: "My Lord, over the whole territory nothing else is said of you, than that you do nothing but drink;" to which the Marchese replied laughing: "And why do they not also say that it is because I am always thirsty?"

† *si* is here equivalent to *nondimeno*, "nevertheless."

I saw my Lord Marquess who of old had leisure for drinking at Forli with less thirst, and nevertheless he was one who never felt sated.

Benvenuto here inveighs with great severity against the vice of drunkenness. He says that the human race are the only animals who drink for drinking's sake, when they are not athirst; that the drunkenness never ceases in any part of the world, and what is worse, men devise incitements to thirst for drinking's sake; with the deplorable results that all Man's nobler qualities become vitiated.

*Division II.*—Dante relates how he felt a strong inclination to converse with Bonagiunta, whom Forese had pointed out to him (ll. 19, 20). He notices that not only is Bonagiunta paying particular attention to him, but he overhears him muttering the word *Gen-tucca*, and Bonagiunta, upon being appealed to by Dante for an explanation of this mysterious utterance, predicts to Dante that, before a long time shall have elapsed, he will have reason to feel some interest in Lucca.

Dante first compares himself to one who, on entering into an assembly, looks about him, and then selects what person to approach first.

Ma come fa chi guarda, e poi s' apprezza \*  
Più d' un che d' altro, fe' io a quel da Lucca, 35

\* *e poi s' apprezza*: This is the reading adopted by Dr. Moore in his new Oxford text. It is so read in the Foligno, in the Jesi, and in the Naples editions, as well as in the *Codice Cassinese*. Witte reads *si prezza*—Scartazzini reads *e poi fa prezza*, the reading in the Aldine, the La Crusca, and other texts. The Vatican MS. and the Mantua edition read *e non s' apprezza*. *Prezza* is merely another form of *prezzo* = esteem, appreciation, account.

Che più pareo di me voler contezza.\*  
 Ei mormorava, e non so che "Gentucca"  
 Sentiva io là ov' ei sentia la piaga  
 Della giustizia che sì li pilucca.†

But as he does, who looks about him, and then takes more count of one than of others, so did I to that (spirit) from Lucca, who seemed most to desire acquaintance with me. He was muttering, and I know not what (methought) I heard "Gentucca" from there where he was feeling the chastisement of the justice that so consumes them.

The word of course issued from his throat and mouth, where he was most feeling the pangs of hunger and thirst. Although Benvenuto interprets *là ove* as above, he thinks it might also refer to the vicinity of the tree and the sight of its fruit.

There has been a great deal of controversy about this word *Gentucca*, but the interpretation to be preferred is that which makes it to be a proper name, which is adopted by the large majority of the Commentators.

\* *voler contezza*: Witte states that this reading is found in the margin of the La Croce MS. in the Laurentian Library at Florence, and Dr. Moore adopts it. Witte himself and Scartazzini read *pareo di me aver contezza*, which reading occurs in the *Codice Cassinese*, and in the large majority of MSS. Daniello reads *aver*, and fancies that Bonagiunta would, more than the other spirits, have acquaintance with Dante. Compare *Purg.* xx, 28-30:—

"Queste parole m' eran sì piaciute  
 Ch' io mi trassi oltre per aver contezza  
 Di quello spirto."

† *pilucca*: *piluccare* is akin to the German *pflücken*, to pull grapes off a bunch one by one, whence it means to consume by slow degrees. Compare Fortiguerra, *Il Ricciardetto*, Canto xiii, st. 45:—

"Il core e il capo avea del tutto vuoto  
 Di quel visin che l' alma mi pilucca."

Buti says: "Dante formed an attachment to a gentle lady called Madonna Gentucca, of Rossimpelo, on account of her great virtue and modesty, and not from any other love." Fraticelli says it was "A lady of Lucca with whom Dante is supposed to have fallen in love, when in 1314 he went to stay with his friend Ugucione della Faggiuola." Benvenuto and the *Ottimo* interpret the passage differently, the former making *gentucca* a common noun, and meaning *gens obscura*, low people. The *Ottimo* understands Bonagiunta to have muttered, "non so che Gentucca (or *gentuccia*)" including "non so che" as part of his speech, and the *Ottimo* sees therein an allusion to the *Bianchi*, and "Femmina è nata, cioè la Parte Bianca."

Scartazzini explains it categorically. Dante heard Bonagiunta mutter something, and the only word he caught was *Gentucca*. He thereupon begs him to speak clearly so that he can understand him. Bonagiunta does so, telling him that a certain lady is already born who will make him find Lucca pleasant, though he had before uttered great abuse against it. The inference then is, that Bonagiunta's statement about the woman of Lucca is to explain what he had muttered, when Dante had only heard *Gentucca*. If so, *Gentucca* is the name of the woman. Some Commentators contend, however, that it never was a woman's name. But Troya (*Veltro di Dante*, p. 142) tells us that, at that time, there really was living at Lucca a lady called *Gentucca*, wife of Bernardo Morla degli Antelminelli Allucinghi. Carlo Minutoli (*Dante e il suo secolo*,\* p. 228) says that it is proved by in-

\* No student of this Canto should omit to read the article in question (*Gentucca e gli altri Lucchesi nominati nella Divina Com-*

contestable documents that, at the same time, there was living in Lucca another lady of gentle blood also called *Gentucca*, much younger than the other one, to whom she was related. This last *Gentucca* was the wife of Buonaccorso di Lazzaro di Fondora, sur-named after the fashion of those times *Coscio* or *Cosciorino*. Scartazzini then says: "Let it be sufficient for us to establish the following points: 1, *Gentucca* for *gentuccia*, *gente bassa*, is not to be found in the works of any writer. 2, It is proved by documents that, in the time of Dante, there were living in Lucca two women, not of low birth, of the name of *Gentucca*. 3, If *Gentucca* was a proper name among the people of Lucca, then the assertion of some Commentators, that the Lucchesi used the word *gentucca* to mean *gente bassa*, is most improbable. And therefore we may conclude that *Gentucca* is the name of a woman, who gained the affection of Dante when he was at Lucca in 1314." Scartazzini lays great stress on having purposely said *affection* and not *love*, for he is convinced that Dante's love for *Gentucca* was in no sense sinful, but a love that was platonic, pure, holy, and removed from even a thought that was not chaste and modest.

Dante now accosts Bonagiunta, and a conversation ensues between them, in which some have thought

---

*media*) in *Dante e il suo Secolo*, pp. 203-231. At the end of his article the writer says: "Ad ogni modo in Lucca ebbe requie la vita travagliata dell' esule. Lucca fra le belle donne ricordate da Giov. Villani contemporaneo, n' ebbe una degna sopra le altre d' attirare li sguardi di Dante. La quale con la pietà che è solo del cuor della donna quietò la tempesta di quell' anima bersagliata da crudeltà di fortuna, travolta nelle cieche ire di parte. E fu ispiratrice de' mirabili versi, onde il cantor de' tre regni rese eterno nei posterì il nome della lucchese *Gentucca*." [The passage referred to is in Villani, lib. ix, cap. 306, where special mention is made of *le belle donne di Lucca*.]



that Bonagiunta wished to administer a side thrust at Dante, who had asserted that every man in Lucca was a fraudulent trafficker in public office,\* but Scartazzini says that in the year 1300, in which Dante pretends that his interview with Bonagiunta took place, he could not have put into the mouth of the latter words referring to the twenty-first Canto of the *Inferno*, for no one believes that that Canto had then been written. Buti thinks it is simply a censure spoken generally of the evil habits and words of the Lucchesi.

Dante leaves one to suppose that Bonagiunta desired to speak with him to defend Lucca, his native place, from the bad repute in which Dante held it. Dante now says to him in so many words: "It may content thee to mutter through thy teeth, but I pray thee to content me also by speaking distinctly."

—"O anima," diss' io, "—che par sì vaga † 40  
 Di parlar meco, fa sì ch' io t' intenda,  
 E te e me col tuo parlare appaga."—  
 —"Femmina è nata, e non porta ancor benda,"—‡  
 Cominciò ei,—"che ti farà piacere  
 La mia città, come ch' uom la riprenda.§ 45

\* See *Inf.* xxi, 38:—

"Ecco un degli anzian di Santa Zita :  
 Mettetel sotto, ch' io torno per anche  
 A quella terra ch' i' n' ho ben fornita :  
 Ognun v' è barattier, fuor che Bonturo :  
 Del no, per li denar, vi si fa ita."

† *sì vaga Di parlar meco* : Compare *Par.* iii, 34, 35:—

"Ed io all' ombra, che pareva più vaga  
 Di ragionar, drizza' mi, e cominciai."

‡ *non porta ancor benda* : The *Gran Dizionario*, explaining this very passage, says: "Da quanto dicono gli spositori, al tempo dell' Allighieri, le maritate e le vedove portavano il capo bendato, non così le giovani da marito."

§ *riprenda* : On this Buti comments: "Questo dice: imperò che li Lucchesi sono ripresi (*censured*) di loro costumi e del loro

Tu te n' andrai con questo antivedere ;  
 Se nel mio mormorar prendesti errore,  
 Dichiareranti ancor\* le cose vere.

"O Spirit," said I, "that seemest so eager to talk with me, do so that I can hear thee, and by thy speech make each of us content." "A woman is born, and wears not yet the wimple (*i.e.* is unwedded)," he began, "who shall make my city please thee, however much men may blame it. Thou shalt go thy way with this presage (from me)—if by my muttering thou wast led into error, the certain facts will at some future day make it clear to thee—

Benvenuto notices that Bonagiunta having first mentioned Dante's future love, now speaks to him of his former love, for he knew that Dante had been wonderfully in love (*mirabiliter inamoratus*), and had composed noble love songs.

He asks Dante if the person he sees before him is really that Dante Alighieri who introduced a new style of poesy. In reply Dante lays down this fundamental principle of poetry, which requires that the style should be the close correspondence of the word to the thought. Bonagiunta admits that neither he himself, nor certain others of the early poets, had in the least understood or followed this principle, and laments the fact.

---

parlare," and Buti goes on to ridicule them for having earned the nickname in Tuscany of *Boiutoli*, from their mispronunciation of certain words, of which their contraction of *buonaiuto* into *boiuto* is a specimen, from which the *sobriquet* was derived. Buti, however, was a Pisan, and between Pisa and Lucca there was great antipathy. The pronunciation and Tuscan idiom in the Lucchese district and mountain region at the present day are among the choicest in Italy.

\* *ancor*: The adverb *ancora* has sometimes, as here, the meaning "in the future." See *Gran Dizionario*, s. v. *ancora*, 11. Compare Boccaccio, *Decam.* Giorn. x, Nov. ix: "Il Saladino . . . gli rispose dicendo: messere, egli potrà ancora avvenire che noi vi farem vedere di nostra mercatanzia."

Ma di' s' io veggio qui colui che fuore \*  
 Trasse le nuove rime, † cominciando: 50  
 Donne, ch' avete intelletto ‡ d' Amore.—  
 Ed io a lui:—"Io mi son un § che, quando

\* *fuore*: It is necessary to give the full force of this word, which implies that the true poet draws his inspiration from his innermost heart. I follow Longfellow in translating "evoked." Some however interpret it "trasse fuore in pubblico."

† *le nuove rime*: Dante was the first to write sonnets in which, instead of the conventional love of which other poets had sung, he elevated love as one of the most noble, pure, and lofty feelings of the soul. With *nuove rime* compare Horace, *Carm.* III, i, 2-4:

"Carmina non prius

Audita Musarum sacerdos

Virginibus puerisque canto."

‡ *intelletto d' Amore*: The line quoted here is the first verse of a Canzone in the *Vita Nuova*, § xix, Canz. i. Dante evidently considered this to be one of his best Canzoni, for he not only quotes it here, but again in his *De Vulg. Eloq.* lib. ii, cap. 12. Prof. A. D'Ancona, in his edition of the *Vita Nuova* (Pisa, 1884), p. 135, gives a good explanation of this difficult line: "Che intendete che cosa è Amore, adoperando la parola *intelletto* nel modo speciale alla lingua antica; O, come oggi più materialmente direbbesi, che avete *senso d' amore*." Prof. D'Ancona mentions the interesting fact that the great poet Giosuè Carducci [whose recent death the whole civilized world joins Italy in deploring], found this Canzone *Donne, ch' avete intelletto d' Amore* incompletely transcribed in a memorandum book of the Notary Pietro Allegranza of Bologna, of the year 1292, and wrote as follows: "La trascrizione del notaio bolognese non offre tali particolarità di lezione da essere poste a confronto cogli altri testi, ma . . . certo piace di avere una prova che la Canzone di Dante fosse così presto e bene conosciuta in Bologna, di dove venne al poeta fiorentino l' esempio di certi lirici ardimenti: di quello, per esempio, della seconda stanza, ove Dio e tutto l'empireo, sono messi in movimento e in rappresentanza quasi drammatica a maggiore onore della donna e dell' amor suo; come prima il Guinicelli avea fatto, quando della purità e necessità dell' amore si appellava, nell' ultima stanza della celebre Canzone *Al cor gentil*, con uno dei movimenti più lirici di tutta la poesia italiana, al giudizio di Dio dopo la morte." (Carducci, *Intorno ad alcune rime dei sec. xiii. e xiv.*, etc., Imola, Galeati, 1876, p. 18).

§ *Io mi son un*, et seq.: Cesari (*Bellezze*, vol. ii, p. 433) explains this well: "Amore è la scintilla, e 'l solo maestro della poesia. Ama forte checchè tu voglia: l' amore scuote l' ingegno, il riscalda, trova i migliori concetti, gli amplifica, aggrandisce et

Amor mi spira, noto, ed a quel modo  
 Che ditta dentro, vo significando."—\*  
 —"O frate, issa † veggio,"—disse,—"il nodo 55  
 Che il Notaro, ‡ e Guittone, § e me ritenne  
 Di qua dal dolce stil nuovo ch' i' odo.

adorna: ascolta lui, nota bene, e secondo che detta, secondo scrivi. Questo è il poeta. Chi lavora di solo ingegno senza quel fuoco, scrive languido, secco, stentato; e mostra l' arte, non la natura." Compare also the excellent disquisition upon this passage in Tommaséo's commentary in the digression at the end of the canto, where he says that in these few lines there is a whole treatise on poetic art.

\* *vo significando*: Compare Balaam's answer to Balak (*Numb.* xxii, 38): "And Balaam said unto Balak, Lo, I am come unto thee: have I now any power at all to say anything? the word that God putteth in my mouth that shall I speak." Also Chaucer, *Complaint of the Blacke Knight*, 194.

"But even like as doth a skrivenere,  
 That can no more tell what that he shall write,  
 But as his master beside dothe endite."

† *issa* stands for *adesso*, and is contracted from the Latin *in ipsa hora*. Compare *Inf.* xxiii, 7:—

"Che più non si pareggia mo ed issa."

And *Inf.* xxvii, 20-21:—

"Che parlavi mo Lombardo

Dicendo: *Issa ten va, più non t' adizzo.*"

‡ *il Notaro*: This is Jacopo da Lentino, known as *il Notajo*. He is said to have been a Sicilian poet. Although Dante seems here to censure his school, as antiquated, he did not the less give him the credit of being one of the most elegant poets of his time, and in *De Vulg. Eloq.* lib. i, ch. 12, quotes a sonnet by Jacopo beginning: "*Madonna dir vi voglio.*" He flourished about the year 1250. Nannucci (*Manuale*, vol. i, p. 106) says that Trissino and Bembo considered him one of the best rhymers of the early times; Lorenzo de' Medici pronounced him grave and sententious, but devoid of the smallest flower of grace. Nannucci thinks however that there are signs in his poetry of a transition into the *dolce stil nuovo*.

§ *Guittone*: Fra Guittone d' Arezzo was the first to bring the Italian sonnet into the perfect form that it has since preserved, and he left behind him the earliest specimens of Italian letter writing. He was born about 1250 of a noble family at Santa Firmina near Arezzo. He was generally known as Fra Guittone, as he was one of the religious military Order of Frati Gaudenti mentioned in *Inf.* xxiii. He was an accomplished

Io veggio ben come le vostre penne \*  
 Diretro al dittator sen vanno strette,  
 Che delle nostre certo non avvenne. 60  
 E qual più a guardar oltre † si mette,  
 Non vede più dall' uno all' altro stilo ;"—†  
 E quasi contentato si tacette.

linguist, being learned in Latin, Provençal, Spanish and French. From these languages he took many words which he introduced into his writings. He was even more renowned for his prose than for his poetical compositions. He died at Florence in 1294, an unjust verdict in a court of law having despoiled him of his property and driven him into voluntary exile.

\* *le vostre penne*: Bonagiunta means the pens of the more modern sonneteers, such as Dante, Guido Cavalcanti, Cino da Pistoja, and others, compared with whose style he felt that of himself and his contemporaries to be indeed cold.

† *più a guardar oltre*: Dr. Moore (*Textual Criticism*, pp. 413-416) observes that there is a very great amount of variations in the reading of this line. Passing over small changes in the order of the words, the principal point is to determine the verb to be selected. The following are all found: (1) *guardare* and (2) *riguardare* (see below); (3) *guatare*, only found in one of the Brera MSS., Milan; (4) *gradire* (see below); (5) *gridare*, only found in 8 out of 200 MSS. examined; (6) *gloriarre*, only found in Bodleian MS. "A." Dr. Moore distinctly prefers *guardare* or *riguardare*. "The former has much larger MS. support, and suits the rhythm of the line much better—if such an argument be admissible." The MS. authorities are too long to quote here. See Dr. Moore, *l. c.* p. 413. For the reading *a riguardar oltre*, there is the MS. authority of the Santa Croce, Berlin, Caetani, and Cassinese and other *Codices*, and the early editions of Foligno, Jesi, and Naples, of the Commentaries of Lana, Buti, Landino, Vellutello, Brunone Bianchi, and Witte. For the reading *a gradire* there is the MS. authority of the Vatican and Vienna *Codices*, the printed editions of Mantua, Aldine, Crusca, and others, and of the Commentators *Anonimo Fiorentino*, Daniello, Venturi, Lombardi, Costa, Camerini, and others. Benvenuto reads *a guardare*.

‡ *dall' uno all' altro stilo*: Biagioli explains this "dal naturale al ricercato." Some think it means "there is no comparison between the styles of the early and of the modern school of poetry." I prefer Scartazzini's explanation, namely, "there is no comparison between a conventional, imitated style, and a spontaneous style dictated by the heart."

But tell me if I see before me him who evoked those novel rhymes, beginning *Donne, ch' avete intelletto d' Amore* (*Ladies, who have intelligence of love*). And I to him: "I am one who, when love inspires me, take note, and in that fashion that he dictates within me I give utterance." "O Brother," said he, "now (*issa*) do I see the hindrance that held back the Notary, Guittone, and myself so short (*di qua*) of that sweet new style which I hear. I see how your pens follow closely after him who dictates (*i.e.* after Love); the which was certainly not the case with ours. And he who sets himself to look further cannot more effectively distinguish the one style from the other;" and then, as if content, he held his peace.

Bonagiunta means that the later style adopted by Dante, Guido Cavalcanti and the others, was so vastly superior. Or the passage may be translated according to Buti; "cannot see any further difference between thy mode of writing and ours than this, namely, that thou followest closely the inspiration of the mind, and we take a much wider range."

Benvenuto thinks that Bonagiunta looked thus pleased with himself, because he had so well explained the true state of the case.

Dante, having ended his conversation with Bonagiunta, describes the departure of the band of spirits by a beautiful simile.

Come gli augei \* che vernan lungo il Nilo  
 Alcuna volta in aer fanno schiera, 65  
 Poi volan più in fretta e vanno in filo;

\* *Come gli augei*: The birds here referred to are cranes, who are described by Dante in two other passages, viz. *Purg.* xxvi, 43-48; and *Inf.* v, 46-49. Compare also Lucan, *Phars.* v, 711-713:—

"Strymona sic gelidum, bruma pellente, relinquunt  
 Poturae te, Nile, grues, primoque volatu  
 Effingunt varias, casu monstrante, figuras."

Così tutta la gente che li era,  
 Volgendo il viso, raffrettò suo passo,  
 E per magrezza e per voler leggiera.\*

Even as the birds that winter along the Nile will at one time form themselves into a flock, then will fly more in haste and go in file; so did all the multitude that were there, turning their faces round, hurry on their steps, made light both by leanness and by (their own) good will.

*Division III.*—The conversation with Forese is now resumed, which Dante's interview with Bonagiunta had interrupted. Forese, who had been running at speed for a long time before he met Dante, is tired, and does not go on with the other shades. Benvenuto thinks he may have been out of breath with much talking. Forese, walking at a slower pace, asks his old friend if they are ever to meet again. Dante replies that the sooner the time comes for him to die and pass into Purgatory the better he will be pleased, foreseeing, as he does, the terrible calamities that are hanging over Florence. Possibly, too, he means that his desire to quit the world of vexation and sorrow is even in advance of the mandate of God for his departure.†

E come l' uom che di trottare † è lasso

70

\* *E per magrezza e per voler leggiera*: Luigi Venturi (*Similitudini Dantesche*, p. 263, sim. 435) points out that the multitude of spirits were "agile per la magrezza, onde son puniti i golosi, e per il desiderio che hanno di purgarsi dalla colpa."

† "And I said, Oh that I had wings like a dove! for then would I fly away and be at rest." (*Psalm* lv, 6.)

‡ *trottare*: Cesari (*Bellezze*, vol. ii, p. 435) says that *trottare* is used equally for a man, on foot or on horseback, as for the motion of animals. Compare Boccaccio (*Decam.* Giorn. ii. Nov. ii: "Rinaldo rimaso in camiscia e scalzo, essendo il freddo grande, e nevicando tuttavia forte . . . sospinto dalla freddura, trotando si dirizzò verso Castel Guglielmo," etc.

Lascia andar li compagni, e sì passeggia \*  
 Fin che si sfoghi l' affollar del casso ; †  
 Sì lasciò trapassar la santa greggia  
 Forese, e retro meco sen veniva,  
 Dicendo :—" Quando fia ch' io ti riveggia ?"— 75  
 —" Non so,"—rispos' io lui,—" quant' io mi viva ; ‡  
 Ma già non fia 'l tornar § mio tanto tosto,

\* *e sì passeggia* : It is curious how many Commentators and Translators read *si passeggia*. This would not only involve a reflective verb *passeggiarsi* which does not exist, but would also deprive the sentence of the force of *sì = così*. Scartazzini points this out, and Andreoli comments : "*e sì passeggia*, e così lasciati andare *passeggia*. Il Bianchi, col Biagioli ed altri, legge *si passeggia* : ma bene avverte il Betti che *passeggiarsi è maniera stranissima e senza esempio in tutte le buone scritture*."

† *l' affollar del casso* : *affollare* is derived from the Latin *folles* a pair of bellows ; and the verb refers to the act of drawing in, and expelling the air from the lungs. *Casso* comes from the Latin *capsus* a receptacle, and here has the sense of the chest, *thorax*. See in Scartazzini's later Commentary (Milan, 1893) an interesting quotation from Caverni (*Voci e Modi nella Div. Com. dell' uso popolare toscano*, Florence, 1877), in which the author shows that recent discoveries in Physiology have determined the precise similarity between the mechanism of respiration in an animal, and the mechanism of a pair of bellows.

‡ *quant' io mi viva* : Compare this with Virgil's statement to Antæus about the probable duration of Dante's life, *Inf.* xxxi, 127-129 :—

" Ancor ti può nel mondo render fama ;  
 Ch' ei vive, e lunga vita ancor aspetta,  
 Se innanzi tempo grazia a sè nol chiama."

§ *Ma già non fia 'l tornar*, etc. : Cesari paraphrases this : " Al desiderio mio, sarà sempre tardi il mio venir qua, per quantunque egli sia tosto." He goes on to say that were a poet of modern times to show so much true faith, and love of a future life, he would be laughed at for being full of hypocritical cant. Nevertheless the authority of a Dante, if all other arguments were wanting, might well put to the blush our petty would-be sages (*saputelli*) and drawing-room poets (*poetini delle dame*), who on their side would perchance blush if they had to say " Thy Kingdom come." Compare Dante's words to Casella, *Purg.* ii, 91, 92 :—

" Casella mio, per tornare altra volta  
 Là dove son, fo io questo viaggio."

And *Vita Nuova*, § xxxii, canz. iii, st. 4 :—



Ch' io non sia col voler prima alla riva.  
 Perocchè il loco, u' fui a viver posto,  
 Di giorno in giorno più di ben si spolpa,\* 80  
 Ed a trista ruina par disposto."—

And as a man who is spent with running allows his companions to pass onward, and thereby walks at leisure, until the panting of his chest is allayed; so did Forese allow that holy throng to pass on, and came behind with me, saying: "When will it be that I shall see thee again?" "I know not," I answered him, "how long I may live; but still my return will not be so speedy but what I shall with my heart reach the shore (of Purgatory) still sooner. Because the place where I was set to live (*i.e.* Florence) becomes day by day more denuded of good, and seems predestined to dismal ruin."

By way of consoling Dante, Forese now tells him that the swift retribution of God will soon fall on him who is the chief cause of this evil at Florence, meaning his own brother Corso de' Donati. Benvenuto says that it must be understood that Corso, a soldier tried in arms, in skill and in bravery, had been restored to power in Florence, as chief of the *Neri*, by Charles de

---

"Dannomi angoscia li sospiri forte,  
 Quando il pensiero nella mente grave  
 Mi reca quella che m' ha il cor diviso:  
 E spesse fiate pensando alla morte,  
 Me ne viene un desio tanto soave,  
 Che mi tramuta lo color nel viso."

\* *si spolpa*: Buti "*Spolpare* è levar la polpa, e però si piglia qui *spolpare* per privare." *Polpa* "flesh" is used by Dante several times in connection with *ossa* "bones." Cf. *Purg.* xxxii, 123:—

"Quanto sofferson l' ossa senza polpe."  
 And *Inf.* xxvii, 73, 74:—  
 "Mentre ch' io forma fui d' ossa e di polpe,  
 Che la madre mi diè," etc.

And *Canzoniere*, canz. xx, st. 5:—  
 "Ma questo fuoco m' have  
 Già consumato sì l' ossa e la polpa," etc.

Valois (*Sans Terre, Carolus sine terra*). He had annihilated the *Bianchi* at a time when they were at the zenith of their power and prosperity. His arrogance, however, and the state he kept, made him an object of suspicion to his colleagues in the Signoria, and he fell into bad odour even among his own adherents, partly because they felt that he seemed more their lord than their comrade. Benvenuto is here guilty of a slight inconsistency, leaving it doubtful whether Corso was father-in-law, or son-in-law of Ugucione della Faggiuola. First he says of Corso "*sed precipue odiosus populo, quia factus fuerat socer Ugucionis de Fagiola domini Pisarum potentissimi hostis florentinorum.*" Lower down, speaking of Corso's despair at the expected reinforcements from Ugucione not arriving, he says: "*tandem destitutus sperato auxilio soceri, deseruit domos, etc.*" Benvenuto goes on to say that, being captured and on his way back to Florence, he tried to escape by setting spurs to his horse, but that either by accident or design he let himself fall from the saddle, and was dragged a long way, till at last a soldier struck him on the head and killed him.

Giovanni Villani (lib. viii, c. 96) tells the story somewhat differently from the account given by Dante. He says that, "being accused of treason, in less than an hour, without giving a longer time for the trial Messer Corso was condemned as a rebel and traitor to the commonwealth. The *priori* carrying the standard of justice, together with the Podestà, the captain and the executioner, . . . went at once to the houses inhabited by Messer Corso to carry out the execution." Corso defended himself gallantly, confiding in succour from Ugucione della Faggiuola, "and the battle

lasted most of the day, and was so fierce that, notwithstanding all the power of the people, if the reinforcements expected from Ugucione and other friends in the district had arrived in time, the people of Florence would have had enough to do that day." But the succours did not arrive, and Corso was obliged to take to flight. "Messer Corso, departing quite alone, was overtaken and captured, near Rovezzano, by certain Catalonian troopers, and as they led him to Florence, when they drew near to San Salvi . . . Messer Corso, for fear of falling into the hands of his enemies, and being put to death by the people, suffering terribly as he was from gout in his hands and feet, let himself fall from his horse. The Catalonians seeing him on the ground, one of them thrust his lance through his throat, wounding him mortally and left him for dead : the monks of the said monastery carried him into the Abbey, and some say that before dying he gave himself up to them in penitence, while others maintain that they found him dead, and the next day he was buried at San Salvi, with little honour and small attendance, as people were afraid of getting into bad odour with the authorities."

Scartazzini says that it is impossible to deny credence to the account of Villani, who, on the 15th September, when this occurred, was actually in Florence, and was to a certain extent an eye-witness of these events. Dante, on the other hand, was far away in exile, one does not know for certain where, and would receive the intelligence at second or third hand. Scartazzini, somewhat fancifully, imagines that the account of the simple fall of Corso from his horse, as related by Villani, may have been magnified little by

little into his having been dragged by the stirrup, and that Dante must have written, though in perfect good faith, yet from erroneous information.

Foresè's prophetic utterance reveals to Dante the violent death of Corso, whose soul, he tells Dante, will have to go straight to Hell, whence there is no redemption. He professes to see the horse dragging him to the Valley of the Shadow of Death.

—“Or va,”—diss' ei,—“chè quei che più n' ha colpa \*  
 Vegg' io a coda d' una bestia tratto  
 In vèr la valle, † ove mai non si scolpa.  
 La bestia ad ogni passo va più ratto, 85  
 Crescendo sempre fin ch' ella il percuote,  
 E lascia il corpo vilmente disfatto. ‡  
 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. 90

\* *quei che più n' ha colpa*: Benvenuto gives the following double interpretation: “Vegg' io quel che più n' ha colpa, scilicet, fratrem meum, tratto a coda d' una bestia, scilicet ab equo, deinde a dæmone, invèr la valle, primo Arnalem (i.e. of the Arno), deinde infernalem.” Buti says that *bestia* must be understood in a double sense, literal and allegorical, *bestia* meaning the devil; but Scartazzini takes *bestia* in the literal sense as the horse.

† *In vèr la valle*: This is the Valley of the Shadow of Death, or Hell. See *Inf.* iv, 7-8:—

“in su la proda mi trovai

Della valle d' abisso dolorosa.”

And *Par.* xvii, 137:—

“Nel monte, e nella valle dolorosa.”

And *Par.* xx, 106, 107:—

“u' non si riede

Giammai a buon voler.”

‡ *disfatto*: Compare *Inf.* vi, 40-42, where Ciaccio says:—

“O tu, che se' per questo inferno tratto,

. . . riconoscimi, se sai:

Tu fosti, prima ch' io disfatto, fatto.”

§ *quelle rote*: Compare *Purg.* xxx, 109-111:—

“Non pur per opra delle rote magne,  
 Che drizzan ciascun seme ad alcun fine,  
 Secondo che le stelle son compagne.”

"Now go," said he, "for I can see him who is most to blame for it all, dragged at the tail of a beast towards that valley, where nevermore can sins be forgiven. The animal at every bound goes faster, increasing his speed until it smites him, and leaves his corpse hideously disfigured. Yon spheres have not much to revolve—and he raised his eyes to heaven—before that will be quite clear to thee which my speech may not further explain.

Forese means that many years will not elapse from 1300, the date of their supposed interview, and 1308, when Corso did actually die. He then explains that he can no longer accommodate his pace to that of Dante, but must resume his penance of rapid running, which the conversation has interrupted.

Tu ti rimani omai, chè il tempo è caro\*  
 In questo regno sì, ch' io perdo troppo  
 Venendo teco sì a paro a paro." †—

Now do thou stay behind, for the time is so precious  
 in this realm that I lose too much in thus going side  
 by side with thee."

Forese's departure is described by a simile, which Venturi (*Similitudini Dantesche*, pp. 209, 210) says is particularly well chosen, and adapted to those times, in which the use of arms was a natural means of defence, although unfortunately but too often a provocative of civil discords.

---

\* *il tempo è caro*: See Buti on this: "Nessuna cosa è più cara che 'l tempo a quelli che sono in purgatorio, o in stato di penitenza: imperò che quanto più tosto si compie la penitenza, tanto più tosto si va a godere."

† *a paro a paro*: Compare Petrarch, *Trionf. Amor.* cap. iii. terz. 9:—

"Una giovane greca a paro a paro  
 Coi nobili poeti già cantando."

Qual esce \* alcuna volta di galoppo  
 Lo cavalier di schiera che cavalchi, 95  
 E va per farsi onor del primo intoppo, †  
 Tal si parti da noi con maggior valchi ; ‡  
 Ed io rimasi in via con esso i due, §  
 Che fur del mondo sì gran maliscalchi. ||

As sometimes a knight issues forth at a gallop from a troop of horsemen, and goes forward to win honour in the first encounter, so did he (Forese) depart from

\* *Qual esce* : Compare Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* xv. st. 28 :—

“Veggio ch’ entrare innanzi si prepara  
 Quel terzo agli altri a guadagnar l’ alloro ;  
 Come buon corridor ch’ ultimo lassa  
 Le mosse, e giunge, e innanzi a tutti passa.”

† *primo intoppo* : Tommaséo suggests that Dante may have had in his mind the battle of Campaldino, where he fought as a young man in 1289.

‡ *con maggior valchi* : *Valco* or *vaco* is derived from *varcare*, *varicare*, *valcare*, *valicare*. Akin to the English “walk” and the German “wallen.” *Valcare* means “to surmount an obstacle.” Compare Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* xv. st. 40 :—

“Che tanto leggiermente e corre e valca  
 Che nell’ arena l’ orma non n’ appare.”

§ *con esso i due* : Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) says sometimes this pronoun (*esso*) seems to have no other duty than that of giving greater precision to the image, and then it is always placed between the preposition and the substantive without taking the gender or number of the latter. Cf. *Purg.* iv, 27 : “Con esso i piè.”

|| *gran maliscalchi* here means Great Masters, first in the matter of knowledge. *Maliscalco* means the governor of a province, or commander of an army. Blanc explains the word as *magister equorum*, from *mähre* a mare and *schalk* a servant. In Danish and Norwegian too we find *maer* a mare, and *skalk* a rogue. The word is used by Boccaccio, *Decam.* Giorn. ii, Nov. 8 : “Perotto, il quale in Gales col maliscalco del re d’ Inghilterra era rimasto, similmente crescendo venne in grazia del signor suo.” And Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* xvii, st. 97 :—

“Gran diodarro e maliscalco regio.”

Buti comments on the passage in the text : “Cioè sì grandi governatori del mondo. . . . Mariscalco è governatore ne le corte, e de l’ esercito sotto lo ’mperadore, e de’ essere persona esperta delle cose da fare ; come seppeno quelli due poeti quello che si convenia fare nel mondo a vivere moralmente e civilmente.”

us with longer strides (than ours); and I was left in the path with only those two (Virgil and Statius), who were such mighty marshals of the world.

Benvenuto thinks that Dante has been very happy in the dignity he has given to these great Poets in styling them the world's marshals; since Virgil was unsurpassed in his description of the natural history of horses, and the wars of men; and Statius in writing the wars of the Greeks; and both were deeply versed in the habits of men generally, the changing fortunes of kingdoms, and the geographical positions of the places they described.

*Division IV.*—Dante encounters a second tree, beneath whose overspreading branches the Gluttonous have to suffer even more acute pangs of hunger and thirst. Forese had quitted the three Poets, leaving Dante in deep thought as he ponders over Forese's recent words, and the events they predict. It must be remembered that the Poets are walking in a circle round the Cornice; so that, as they round the base of the cliff, they find the new tree quite close to them.

E quando innanzi a noi entrato fue,\* 100  
 Che gli occhi miei si fêro a lui seguaci,  
 Come la mente alle parole sue,  
 Parverm' i rami gravidi e vivaci  
 D' un altro pomo, e non molto lontani,

---

\* *innanzi* . . . *entrato fue*: *Entrave innanzi* is the same as *passar oltre*, and is used in that sense by Boccaccio, *Decam.* Giorn. v, Nov. 7: "Ma Pietro, che giovane era, e la fanciulla similmente avanzavano nello andare la madre di lei e l' altre compagne assai, forse non meno da amor sospinti, che da paura di tempo: ed essendo già tanto entrati innanzi (*i.e. passed on so far in front of*) alla donna e agli altri, che appena si vedevano," etc.

Per esser \* pure allora vólto in làci.†

105

And when he had passed so far on in front of us, that my eyes had to go in pursuit of him, as did my mind of his words, there appeared to me the laden and luxuriant boughs of another fruit tree, and not very far off, because I had only just then turned (the corner) right upon it.

Benvenuto says that the shades of the Gluttonous are punished between these two trees, but this second one seems to give more torment than the first. This may perhaps have been that the first tree tormented them as to the quantity, and the second as to the quality of the food and the water that tempted their appetites (*forte quia prima punit in quanto, secunda in quali*); or else, because the one punished the eaters, and the other the drinkers, who, being the greatest sinners, have the greater torment, as will now be seen.

The suffering spirits under the tree are compared to children begging for fruit to be given them, which some friendly hand exhibits and laughingly withholds. The Poets would approach the tree, but a mysterious voice within the branches warns them away.

Vidi gente sott' esso alzar le mani,  
E gridar, non so che, verso le fronde,

---

\* *Per esser*, et seq. : Lombardi tries to show that there were several trees, encountered from time to time by the penitents in the very middle of the path, but Scartazzini very justly points out that *only two* trees are mentioned, and the Poets meet with the first as they enter into the Cornice and the second as they are about to depart from it.

† *làci* : An antiquated form of *là*, like *lici* for *lì*, *Inf.* xiv, 84 ; *Purg.* vii, 66 ; and *quici* for *qui*, *Purg.* vii, 64. We find *laci* used in the Italian Bible, see 2 *Kings* vi, 14 : "Therefore sent he thither *laci* horses, and chariots, and a great host."



Quasi bramosi fantolini \* e vani, †  
 Che pregano, e il pregato non risponde;  
 Ma per fare esser ben la voglia acuta, 110  
 Tien alto lor disio e nol nasconde.  
 Poi si parti sì come ricreduta; ‡  
 E noi venimmo al grande arbore adesso, §  
 Che tanti preghi e lagrime rifiuta.  
 —“Trapassate oltre || senza farvi presso; 115

\* *fantolini*: Compare *Purg.* xxx, 43, 44:—

“Volsimi alla sinistra col rispetto

Col quale il fantolin corre alla mamma.”

And *Par.* xxx, 82, 83:—

“Non è fantin che sì subito rua

Col volto verso il latte.”

† *vani*: On this Cesari comments: “*vani*: comprende gran sentimento questa parola, come a dire, che invano levan le braccia, e piangono a qualcheduno, che mostra loro cosa da essi desiderata; ovvero *delusi* (disappointed) o *vaneggianti*, il che torna al medesimo.”

‡ *ricreduta*: “*Ricredere* ripete *credere*,” and means: “Credere diversamente di prima, da un’ opinione che ora repudiamo”. (*Dizionario* Petrocchi).

§ *adesso*: “Immediately, straightway,” from the Latin *ad ipsum*, scilicet *tempus*. Scartazzini remarks that some, being ignorant of the true force of this word among old writers, altered it into *ad esso*. But *Rosa Morando* (*Div. Com.*, Venez. 1757, vol. iii, Append. p. 34), shows this to be a false reading, and remarks that, were it to be adopted, the word *esso* would be used twice as a rhyme, and adds that the same words cannot be repeated in rhyme when bearing the same sense, except in cases like that in *Purg.* xx, 65, where the repetition, three times over, of the sentence *per ammenda* gives much greater force and fiery eloquence to the irony. The *Gran Dizionario* says there are several instances in the early writers of *adesso* in the sense of *incontante*, i.e. immediately. Dante da Majano so uses it. See *Poeti del Primo Secolo della Lingua Italiana*, Florence, 1816, vol. ii, p. 476:—

“Poi quel pensiero obblïo, e pauroso

Divegno adesso, e taccio ’l meo volere.”

And again at p. 483, the same poet writes:—

“Che ogn’ altra gioja adesso n’ obblïai.”

Nannucci says that *adesso*, which he spells *adesso*, in this passage of Dante da Majano is: “Subito; provenzale *ades* nel senso stesso.” (*Nannucci, Manuale Lett. Lingua Ital.* vol. i, p. 314, footnote.)

|| *Trapassate oltre*: Scartazzini points out that, out of each of the two trees, a voice is heard inculcating temperance. The two

Legno è più su che fu morso da Eva,\*  
 E questa pianta si levò da esso."—  
 Sì tra le frasche non so chi diceva;  
 Per che Virgilio e Stazio ed io ristretti,  
 Oltre andavam dal lato che si leva.†

120

Beneath it I saw people lifting up their hands, and crying I know not what towards the branches, just as little children who pray eagerly and in vain, and he to whom they pray answers not; but to make their longing very keen, holds on high (the object of)

different utterances are in perfect consonance with one another, and this last one may remind us of God's precept to Adam (*Gen.* ii, 17): "But of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it."

\* *Legno . . . più su . . . morso da Eva*: It was in the original Terrestrial Paradise that the first law of abstinence was placed, and it was broken. These examples are uttered here as checks upon gluttony; of which the first example is that of Eve, who, from the desire of eating an apple, brought death upon the human race. The first tree announced the example of the temperance of Mary (*Purg.* xxii, 142); this second tree cites the intemperance of Eve. Compare *Purg.* xxix, 23-27:—

"onde 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."

Perez (1 *Sette Cerchi*, p. 226) after mentioning that the Fathers of the Church have ever contrasted Mary with Eve in various ways, and pointing out that, while the first of these trees announced the temperance of Mary, this last records the gluttony of Eve, goes on to say: "Due mense son poste innanzi all'immaginazione e al pensiero dei penitenti: l'una in Eden, tra l'erbe e i fiori che poco stante doveano cangiarsi in triboli e spine; l'altra in Cana, fra l'idrie dell'acqua infeconda ch'era per tramutarsi nel vino vivifico. Vedesi Eva e Adamo all'una, Maria e Gesù all'altra: là Eva, che dall'albero vietato, trae e versa ne' petti umani il succo onde s'avvelena ogni bell'affetto; qui Maria, che da Colui il quale ha detto, *Io sono la vite*, trae il vino, che restaura e santifica l'amore: là cominciata l'ora della caduta, qui accelerata l'ora del risorgimento al genere umano."

† *si leva*: Compare *Par.* xxvi, 139, 140:—

"Nel monte che si leva più dall'onda,  
 Fu' io."

their desire, and conceals it not. Then they departed as though disappointed; and we straightway came up to the mighty tree, which sets at naught so many prayers and tears. "Pass ye on farther, without drawing near; the tree that was eaten of by Eve is higher up (*i.e.* in the Terrestrial Paradise), and this plant was reared from it." Thus spoke, I know not who, among the branches; whereupon Virgil and Statius and I, drawing close together, went on further along the cliff-side that rises abrupt.

The three Poets passed to the left of the tree, on that side of the way where was the perpendicular side of the mountain. The voice continues to tell of further instances of Gluttony, first giving an example of the evil effects of immoderate drinking, then introducing a story from Jewish History of the men who drank immoderately of water, as a lesson that moderation is to be practised even in those things that are not of themselves hurtful.

This concludes the description of the punishment of the Gluttonous.

—"Ricordivi,"—dicea—"dei maledetti \*  
 Nei nuvoli formati, che satolli  
 Teseo combattèr coi doppi petti;  
 E degli Ebrei ch' al ber si mostrâr molli,

---

\* *dei maledetti Nei nuvoli formati*: The Centaurs are said to have been the progeny of Ixion and the cloud Nephelè, to whom Jupiter had given the appearance of Juno, beloved by Ixion. They were half men and half horses, for which reason Dante speaks of their double breasts. Being invited by their neighbours, the Lapithæ, to the nuptials of Pirithous and Hippodamia, and becoming drunk, they attempted to carry off the bride, and the other women. They were opposed by Theseus and the Lapithæ, who defeated them and slew a great number of them. The battle is described by Ovid (*Met.* xii, 210-535); Virg. *Georg.* ii, 455 *et seq.*; Hor. *Carm.* i, xviii, 7.

Per che non gli ebbe Gedeon \* compagni, 125  
 Quando ver Madiàn discese i colli.—  
 Sì, accostati all' un de' due vivagni,†  
 Passammo, udendo colpe della gola,  
 Seguite già da miseri guadagni.

“Bethink you,” said (the voice), “of those accursed cloud-begotten beings (the Centaurs), who, when overgorged, fought against Theseus with their double breasts. And (bethink you) of those Hebrews who showed themselves over-indulgent in drinking, for which reason Gideon had them not for companions, when he went down the hills towards Midian.” Thus closely skirting one of the two margins (the inner one), we passed on, hearing of the faults of Gluttony, (which were) followed erewhile by woeful guerdons (*i.e.* fearful retribution).

Benvenuto remarks how many there are who will commit thefts and robberies to indulge their appe-

---

\* *non gli ebbe Gedeon*: Others read *no' i volle Gedeon*, but this reading is rejected by all the best Commentators. Dr. Moore reads *Per che non v' ebbe*. This is the reading of the first four Editions, and others, but I feel myself unable to follow it, because I see no way of translating it but “wherefore Gideon had no companions in that place,” which, as is pointed out by Scartazzini, makes Dante say what is not in accordance with the Biblical account. See *Judges vii*, 5, 6: “So he brought the people down unto the water: and the Lord said unto Gideon, Every one that lappeth water with his tongue, as a dog lappeth, him shalt thou set by himself; likewise every one that boweth down upon his knees to drink. And the number of them that lapped, putting their hand to their mouth, were three hundred men: but all the rest of the people bowed down upon their knees to drink water.”

† *vivagni*: Compare *Inf.* xiv, 121-123, where *vivagno* is used, as here, to signify the margin on which the Poets are walking:—

“Se il presente rigagno  
 Si deriva così dal nostro mondo,  
 Perchè ci appar pure a questo vivagno?”

And again in *Inf.* xxiii, 49, in the same way. In *Par.* ix, 133-135, *vivagni* signifies the margins of the books of the laws:—

“Per questo l' Evangelio e i Dottor magni  
 Son derelitti, e solo ai Decretali  
 Si studia sì che pare ai lor vivagni.”

tites, yea, will change their friendships like a dog who will change his name for a crust of bread.

*Division V.*—In this concluding portion of the Canto, Dante relates how an Angel purified him from the sin of Gluttony.

The three Poets are walking on side by side, but apart from each other, meditating in silence.

Poi rallargati \* per la strada sola, 130  
Ben mille passi e più ci portaro † oltre,  
Contemplando ciascun senza parola.

Then spreading out along the lonely road, a good thousand paces and more had carried us forward, each in contemplation, without a word.

\* *rallargati*: Cesari explains this: "Erano venuti fra la costa e l' albero ristretti insieme: passato l' albero, si spartirono al largo della via sola, cioè *disoccupata*." Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) says of this word, that it is only used as a participle in this one passage in the *Divina Commedia*, and it means: "One who finds himself at large on a road not restrained by any obstacle." Benvenuto explains the full force of the word by showing that, before, they had been obliged to walk close along the edge of the cliff, but, now that they had left the tree behind them, they could again walk freely in the middle of the Cornice. Fraticelli says that *rallargati* means that Dante, Virgil and Statius were no longer *ristretti insieme*, but were walking apart from each other.

† *ci portaro*: Some read *ci portammo*, but although *portarsi* for *andare* may have been used in more recent times, it was certainly not in use (says Scartazzini) among the writers of the *trecento*. In favour of *ci portaro*, compare Virg. *Bucol. Ecl. ix, 1*:—

"Quo te, Moeri, pedes? an, quo via ducit in urbem?"

And Horace, *Carm. III, xi, 49*:—

"I, pedes quo te rapiunt et auræ  
Dum favet nox et Venus."

We have the same use by Dante in *Purg. xxviii, 22*:—

"Già m' avean trasportato i lenti passi  
Dentro alla selva antica."

Scartazzini says, moreover, that all the early *Codices* read *ci portaro*.

Benvenuto thinks that their meditations were to prepare their minds for the profound subject they were about to discuss in Canto xxv, so that, to elucidate it, the three worked together, Virgil representing the natural, Statius the moral, and Dante the divine intelligence. Benvenuto adds: "In the whole *Commedia* you will find but few Cantos more difficult to understand (than Canto xxv)."

Their contemplations are interrupted by a new voice. Dante looks up and sees that it is an Angel who has addressed them. They have now come to the end of the Sixth Cornice, and this is the Angel of Abstinence pointing out to them the stairway leading to the Seventh. Dante is so dazzled by the radiance of the Angel, that his eyes refuse their office, and he is obliged to have recourse to his guides.

— "Che andate pensando sì voi \* sol tre ?"—  
 Subita voce disse ; ond' io mi scossi,  
 Come fan bestie spaventate e poltre.†

135

\* *voi sol tre* : We have seen a similar kind of rhyming by Dante in *Purg.* xx, 4-6, where *per li* is made to rhyme with *merli* ; and *Inf.* vii, 28-30, where *pur li* rhymes with *burli*. The smallness of the group formed by the three Poets attracts the attention of the Angel, as the penitents apparently were in the habit of going round the Cornice in large bands.

† *poltre* : Benvenuto takes *poltre* to be for *poledre* (*idest, pulla*) and translates "like foals," adding that the comparison is exceedingly appropriate, for it is as though Dante would avow himself to be young and inexperienced, whereas his companions were men of years (*antiqui*) and of vast experience. It should be noticed that *poltro* is the original form of the modified term now in use *poltrone*, lazy, sleepy, torpid, and the passage would imply that animals are suddenly startled, *mentre poltriscono*, while in a torpid state. Compare the following two passages from Ariosto. In the first (*Orl. Fur.* xxiii, st. 90), he takes *poltra* in the sense of *polledra*.

"La bestia ch' era spaventosa e poltra."

In the second (*Sat.* iv, ad Annibale Maleguccio, v. 49, etc.) he gives the sense of *poltrone*.

"E più mi piace di posar le poltre  
 Membra, che di vantarle. . . ."



who said: "If it be your pleasure to mount upward, it is here that ye must turn aside; this is the way for those who would go in quest of peace." His aspect had bereft me of my sight: wherefore I got round into the wake of my Teachers, like one who goes according as he hears (*i.e.* like a blind man who guides himself by sound).

Dante now describes his purification by the Angel.

E quale, annunziatrice degli albori,\* 145  
 L' aura † di maggio movesi ed olezza :  
 Tutta impregnata dall' erba e dai fiori ;  
 Tal mi sentii un vento dar per mezza  
 La fronte, e ben senti' mover la piuma,  
 Che fe' sentir d' ambrosia ‡ l' orezza. 150  
 E senti' dir :—" Beati cui alluma  
 Tanto di grazia, che l' amor del gusto  
 Nel petto lor troppo disir non fuma,  
 Esuriendo § sempre quanto è giusto."—

And as the breeze of May, a herald of the dawn,  
 moves and breathes forth fragrance: all impregnate

\* *annunziatrice degli albori*: This reminds one of Dante's awaking at the approach of dawn, after passing his last night in Virgil's company on the stairway leading from the Seventh Cornice to the Terrestrial Paradise. See *Purg.* xxvii, 109-113. The *Anonimo Fiorentino* interprets the passage we are discussing as follows: "Vuol dire che, innanzi che si lievi l' alba, comincia a trarre uno venticello, che si chiama aura, et questa aura, cioè questo venticello, che si lieva da' fiori et dall' erbe odorifere, rende odore et soavità."

† *aura*: Compare Tasso, *Ger. Liber.* iii, st. 1:—

"Già l' aura messagera erasi desta  
 A nunziar che se ne vien l' aurora."

‡ *ambrosia*: Dante's notions of ambrosia were derived from Virgil. See *Georg.* iv, 415:—

"Hæc ait et liquidum ambrosiæ diffundit odorem."

And *Æn.* i, 403:—

"Ambrosiæque comæ divinum vertice odorem  
 Spiravere."

§ *Esuriendo*: Compare Tasso, *Ger. Liber.* vii, st. 4:—

"Cibo non prende già; chè de' suoi mali  
 Solo si pasce, e sol di pianto ha sete."



with the herbage and the flowers; so did I feel a wind on the middle of my forehead, and I distinctly felt the movement of the pinions that made me perceive the odour of ambrosia. And I heard (the Angel) say: "Blessed are they whom so large a measure of grace doth illumine that the love of taste doth not excite (*lit.* cause to smoke) in their breast too great a desire, hungering at all times (only) so far as is just."

On the above passage Perez (*I Sette Cerchi*, p. 237) says that in the description of the Angel that presides over the fasting of the spirits who proceed in prayer round and round this Cornice, he is much struck with the similes of the glowing furnace and of the sweet and fresh breezes of May. The two similes might, at first sight, appear to be at discord with one another, but when one thinks them over more closely, one's thoughts recur to that Angel who watched over the fasts of the young Hebrew captives in Babylon, and made their innocent countenances appear fairer and fatter in flesh than all their companions who ate sumptuously of the king's meat—an Angel of such beneficence and power, that when they were cast into the burning fiery furnace, he was able to waft away the flames and impart to them a sweet savour from Heaven, as they walked unharmed in the fire, singing praises to God. Like unto him in very truth is this Angel whose countenance glows as a furnace, and whose wing wafts ambrosial fragrance in the air: the Angel who may well be termed the Angel of Abstinence, as is evidenced by the words he speaks to Dante: *Blessed are they who hunger after righteousness, and not after earthly food.*

## CANTO XXV.

ASCENT TO THE SEVENTH CORNICE—EXPOSITION BY STATIUS OF THE MYSTERIES OF MAN'S FIRST AND SECOND BIRTHS—THE CORPOREAL SHAPES OF SOULS IN PURGATORY—THE SEVENTH CORNICE—PUNISHMENT OF THE SENSUAL OR INCONTINENT—EXAMPLES OF CHASTITY.

IN the last Canto Dante completed his description of the purgation of Gluttony in the Sixth Cornice. In this one he treats a very perplexing subject which had arisen out of the previous conversation.\*

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four principal parts.

*In the First Division*, from ver. 1 to ver. 30, Dante proposes to Virgil a question of much difficulty, and Virgil answers him in general terms.

*In the Second Division*, from ver. 31 to ver. 60, Statius at the request of Virgil explains at length how it is that the soul, when separated from the body, is able to suffer physical punishment, and he describes the generation of the embryo.

*In the Third Division*, from ver. 61 to ver. 108, Statius describes how the soul is developed in the embryo; how it gets separated from the body; and its sensitive powers.

---

\* Dante having asked how a body that is not in need of food can suffer from emaciation, Statius gives an exposition of the nature of a sensitive body in its earthly life, as well as the nature of that body which is tormented in the spiritual life. A very arid exposition, says Tommaséo, but interspersed with flashes of poetical light and with powerful diction, as well as with philosophy that in places is even more true than would appear at first sight.

In the Fourth Division, from ver. 109 to ver. 139, Dante enters upon the subject of Sensuality, and describes its punishment in the Seventh Cornice.

*Division I.*—When the Canto opens, the three Poets are still in the Sixth Cornice, but are standing at the entrance to the new stairway, just where Dante had felt the Angel's wing erase the last P but one from his brow.

Dante first specifies the hour, to show that they have no time to lose.

Ora era onde il salir non volea storpio,\*  
 Chè il sole avea lo cerchio di merigge †  
 Lasciato al Tauro e la notte allo Scorpio. ‡

\* *storpio* and *stoppio* mean literally, "impediment, hindrance, contrariety." In this sense we find the word in Petrarch, part iv, *Son.* 7:—

"S' Amore o Morte non dà qualche stoppιο  
 Alla tela novella ch' ora ordisco," etc.

The *Gran Dizionario* quotes in illustration from Giov. Villani, iii, cap. 1: "I Fiesolani e loro seguaci . . . davano quanto *storpio* poteano alla riedificazione di Firenze." But in my own copy of Villani, instead of *storpio*, the reading is *sturbo*, which a note explains is the same as *disturbo*.

† *cerchio di merigge*: Compare *Purg.* xxxiii, 103-104:—

"E più corrusco, e con più lenti passi,  
 Teneva il sole il cerchio di merigge."

And *Purg.* ii, 1:—

"Già era il sole all' orizzonte giunto,  
 Lo cui meridian cerchio coperchia  
 Jerusalem col suo più alto punto:  
 E la notte che opposita a lui cerchia,  
 Uscia di Gange fuor colle bilance,  
 Che le caggion di man quando soperchia."

‡ *Scorpio*: "Le soleil est dans le Bélier et le Taureau est au méridien, c'est que tout le signe du Bélier en est sorti. Or le zodiaque mettant vingt-quatre heures à passer par le méridien, chaque signe y met deux heures, c'est-à-dire qu'il était deux heures après midi. De même la nuit devait être dans le signe de la Balance, et la Balance ayant quitté le point opposé du méridien, devait avoir laissé la place au Scorpion." (Ozanam, *Purgatoire*, p. 417.)

It was the hour in which the ascent brooked no delay,  
for the Sun had abandoned the meridian circle to  
Taurus, and Night (had abandoned it) to Scorpio.

Dr. Moore (*Time References*, p. 107), says: "This is one of the passages on which I think some superfluous astronomical ingenuity has been expended, the point being whether we are to make allowance for the retrocession of the Equinox and the error in the Calendar, and so take the Sun's true astronomical position, or whether we are to be guided by the ordinary popular notion that the Sun is in Aries for a month from March 21st onwards. The difference of the result is absolutely immaterial, as it is only a question between about 12.30 and 2 p.m., either hour here being quite arbitrary and fictitious. Here again I think it is more probable that Dante adopts the sense in which ordinary people would be most likely to understand his words, just as we popularly refer to the indications of the compass as it stands, without allowing for the magnetic variation, though we are quite aware that in England it amounts to a no less serious difference than about 23 degrees. If this be the way to interpret the passage, the Sun being now rather backward in Aries, the time when Taurus is on the meridian of Noon, and the opposite sign of Scorpio on that of midnight, as here described, would be generally understood to be about 2 p.m., though, as each constellation covers many degrees of space, the indication is only an approximate one."\*

We may therefore proceed on the assumption that in

---

\* See in Tommaséo's Commentary the disquisition on this point by Antonelli. Also Della Valle, *Il Senso Geografico-Astronomico*, p. 71 *et seq.*

Purgatory it was about 2 p.m., and in Europe about 2 a.m.

Dante now describes their progress by an appropriate simile.

Per che, come fa l' uom che non s' affigge,\*  
 Ma vassi alla via sua, checchè gli appaia, 5  
 Se di bisogno stimolo il trafigge;  
 Così entrammo noi per la callaia, †  
 Uno innanzi altro, ‡ prendendo la scala  
 Che per artezza i salitor dispaia.

Wherefore, as does the man who, whatever may appear to him, will not stop, but goes forward on his way, if the goad of necessity spurs him on; so did we enter through the gap, one before the other taking the stairway, which by its narrowness unpairs the climbers (*i.e.* obliges them to walk in single file).

Benvenuto remarks that Virgil was walking first, Statius second, and Dante third, and now, by a very intelligible comparison, Dante shows what an intense desire there was in his mind to put a certain question to his leaders, but that he lacked the courage to begin speaking. He is burning to know how it is possible

\* *s' affigge*: *si ferma*. Compare *Purg. xxx, 7*:—  
 “Fermo si affisse.”

And xxxiii, 106-7:—

“Quando s' affisser, sì come s' affigge  
 Chi va dinanzi a gente per iscorta.”

See also *Inf. xii, 115*:—

“Poco più oltre il Centauro s' affisse.”

† *callaia*: Blanc says that *callaja* is the opening in a hedge. “*Callaja*, via di campagna, o con cancello, o aperto, o turato con pruni [stopped up with brambles].”—*Gran Dizionario*. Compare *Inf. x, 1*:—

“Ora sen va per un secreto calle.”

See the footnote on *calle* in my *Readings on the Inferno*, vol. i, p. 33<sup>1</sup>.

‡ *Uno innanzi altro*: These words are repeated in the first line of the next Canto.

for aerial forms, which have no need of food, to suffer from emaciation.

E quale il cicognin che leva l' ala \* 10  
 Per voglia di volare, e non s' attenda  
 D' abbandonar lo nido, e giù la cala ;  
 Tal era io con voglia accesa e spenta  
 Di domandar, venendo infino all' atto  
 Che fa colui ch' a dicer s' argomenta. † 15

And like the young stork, that spreads its wing through will to fly, and yet does not venture to leave the nest, but lets it (the wing) droop again ; such was I with desire to ask (at once) kindled and quenched, getting as far as the movement (of the lips) that he makes who prepares himself to speak.

Benvenuto says the comparison is appropriate in all its parts ; for the great tragic poets, Virgil and Statius,

---

\* *il cicognin che leva l' ala* : On this see Venturi, *Similitudini Dantesche*, p. 264, *Sim.* 437 : "Altra similitudine, non meno gentile, tratta dalla cicogna. Si noti la scelta delle parole per ottenere maggior dolcezza di numero e levità di suoni. Il cicognino non dibatte l' ala, ma l' alza appena per provarsi a volare ; e non arrischiandosi, l' abbassa tosto. Ma Dante dice *leva*, che ha suono più tenue di *alza*, e *giù la cala*, che è più leggiero movimento di *abbassa* ; e dicendo *Ala* (*sing.*) e non *ale*, esprime meglio il timor e l' impotenza." There is a passage somewhat similar in Statius, *Theb.* x, 458-462 :—

"volucrum sic turba recentum,  
 Cum reducem longo prospexit in æthere matrem  
 Ire cupit contra, summaque e margine nidi,  
 Exstat hians : jam jamque cadat, ni pectore toto  
 Obstet aperta parens, et amantibus increpet alis."

Compare also *Par.* xix, 91-93 :—

"Quale sopr' esso il nido si rigira,  
 Poi che ha pasciuto la cicogna i figli,  
 E come quei ch' è pasto la rimira," etc.

† *colui ch' a dicer s' argomenta* : Compare Shakespeare (*Hamlet*, act i, sc. 2, near the end) :—

"Answer it made none ; yet once methought  
 It lifted up its head and did address  
 Itself to motion, like as it would speak."

may be compared to storks building their nests on the lofty roofs of houses,\* and Dante, as a younger poet, may well be likened to the fledgeling. And as the fledgeling stork desires to spread its wings before the fitting time, but, feeling itself powerless to fly, lets them droop again, so did Dante, after walking for a mile in silence, feel keenly desirous of moving his tongue to propound a question on a very elevated subject; but, doubting whether he ought to ask before the fitting season, he repressed his desire until he had obtained the leave of his elders.

He does not have to wait long, for, just as Beatrice on a subsequent occasion (see *Par.* xvii, 7-12) saw through his thirst for information, and ordered him to send forth the flame of his desire, so here does Virgil intuitively divine what is in his mind, and commands him to speak it out, which Dante does in the plainest language.

Non lasciò, per l' andar che fosse ratto,  
 Lo dolce Padre mio, ma disse:—"Scocca  
 L' arco del dir che infino al ferro † hai tratto."—  
 Allor sicuramente aprii la bocca,  
 E cominciai:—"Come si può far magro ‡ 20  
 Là dove l' uopo di nutrir non tocca?"—

\* Does not this seem as though Benvenuto credited Dante with some knowledge of northern Europe?

† *infino al ferro*: Speech flies as lightly and irrevocably as an arrow, and penetrates into the depth of the heart.

‡ *Come si può far magro*, etc.: "Nous abordons un de ces passages où, sous la couronne du poëte, le philosophe se découvre; où Dante aime à traiter une de ces questions qui agitaient l'école et divisaient les docteurs. Dans le supplice des gourmands il montre comment les âmes peuvent souffrir de la faim, et quelle est la condition de l'âme après la mort, le rapport du corps et de l'âme, en un mot, tout le mystère de la destinée humaine; non la psychologie seulement, mais l'anthropologie." (Ozanam, *Purgatoire*, p. 416.)

Not, though our pace was speedy, did my gentle Father forbear (from speaking), but said: "Let loose thy bow of speech which thou hast drawn up to the barb." Then I opened my mouth, with confidence, and began: "How can one grow lean there where the need of nourishment applies not?"

Benvenuto observes that it was high time that Dante put this question, for all that had been said in Hell and Purgatory of such wonderful varieties of punishment, would seem to be worth nothing, unless it were in some way made clear that the soul, when separated from the body, could by natural means be affected by hunger, thirst, or any other liability to suffering.

Virgil, in answer to Dante, tries to give him some sort of idea of the subject in question, by an example taken from mythology, and with a natural simile; he then turns to Statius, and begs him to solve the problem fully, and so satisfy Dante's craving for explanation.

—"Sc t' ammentassi come Meleagro \*"

---

\**Meleagro*: Meleager was said to have been the son of Æneus, king of Calydon, and Althæa. At his birth the Fates predicted: Clotho, that he would be brave; Lachesis, that he would be strong; and Atropos that his life would last as long as a log, thrown upon the fire at the moment of his birth, remained unconsumed. As soon as the Fates had departed, Althæa snatched the brand from the fire, and preserved it carefully. (See Ovid, *Met.* viii, 260-546.) Meleager distinguished himself in the Argonautic expedition, and afterwards slew the wild boar of Calydon; but a dispute having arisen between himself and his two uncles, Plexippus and Toxeus, Althæa's brothers, for the possession of it, he slew them both. Althæa, enraged at the slaughter of her brothers, threw the fatal log on the fire, and Meleager perished as it consumed. Benvenuto says that Althæa is put figuratively for every mother who bears a child, at whose birth the planets, according to the astrologers, at once prescribe the allotted period of his life. The firebrand is a figure for the natural caloric of the body, and, as long as it lasts, life endures. Benvenuto adds that many persons had often asked him what possible connection there was



Si consumò al consumar d' un stizzo,\*  
 Non fora,†"—disse,—“questo a te sì agro: ‡  
 E se pensassi come al vostro guizzo

between the history of Meleager, and the proposition we are considering; and that he had always replied that no history could be more to the purpose; for, as Meleager gradually wasted away according to the wasting of the firebrand, so here did the spirits in the Sixth Cornice become lean in proportion to the amount of perfume from the fruit-tree, and the water trickling over its branches. And, as Meleager was consumed from an extrinsic cause, that is, the influence of the planets, so here do the spirits become emaciated from an extrinsic cause, namely, by the will of God. Some however have argued that the death of Meleager was brought about by magic art; and this would be much to the purpose, for then he argues *a minori*, as Augustine rightly does in his book *De Civitate Dei*, where he says, that if necromancers are able to imprison the spirit in an aerial body, how much more can the Power of God confine the soul in corporeal fire. “And mark,” continues Benvenuto, “that this comparison seems to be very much to the point; for, as an image without substance moves in a mirror which has substance, so the unsubstantial soul is tormented in substantial air; and, as the reflection comes from without, so suffering or power of feeling comes into the soul from without.”

\* *stizzo*: Compare *Inf.* xiii, 40-42:—

“Come d' un stizzo verde, che arso sia  
 Dall' un de' capi, che dall' altro geme,  
 E cigola per vento che va via.”

† *fora*: for *sarebbe*, compare *Purg.* vi, 90:—

“Senz' esso fora la vergogna meno.”

And *Par.* iii, 73-75:—

“Se dissiassimo esser più superne,  
 Foran discordi li nostri disiri  
 Dal voler di colui che qui ne cerne.”

Nannucci (*Anal. Crit.* p. 475, § 14 of the chapter *Dell' imperfetto dell' Ottativo*): “I Latini in vece di *essem, esses, esset, essent*, dissero *forem, fores, foret, forent* (da *fuere* o *furem*, etc. dall' antico *fuio*). Quindi noi, *io fore, tu fore*, etc., per *io sarei, tu saresti*, etc. . . . Poscia si terminarono in *a, io fora, tu fora, egli fora, coloro forano*, per uniformità di cadenza con *saria, sariano*.” Nannucci goes on to say that the examples of this use are numberless, and that there is hardly a single writer of the *primo secolo della lingua*, with whom this termination in *a* is not found.

‡ *agro*: “Sì agro, cioè sì malagevole, che tu non vedessi come sia possibile.” (Buti.) The *Gran Dizionario*, s.v. *agro*, § 8, interprets *agro* in this very passage as *malagevole, difficile*.

Guizza \* dentro allo specchio vostra image,  
 Ciò che par duro ti parrebbe vizzo; †  
 Ma perchè dentro a tuo voler t' adage, ‡  
 Ecco qui Stazio, ed io lui chiamo e prego,  
 Che sia or sanator delle tue piage."—

30

"If thou wouldst call to mind," said he, "how Meleager wasted away during the wasting of a firebrand, this would not be to thee so difficult: And if thou wouldst think how, at every vibration on your part, your image also vibrates within the mirror, that which seems hard would appear to thee easy (*lit.* soft); but in order that thou mayest penetrate into this matter to thy heart's content, behold, here is Stadius, and I call to him, and beg him, to be now the healer of thy wounds."

That is, "by solving thy doubts," for, as Scartazzini remarks, doubts are the wounds of the soul, which are never healed, until the truth be established.

Benvenuto says that it has puzzled many why Virgil should leave this question to be solved by Stadius. He thinks it is because Virgil was a follower of Plato,

\**Guizza*: "Il corpo aereo delle anime purganti è lo specchio di esse anime. Or come lo specchio rappresenta fedelmente ogni moto di chi vi si specchia, così il corpo aereo ritrae al di fuori i moti e le sofferenze dell' anima." (Scartazzini.)

†*vizzo*: According to Blanc, is a word of uncertain origin, but implies whatever is the opposite of hard. Biagioli: "*Vizzo*, dicesi dei pomi i quali, giugnendo a maturità, s' ammoliscono, e infine si fanno mezzi (*i.e.* over-ripe)." *Vizzo* is here in opposition to *agro* (l. 24). Unripe fruit is naturally hard, and *agro*, as we said above, stands for *difficile*. In the same way ripe fruit being soft, *vizzo* stands for *facile*. Andreoli comments: "*vizzo*, cioè molle, facile a penetrar l' intelletto."

‡*l' adage*: Early form for *ti adagi*. See Nannucci on this (*Anal. Crit.* p. 62 *et seq.*), and compare *Purg.* xv, 82: "Tu m' appaghe." *Adagiarsi* primarily means, "to make oneself comfortable, to put oneself at greater ease than before." The *Gran Dizionario* (§ 2) interprets this particular passage: "Penetrare nel vero, e quivi adagiarsi contentato nei desiderii."

and held that souls were created from Eternity, and descended from the planets into mortal bodies, and after death returned to their planets; but that, as such ideas were repugnant to Christianity, Dante makes Virgil call upon Statius, who was a Christian poet, and who touches on these subjects in accordance with philosophy and faith. Besides, Statius is at this time qualified for Paradise, having completed his purgation, and may be supposed to know more of these matters than Virgil, who will soon have to return to *Limbo*.

*Division II.*—Statius begins by assuring Virgil, in so many words, that he is so much in the habit of taking every word of his as a precept, that he must perforce do whatever Virgil asks him. He then turns to Dante, and, with much kindness of manner, tells him that he will clear away his doubts, if Dante will yield him his attention.

—“Se la veduta eterna \* gli dislego,” †—

Rispose Stazio,—“là dove tu sie,

Discolpi me non potert' io far nego.” ‡—

\* *veduta eterna*: Trissino paraphrases this: “Se gli spiego ciò che si vede in questi luoghi eterni—è dato l' aggiunto di eterna alla veduta eziandio del Purgatorio, perocchè esente esso pure dalle vicende del tempo, ed appartenente in tutto all' eterna vita—” etc. The meaning of *veduta eterna* is “the unseen things of God.” It is not only the mystery of generation that Statius is going to explain, but mystery of mysteries, a special modification of generation, to suit the impalpable forms of the spirits in the regions of the dead. *Veduta* is the reading of the large majority of MSS., but *vendetta* is not an uncommon reading, and, if adopted, the passage would signify: “If I unfold to him the penalty imposed by the Eternal God on the souls that are being purged.”

† *dislego*: Scartazzini says this word corresponds to the Latin *explicare*.

‡ *nego*: According to the *Gran Dizionario* this is a substantive = *negamento*, *negazione*, *il negare*, like the Latin *negantia*, used by Cicero. Compare *Inf.* xxvi, 65-67:—

Poi cominciò:—"Se le parole mie,  
Figlio, \* la mente tua guarda e riceve, † 35  
Lume ti fieno al come che tu die. ‡

"If I reveal to him these secrets of Eternity," replied Statius, "here where thou art present, let my exculpation be that I cannot say thee nay." Then he began: "My Son, if thy mind will consider as well as receive my words, they will be a light to thee for the *How* that thou sayest.

That is to say: "My words will fully explain thy difficulty, and answer thy question: 'How can one grow lean there where the need of nourishment applies not?'"

Statius now proceeds to develop the theory of generation and the formation of the body with the vegetative and sensitive soul. And the words, which Dante here puts into his mouth, may be found also in the *Convivio*, iv, 21. §

"Maestro, assai ten prego  
E riprego, che il prego vaglia mille,  
Che non mi facci dell' attender nego."

And *Purg.* xvii, 59-60:—

"Che quale aspetta prego, e l' uopo vede,  
Malignamente già si mette al nego."

\* *Figlio*: Benvenuto remarks that Statius would say: "O Son, who hast two fathers here present, Virgil and myself."

† *guarda e riceve*: Compare *Prov.* ii, 1-5: "My son, if thou wilt receive my words, and hide my commandments with thee . . . then shalt thou understand the fear of the Lord, and the knowledge of God."

‡ *die* for *dici*, from which when the *c* was omitted was obtained *dii*. Nannucci (*Anal. Crit.* p. 570, § 15) says that by the termination in *e*, which was formerly given to the second person singular of the indicative present, the word *dii* was altered in *die*. He gives several illustrations of this from early writers.

§ It will be well before studying the speech of Statius, to read the whole of chapter 21 of *Conv.* iv, and compare Dante's own words there with what he says here. Varchi (*Lezioni sul Dante*, Firenze, 1841, *Lez.* 1) admires the dissertation in

Sangue perfetto,\* che mai non si beve  
 Dall' assetate vene, e si rimane †  
 Quasi alimento che di mensa leve,  
 Prende nel core a tutte membra umane 40  
 Virtute informativa, come quello ‡  
 Ch' a farsi quelle per le vene vane.

this Canto so much, that he says it is sufficient to prove Dante to have been a physician, philosopher and theologian of the highest order: "I not only confess, but I swear, that as many times as I have read it, which day and night are more than a thousand, my wonder and astonishment have always increased, seeming every time to find therein new beauties and new instruction, and consequently new difficulties." The subject is also discussed by St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* i, qu. c. xix, art. 2, *De propagatione hominis quantum ad corpus*), but Scartazzini says that above all the treatise of Aristotle (*De Gen. Animal.* lib. i, ch. 19) should be studied. See also the appendix of Tommaséo at the end of his Commentary on this Canto.

\**Sangue perfetto*: "Stattus incipiendo dicit, quod in nobis quidam sanguis perfectus creatur qui non spargitur nec bibitur a venis, ut alius sanguis rubeus, sed, ut vinum non bibitum et cibus non comestus a corde elevatur de mensa, idest de stomacho, sive epate. Qui perfectus sanguis est albus propter majorem decoctionem, quem sanguinem, idest sperma, natura providit propter generationem primo; secundum propter ejus humidum ad resistendum calori naturali nostro. Quod sperma spiritualem quandam virtutem informativam capit ad nostram humanum effigiem in corde agentis, ut mens fabri ad cultellum ante ejus confectionem et formam" (Pietro di Dante.)

†*e si rimane*: Varchi (*op. cit.* p. 39) writes: "When the veins have sucked up a sufficient quantity of nourishment to restore the waste of the body, they do not suck up any more, just as a modest and temperate man, after eating what is necessary, leaves the remainder of his food, and therefore the expression *e si rimane quasi alimento*, that is, remains over and above just like food. . . ." (and p. 42): "Dante soggiunse quelle parole, il sentimento delle quali pare a me che sia: come il sangue, il quale non è diventato sperma, ha virtù dal cuore di diventar tutte le membra, come si vede nel nutrimento; perchè l' ossa convertono il sangue in ossa, le vene in vene, la carne in carne, e di tutti gli altri nel medesimo modo; così poichè è diventato sperma, ha virtù di fare tutti i membri, operando in virtù dell' anima."

‡*come quello*: The meaning is not "like that." *Come quello* is a regular Italian idiom signifying "being such that," or

Perfect (*i.e.* the purest essence of the) blood, which is never drunk up by the thirsty veins, and remains like (superfluous) food which thou removest from the table, acquires in the heart virtue informative (*i.e.* creative power) for all human members, as being that (blood) which runs [*ne va*] through the veins to be formed into those (members).

I give the literal prose of this from *La Divina Commedia voltata in Prosa* da Mario Foresi, Florence, 1890: "Il sangue più puro che non è assorbito dalle vene comunque assorbenti elle sieno, e che resta come un alimento superfluo che si toglie dalla mensa, prende nel cuore virtù atta ad informare tutte le membra umane, essendo quello che va per le vene a trasformarsi in esse membra."

Benvenuto remarks upon the appropriateness of this comparison; for as, from that food set before a king or lord, that which remains, and is carried from the table, is as good as that which has been eaten, for it is of the same composition, so it is with the blood given to the heart; for that which remains after a meal has been eaten, and the blood distributed through the veins, is as good as that which becomes nutrition (*in alimentum*).

Statius continues his physiological description.

Ancor digesto, scende ov' è più bello  
Tacer che dire; e quindi poscia geme\*

"being itself the thing that." It corresponds exactly to the Latin *utpote qui*. There is a passage in the *Inferno* (xii, 52, 53) where we find this idiom:—

"Io vidi un' ampia fossa in arco torta,

Come quella [*being such*] che tutto il piano abbraccia."

The *Gran Dizionario* says that *come quello* lays stress upon the thing already spoken of, and quotes the two above-mentioned passages in illustration.

\* *geme*: As was pointed out in *Readings on the Inferno*, vol. i, p. 459, footnote, the primary meaning of *gemere* is to distil drops, etc. The passage in question is quoted in the footnote on *stizzo* at line 23 of the present canto.

Sopr' altrui sangue in natural vasello.\* 45  
 Ivi s' accoglie l' uno e l' altro insieme,  
 L' un disposto a patire e l' altro a fare,†  
 Per lo perfetto loco onde si preme; ‡  
 E giunto lui § comincia ad operare,  
 Coagulando prima, e poi avviva 50  
 Ciò che per sua materia fe' constare.||

Digested yet again (*i.e.* still more purified), it descends to those vessels whereof it is more seemly to be silent than to speak (*ad vasa seminalia*); and from these it

\* *natural vasello*: Compare St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summ. Theol.* pars iii, qu. xxxii, art. 4: "Fœmina ad conceptionem prolis materiam ministrat, ex qua naturaliter corpus prolis formatur." And *Summ. Theol.* pars iii, qu. xxxiii, art. 1: "Ad formationem corporis . . . requirebatur motus localis quo sanguines . . . ad locum generationi congruum pervenirent."

† *L' un disposto a patire e l' altro a fare*: Compare St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summ. Theol.* pars iii, qu. xxxii, art. 4: "In generatione distinguitur operatio agentis et patientis. Unde relinquitur quòd tota virtus activa sit ex parte maris, passio autem ex parte fœminæ."

‡ *si preme*: The blood of the male, disposed to give form to the human members, issues as if expressed from the heart. Benvenuto thinks it is from the heart, though some, he says, contend that it is from the brain.

§ *giunto lui*: Scartazzini has no doubt of *lui* meaning *a lui*, and having this signification: the blood of the male being conjoined to (mingled with) the blood of the female, etc.

|| *fe' constare*: Compare St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summ. Theol.* pars iii, qu. xxxiii, art. 1: "Formatio corporis fit per potentiam generativam, non ejus qui generatur, sed ipsius generantis ex semine, in quo operatur vis formativa ab anima patris derivata." And pars iii, qu. xxxii, art. 4: "Potentia generativa in fœmina est imperfecta respectu potentiæ generativæ quæ est in mare. Et ideo sicut in artibus ars inferior disponit materiam, ars autem superior inducit formam, ita etiam virtus generativa fœminæ præparat materiam, virtus autem activa maris format materiam præparatam." Benvenuto says of *fe' constare*: "id est, remanere per sua matera, scilicet sanguinem menstruum, quod fecit consistere ibi pro sua materia, in quam imprimit suam formam: et bene dicit; nam communiter non fluit sanguis hic a muliere post impregnationem; unde habent istud commune signum conceptionis: et non vult aliud dicere nisi quod generatur anima vegetativa in fœtu qualis est in arboribus."

afterwards trickles upon another's blood in the natural vessel (*i.e.* in the matrix). Therein the one and the other meet together, the one (the blood of the female) disposed to be passive, and the other (that of the male) to be active, by reason of the perfection of the locality (the heart) from which it flowed; and (the male blood) being conjoined to it (the female blood) begins its operation (of forming the embryo), first by coagulation (*i.e.* turning the blood into flesh), and then gives life to that which it had made to take consistence as substance necessary for its operation.

After speaking of the generation of the vegetative soul, Statius touches upon the generation of the sensitive soul, both of which are evolved out of the potentiality of substance, and is not brought in from without, as is the rational soul, about which he speaks farther on. He concludes this portion of his dissertation by emphasizing the assertion that the vivifying power for the formation of the members of the embryo springs from the heart of the male parent.

Anima fatta la virtute attiva,\*

---

\* *virtute attiva*: Compare St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summ. Theol.* pars I, qu. cxviii, art. 1: "Quia generans est simile generato, necesse est quòd naturaliter tam anima sensitiva, quàm aliæ hujusmodi formæ producantur in esse ab aliquibus corporalibus agentibus, transmutantibus materiam de potentia in actum per aliquam virtutem corpoream quæ est in eis. . . . Ex anima generantis derivatur quædam virtus activa ad ipsum semen animalis, vel plantæ. . . . In animalibus perfectis, quæ generantur ex coitu, virtus activa est in semine maris; materia autem fœtus est illud, quod ministratur a femina: in qua quidem materia statim à principio est anima vegetabilis, non quidem secundum actum secundum, sed secundum actum primum, sicut anima sensitiva est in dormientibus; cùm autem incipit attrahere alimentum, tunc jam actu operatur. Hujusmodi igitur materia transmutatur à virtute quæ est in semine maris, quousque perducatur in actum animæ sensitivæ. . . . Postquam autem per virtutem principii activi quod erat in semine, producta est anima sensitiva in generato quantum ad aliquam partem principalem, tunc



Qual d' una pianta,\* in tanto differente,  
 Che quest' è in via e quella è già a riva.  
 Tanto opra poi che già si move e sente,† 55  
 Come fungo marino; ed indi imprende  
 Ad organar le posse ond' è semente.  
 Or si spiega, figliuolo, or si distende

jam illa anima sensitiva prolis incipit operari ad complementum proprii corporis per modum nutritionis et augmenti."

\* *Qual d' una pianta*: Scartazzini says that it is needless to point out that Dante in this passage conforms to the doctrines of St. Thomas Aquinas, and that it will be well to refer to what St. Thomas says on the succession of the souls—the vegetative, the sensitive, and the intellectual, in the formation of man. See *l. c.* pars i, qu. cxviii, art. 2: "Anima præexistit in embryone, à principio quidem nutritiva, postmodum autem sensitiva, et tandem intellectiva. Dicunt ergo quidam, quòd supra animam vegetabilem quæ primò inerat, supervenit alia anima, quæ est sensitiva: supra illam iterum alia, quæ est intellectiva. Et sic sunt in homine tres animæ quarum una est in potentia ad aliam, quod supra improbatum est [compare *Purg.* iv. 1 et seq.]. Et ideo alii dicunt quòd illa eadem anima, quæ primò fuit vegetativa tantùm, postmodum per actionem virtutis quæ est in semine, perducitur ad hoc ut ipsa eadem fiat sensitiva, et tandem ad hoc ut ipsa eadem fiat intellectiva, non quidem per virtutem activam seminis, sed per virtutem superioris agentis, scilicet Dei deforis illustrantis. . . . Sed hoc stare non potest. . . . Et ideo dicendum est quòd cùm generatio unius semper sit corruptio alterius, necesse est dicere, quòd tam in homine, quàm in animalibus aliis, quando perfectior forma advenit, fit corruptio prioris; ita tamen quòd sequens forma habet quidquid habebat prima, et adhuc amplius: et sic per multas generationes et corruptiones pervenitur ad ultimam formam substantialem tam in homine quàm in aliis animalibus. Et hoc ad sensum apparet in animalibus ex putrefactione generatis. Sic igitur dicendum est, quòd anima intellectiva creatur à Deo in fine generationis humanæ, quæ simul est et sensitiva et nutritiva, corruptis formis præexistentibus."

† *si move e sente, Come fungo marino*: Spontaneous movement and feeling are essential characteristics of animal life, to which Statius says the fœtus arrives. "Cette vie, végétale d'abord, mais progressive, se développe par son propre exercice; elle fait passer l'organisme de l'état de plante à celui de zoophyte, pour parvenir ensuite à la complète animalité." Ozanam (*Dante et la Philos. Cathol.* p. 119.

La virtù ch' è dal cor del generante,  
Ove natura a tutte membra intende:

60

The active virtue (the male) having become a soul, as that of a plant, but thus much differing from it, that this one (the human life) is only on the way (*i.e.* has only reached the first stage), and that one (the plant) has already arrived (*i.e.* has reached perfection), it then works so much that already it moves and feels, as does a sea-fungus; and after that it undertakes to organize the powers of which it is the germ. My Son, the power which is (derived) from the heart of the begetter, at one time dilates, and at another time extends itself, in which (heart) Nature is intent on (forming) all the members.

Both Benvenuto and Talice da Ricaldone translate the last lines differently from the above.

"Now it is explained to thee, now it is declared or made clear to thee, my son, from what has been said before, that nature has given so much power to the heart, that it is able to give forth that blood from which all the members are formed."

*Division III.*—In this next part of the Canto, Statius explains how the embryo, from being a mere animal, becomes endowed with a rational soul.

Dean Plumptre observes that, in treating this difficult subject, Dante shows that he rejected the theory of Traducianism as taught by Averrhoës, Tertullian and others, who maintained that the human soul is generated at the same time as the body. Dante evidently adopted the theory of *Creationism*, and closely followed the teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas and the mediæval theologians, who held that the rational soul comes directly from God, Who, as soon as the organism of the brain has reached its full development, breathes

into it a divine afflatus, and this attracts to it the principle of activity, with which it in its turn is brought in contact, when it unites with the embryo, and thus becomes a living soul, by the three acts of plant life, animal life, and rational life.

Ma come d' animal \* divenga fante,†  
Non vedi tu ancor : quest' è tal punto

\* *animal*, i.e. the human *fœtus* before God has endowed it with a rational soul. Compare *Conv.* iv, 7, ll. 138-151: "Chè siccome dice il Filosofo, nel secondo dell' Anima, le potenze dell' anima stanno sopra sè, come la figura dello quadrangolo sta sopra lo triangolo, e lo pentagono sta sopra lo quadrangolo; così la sensitiva sta sopra la vegetativa, e la intellettiva sta sopra la sensitiva. Dunque, come levando l' ultimo canto del pentagono, rimane quadrangolo e non più pentagono; così levando l' ultima potenza dell' anima, cioè la ragione, non rimane più uomo, ma cosa con anima sensitiva solamente, cioè animale bruto." The simile is taken from Aristotle, *De Anima*, ii, 3:—

"οὐ γὰρ ἄμα γίναται ζῶον καὶ ἄνθρωπος."

† *fante*, according to Gioberti, is "uomo, animal che parla, distintivo dell' uomo, come spiega Ugo Foscolo." Tommaséo (one of the authors of the *Gran Dizionario*) derives it from the Latin *fari*, "parlare e ragionare." Hence (says Cesari, *Bellezze*, vol. ii, p. 452) is derived *infante*, "one that cannot talk." He then adds, "Or il parlare è proprietà di sola ragione, da che il parlare umano reca in modo astratto e generale le idee de' particolari; la qual operazione non può farsi, se non da animal ragionevole: di che veggiamo le bestie, eziandio domestiche, che udirono milioni di volte l' uomo a parlare, non impresero mai suo linguaggio." In *Conv.* iii, 7, ll. 100-120, Dante says as much: "È da sapere, che solamente l' Uomo intra gli animali parla, e ha reggimenti e atti che si dicono razionali, perocchè egli solo in sè ha ragione, *et seq.*" Compare also *De Vulg. Elog.* i, 3 and 4: "Cum igitur homo non naturae instinctu sed ratione moveatur . . . oportuit genus humanum ad communicandum inter se conceptiones suas aliquid rationale signum et sensuale habere . . . hoc signum et ipsum subjectum nobile de quo loquimur: natura sensuale quidem, in quantum sonus est; rationale vero, in quantum aliquid significare videtur ad placitum. Soli homini datum fuit ut loqueretur, ut ex præmissis manifestum est." Lombardi sums up these ideas: "Essendo il parlare una manifestazione dell' interno ragionare, può anche per questo riguardo prendersi il parlare per la stessa ragione, e dirsi *fante* invece di ragionevole."

Che più savio di te \* fe' già errante ;  
 Sì che, per sua dottrina, fe' disgiunto  
 Dall' anima il possibile intelletto,†  
 Perchè da lui non vide organo assunto.

65

But, how from animal it becomes rational (*lit.* endowed with speech) thou canst not yet discern, for this is the point that has already made one (Averroës) more learned than thou to err so that

\* *più savio di te*: This is generally considered to refer to Averroës, who is represented by Dante in this passage as regarding the *Intellectus Possibilis* as one and indivisible, and a perfectly distinct entity from the soul. It was the *Intellectus Agens*, or active intellect, which Averroës so regarded. Averroës in his Commentary on Aristotle (*De Anima*, iii, 4, 5) lays down two intellectual principles (says Scartazzini, Ed<sup>n</sup> 1896), the one passive, the other active. The *Intellectus Agens* is impersonal, eternal, and distinct from the individual, who nevertheless participates in it. The passive intellect is transitory and dependent upon the active. This latter is consequently only conjoined to the individual as regards form, but as regards essence is separated from him, and is one and indivisible for all men. The distinctive character of the *Intellectus Possibilis*, the only immortal one of the two, being thus destroyed, it would follow that after death there would only be left to the souls the unity of the intellect, and eternal rewards and punishments could not take place. Scartazzini adds that this theory of Averroës was mostly fiercely opposed by St. Thomas Aquinas in several passages. See also Dr. Moore, *Studies in Dante*, Oxford, 1896, pp. 114, 115.

† *possibile intelletto*: "Nullus intellectus intelligit, nisi *intellectus possibilis*, quia *agens* non intelligit." (Duns Scotus, in iv, dist. xlv, qu. 1.) Daniello's definition of it is lucid: "Chiamasi questo intelletto *possibile*, per esser in potenza d' infondersi in tutte le nature diverse de gli huomeni, et operar in essi la virtù sua." Compare also St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summ. Theol.* p. i, qu. lxxix, art. 10: "Quandoque enim ponunt quatuor intellectus, scilicet intellectum agentem, possibilem, et in habitu, et adeptum; quorum quatuor intellectus *agens* et *possibilis* sunt diversæ potentæ, sicut et in omnibus est alia potentia activa et alia passiva; alia verò tria distinguuntur secundum tres status intellectûs *possibilis*; qui quandoque est in potentia tantum, et sic dicitur *possibilis*; quandoque autem in actu primo, qui est scientia et sic dicitur intellectus in habitu; quandoque autem in actu secundo qui est considerare, et sic dicitur intellectus in actu, sive intellectus adeptus."

in his teaching he separated the potential intellect from the soul, because he could see no organ appropriated by it (*i.e.* the possible intellect).

Averroës did not see in the human body any organ specially assigned to the intellect, as are the ears for hearing, the eyes for seeing, and so on with the other senses.

Ozanam (*Le Purgatoire de Dante*, page 418), writes: "Averroës en commentant Aristote s'efforce d'établir que l'intellect qu'Aristote appelle possible est une substance séparée du corps quant à l'être, et qui lui est unie quant à la forme, et de plus que l'intellect possible est unique pour tous. Or, étant détruite la diversité d'intellect possible qui est seul immortel, il s'ensuit qu'après la mort il ne reste rien des âmes humaines que l'unité de l'intellect, et ainsi on supprime les peines et les récompenses. Albert le Grand ajoute que, distinguant l'âme sensible de l'âme intellectuelle, les péripatéticiens font naître la première du sang du père: mais l'âme intellectuelle, ils la conçoivent séparée et rayonnant sur l'âme sensible come le soleil sur le milieu transparent, et de même que si l'on ôte les objets illuminés, il ne reste que la lumière du soleil, de même, les hommes périssant, il ne reste qu'une seule intelligence perpétuelle et impérissable." Compare also Renan, *Averroës et l'Averroïsme*, Paris, 1861, p. 122.

In the language of the Schools, the potential intellect is the faculty which receives impressions through the senses, and forms from them pictures or phantasmata in the mind. The active intellect draws from these pictures various ideas, notions and conclusions. The two represent the Understanding and the Reason.

Benvenuto says that, after having thus condemned the opinions of Averroës about the rational soul, he goes on to give the true opinion of the Catholic Church, namely, that the soul is given by the First Giver, God, and he begs Dante to take in fully and to retain the true doctrine.

Apri\* alla verità che viene il petto,  
 E sappi che, sì tosto come al feto  
 L' articular del cerebro è perfetto,†  
 Lo Motor primo ‡ a lui si volge lieto §  
 Sopra tanta arte di natura, e spira  
 Spirito nuovo di virtù repleto,||

70

\* *Apri*, et seq.: Compare *Inf.* xxiv, 142:—

"Apri gli orecchi al mio annunzio."

And *Par.* v, 40, 41:—

"Apri la mente a quel ch' io ti paleso,  
 E fermalvi entro."

† *L' articular del cerebro è perfetto*: "Compiuti gli organi ed ingegni del cerebro, e preparata la fonte viva degli spiriti, e potenziata pel loro influsso ogni attività de' sentimenti, è acconcia perfettamente la sede all' anima ragionevole." Cesari (*Bellezze*, vol. ii, pp. 452, 453).

‡ *Motor primo*: "Gloria primi Motoris, qui Deus est," etc. (Dante, *Ep.* x. § 20.) "Et quum cælum totum unico motu scilicet primi mobilis, et unico motore, qui Deus est, reguletur in omnibus suis partibus," etc. (*De Mon.* i, ix, ll. 10-13.) And *Par.* xxxiii, 145:—

"L' amor che move il sole e l' altre stelle."

Compare St. Thom. Aquin. *Summ. Theol.* pars. i, qu. cv, art. 2, "Deus est movens non motum. . . . Virtus primi motoris est virtus infinita." Scartazzini states that it is from this passage that Dante took the expression *Motor primo*.

§ *lieto*: Compare *Purg.* xvi, 88-90:

"L' anima semplicitta, che sa nulla,  
 Salvo che, mossa da lieto fattore,  
 Volontier torna a ciò che la trastulla,"

and *Psalms* civ, 31: "The Lord shall rejoice in His works."

|| *Spirito nuovo di virtù repleto*: Some translate *virtù* "power," some "potencies," some "virtue." I do not pretend to say which is best. On this passage, Landino writes: "Adunque quando tutti gli organi che servono al moto e al senso sono perfecti, allora Iddio infonde l' anima rationale; come è detto:

Che ciò che trova attivo quivi tira  
 In sua sustanzia, e fassi un' alma sola,\*  
 Che vive e sente, e sè in sè rigira.†

75

la quale Dante chiama *spirito nuovo*, perchè non è di quella specie spirito che truova nel corpo; ma è cosa nuova; ed ha perfezione di virtù, avendo la ragione e lo intelletto."

\* *sola*: Cesari cannot restrain his admiration for this passage: "Magnifica particolarizzazione, e potentemente dipinta! L'anima trae a sè quelle due vite, e quasi in sè assorbendole, ne torna un' anima che ha vita, senso, e libertà." Compare St. Thomas Aquinas on this (*Summ. Theol.* pars. i, qu. lxxvi, art. 3): "Sic ergo dicendum quòd eadem numero est anima in homine, sensitiva et intellectiva et nutritiva. . . . Prius embrio habet animam quæ est sensitiva tantùm: quæ ablatà, advenit perfectior anima, quæ est simul sensitiva et intellectiva." See also *Purg.* iv, 5, 6:—

"E questo è contra quello error, che crede  
 Che un' anima sopr' altra in noi s' accenda."

† *sè in sè rigira*: Cesari goes on from his comment on the preceding line: "Questo credo essere, quel *sè in sè rigira*; che padroneggia sè medesima per virtù propria, con piena signoria e coscienza de' suoi atti, onde in sè medesima si ripiega, e da' propri concetti ne trae degli altri, e si rifà sopra i medesimi, e ritorna in sè medesima, giudicando ed approvando l' opera sua." Compare Boëthius (*Phil. Cons.* lib. iii, *Poes.* ix, 15 *et seq.*):—

"Quæ (*anima*) cum secta duos motum glomeravit in orbes,  
 In semet reditura meat mentemque profundam  
 Circuit et simili convertit imagine cælum."

Scartazzini says that, although Boëthius is here speaking of the universal soul—the soul of the world, yet the expression in *semet reditura meat* might equally apply to the human and rational soul, inasmuch as the latter has, according to the Platonists, a double conversion to intellectual matters and to sensitive matters, *i.e.* that it resolves itself into two circles, one the external and greater, formed of the intelligible powers of the soul, the other internal and lesser, and contrary to the first, formed from the knowledge that the senses infuse into it, by means of which the soul revolves to the things of the world. And, because this movement forms a double circle of conversion, therefore the soul returns into itself; it being the property of the circle to revolve upon itself, or as Aristotle (*Phys.* book viii) says, to unite both beginning and end. The *Gran Dizionario* interprets the passage *sè in sè rigira* as being equivalent to *riflettersi*, and expressing the same idea as a passage in Plato (of which reference is omitted). "*αὐτὴ ἀνακυκλωμένη πρὸς αὐτὴν.*" Daniello's and the *Ottimo's* comments on the whole of the above

Open thy breast to the truth which comes next, and know that, as soon as the articulation of the brain is perfected in the embryo, the primal Mover turns to it, rejoicing at such a masterpiece of Nature, and breathes into it a new-born spirit replete with virtue, which absorbs into its own substance whatever it finds active in it (the embryo), and forms itself into one single soul, which lives, and feels, and turns itself back upon itself.

The new-born rational soul draws in the vegetative and sensitive souls, and identifies them with its own substance and with itself, and then forms one single soul having three powers, the vegetative, the sensitive, and the intellectual.

Benvenuto remarks on *sè in sè rigira*, that perhaps the meaning is that the movement of Reason proceeds from the Creator, to the created thing; and thence from the created thing to the Creator as it were in a circle (*circulariter*); but the meaning of *sè in sè rigira* is probably simpler, namely, "is self-conscious." Plants live, animals feel, but only man is self-conscious.

By a choice simile, Statius shows the purity of the new-born soul.

E perchè meno ammiri la parola,\*  
Guarda il calor † del sol che si fa vino,  
Giunto all' umor che dalla vite cola.

---

eighteen lines are especially valuable; and Pietro di Dante's on the whole speech of Statius should be studied.

\**la parola*: Statius is here referring to what he stated before, namely, that the new-born spirit breathed into the fetus by God attracts to itself whatever in it is of an active nature, and forms one single soul which is gifted with vigour, feeling and intelligence.

†*calor*: On this, Venturi (*Simil. Dant.*, pp. 9, 10, *simil.* 14) remarks: "Come il calor del sole (dice Stazio al Poeta, parlando della generazione del corpo umano) unito all' umor acqueo della vite lo trasmuta in vino, così lo spirito creato da Dio,



And that thou mayest the less wonder at my speech,  
look at the heat of the Sun, which gets turned into  
wine when combined with the juice that distils from  
the vine.

Benvenuto remarks upon the beauty and appropriateness of this comparison; for, as the Sun by its heat makes the wine, whose results are either the best or the worst, and to such an extent that some compare the nature of wine to the power of the gods, in like manner the Sun Eternal, in His beneficence, creates the rational soul, whose deeds will be either the best or the worst. So that the nature of the soul is almost divine, for it is as the result of the eternal light, and is indeed, as Themistius says, nearly all things.

Stattius, having established the production of the rational soul, now explains its mode of existence after the death of the body, and how it is that ærial bodies

e spirato nell' anima sensitiva, la trasmuta in anima intellettiva. Mirabile è la proprietà di questa similitudine, qualunque ne sia il valore scientifico. Il germe di siffatta imagine trovasi in più poeti greci: e anco Cicerone disse dell' uva (*De Senect.* xv, 53): 'quæ et succo terræ et calore solis augescens, primo est peracerba gustatu, deinde maturata dulcescit.' Sappiamo poi dal Magalotti che il gran Galileo pensò essere il vino un composto di umore e di luce (*Lett. Scient.* v). Onde il Redi nel suo *Ditirambo*, *Bacco in Toscana*, v. 15-18:—

'Sì bel sangue è un raggio acceso  
Di quel Sol, che in ciel vedete;  
E rimase avvinto e preso  
Di più grappoli alla rete.'

Antonelli (in Tommaséo's Commentary) writes: "Il filosofo qui contempla il sole sotto l' aspetto botanico, in quanto cioè influisce grandemente alla vita delle piante, alla produzione de' fiori, alla maturazione de' frutti; e dice cosa mirabilissima, perchè profondamente vera." After referring to the saying of Galileo cited above, Antonelli remarks: "Il Nostro [i. e. Dante] ha colto con diretta parola l' elemento che è maggiormente efficace. Diresti, il Galilei qui essere il Poeta, Dante lo scienziato."

can suffer from leanness. He first describes by another poetical figure the separation of the soul from the body.

E quando Lachesis \* non ha più lino,  
Solvesi † dalla carne, ed in virtute ‡ 80  
Ne porta seco e l' umano e il divino.

And when Lachesis has (on her distaff) no more thread (*i.e.*, when Man's life is run out), it (the soul) loosens itself from the flesh, and bears away latent within itself both the human (corporeal) and the divine (*i.e.* in the intellectual faculties).

Tommaséo explains this last line by saying that whereas the soul retains these corporeal and sensitive, as well as the spiritual or intellectual, faculties, virtually or potentially, the former will be actually reassumed when the soul is endued with its aërial body, as we shall presently see, by Statius showing what the separated soul casts off and what it retains.

L' altre § potenze tutte quante mute ;

---

\* *Lachesis*: E quando Lachesis non ha più lino e come dice addietro (*Purg.* xxi, 26), gli ha tratta tutta la conocchia; cioè compiuta sua vita; *Solvesi dalla carne, ed in vertute Seco ne porta e l' umano e 'l divino.* Efficace e vivo parlare! l' anima si scioglie dal corpo; ma porta seco virtualmente, cioè, in una viva potenza e pronta, le due vite suddette colla ragione, dal Poeta mirabilmente chiamate *l' umano e 'l divino.* "L' umano si spegne, mancandogli gli organi." (Cesari.)

† *Solvesi*: Compare *Virg. Æn.* iv, 693-695:—

"Tum Juno omnipotens, longum miserata dolorem  
Difficilesque obitus, Irim, demisit Olympo,  
Quæ luctantem animam nexosque resolveret artus."

‡ *in virtute*: Scartazzini says this is a scholastic expression, signifying, "virtually, potentially," in direct opposition to "formalmente, attualmente." Tommaséo explains that the human part of the soul will return actually (*tornerà in atto*) when it comes to assume its aërial body. As we have seen in note (\*) Cesari defines *in virtute* as "in una viva potenza e pronta."

§ *L' altre potenze*: It must be noticed that there is a distinct contrast between this line and the next. Statius has just said in

Memoria, \* intelligenza e volontade,  
In atto molto più che prima acute.

The other (corporeal) faculties are all of them mute (*i.e.*, inoperative); memory, intelligence and will (being spiritual faculties) are more acute in action than before.

Benvenuto says that, just as a sailor is not necessarily destroyed by the destruction or wearing out of his ship, so the soul, liberated from the body, has its own powers, and, although it may not use them mechanically, it still retains its intellectual powers even in greater perfection than before.

Status next tells Dante that the soul, immediately after the death of the body, in obedience to divine impulse, instinctively wings its way to the bank of

---

the preceding *terzina* that the soul, after death, being parted from the body, retains in its potentiality all the faculties, both the spiritual ones imparted by God, and the corporeal ones it assumed when it became united to the body. He now explains that the soul not only brings into operation the above-named spiritual faculties, but is able to turn them to greater account than before; for, being inorganic, they can be better exercised without the impediment of the body. The soul still retains its faculties of sight, hearing, etc., but does so like a dumb man, who cannot make use of his gift of speech from lacking the organ.

\* *Memoria*, et seq.: Compare St. August. (*De Trinit.* lib. x, cap. 18): "Hæc igitur tria, memoria, intelligentia, voluntas, quoniam non sunt tres vitæ, sed una vita: non tres mentes, sed una mens: consequenter utique nec tres substantiæ sed una substantia." And St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* p. i, qu. lxxvii, art. 8): "Omnes potentiæ animæ comparantur ad animam solam sicut ad principium. Sed quædam potentiæ comparantur ad animam solam sicut ad subjectum, ut intellectus et voluntas; et hujusmodi potentiæ necesse est quoddam maneat in anima, corpore destructo. Quædam verò potentiæ sunt in conjunctio sicut in subjecto, sicut omnes potentiæ sensitivæ partis et nutritivæ. Destructo autem subjecto, non potest accidens remanere. Unde corrupto conjuncto, non manent hujusmodi potentiæ actu, sed virtute tantum manent in anima sicut in principio vel radice."

Acheron, if doomed to Hell, or to the bank of the Tiber, if to be transported to Purgatory; and not until it reaches one of these shores does it know on which of the two roads it will have to travel; but, on its arrival at its appointed shore, it is at once turned to its allotted punishment.

Senz' arrestarsi, per sè stessa cade\* 85  
 Mirabilmente all' una delle rive;  
 Quivi conosce prima le sue strade.†  
 Tosto che loco li † la circonscrive,  
 La virtù formativa raggia intorno,  
 Così e quanto nelle membra vive; 90

\* *Senz' arrestarsi . . . cade . . . all' una delle rive*: Compare *Purg.* ii, 100-105:—

“Ond' io che era ora alla marina volto,  
 Dove l' acqua di Tevero s' insala,  
 Benignamente fui da lui ricolto.  
 A quelle foce, ha egli or dritta l' ala:  
 Perocchè sempre quivi si ricoglie,  
 Qual verso d' Acheronte non si cala.”

In *St. Luke* xvi, 22-23, we read: “the rich man also died, and was buried; and in hell he lifted up his eyes, being in torments, and seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom.”

† *Quivi conosce prima le sue strade*: Scartazzini points out that no one seems to have noticed that Dante here contradicts what he has said elsewhere, that a Devil took possession of the soul of Guido da Montefeltro as soon as ever it was loosed from the body (*Inf.* xxvii, 112 *et seq.*), and an Angel of that of Buonconte da Montefeltro, likewise at the instant of his death (*Purg.* v, 104, *et seq.*), in both cases there being a contest between the messenger of Heaven and the messenger of Hell. So both of these souls knew their allotted paths before falling upon one of the two shores.

‡ *li*: Dante means that the soul puts on an aërial body as soon as ever it has lighted on one of the shores. Compare St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars. iii, Suppl. qu. lxi, art. 1: “*Quamvis substantiæ spirituales secundum esse suum a corpore non dependant, corporalia tamen a Deo mediantibus spiritualibus gubernantur, ut dicit Augustinus . . . et Gregorius . . . et ideo est quædam convenientia spiritualium substantiarum ad corporales substantias per congruentiam quamdam, ut scilicet dignioribus substantiis digniora corpora adaptentur. . . . Quamvis autem*

Without a stop, in wondrous fashion it drops spontaneously upon one of the (two) shores; there first it learns its destined road. So soon as the place (whether Purgatory or Hell) there circumscribes it, the formative virtue beams around it, in the same shape and with the same measurement as (beamed) in the living members.

Scartazzini refers *così* to the form and features, and *quanto* to the measurement; so that Dante would mean that the soul, shedding forth its active power into the air, forms itself into a body, identical in form and features, and in the measurement or size of the human body that it animated in the world.

Statius next shows the new disposition which the soul acquires.

E come l' aer, quand' è ben piorno,\*

---

animabus post mortem non assignentur aliqua corpora, quorum sint formae, vel determinati motores, determinatur tamen eis quaedam corporalia loca per congruentiam quamdam secundum gradum dignitatis earum, in quibus sint quasi in loco, eo modo quo incorporalia esse possunt in loco . . . Incorporalia non sunt in loco modo aliquo nobis noto, et consueto, secundum quod dicimus corpora propriè in loco esse; sunt tamen in loco modo substantiis spiritualibus convenienti, qui nobis plenè manifestus esse non potest."

\* *piorno* = *piovorno*, which is equivalent to "carico di pioggia." Buti explains the text as "pregno d'acqua." The poet Carducci has the words "per lo ciel pioverno." Compare *Ezek.* i, 28: "As the appearance of the bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain." And Virgil (*Æn.* v. 88, 89), speaking of the colours of a serpent:—  
"ceum nubibus arcus

Mille jacet varios adverso sole colores."

And Petrarch, part i, *Son.* xciv:—

"Nè dopo pioggia vidi 'l celeste arco

Per l' aere in color tanto variarsi," etc.

And Tasso (*Ger. Liber.* ix, 62), speaking of Michael the Archangel:—

"Tale il Sol nelle nubi ha per costume

Spiegar dopo la pioggia i bei colori."

And Ovid (*Metam.* vi, 63-67):—

Per l' altrui raggio che in sè si riflette,\*  
 Di diversi color diventa adorno,  
 Così l' aer vicin quivi si mette  
 In quella forma che in lui suggella  
 Virtualmente l' alma che ristette: †

And as the atmosphere, when it is full-charged with rain, shows itself bedecked in many a hue, by reason of the rays of another (the Sun), which are reflected in it, so in this place does the neighbouring air set itself into that shape which the soul that has stopped (there) impresses upon it, by virtue of its (innate) formative power.

Benvenuto translates *virtualmente*: "quæ habet potentiam imprimendi talem formam." Scartazzini explains it "imprime in esso per propria virtù operatrice," or "per effetto della conservata virtù informativa."

Benvenuto remarks that the comparison of the incorporeal soul to fire, which is a subtle spiritual body, is very appropriate, for indeed some have thought the soul to be fire.

E simigliante poi alla fiammella †

---

"Qualis ab imbre solet percussus solibus arcus  
 Inficere ingenti longum curvamine cœlum,  
 In quo diversi niteant cum mille colores,  
 Transitus ipse tamen spectantia lumina fallit.  
 Usque adeo quod tangit idem est: tamen ultima distant."

\* *riflette*: Antonelli (in Tommaséo's Commentary) remarks that, although *riflette* now means "reflect," in the time of Dante it also meant "refract," and thus one may see that Dante was in a fair way towards understanding the nature of the rainbow.

† *ristette*: The soul having the power of operating on matter, and impressing upon the surrounding air the shape which it animated in life, forms for itself an aerial vesture. Ozanam (*Purg.* p. 423) says: "Dante se fait une opinion moyenne. Il emprunte à St. Thomas la notion de l'âme séparée qui recueille ses puissances intellectuelles plus actives que jamais, sa sensibilité comme endormie; à St. Augustin, à Origène, la notion de l'ombre ou du corps subtil."

‡ *simigliante . . . alla fiammella*: "La forma è il nuovo corpo aereo, onde immagina il Poeta rivestite le anime dopo la morte:

Che segue il foco là 'vunque si muta,  
 Segue allo spirto sua forma novella.  
 Perocchè quindi ha poscia sua paruta,\* 100  
 È chiamata ombra, e quindi organa † poi  
 Ciascun sentire infino alla veduta.

And then like unto a little flame which follows the fire whithersoever it shifts, so does its new shape accompany the spirit. And since it afterwards from this (its new shape) has its property of being visible, it is called a shade: and from this again it shapes the organs of each of the senses, even the sight.

Benvenuto says that some persons will have it that the passions and feelings of the body do not remain in the soul after its separation from the body, but rather something else that resembles them, like as a mechanic, who lacks both tools and materials, still has their shapes and forms before him. For, since the soul is naturally the perfection of the body, there remain in it, and in its powers of action, habits and passions which follow the movements of the body, just as in the mind of the sailor there remain the thoughts and imaginations of his ship, after he has been separated from it.

---

la qual forma (egli dice) segue lo spirito, come la fiammella il fuoco—Similitudine tanto scolpita, quanto semplice" (Venturi, p. 51, *simil.* 79).

\*[*aver*] *paruta* is interpreted in the *Gran Dizionario, per acquistare visibile aspetto*. The soul becomes visible by means of its aërial body (says Scartazzini); which body therefore is, as it were, the shadow of the soul (*l'ombra dell'anima*). Compare *Purg.* xxix, 142 :—

"Poi vidi quattro in umile paruta."

And *Purg.* xxvi, 70 :—

"Che ciascun' ombra fece in sua paruta."

In both these latter examples, *paruta* means "aspect, appearance," whereas in the passage we are discussing it means "the power of becoming visible."

† *organa* = *provvede di organi*.

And now at last Statius brings his long discourse to a conclusion by establishing his principal proposition, namely, that by these arguments the soul is shown to be able to suffer in the different ways, as though it had been seated in a body.

Quindi parliamo,\* e quindi ridiam noi,  
 Quindi facciam le lagrime e i sospiri  
 Che per lo monte aver sentiti puoi. 105  
 Secondo che ci affiggono † i disiri  
 E gli altri affetti, l' ombra si figura ;  
 E questa è la cagion di che tu ammiri."—

By means of this (aërial body) we speak, and by this laugh, by this we produce the tears and the sighs which thou mayest have heard all over the Mountain. According as the desires and the other passions make an impression upon us, so does the spirit take its shape; and this is the cause of what thou wonderest."

This is the reason why the soul, when separated from the body, can endure suffering, about which Dante was enquiring from Virgil, before he asked Statius to explain it.

*Division IV.*—While holding their profound conversation, the three Poets have been ascending the staircase from the Sixth Cornice to the one above, and, as Statius uttered the concluding words of his long discourse, they seem to have stepped on to the Seventh

\* *Quindi parliamo*: Dante has evidently in these lines closely followed Virgil, whose own ideas on the subject are very clearly expressed in *Æn.* vi, 723 *et seq.*

† *ci affiggono*: The *Gran Dizionario*, s.v. *affiggere*, § 13, specially notes that in this passage alone the word is equivalent to *impressionare, modificare*, i.e. give an impress to, regulate. But under § 11, a number of other passages are quoted from the *Divina Commedia* where *affiggersi* has the sense of *Fermarsi, posarsi*, such as *Inf.* xii, 115; *Purg.* xi, 135; *Purg.* xiii, 33; *Purg.* xxv, 4; *Purg.* xxxiii, 106; and *Par.* xxv, 26.



Cornice, the last one of all in Purgatory, wherein the sins of Sensuality, or Incontinence, are being purged.

A short explanation of what follows may not be out of place. As in the other Cornices, so in this one, the pathway, from about 12 to 15 feet broad, runs right round the mountain with the high rocky cliff (*la ripa*) above, and the edge of the precipice below. The spirits who are being punished for Sensuality stand against the rock, from which issue flames to torment them, but a wind, blowing from the contrary direction, that is, from the edge of the precipice, blows back the flames, and keeps them against the rock, so that a narrow pathway remains between the edge of the flames and the edge of the precipice, and on this alone can the Poets walk without being burned.

E già venuto all' ultima tortura \*

S' era per noi, † e volto alla man destra, ‡ 110

Ed eravamo attenti ad altra cura. §

\* *tortura*: This word is interpreted by Jacopo della Lana, *Anonimo Fiorentino*, Benvenuto, *Postill. Cass.*, Daniello, and others of the older Commentators in the sense of "turning" (*torcimento*), and that interpretation has been adopted by the *Accademici della Crusca*; but a great number of Commentators have preferred to attach to it the sense of "torture." Scartazzini, however, points out that *tortura* in the sense of "torment" did not enter into the Italian language till much later. In *Conv.* tr. iv, c. 7, ll. 73-76, Dante writes: "Il cammino, che altri senza scorta ha saputo tenere, questo scôrto erra, e *tortisce* per li pruni e per le ruine."

† *per noi*: The expression *venuto s' era per noi* is the rendering of the Latin *ventum erat ad* = we have come to; compare Virg. *Æn.* vi, 45: "Ventum erat ad limen." And *Georg.* iii, 98: "Ad praelia ventum est."

‡ *alla man destra*: As usual they turned to the right on entering a new Cornice. Compare *Purg.* xix, 80-81:—

"Se volete trovar la via più tosto,  
Le vostre destre sien sempre di furi."

§ *altra cura*: They had been in deep speculation as to how spirits can grow thin, but now they will have to turn to the more

Quivi la ripa fiamma in fuor balestra,\*  
 E la cornice spira fiato † in suso,  
 Che la riflette, e via da lei sequestra ;

And now we had arrived at the last turning, and had bent to the right hand, and were intent upon another care. Here the cliff darts a flame outwards, and from the Cornice is sent forth an upward blast, which turns the flame back, and drives it away from there.

Benvenuto interprets *sequestra* as separating the flame in two, so as to leave a narrow footway, as it were, between two walls of fire, but the interpretation I have followed, which is that of Fraticelli and Scartazzini, seems preferable, for the next three lines show very

---

practical question of how to avoid the flames on this new Cornice.

\* *la ripa fiamma in fuor balestra* : " Siamo ormai non lontani dal Paradiso terrestre; e la divina giustizia, o il Cherubino dall' ignea spada che fu posto a guardia di esso, lo circondò, si può dire, d' una siepe di fiamme, che a nessuno consentono entrarlo prima d' aver cancellata col fuoco ogni reliquia di affetto carnale. Le fiamme vengono saettate dalla ripa o sia dal fianco del monte, o riempiono tutto il settimo ed ultimo girone, lasciando sgombro soltanto un sentieruzzo sul lembo del ripiano; chè dal sesto girone che soggiace a questo, e dove le anime camminano in orazione e digiuno, spira un vento in alto e tutto intorno premendo in addietro le fiamme, apre quella viuzza non arsa ai passi del poeta, e forse per entro alle stesse fiamme invia aure benefiche ad alleviare e confortar quell' incendio." (Perez, *I Sette Cerchi*, pp. 238, 239).

† *la cornice spira fiato* : " E questo finge per convenienza, che come li beni terreni hanno a muovere la lussuria et incitano la carne, e la carne muove lo incendio unde viene la concupiscienza e l' atto carnale; così la ripa gitti la fiamma che tale peccato purghi; et allegoricamente, da l' astinenza e da la emacrazione de la carne risurga in quelli del mondo uno fervore di carità, che purghi ogni carnalità." (Buti.) Scartazzini disagrees here with an opinion of Perez, which would attribute the blast to the fanning of the air by the wings of the Angel of the Sixth Cornice. Were this so, there would only be the blast at the opening of the stairway, but it is evident from the text, that the wind in question was emitted from the margin all round the Cornice equally.

distinctly that the fire is on one side and the unprotected edge of the precipice on the other.

Onde ir ne convenia dal lato schiuso 115  
 Ad uno ad uno, ed io temeva il foco  
 Quinci, e quindi \* temea cadere in giuso.

For which reason we were obliged to walk one by one on the open side, and I was in fear of the fire on the left hand, and of falling headlong down on the right.

Virgil now warns Dante not to turn aside his eyes either to the right or left, but to look well to his footing. Benvenuto thinks this means allegorically, that the eyes ought to be curbed, for otherwise one may easily fall into the sin of Concupiscence.

Lo Duca mio dicea :—" Per questo loco  
 Si vuol tenere agli occhi stretto il freno, †  
 Perocch' errar potrebbesi per poco."— 120

My Leader said : " Along this place one will have to keep a tight rein on the eyes, for a very little might cause us to go astray."

Dante now relates how they hear the spirits of the Sensual chanting a hymn in praise of Chastity, just as in the other Cornices they have heard the voices of the penitents singing the praise of the virtue opposed to the particular sin they are purging. He then directs his attention to the penitents, whom up till now he has not remarked.

\* *Quinci, e quindi* : When the Poets emerged from the stairway into the Seventh and last Cornice, they turned as usual to the right hand. They have therefore the fire on their left hand (*quinci*), and the precipice on their right (*quindi*).

† *agli occhi stretto il freno* : Compare Propertius (II, xv, 16) :—  
 " Oculi sunt in amore duces,"  
 and Psalm cxix, 37 : " Turn away mine eyes from beholding vanity ;  
 and quicken thou me in thy way."

*Summæ Deus clementiæ*\* nel seno

Al grande ardore allora udii cantando,

Che di volger mi fe' caler non meno: †

E vidi spirti per la fiamma andando;

Perch' io guardava loro, ed a' miei passi,

125

Compartendo la vista a quando a quando.

*Summæ Deus clementiæ* I then heard being sung in the bosom of that great burning, which made me anxious to turn (to see who was singing) no less (anxiously than to mind my footing). And I saw spirits going through the flame; whereupon I looked at them and at my footsteps, sharing my attention from time to time between them.

Dante next tells how he heard the spirits crying aloud the words of the Blessed Virgin to the Archangel Gabriel, "I know not a man" (*St. Luke* i, 34). As we have

---

\* *Summæ Deus clementiæ*: The opening words of the hymn that the spirits in the flames were singing. There is only one hymn in the *Breviarium Romanum* that begins with these words, and that is the service of Lauds on the Festival of our Lady of the Seven Sorrows; but the words of that hymn have nothing to do with the sins purged in the Seventh Cornice. The principal Commentators explain, however, that Dante was quoting from the hymn sung at the service of Matins on Saturday, which we are told was in Dante's time somewhat differently worded, and was remodelled at a later period. It commences as follows:—

"*Summæ Parens clementiæ,*

Mundi regis qui machinam,

Unius et substantiæ,

Trinusque personis Deus:

Nostros pius cum canticis

Fletus benigne suscipe."

† *di volger mi fe' caler non meno*, etc.: Cesari remarks how naturally the whole action is described! Dante heard the sweet pathetic chant, and would turn at once, or would wish to do so, to see from whom the voices came, but the excessive caution he had need of, to take heed to his footsteps, compelled him to divide his attention, casting alternate glances, first in one direction, then in the other. Benvenuto explains it as though Dante would say: "I had at first turned my eyes to look after my footing, as Virgil had enjoined me, but now I turned them with no less care towards the fire, when I heard the sacred chant."

seen in the other Cornices, so we find here first an example from the life of the Virgin contrasted with the sin being purged: the next example is that of Helice.

The spirits are recording examples of the virtue of chastity, the opposite to sins of lust.

Appresso il fine ch' a quell' inno fassi,  
 Gridavano alto: \* *Virum non cognosco* ;  
 Indi ricominciavan l' inno bassi.  
 Finitolo, anco gridavano:—" Al bosco  
 Si tenne Diana, ed Elice † caccionne  
 Che di Venere avea sentito il toso."—

130

After the conclusion that is made to that hymn, they cried aloud: *Virum non cognosco* ; then they recommenced the hymn in low tones. When that was done, they cried out anew: "Diana abode in the wood, and drove from it Helice, who had felt the poison of Venus."

Benvenuto says that Diana, the moon, whose influence was thought to be favourable to maidenhood, is supposed to go forth with her virgin nymphs to the chase for the purpose of destroying wild beasts, that is, to promote the

\* *Gridavano alto*: The examples that are cited seem to have been always proclaimed in a loud voice. The prayers are always uttered softly.

† *Elice*: Helice, sometimes called Callisto, was supposed to have been the daughter of Lycaon, King of Arcadia. She was one of the attendant Nymphs of Diana, who dismissed her on account of an amour with Jupiter, and Juno turned her into a bear. Her son, Arcas, was given by Jupiter to Maia to be brought up. When Arcas was on the point of killing his mother during the chase, mother and son were placed by Jupiter among the stars, as the Great and Little Bear. (See Ovid, *Metam.* ii, 401-530, but more especially in ll. 453-465). In *Par.* xxxi, 31-33, Dante speaks of the Constellation of the Great Bear by the name of Helice:—

"Se i Barbari, venendo da tal plaga  
 Che ciascun giorno d' Elice si copra,  
 Rotante col suo figlio ond' ell' è vaga," etc.

mortification of the lusts of concupiscence, which lacerate and wound the soul and body worse than any wild beast.

In conclusion Dante describes another song in praise of chaste men and women.

Indi al cantar tornavano; indi donne  
 Gridavano, e mariti che fur casti,\*  
 Come virtute e matrimonio imponne.† 135  
 E questo modo credo che lor basti  
 Per tutto il tempo che il foco gli abbrucia;  
 Con tal cura ‡ convien, con cotai pasti  
 Che la piaga dassezzo § si ricucia.

Then they returned to their singing; then they proclaimed wives and husbands who were chaste, according as virtue and wedlock ordain. And this fashion I believe suffices them for the whole of the time that the fire burns them; with such a cure (*i.e.* remedial treatment), and with such a diet is it necessary that the last wound of all (the sins) should be healed (*lit.* sewn up).

Benvenuto says this is a beautiful and appropriate

\* *casti*: Benvenuto and Buti read "indi donne gridavano i mariti che fur casti," which would be translated: "after this, women took up the cry, and proclaimed the virtues of husbands who were chaste." But if this were the correct reading, we should not have been told what the men were proclaiming. We may also take for granted that all the spirits in the Cornice of either sex must have been guilty of sins of Sensuality, and would have enough to do in purging their own sins, without thinking of what was profitable for the souls of the other sex.

† *imponne*, *i.e.* *ne impone, c' impone, impone a noi, impone a noi uomini*. Boccaccio (*Decam.* Giorn. ii, Nov. v) uses *sonne* for *ne sono io* in the same way: "e sonne qual tu mi vedi."

‡ *cura* must not be understood here as "care" but as "cure," *i.e.* medical treatment like the French word *cure*, e.g. "la cure aux raisins, the grape-cure." *Cura, pasti*, and *piaga*, must all be taken together. The wound, the cure, and the diet.

§ *dassezzo*: Blanc interprets *Da sezzo* or *dassezzo* as "alla fine, finalmente, da ultimo." Compare *Inf.* vii, 130:—

"Venimmo al piè d' una torre al dassezzo."

metaphor; for, as the physician sews up an extensive wound, and sometimes burns it with fire that it may not putrefy, so does the Eternal Physician here purge away the sin of Sensuality by fire, that it may not introduce poisonous matter into the soul.

END OF CANTO XXV.

## CANTO XXVI.

THE SEVENTH CORNICE—SENSUALITY (CONTINUED)—THE PENITENTS IN TWO BANDS THAT MOVE IN OPPOSITE DIRECTIONS—EXAMPLES OF SENSUALITY—GUIDO GUINIZELLI (OR GUINICELLI)\*—ARNAUD DANIEL.

THIS Canto is so altogether exceptional as regards the subjects treated in it, that I think it desirable to abstain from the close explanation that I have endeavoured to give elsewhere.

In the concluding portion of the last Canto, the penance of those who had yielded to the sins of Sensuality was described. In this Canto Dante continues the subject.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into three parts.

*In the First Division*, from ver. 1 to ver. 51, Dante describes his encountering two bands of penitents moving in opposite directions, and the question that is put to him by the shade of Guido Guinicelli.

*In the Second Division*, from ver. 52 to ver. 102, he answers Guido's question, tells the spirits who he is, and desires those in both bands to tell him their names. Upon Guido Guinicelli naming himself, Dante addresses him with affectionate devotion as the father

---

\* As this poet is far better known by the latter of these modes of spelling his name, I shall adopt this instead of the former, except when copying the text.



of those who, like himself, have woven the sweet rhymes of love.

In the *Third Division*, from ver. 103 to ver. 146, Guido modestly disavows his own pre-eminence, and yields the palm to Arnaut Daniel, a Provençal poet and troubadour.

*Division I.*—The three Poets are stepping cautiously along in single file in the very narrow space that is vacant between the edge of the Cornice and the flames under the cliff-wall in which the spirits are moving along. We shall learn from ll. 16 and 17 that Dante is walking behind Virgil and Statius. The flames are on their left hand and the precipice on their right. Virgil again warns Dante to beware how he walks.

Mentre che sì per l' orlo, uno innanzi altro,  
Ce n' andavamo, e spesso il buon Maestro  
Diceva:—"Guarda; giovi ch' io ti scaltro."—\*

While we thus were going along the edge (of the Cornice), one before the other, the good Master kept saying: "Take heed; let it avail that I warn thee."

Benvenuto thinks that Virgil was allegorically warning Dante against the danger of falling into the sin of Sensuality.

---

\* *ti scaltro*: "ti fo cauto a scansare e il precipizio e la fiamma." See the *Gran Dizionario*, which interprets *scaltrire* and *scaltrare*, "di rizzo e inesperto fare altrui astuto e sagace." Compare Petrarch, part i, *Canz.* x, st. 2:—

"L' un a me noce, e l' altro  
Altrui, ch' io non lo scaltro."

Varchi (*Ercolano*, Venetia, 1580, p. 46) defines the word: "Dicesi ancora . . . con voce più gentile, e usata da' compositori nobili, *scaltrire*, onde viene *scaltro*, e *scaltrito*, cioè accorto, e sagace." Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) says the word is derived from the Latin *callere*, to instruct, to draw attention to anything.

We have said that the flames were on Dante's left hand. We now hear that the Sun was shining on his right. The effect of this is that his shadow is cast upon the flames. The only way that Dante could be seen to have a shadow was that, where it was projected on the flames, they showed redder, as fire always does when seen in the shade. This phenomenon is at once noticed by the spirits, who ponder over it for awhile, and then, remarking to each other that they are in presence of a living man, they all flock towards Dante in astonishment.

Feriami il Sole \* in sull' omero destro,

---

\* *Feriami il Sole*, et seq.: In Tommaséo's commentary may be read a dissertation by Antonelli as to the position of the Poets, as well as that of the Sun, and the probable hour of the day, which he thinks was about 4 p.m.: "Al principio del Canto precedente, quando i Poeti cominciavano a salir la scala, era circa l' ora seconda pomeridiana. Lunga doveva esser la scala, e anche è da credere con qualche fermata, se Stazio intanto compie il suo lungo ragionamento. Poi erano venuti camminando per la settima cornice, e udendo e vedendo anime nel grande ardore. Tutto considerato si può tenere per probabile che nel momento in cui avverte il Poeta d' essere ferito dal sole sull' omero destro, fosse a un bel circa [*as nearly as possible*] dopo il mezzodì l' ora quarta. Ciò s' accorda coi due versi seguenti; perciocchè il sole distando circa un' ora e mezzo dall' occaso, l' occidente doveva mutare in bianco il cilestro [*azure*] natural colore del cielo. Poste dunque le quattro, il sole feriva alla spalla destra il Poeta, questi si trovava da destra a sinistra per l' appunto nel piano del verticale, in cui era il sole stesso in quell' ora, e perciò aveva camminato da tramontana verso ponente per un numero di gradi eguale all' *azimut* attuale del sole; chiamandosi dagli astronomi *azimut* di un astro, l' angolo che in un dato punto viene formato dalla meridiana di quel punto e l' intersezione del piano orizzontale su cui è la meridiana col piano verticale ov' è l' astro. Ma il sole con una declinazione boreale di undici gradi, con un angolo orario di quattro ore e ad una latitudine australe di gradi trentuno e minuti quaranta, aveva un *azimut* di gradi sessantatré e minuti quarantadue, contato da settentrione; dunque altret-

Che già raggiando tutto l' occidente	5
Mutava in bianco aspetto di cilestro; *	
Ed io facea con l' ombra più rovente	
Parer la fiamma; e pure a tanto indizio †	
Vid' io molt' ombre andando poner mente.	
Questa fu la cagion che diede inizio	10
Loro a parlar di me; e cominciârsi	

tanto aveva girato da quel punto il Poeta, e gli restavano quindi poco più che ventisei gradi di giro per giungere al vero punto di ponente della montagna." "Some of my readers (says Dr. Moore, *Time References*, p. 109) may remember that these few lines are quoted by Mr. Ruskin (*Mod. Painters*, ii, p. 159), as probably the finest description in literature of intense heat. He maintains that in these few very simple, and in some sense common-place, touches, Dante with no help from smoke or cinders has produced a more vivid effect than Milton has secured in ten lines of elaborate description and varied imagery. Dante's few words suggest, as Ruskin says, 'lambent annihilation.' I wish I had space to illustrate further this splendid and unequalled power in Dante, of piercing at once to the very heart of things, and revealing, as it were, a whole world of scenery, or of emotion, or of passion at a flash, and as often as not by a flash of silence, that is more eloquent than any words."

\* *cilestro* is, according to the *Gran Dizionario*, the "color chiaro del cielo puro," whereas *azzurro* is said to be "colore alquanto più pieno del *cilestro*, e che anche si dice *Turchino*;" so that we may take *cilestro* to be a paler blue than azure. The two colours are defined by Boccaccio, in the opening words of the *Giornata ix*, of the *Decameron*: "La luce, il cui splendore a notte fugge, aveva già l' ottavo cielo d' azzurrino in color *cilestro* mutato tutto." The *Anonimo Fiorentino* comments: "il Sole facea la plaga occidentale tutta bianca, imperò che di suo colore è l' aere *cilestro*: e quando il Sole è senza nuvole, sì lo biancheggia per la luce de' suoi razzi (*i.e. raggi*)."

† *pure a tanto indizio*: Scartazzini points out that Dante's shadow, falling on the flame, is far less visible than when noticed by the spirits on other occasions. Dante does not even say that *l' ombra si vedeva*, but that it *facea . . . più rovente parer la fiamma*. The *indizio* therefore was exceedingly small to the spirits enveloped in the flames, but Dante evidently wishes to emphasize their quick observation, for he says that merely (*pure*) at that small indication they detected the probable contiguity of a living being.

A dir:—"Colui non par corpo fittizio."—\*  
 Poi verso me,† quanto potevan farsi,  
 Certi si feron, sempre con riguardo  
 Di non uscir dove non fossero arsi.

15

Striking me on the right shoulder was the Sun, who, darting forth his rays, was already changing the whole West from its azure hue into white; and with my shadow I was making the flame appear more ruddy; and merely to that indication (of my being alive), I perceived many of the shades, as they passed, giving heed. This was the occasion that gave them an opening to speak about me; and they began to say one to another: "That man does not seem a fictitious body (like ours)." Then certain of them came towards me, as near as they could, always giving heed not to come out where they could not be burned.

They would not for one single instant interrupt their penance. It must be noticed that, in Purgatory, the spirits not only submit willingly to the chastisement imposed upon them, but they actually love it. In *Purg.* xi, 73, Oderisi begs Dante to walk stooping beside him; in xiv, 124, Guido del Duca prays him to depart, as he is more desirous of weeping than of talking; in xvi, 142, Marco Lombardo will not listen any more to him for fear of leaving the pitchy smoke; in

\* *fittizio* (according to the *Gran Dizionario*) is that which is not what it seems. The bodies of the spirits in Purgatory and Hell were aërial bodies, and not what they seemed, as may be seen in *Purg.* ii, 79, where Dante, after failing to embrace the impalpable form of Casella, exclaims:—

"OO ombre vane, fuor che nell' aspetto!"

*Colui non par corpo fittizio*, means then, "Colui (Dante) ha corpo di vera carne, non composto, finto, d'aria, come i nostri."

† *verso me* . . . *Certi si feron*: Compare *Purg.* ii, 67-75; where the newly-arrived spirits in the *Anti-Purgatorio* flock round Dante when they notice his respiration. *Farsi avanti* is a well-known Tuscan idiom, meaning to step forward. *Farsi verso uno*: to approach any one. Compare *Purg.* viii, 52:—

"Vèr me si fece, ed io vèr lui mi fei:"

xviii, 115, the penitents entreat him not to ascribe it to any discourtesy if they leave him, but only to their wish to move on; in xix, 139, Pope Adrian bids him pass on, and not retard his penitent weeping; in xxiv, 91, Forese parts from him, giving as a reason that, in that kingdom, the time is too precious; and here the penitents take heed to keep within the flames.

One of the spirits now addresses Dante. We shall learn from v. 92 \* that the speaker is Guido Guinicelli, of whom Benvenuto relates that he was a knight of a very illustrious family of Bologna, banished for their imperialist sympathies by a civil sedition. Benvenuto expresses his regret to think of how many men, like Guido, virtuous in other ways, have been marred by a disposition to licentiousness. Guido now invites Dante's attention, telling him that he and all his companions in suffering are burning and thirsting with eagerness to know the reason of the shadow cast by Dante on the flames which are tormenting him.

—“O tu che vai, non per esser più tardo,†  
Ma forse reverente, agli altri dopo,  
Rispondi a me che in sete ed in foco ardo: ‡

---

\* “Son Guido Guinizelli, e già mi purgo  
Per ben dolermi prima ch' all' estremo.”

† *non per esser più tardo*: The Commentators mostly point out that Dante had been getting lighter and lighter as each successive burden of sin, symbolized by the several P's, had been removed by the successive Angels of the Cornices. He has now but one to be erased on leaving the present Cornice, and his movements consequently are but little less speedy than those of the other two Poets, to whom out of deference he yields the precedence.

‡ *in sete ed in foco ardo*: Daniello seems to give the best interpretation of this passage. He writes: “*Ardo in fuoco, ov' io purgo il peccato della carne, e ardo in sete, cioè in desiderio ardentissimo d' intendere chi tu sei,*” etc. The explanation is

Nè solo a me la tua risposta è uopo ;  
 Chè tutti questi n' hanno maggior sete      20  
 Che d' acqua fredda Indo o Etiòpo.  
 Dinne com' è che fai di te parete \*  
 Al sol, come se tu non fossi ancora  
 Di morte entrato dentro dalla rete."—

"O thou, who goest behind the others, not from being slower, but perchance out of reverence, reply to me, who am burning in thirst and fire: nor is it by me alone that thine answer is needed; for all these here have a thirst for it greater than has Indian- or Æthiop for cold water. Tell us how it is that thou makest thyself a wall against the Sun, as though thou hadst not yet passed into the toils of death."

Benvenuto says the simile is very appropriate, for Death casts its net into the great sea of mortals, and lays hold of every species of living being.

Dante would at once have complied with this appeal, and have named himself, but his attention is diverted by the arrival of a fresh band of spirits.

Si mi parlava un d' essi, ed io mi fora      25

needed, since thirst was not one of the punishments of this Cornice, but of the previous one. Hunger and Thirst are the penalties for Gluttony, and Burning for Incontinence. Compare *Inf.* xxvii, 22-24, where Guido da Montefeltro says to Dante:—

"Perch' io sia giunto forse alquanto tardo,  
 Non t' incresca restare a parlar meco:  
 Vedi che non incresce a me, ed ardo."

\* *parete* usually means the wall of a room, a partition wall, as distinguished from *muro*, the outer wall. It is, however, sometimes used to signify *outer wall*, sometimes as the terraced wall of the vine-clad hills in South Italy, in which sense we find it in *Purg.* iii, 99: "soperchiar questa parete," i.e. the outer wall of the Cornice. Here it has the signification of *ostacolo*. Compare *Purg.* xxxii, 4, 5:—

"Ed essi quinci e quindi avean parete

Di non caler" [i.e. a wall, or obstacle, of indifference]. Lamennais explains it in a note: "un mur de non se soucier."

Già manifesto,\* s' io non fossi atteso †  
 Ad altra novità ch' apparse allora ;  
 Chè per lo mezzo del cammino acceso  
 Venia gente col viso incontro a questa,  
 La qual mi fece a rimirar sospeso. 30  
 Lì veggio d' ogni parte farsi presta  
 Ciascun' ombra, e baciarsi una con una,  
 Senza restar, contente a breve festa. ‡

Thus spoke one of them to me, and I should have straightway made myself known, had I not turned my attention to another new sight, which then appeared ; for in the middle of the fiery path there came a crowd of people with their faces turned the opposite way to those who had made me stop to gaze at them in wonder. There (where they met) I saw all the shades advance in haste and kiss one another without stopping, content with a brief greeting.

Dante compares this encounter of the two companies of spirits to that of two troops of ants.

\* *io mi fora Già manifesto* : i.e. "mi sarei già manifestato." *Manifesto* is a syncope for *manifestato*, which Nannucci (*Anal. Crit.* p. 403, vi) says was very frequent, e.g. *tronco* for *troncato* ; *mozzo* for *mozzato*, etc.

† *fossi atteso* : Scartazzini says that the early writers used generally to employ the auxiliary verb *essere* with the verb *attendere*, in preference to *avere*. Compare Giov. Villani, vii, cap. 7 : "Lo re Manfredi veggendo apparire l' oste del re Carlo, avuto suo consiglio, prese partito del combattere . . . ma in ciò prese mal partito, che *se fosse atteso* [for *se avesse atteso*, i.e. *aspettato*] uno o due giorni, lo re Carlo e sua oste erano morti e presi senza colpo di spada," etc.

‡ *festa* : Among the many significations of *festa* given in the *Gran Dizionario*, we find in § 32 : "Di liete accoglienze reciproche, e quindi in forma di riflessivo." Compare Fortiguerra, *Il Riciardetto*, xvi, st. 31 :—

"E si abbracciano insieme e si fan festa,  
 E la tardanza solo è lor molesta."

And Boccaccio, *Decam.* Giorn. i, Nov. ii : "Al quale, come Giannotto seppe che venuto se n' era, niuna cosa meno sperando che del suo farsi cristiano, se ne venne, e gran festa insieme si fecero." And Giorn. iv, Nov. i : "dove trovato Guiscardo, insieme maravigliosa festa si fecero."

Così per entro loro schiera bruna \*  
 S' ammusà l' una con l' altra formica, 35  
 Forse ad espiar † lor via e lor fortuna.

Thus in the midst of their dusky phalanx will one  
 ant meet another head to head, perchance to get  
 (mutual) information of their road, and of their  
 fortune.

The ants give each other information, as to the path  
 to be pursued, and as to the good or bad fortune they  
 have had in finding food.

At this point Dante notices that the spirits, after  
 exchanging greetings that are merely friendly, in-  
 nocent, and devoid of any unworthy feelings, vie with  
 one another in simultaneous denunciation of Incon-  
 tinence in its blackest forms. With one heart and

\* *schiera bruna*: This passage was probably suggested to Dante  
 from parallel ones in Virgil and Ovid. Compare Virg. *Æn.* iv,  
 402-405:—

“Ac, veluti ingentem formicæ farris acervum  
 Cum populant, hiemis memores, tectoque reponunt;  
 It nigrum campis agmen, prædamque per herbas  
 Convectant calle angusto.”

And Ovid, *Metam.* vii, 624-626:—

“Hic nos frugilegas aspeximus agmine longo  
 Grande onus exiguo formicas ore gerentes,  
 Rugosoque suum servantes cortice callem.”

† *espiar*: Others read *spiar*. See *Gran Dizionario*, s.v. *spiare*.  
 “To search, to investigate, to explore.” Varchi (*L' Hercolano*,  
 ed. 1588, pp. 58, 59) defines the word thus: “*Origliare* è, quando  
 due o più ritiratisi in alcun luogo favellano di segreto, stare di  
 nascoso all' uscio, e porgere l' orecchie per sentire quello dicono:  
 il verbo generale è *spiare*, verbo non meno infame, che *origliare*,  
 sebbene si piglia alcuna volta in buona parte [as in the text], dove  
 far la spia si piglia sempre in cattiva, il che si dice volgarmente  
 essere referendario.” Compare also Petrarch, part i, *Canz.* xv,  
 st. 6:—

“Tu sai in me il tutto, Amor; s' ella ne spia,  
 Dinne quel che dir dei.”

Blanc says that *spiare* is akin to the German *spähen*, “to in-  
 vestigate.” Compare also *Psalm* cxxxix, 2 (*Prayer Book Ver-  
 sion*): “And spiest out all my ways.”



voice they loudly shout out different examples of this sin in its hideous varieties.

Tosto che parton l' accoglienza amica,  
 Prima che il primo passo li trascorra,  
 Sopragridar\* ciascuna s' affatica ;  
 La nuova gente :—" Soddoma e Gomorra ;"—† 40  
 E l' altra :—" Nella vacca entra Pasife,‡  
 Perchè il torello a sua lussuria corra."—

As soon as they terminate their friendly greeting, before even the first footstep passes away from that spot, each (spirit) strives to out-cry the other; the newcomers (explain): "Sodom and Gomorrah"; and the others: "Into the cow enters Pasiphaë, in order that the bull may run to her lust."

It is well to explain here that the spirits that shouted *Sodom and Gomorrah* were those that arrived last, and at whom Dante had stopped to gaze in wonder. We are to infer that their crime had been the same detestable one as that of Brunetto Latini and his companions, described in *Inf.* xv and xvi. As this band went off to the left, we are to infer that they had been the more guilty of the two. The company whose cry was the monstrous episode of Pasiphaë, are

\* *Sopragridar*, of which Tommaséo remarks: "Voce potentissima, nella forma di quelle de' Salmi: *supergaudeant* (*Psalm* xxxiv, 19), *supersperavi* (*Psalm* cxviii, 43)" (*Vulgate*).

† *Soddoma e Gomorra*: "Due nomi, che umiliano l' umano orgoglio, ricordando come un popolo intero, giovani e vecchi, può scender sì basso, e in appetiti peggio che brutali così sformatamente corrompersi, da trovare argomento a sole voglie nefande la stessa bellezza degli Angeli. Due nomi, che atterriscono colla memoria del fuoco prodigioso, che a punire il fuoco d' infami libidini distrugge fertilissima terra e le toglie perfino la virtù di fruttificare, simboleggiando la sterilità infelice di quel vizio, a cui il poeta bene assegna nell' Inferno la landa sterile come libica arena, e le larghe falde di fuoco pioventi di neve in alpe senza vento" (*Perez, I Sette Cerchi*, pp. 251, 252).

‡ *Pasife*: See Virg. *Bucol. Ecl.* vi, 45-55.

those spirits with whom Dante had been conversing when the newcomers entered upon the scene. These, on the separation of the two bands, continue to go in the same direction as that pursued by the Poets, which is, of course, to the right; and according to the usual laws of Dante's Hell and Purgatory, where two companies move, the one to the right, and the other to the left, it is assumed that those to the right have incurred guilt of a less heinous description than those to the left. Whatever may be our conclusion, in a matter so repulsive, it is undesirable to go closely into detail.

After likening the separation of these two companies of spirits to a flight of cranes, which parts into two flocks that fly off in opposite directions, Dante relates that the newly arrived spirits go their way, while those whom he had first met, draw as close to him as they can without issuing from the flames, and await his answer to their previous question.

Poi come gru,\* ch' alle montagne Rife †

---

\* *gru*: It is remarkable that the word "*gru*" only occurs twice in the *Divina Commedia*, and both times as a simile connected with those punished for Sensuality. The other instance is in *Inf.* v, 46-49. Compare also Virg. *Æn.* x, 265, 266:—

"Strymoniae dant signa gruēs, atque aethera tranant  
Cum sonitu, fugiuntque Notos clamore secundo."

See also *Purg.* xxiv, 64-66.

† *Rife*: The Rhiphæan mountains were supposed to be situated in the North of Scythia, but the name was applied to any cold mountain in a northern country. Compare Virg. *Georg.* i, 240-241:—

"Mundus ut ad Scythiam Rhipæasque arduus arces  
Consurgit; premitur Libyæ devexus in Austros."

And *Georg.* iv, 518:—

"Arva Rhipæis nunquam viduata pruinis."

Volasser parte, e parte invêr l' arene,  
 Queste del giel, quelle del sole schife; 45  
 L' una gente sen va, l' altra sen viene,  
 E tornan lagrimando ai primi canti,\*  
 Ed al gridar che più lor si conviene; †  
 E raccostârsi a me, come davanti,  
 Essi medesmi che m' avean pregato, 50  
 Attenti ad ascoltar nei lor sembianti.

Then like cranes, which should fly part to the Rhiphæan mountains, and part towards the sands (of Libya), the latter shunning the ice, the former the Sun; so one crowd (of spirits) goes, the other comes, and weeping they return to their first songs, and to the cry which suits them best; and those same who had lately entreated me (to speak) pressed close up to me, as before (the others arrived they had been doing), showing in their countenances great attention to listen.

Their chant was *Summæ Deus clementiæ*, their cry was one of the examples of chastity which best conveyed the lesson of the contrary to their special sin. Benvenuto says that it is more honourable to chant and cry out the names of the All Merciful God and the Virgin Mary, than to cry out Sodom and Gomorrah and the like.

*Division II.*—Dante now, in answer to the question put to him, admits that he is a living man, and gets from the spirits information as to themselves, and as to

---

\* *primi canti*: Compare *Inf.* xvi, 19-20:—

“ Ricominciâr, come noi ristemmo, ei  
 L' antico verso.”

In *La Giostra*, lib. i, st. 60, Poliziano expresses the same idea:—

“ E l' usignuol sotto le amate fronde  
 Cantando ripetea l' antico pianto.”

† *gridar che più lor si conviene*: This, thinks Scartazzini, refers to the examples of chastity quoted in the last Canto (ll. 128-135), of which each company selected the one that best contrasted with their own particular form of Incontinence.

the other band that have gone off the other way. He begins by telling them that he had neither died when young nor when old, but that his body is present as well as his soul. Benvenuto explains this to mean that Dante is not only alive, but of middle age.

And now because, with the petition the spirits had made to Dante, they had at the same time assured him that they did not think that it was from any slothful lack of zeal that he was walking last of the three poets, he therefore, who, as Benvenuto points out, sought not praise, but purgation of his sins, answers humbly, confessing his negligence and ignorance.

Io, che due volte avea visto lor grato,\*

Incominciai:—"O anime sicure

D' aver, quando che sia, di pace stato,

Non son rimase acerbe nè mature

55

Le membra mie di là, ma son qui meco †

\* *lor grato*, i.e. *lor gradimento*, *lor piacere*. *Grato* here is a substantive, much used by the early poets. Let one instance suffice. Compare Dante da Majano, in *Poeti del Primo Secolo della Lingua Italiana*, Firenze, 1816, 2 vols. 8vo, vol. ii, p. 450:—

"E non son meritato

Già d' alcun bene, che di gio' sentisse

Da quella, in cui s' affisse

Lo meo volere, e 'l grato."

Mr. Haselfoot remarks on *due volte* in this line, that this is the second time the shades had come as close up to Dante as they could without leaving the fire (ll. 13-15), in their anxiety to know how he could be alive. He has therefore twice seen that they would be pleased with the information.

† *Le membra mie . . . son qui meco*: Aristotle taught that Man was the body unformed by the soul. Plato held Man to be the soul alone disjoined from the body. Dante here follows the doctrine of his master, St. Thomas Aquinas, that Man is neither the body alone, nor the soul alone, but the two together. See *Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. lxxv, art. 4: "Nam ad naturam speciei pertinet id quòd significat definitio. Definitio autem in rebus naturalibus non significat formam tantùm, sed formam et materiam. Unde materia est pars speciei in rebus naturalibus, non quidem materia signata, quæ est principium individuationis, sed materia

Col sangue suo e con le sue giunture.  
 Quinci su vo per non esser più cieco:  
 Donna è di sopra che n' acquista grazia,\*  
 Per che il mortal pel vostro mondo reco.

60

I, who had twice perceived what they desired, began: "O souls, secure of attaining a state of peace, whenever it may be, (know that) my limbs have not remained on yon earth either unripe or ripened (*i.e.* either in childhood or old age), but are here with me, with their blood and with their joints. Up this mountain am I going so as to be no longer blind (to God's grace): up above (in Heaven) there is a Lady (the Blessed Virgin) who wins grace for us, in virtue of which (grace) I bear the mortal part of me through your world.

Dante, having now satisfied the eager curiosity of the Spirits as to his being a living man, asks them to reveal to him their own names, as well as those of the spirits in the other company.

Ma se la vostra maggior voglia sazia  
 Tosto divenga, sì che il ciel † v' alberghi,  
 Ch' è pien d' amore e più ampio si spazia,

communis . . . Sicut enim de ratione hujus hominis est quòd sit ex anima, et carnibus, et ossibus; oportet enim de substantiâ speciei esse quiddam est communiter de substantiâ omnium individuorum sub specie contentorum."

\* *Donna è di sopra che n' acquista grazia*: Some Commentators pass over this passage, others take it for granted that Beatrice is the lady meant, but Scartazzini contends very reasonably that it refers to the lady in Heaven, *i.e.* the Blessed Virgin, who sent Lucia to Virgil; see *Inf.* ii, 94-96:—

"Donna è gentil nel ciel, che si compiangè  
 Di questo impedimento ov' io ti mando,  
 Sì che duro giudizio lassù frange."

He lays great stress on *n' acquista grazia*, who wins grace for us men, and says that, even conceding that it was Beatrice who won grace for Dante, no one can make out that Dante would mean that she acquires grace for all men.

† *il ciel . . . Ch' è . . . più ampio si spazia*: *i.e.* the Empyrean. Compare *Inf.* ii, 82-84, where Virgil asks Beatrice how she has brought herself to quit the Empyrean to visit him in *Limbo*:—

Ditemi, acciocchè ancor carte ne verghi,\*

Chi siete voi, e chi è quella turba

65

Che se ne va dietro ai vostri terghi? —†

But, so may your supreme aspiration be soon fulfilled, in such wise that your abode may be that Heaven (the Empyrean) which is filled with love and is the widest in extent, tell me, that I may hereafter record it on my pages, who are ye, and who are that multitude that behind your backs are going away (in the opposite direction)? "

Dante describes the effect of his answer, and relates

"Ma dimmi la cagion che non ti guardi  
Dello scender quaggiuso in questo centro  
Dall' ampio loco ove tornar tu ardi."

See also *Conv.* ii, 4: "L'ordine del sito (*Paradiso*) è questo, che 'l primo (*cielo*) ch' è numerato è quello dov' è la Luna: lo secondo è quello dov' è Mercurio: lo terzo è quello dov' è Venere: lo quarto è quello dov' è il Sole: lo quinto è quello dov' è Marte: lo sesto è quello dov' è Giove: lo settimo è quello dov' è Saturno: l' ottavo è quello delle Stelle fisse: lo nono è quello che non è sensibile, se non per questo movimento che è detto di sopra, lo quale chiamano molti cielo Cristallino, cioè diafano, ovvero tutto trasparente. Veramente fuori di tutti questi, li Cattolici pongono lo cielo Empireo, che tanto vuol dire, quanto cielo di fiamma, ovvero luminoso; e pongono esso essere immobile, per avere in se, secondo ciascuna parte, ciò che la sua materia vuole . . . E quieto e pacifico è lo luogo . . . degli spiriti beati, secondo che la santa Chiesa vuole, che non può dire menzogna . . . Questo è il sovrano edificio del mondo, nel quale tutto il mondo s' inchioda, e di fuori dal quale nulla è." See also St. Thom. Aquin. *Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. lxvi, art. 3; and qu. cxii, art. 1.

\* *carte ne verghi*: Compare *Petrarch*, part i, son. xcvi:—

"O d' ardente virtute ornata e calda  
Alma gentil, cui tante carte vergo."

And Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* xxxvii, st. xv:—

"Bisognerà ch' io verghi più d' un foglio,  
E ch' oggi il Canto mio d' altro non parlo."

And Segneri, *Quaresimale* (Turin, 1876), Predica xxi, cap. ii, p. 221: "Fate ora voi ragion . . . quanto è probabile ch' ei si fosse sempre rimasto a guidar l' aratro, in cambio di esercitare la penna? e a solcar le campagne, in cambio di vergare le carte?" And Poliziano, *La Giostra*, ii, st. 8:—

"Ma volle sol di noi vergar le carte."

† *dietro ai vostri terghi*: "perchè in fatti, voltando indietro dopo il baciarsi, ciascuna delle due torme, si volsero insieme le spalle" (Cesari).

how the spirits, when they heard of his being alive,  
were struck dumb with astonishment.

Non altrimenti stupido si turba \*

Lo montanaro, e rimirando ammuta,

Quando rozzo e salvatico s' inurba,†

Che ciascun' ombra fece in sua paruta ;

Ma poichè furon di stupore scarche,

Lo qual negli alti cor tosto s' attuta,‡

70

\* *stupido si turba* *Lo montanaro*: Venturi (*Simil. Dant.* p. 171, *sim.* 297) contrasts this scene with the preceding simile (*Purg.* viii, 61), where Sordello and Nino dei Visconti start back, on hearing that Dante is alive in Purgatory. Theirs is but the natural wonder of intelligent minds, whereas the rustic from the hills is all agape and tongue-tied in the bewilderment of stupefaction. Compare Dante's *Epistle* (v) for all and for each of the Kings of Italy, etc., § 7: "Nec tantum ut assurgatis exhortor, sed ut illius obstupescatis aspectum." In *Conv.* iv, 25, ll. 48-60, Dante defines this condition of the mind: "Lo Stupore è uno stordimento d' animo, per grandi o maravigliose cose vedere, o udire o per alcun modo sentire; che in quanto paiono grandi, fanno *reverente* a sè quello che le sente; in quanto paiono mirabili, fanno *voglioso di sapere* di quelle quello che le sente. E però gli antichi regi nelle loro magioni faceano magnifici lavori d' oro e di pietre e d' artificio, acciocchè quelli che le vedessero, divenissero *stupidi*, e però *reverenti* e domandatori delle condizioni onorevoli del rege."

† *s' inurba*: Buti interprets *inurbarsi* as coming into town for the first time (*s' inurba*, cioè mette sè *prima* nella città). We find this word used by Pulci, *Morgante Maggiore*, xxv, st. 299:—

"Egli era il dì dinanzi un lupo entrato

Nella città per mezzo della turba,

E fu per male augurio interpretato,

Chè non senza cagion lupo s' inurba."

‡ *s' attuta*: This word, which is of frequent use, is derived from the Latin *tutari*, "to ward off, to seek to avert," etc. Varchi (*L' Hercolano*, Venice, 1580, p. 79) thus defines it: "*Attutare*, quando è della prima coniugazione, non viene da *tuto*, nè significa *assicurare* come hanno scritto Alcuni, ma è propriissimo, e bellissimo verbo, il cui significato non può sprimersi con un verbo solo, perchè è quello che i latini dicono *or sedere*, *or comprimere*, *or retundere*, e tal volta *extinguere*, e usollo il Boccaccio—se ben mi ricordo—non solo nella novella di Alibech due volte, ma ancora nell' ottava della *Tescide* dicendo:—

'Onde attutata s' era veramente

La polvere, e il fumo,' etc.,

e Dante, la cui proprietà è maravigliosa, disse nel 26 del *Pur-*

—“Beato te, che delle nostre marche,”—

Ricominciò colei che pria m'inchiese,

—“Per morir meglio \* esperienza imbarche! †

75

*gatorio,*” etc. Compare also Dino Compagni, *Cronica*, lib. iii (Firenze, 1879), vol. ii, p. 327: “E Uguccone della Faggiuola co' Magalotti e con molti nobili seminorno tanta discordia in Arezzo, che come nimici stavano i potenti Ghibellini; ma pure poi s' attornò.” And Tasso, *Ger. Liber. xx*, st. 121:—

“Qui pon fine alle morti; e in lui quel caldo

Disdegno marzial par che s' attuti,”

and Giov. Villani, xii, cap. 21: “E in questo modo s' attutò l' arrabbiato e furioso popolo disposti a rubare e a malfare.”

\* *morir meglio*: I am here following Dr. Moore in his edition of Dante (*Tutte le Opere di Dante Alighieri*, Oxford, 1894) in reading *Per morir meglio*, instead of *viver* which, Dr. Moore (in 1888) wrote to me, was the reading of the vast majority of modern editions and Commentaries, and the one he personally preferred *then*, though he mentioned that he had at that time found *morir* in forty-one Codices against *viver* in seven. In his *Textual Criticism*, pp. 422, 423, Dr. Moore had said that on critical grounds, apart from MS. evidence, *viver* appeared to him preferable, partly on the ground urged by Scartazzini, that it suits better than *morir* the sense of l. 58 just above, *su vo per non esser più cieco*. Both *ben morir* and *morir meglio* are accurate Italian phrases, the former the more common of the two. *Morir* has a sort of *prima facie* suitability in the mouths of the spirits in Purgatory, which may have led to its substitution, if such be the case. The only old Commentators who notice the passage are divided. Benvenuto, reading *viver*, adds: “*Nec dubito quod poeta melius vixit, et melius mortuus est, per compilationem hujus operis*” [Nor do I doubt that the poet did live a better life, and qualified himself for a better death by the compilation of this work]. So that Benvenuto may have known both readings, and, while preferring the one, may have made his remarks deal with both. Landino and Vellutello explain *morir meglio* as naturally meaning “in maggior grazia di Dio.” Buti rather curiously thus: “*che non seresti morto se non avessi veduto l' esperienza della nostra purgazione,*” which (Dr. Moore thinks) looks as if he understood *morir* in a spiritual sense as “dead to sin.” Of twenty-four editions examined by Dr. Moore previous to 1889, no less than twenty-two had *viver*, and only two (viz. Witte and Camerini) had *morir*. *Per contra* the first four editions all have *morir*. Of the MSS. which he has now (1895) examined (Dr. Moore tells me), seventy-seven have *morir* and only fourteen have *viver*. It is a difficult question to decide positively either way, and in each case the large majority of MSS. may, perhaps, be allowed to turn the scale. Possibly *Purg. viii*, 60, might be quoted in support of *morir*.

† *imbarche* for *imbarchi*. See Nannucci, *Analisi Critica*, p. 58 (viii), where it is clearly shown that this was a regular form of the



Not otherwise is the mountaineer stupidly bewildered, and is speechless as he stares about him. when rough and rustic he enters a town, than each Shade became in its appearance; but when they had put off the burden of that amazement, which in elevated minds is quickly subdued, "Happy thou," began again he who had questioned me before, "who the better to die art lading (*i.e.* gathering in a store of) experience of our borders!

Guido Guinicelli now gives Dante the information he asked for respecting both bands of spirits, and with much plainness of speech tells him about the sin of the company that have parted from them.

La gente, che non vien con noi, offese  
 Di ciò per che già Cesar,\* trionfando  
 'Regina' contra sè chiamar s' intese;  
 Però si parton 'Soddoma' gridando,  
 Rimproverando a sè, com' hai udito, 80  
 Ed aiutan l' arsura vergognando.

Those people who come not with us, were guilty of that, on account of which in former days (Julius) Cæsar, at one of his triumphs, heard himself called 'Regina' as an insult; that is why they depart (from us) crying 'Sodom,' in self-vituperation, as thou hast heard, and by (the glow of) their shame they assist the burning.

Guido then speaks of the special sin of the band in which he himself is.

Nostro peccato fu ermafrodito; †

---

persons of the verb in Dante's time. *Io imbarche, tu imbarche, egli imbarche*, and distinctly not, as some maintain, an alteration to suit the rhyme.

\* *Cesar*, etc.: This refers to an episode related by Suetonius.

† *peccato . . . ermafrodito*: I do not, as I said, wish to closely discuss Dante's meaning as to this strange epithet. The whole question is most exhaustively treated by Scartazzini in his Leipzig commentary (1875). Whatever Dante intended to signify

Ma perchè non servammo umana legge,  
 Seguendo come bestie l' appetito,  
 In obbrobrio di noi, per noi si legge,\* 85  
 Quando partiamci, il nome di colei  
 Che s' imbestiò † nell' imbestiate schegge.

by the sin of this company, it seems to me, after studying Scartazzini's note, as well as those of other Commentators, that Dante considered it of a less heinous degree than that of the company whose cry was "Soddoma." Besides, on this Cornice only does Dante place the penitents who had been guilty of *Lussuria* or Sensuality. As all kinds of Incontinence then are chastised on this Cornice, and as the more guilty company, who had gone to the left, had sinned with the male sex, I feel drawn to the conclusion that the company, among whom is Guido, had been generally guilty of all kinds of excess with the female sex, for, if ordinary Sensuality is not chastised on this *Cornice*, we might well inquire where else in Purgatory sinners like Paolo and Francesca, if they had repented before death, would be placed by Dante to undergo their purgation.

\* *legge*: In the *Gran Dizionario*, s.v. *leggere*, § 16, we find the word has sometimes the signification of "*Scoprire, Manifestare*." The present passage is quoted in illustration, and interpreted thus: "Per rimproverare a noi i nostri falli sensuali, diciam cantando il nome della regina Pasife." *Inf.* x, 64, 65, is also quoted:—

"Le sue parole e il modo della pena  
 M' avevan di costui già letto il nome,"

and is thus explained: "A vederlo tra le fiamme de' miscredenti, e udirlo parlare a me di suo figlio, questi segni mi dissero ch' egli era Guido Cavalcanti, mi fecero quasi leggere il nome di lui." See also *Par.* xxvi, 16, 18:—

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

† *s' imbestiò*: This word signifies (1) "*Diventar bestia*": or (2) "*Avere costumi o Fare azioni di bestia*." The following passage from one of the *Dialoghi* of Tasso, quoted in the *Gran Dizionario*, bears a curious resemblance to the line we are discussing: "Erba divina, la quale il difende dall' incanto di Circe, sì ch' egli non s' imbestiò coll' imbestiate gregge." This last illustration means the actual transformation into a beast, but the *Gran Dizionario* quotes another passage (inadmissible here) exactly reproducing the signification of the word as given by Dante.

Our sin was hermaphrodite (*i.e.* we were guilty of perfectly unbridled depravity); but because we did not observe the human law, following our appetites like brute beasts, (therefore) to our own shame, when we part asunder, we pronounce the name of her (Pasiphæ) who made herself bestial inside the beast of wicker-work.

Guido now names himself, but excuses himself for not naming any one else.

Or sai nostri atti, e di che fummo rei :  
 Se forse a nome vuoi saper chi semo,  
 Tempo non è da dire,\* e non saprei.  
 Farotti ben di me volere scemo ; 90  
 Son Guido Guinizelli,† e già mi purgo  
 Per ben dolermi prima ch' all' estremo."—

\* *Tempo non è da dire* : We may remember that at the beginning of this Canto (ll. 4-6) the Sun was getting low in the West, and, when once it set, we know that all action would cease in Purgatory.

† *Guido Guinizelli* : Better known as Guinicelli. Of him Nannucci (*Manuale della Letteratura del Primo Secolo della Lingua Italiana*, vol. i, pp. 31, 32) says that he was the father of Italian literature, and was the most important of the poets who, before the time of Dante, wrote in the *lingua volgare*. The information concerning his life is extremely scanty and obscure; and we know little more of him than that he came from a very illustrious family in Bologna, named *dei Principi*, who were adherents of the Imperial Party. Tiraboschi thinks he must have been the son of Guinicello de' Principi, who is recorded (Ghirardacci, *Storia di Bologna*) to have executed a legal document in 1249. He married a lady of the name of Beatrice, descended from the highly illustrious family *della Fratta*, a member of which was at one time Bishop of Bologna. The year 1274 was one of great misfortune to the Guinicelli family, as in that year the Lambertazzi party, to which they belonged, were banished from Bologna. It is not known to what part of Italy Guido betook himself, but he did not long survive his exile, and died in the flower of his age in 1276. Benvenuto says of Guido: "Fuit iste (ipse) Guido vir prudens, eloquens inveniens egregie pulcra dicta materna; sicut autem erat ardentis ingenii et linguæ, ita ardentis luxuriæ, quales multi inveniuntur sæpe." In *Conv.* iv, 20, Dante calls him *quel nobile Guido Guinizelli*; in the *De Vulg. Eloquio*, i, 15, *Maximus Guido*; and Nannucci says that

Now thou knowest our deeds, and of what we were guilty: if perchance thou desirest to know by name who we are, there is no time to tell thee now, nor should I know (them all). As regards myself I will indeed satisfy thy wish (*lit.* will make thee devoid of desiring); I am Guido Guinicelli, and am already (admitted to begin) purging myself, because I deeply repented before my last hour."

This last line means that, although Guido had only been dead 24 years, his repentance previous to his death had been sufficient to ensure his salvation, and to entitle him to such an early admittance into Purgatory, instead of being relegated, like Manfred, Belacqua, and Buonconte, to a long period of suspense upon the dreary slopes of the base of the mountain in Ante-Purgatory.

Dante's delight on finding that the speaker was Guido Guinicelli is so great, that he compares it to that of the twin brothers, Thoas and Eunius, on recognizing their mother Hypsipyle.

Quali nella tristizia di Licurgo \*

Guido was by no means unworthy of these encomiums, for he raised himself above all the other poets of his time, and of him Lorenzo di Medici spoke as *di filosofia ornatissimo, grave e sentenzioso, lucido, soave, ed ornato . . . e certamente fu il primo, da cui la bella forma del nostro idioma fu dolcemente colorita, quale appena da quel grosso Aretino (i.e. Guittone d' Arezzo) era stata adombrata.* For although Guido's poetry was of nothing but love, as was the custom of his times, he did not compose his songs like many foolish poetasters, but that which he wrote contained lofty and moral opinions after the fashion of the Platonists.

\* *tristizia di Licurgo*: Andreoli explains the sense of the word in this passage as equivalent to *imperversamento*, i.e. fury, rage. The word evidently implies a combination of grief and rage, grief at the loss of the son, and rage against the wife to whom the son's death was imputed. The *Gran Dizionario* (§ 1) says of the passage: "Parla de' figli d' Isifile, che corsero a liberarla nell' atto che Licurgo, re di Nemea, angosciato di sdegno, la voleva far morire." Lycurgus, King of Nemea, had intrusted his son to the care of

Si fèr due figli a riveder la madre, 95  
 Tal mi fec' io, ma non a tanto insurgo,\*  
 Quand' i' odo nomar sè stesso il padre †

Hypsipyle a former queen of Lemnos, who had been sold to him as a slave by some pirates. The child died of the bite of a serpent, and Lycurgus ordered her to be put to death. As she was being led to execution she was recognized by her twin sons, whom she had borne to Jason, but from whom she had long been parted. These rushed forward and prevailed on Lycurgus to spare her life. See Statius, *Thebaid*, v. 720 *et seq.*, where the scene is beautifully described, and would seem to have made a great impression on Dante, for before this he speaks of Hypsipyle (*Purg.* xxii, 112) as  
 "quella che mostrò Langia."

And in *Inf.* xviii, 83-96, the whole episode is related of her betrayal and subsequent abandonment by Jason, for which he is being punished in the first *Bolgia* of the Eighth Circle.

\* *non a tanto insurgo*: Landino on this: "Non mi inalzo e distendo a tanto quanto si distesono i figlioli d' Isipyle. Imperocchè essi corsono ad abbracciar la madre. Ma io non andai ad abbracciar Guido: perchè era nel fuoco." Daniello comments in very similar language.

† *padre*: On this Tommaséo observes that Dante in the same way often styles Virgil *padre*, and that here he implies that Guido was his father in style, but not in language, and, by the excessive praise that Dante bestows upon the Provençal Arnaud, we see the proof that he puts the Provençal poets before the Italian ones, though he by no means puts the Provençal idiom before his own native idiom, as we may read in *Conv.* i, 10, ll. 74-80: "Mossimi ancora per *difendere* lui (*il volgare*) da molti suoi accusatori, li quali dispregiano esso e commendano gli altri, massimamente quello di lingua d' *Oco* (the Provençal language), dicendo ch' è più bello e migliore quello che questo; partendosi in ciò dalla verità." Scartazzini points out that, here and there, Dante distinctly has imitated Guido, as may be seen by comparing Guido's *Canzone*, beginning *Al cor gentil ripara sempre Amore*, with Dante's *Canzone* iii (in *Conv.* iv), *Le dolci rime d' amor, ch' io solia*. Dante's celebrated line, *Amor, che al cor gentil ratto s' apprende*, is also taken from Guido's *Canzone* mentioned above, in which there is (st. ii) the line *Foco d' amore in gentil core s' apprende*. With *il padre mio*, compare *Inf.* xv, 82, 83:—

"Chè in la mente m' è fitta, ed or mi accora

La cara e buona imagine paterna."

These words were addressed to Brunetto Latini, Dante's former master in science, as Guido Guinicelli was in poetry. Curiously enough both are undergoing chastisement for the same offence.

Mio, e degli altri miei miglior,\* che mai  
 Rime d' amore usâr dolci e leggiadre : †  
 E senza udire e dir pensoso ‡ andai, 100  
 Lunga fiata rimirando lui,  
 Nè per lo foco in là più m' appressai.

Such as the two sons became, when during the raging grief of Lycurgus they again saw their mother, even such became I—but rose not to so lofty a pitch (of love and courage as to rush forward as they did)—when I heard him name himself (Guido Guinicelli) the father in poesy to me, and to the others my betters, (all) who ever used the sweet and graceful rhymes of love : and I walked on for some time without listening or speaking, full of thought, gazing in wonder at him, and yet by reason of the fire I did not approach nearer to him.

Dante's devotion and attachment to the great inspirer of his love sonnets would have led him to throw himself into his arms, had it not been for the dread of the flames, as in *Inf.* xvi, 46-55, he describes himself, for the same reason, unable to embrace the three great Florentines undergoing similar punishment for the same offence.

*Division III.*—Dante has not up to now addressed himself to Guido personally, except as the spokesman of the band among whom he is undergoing punishment, but he now does so, and testifies his profound respect for him (according to the mode used *at that*

\* *miei miglior* : Contrast with *Purg.* xi, 97-99 :—

“ Così ha tolto l' uno all' altro Guido  
 La gloria della lingua ; e forse è nato  
 Chi l' uno e l' altro caccerà di nido.”

† *dolci e leggiadre* : Compare Horace, *Ars Poet.* 99 :—

“ Non satis est pulchra esse poemata ; dulcia sunt.”

‡ *pensoso* : Compare *Inf.* v, 109-111 :—

“ Da che io intesi quelle anime offense,  
 Chinai 'l viso, e tanto il tenni basso,  
 Finchè il poeta mi disse ; ‘ Che pense ? ’”

time) by addressing him with *voi* (you) instead of the customary *tu*.<sup>\*</sup> He invokes God to witness his promise that he will speak up for Guido's good name, and will have prayers offered up for him. Guido, in reply, offers Dante his earnest thanks for the service he has done him in promising to perpetuate his memory, adding that, as long as Dante's books are renowned, so will be Guido's. He further asks him the reason for his great affection for him.

Poichè di riguardar pasciuto fui,  
 Tutto m' offersi pronto al suo servizio,  
 Con l' affermar † che fa credere altrui. 105  
 Ed egli a me:—"Tu lasci tal vestigio,  
 Per quel ch' i' odo, in me e tanto chiaro,  
 Che Lete ‡ nol può tor, nè farlo bigio.  
 Ma se le tue parole or ver giuraro,  
 Dimmi che è cagion per che dimostri 110  
 Nel dire e nel guardare avermi caro?"—

As soon as I had fed enough on gazing (upon him),  
 I offered myself as wholly ready for his service, with  
 that affirmation (a solemn vow) which makes others  
 believe. And he to me: "From what I hear, thou  
 leavest in me such and so evident a sign of thy

\* On this subject see *Readings on the Inferno*, 2nd ed., vol. i, pp. 365, 366, as to *voi* being a style of address which in Dante's time denoted respect, and being used by him to only three shades in Hell, namely, Farinata degli Uberti, Cavalcante dei Cavalcanti, and Brunetto Latini. In *Purg.* xix, 94 *et seq.*, we find Dante addressing the shade of Pope Adrian V with *tu*, and on learning that he had been Pope (l. 131), at once changing to *voi*. That custom was, however, only in Dante's time. Respect in Italy is at the present day denoted by using the third person, with *Ella* or *Lei*, excepting when addressing Royalty, when "Vostra Maestà" is the form used. This, however, is followed by the third person singular.

† *P' affermar*: Line 109 shows distinctly that this means an oath and nothing else.

‡ We shall see in *Purg.* xxxi, 91-104, that souls, before passing from Purgatory into Paradise, are immersed in Lethe.

affection (for me) as Lethe (*i.e.* oblivion) can neither efface nor make obscure. But if thy words swore truly just now, tell me what is the reason that makes thee show in thy speech and in thy looks that thou holdest me dear?"

Dante's answer shows that his admiration for Guido was due far more to his great literary attainments as a poet, than for any personal regard for the man.

Ed io a lui:—"Li dolci detti vostri  
Che, quanto durerà l' uso moderno,\*  
Faranno cari † ancora i loro inchiostri."—

And I to him: "Those sweet ditties of yours, which as long as the modern use (of writing poetry in the vulgar tongue) shall endure, will even make dear to me their very ink."

It will be well here to digress somewhat, and discuss the two personages whose names are next brought upon the scene. These are Arnaut Daniel, and Giraud de Borneil, two poets of the school of Provence, of great celebrity in their time. Arnaud, Arnould, or Arnaut

\**l' uso moderno*: Scartazzini draws attention to a parallel passage in the *Vita Nuova*, § 25: "A cotal cosa dichiarare, secondo ch' è buono al presente, prima è da intendere, che anticamente non erano dicatori d' Amore in lingua volgare, anzi erano dicatori d' Amore certi poeti in lingua latina. . . . E non è molto numero d' anni passato, che apparirono prima questi poeti volgari; chè dire per rima in volgare tanto è quanto dire per versi in latino, secondo alcuna proporzione. E segno che sia picciol tempo è, che, se volemo cercare in lingua d' *Oco* e in lingua di *Sì*, noi non troviamo cose dette anzi lo presente tempo per centocinquanta anni."

† *Faranno cari*, etc.: Contrast this with *Purg.* xi, 97-99, where Dante makes Oderisi d' Agobbio say that, although Guido Cavalcanti and Guido Guinicelli had hitherto taken all the glory of the language, yet there was one already born who perchance would soon drive them from their pre-eminence, probably meaning himself. Scartazzini thinks that, in the present passage, Dante is wishing somewhat to modify the above words.



Daniel, was one of the most noted troubadours of the 12th century, and is reported to have flourished between 1180 and 1200. Very little is recorded of him by the earlier Commentators, but Petrarch speaks of him as having been one of the foremost poets of that time. He lived in Provence in the time of Raymond Berenger (*the Good*) Count of Provence, and is said to have died about 1189. From *The Troubadours, a History of Provençal Life and Literature in the Middle Ages*, by Francis Hueffer, London, 1878, pp. 44-51, I extract the following: "It is well known that the works of the Troubadours were at an early period read and admired in the neighbouring country of Italy, and that the poets in the *lingua volgare* recognized in them at once their models and allies in the struggle against the predominance of Latin scholarship. Students of the *Divina Commedia*, or of Petrarch's *Trionfi*, are aware of the prominent position assigned to the Provençal singers among the poets of the world, and they may also remember that of the Troubadours themselves none is mentioned with higher praise than Arnaut Daniel. Petrarch\* speaks of him as the *Gran maestro d' amore*, and Dante, in his philological and metrical treatise *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, declares himself indebted to Arnaut for the structure of several of his stanzas. The *Sestina*, for instance, a poem of six verses, in which the final words of the first stanza appear in inverted order in all the others, is an invention of this troubadour adopted by Dante and Petrarch. . . . But

---

\* See Petrarch, *Trionfo d' Amore*, iv, 40-44:—

"Fra tutti il primo Arnaldo Daniello,  
Gran maestro d' amor; ch' alla sua terra  
Ancor fa onor col suo dir novo e bello."

a far more lasting monument has been erected to Arnaut in the immortal lines of the *Purgatorio*, where Guido Guinicelli, in answer to Dante's enthusiastic praise of his poetry, points to another shade as 'the artful smith of his mother tongue.' . . . This . . . is our troubadour, who, when addressed, replies in pure Provençal, a language evidently quite familiar to Dante. The above-cited passage is generally considered to give the clue to the apparently excessive admiration lavished on Arnaut by the Italian poets. . . . The further question arises, what were the works on which Arnaut's reputation as an epical poet was founded, and for the answer to this question we must again look in the works of the Italian poets. Pulci, the humorous author of the *Morgante Maggiore*, mentions our troubadour twice amongst the writers of the Carolingian epics . . . (and adds) that Angelo Poliziano called his (Pulci's) attention to Arnaut's work . . . But a still later and in one sense still more important testimonial to Arnaut is found in Torquato Tasso, who, it appears, mentions him as the author of a poem on 'Lancelot.' For this enables us to connect our troubadour with a second and perhaps the divinest passage in Dante's divine poem. The reader need scarcely be reminded that the story which kindles to open and conscious flame the silent passion of Francesca da Polenta and Paolo Malatesta is a romance of Lancelot . . . and nothing is more probable than that Dante should have thought of Arnaut Daniel's lost epic when he wrote the inspired lines that are in everybody's memory. Many poets might wish to rest their posthumous fame on such lines rather than on their own works; but it may be inferred on the other

hand, that Arnaut Daniel—if he really be the author referred to—must have been a mighty mover of the heart to gain such a tribute from the lips of Francesca da Rimini." After describing Arnaut as delighting in "motz obscurs" (*dark words*) and "rims cars" (*dear or scarce rhymes*), and equally far-fetched similes, the author adds: "His intentional obscurity and his mannerism were largely imitated, but no less frequently attacked and travestied by contemporary poets and satirists. Petrarch's allusions to his 'novel speech' (*dir novo*), and Dante's expression 'smith of his mother tongue,' evidently allude to Arnaut's peculiarities of style. We can also quite imagine how the great Florentine could admire a dark shade of melancholy, a bold originality of thought, and a hankering after scholastic depth, but too nearly akin to his own mental attitude."

Gérault, Girault, Guiraut, or Giraud de Borneil, or Bornelh, "a celebrated troubadour of the spring-time of Provençal literature," flourished between 1175 and about 1220, and attained such repute, that among his contemporaries he was spoken of as the master of the Troubadours. He was born in the Limousin, at a village near Excideul, not far from Périgueux, but a considerable distance from Limoges, and Scartazzini thinks his being styled by Dante *quel di Lemosi*, refers to the Province of *Limousin* rather than to the city of Limoges. Dante speaks of him (*De Vulg. Eloq.* ii, cap. 2) as "the poet of righteousness," but, although Dante puts him on a lower scale than Arnaut Daniel, the very comparison would rather show that, in the opinion of the public, the question was an open one, and Scartazzini observes that there would be few at the present day who would agree with Dante's judgment in this matter, for



Soperchiò tutti, e lascia dir gli stolti  
 Che quel di Lemosì credon ch' avanzi. 120  
 A voce più ch' al ver drizzan li volti,  
 E così ferman sua opinione  
 Prima ch' arte o ragion per lor s' ascolti.

"O my brother," said he, "this one that I point out to thee with my finger," and he pointed to a spirit in front, "was a better artificer of his mother-tongue (than I of mine). In verses of love and in tales of romance he surpassed all; and let the fools talk on who think that he of Limousin excels him. They give heed to rumour rather than to truth, and thus they fix their opinions before they listen to art or reason.

Benvenuto remarks on the above: "And note well here the most true opinion of our Poet, who so justly satirises the insane vulgar herd. For in every profession we have seen it occur that many men make false and vain assertions: and when examined by persons of experience, as to whether they be acquainted with such an art, or if they really have any opinion at all on the subject about which they speak so positively, they do not know what else to say than, 'Everybody says so;' and thus they make use of the judgment of the ignorant multitude as their shield."

Dante next proceeds to speak of the early Italian poet, Fra Guittone d' Arezzo, who in former days had had a great popular reputation, and quotes him as an instance of misplaced praise. What he says in effect is that, just as public opinion in Provence was fallacious in the matter of Giraud de Borneil, so did public opinion at Florence go astray about Fra Guittone d' Arezzo, until, through the opinions of experts, the real truth was arrived at. Guittone expressed beautiful thoughts, but his style was not happy.

Così fèr molti antichi di Guittone,\*

Di grido in grido pur lui dando pregio,

125

Fin che l' ha vinto il ver con più persone.

Thus, in old time, did many with Guittone, their clamour giving the pre-eminence to him alone from mouth to mouth, until the truth prevailed with the vast majority.

---

\* *Guittone*: Of him Nannucci (*Manuale Lett.* vol. i, p. 160) writes: "Guittone, che fiorì dopo la metà di questo secolo [*i.e.* il 13<sup>mo</sup>], nacque di nobile stirpe in Santa Firmina, borgo a due miglia d' Arezzo; . . . Egli è comunemente chiamato Fra Guittone, non già perchè fosse Frate, ma perchè era dell' Ordine religioso e militare de' Cavalieri Gaudenti. Il suo vero nome era Guido; ma poscia, non si sa per quali ragioni, fu appellato Guittone dalla voce *guitto* (*i.e.* uomo vile, abietto sporco.) È voce napoletana, ma usata anche tra noi . . . Guittone scrivendo un Sonetto a Messer Onesto Bolognese, scherza sul nome di tutti e due, dicendo:—

"Vostro nome Messere, è caro e onrato,

Lo meo assai ontoso e vil."

Nannucci adds that Guittone was a most accomplished linguist, and a most elegant scholar, being at home in Latin, Provençal, Spanish and French. A contemporary (Benedetto da Cesena) says of him:—

" . . . e quel Guittone,

Che fu più dotto assai che 'l ver creduto."

He married a lady of Arezzo, but abandoned her and their three children to become a *Cavaliere Gaudente*, and gave himself up to the most zealous preaching of religion and peace; denunciation of the corruption of the times; and of the dissensions of the Florentine State. Being despoiled of his possessions by an unjust sentence, he left Arezzo and died at Florence in 1294. His poems are chiefly love sonnets. Petrarch, who frequently imitated him, classes him with Dante and Cino da Pistoja. See part 2, *Son.* xix:—

"Ma ben ti prego che 'n la terza spera

Guitton saluti e messer Cino e Dante,

Franceschin nostro, e tutta quella schiera."

In the *Trionfo d' Amore*, iv, 31-33, while fancifully depicting a "fiorita e verde piaggia," on which are assembled the Tuscan poets who sang of love before himself, Petrarch writes:—

"Ecco Dante e Beatrice; ecco Selvaggia;

Ecco Cin da Pistoia; Guitton d' Arezzo,

Che di non esser primo par ch' ira aggia."

And now Guido Guinicelli, after gratefully declining to avail himself of Dante's offer to re-habilitate his fame, and after begging that Dante will merely utter a short prayer on his behalf, draws back, and disappears in the flames.

Or se tu hai sì ampio privilegio,  
 Che licito ti sia l' andare al chiostro\*  
 Nel quale è Cristo abate del collegio,  
 Fagli per me un dir di un paternostro, 130  
 Quanto bisogna a noi di questo mondo,  
 Dove poter peccar non è più nostro."—†  
 Poi forse per dar loco altrui, secondo †  
 Che presso avea, disparve per lo foco,  
 Come per l' acqua § pesce andando al fondo. 135

\* *chiostro*: "Cioè a la chiusura lieta de' beati; cioè in paradiso lo quale è chiusura de' beati, come lo chiostro è de' religiosi chiusura consolatoria e refrigeratoria, *Nel quale*, cioè chiostro, è *Cristo abate del collegio*, imperò che come l' abate è padre e signore dei monaci; così Cristo via maggiormente è padre e signore de' beati" (Buti). Scartazzini remarks that, in the early days of the Italian language, *abate* was a title of the highest dignity, being frequently used for *padre* or *duce*, and was assumed by princes, Hugh Capet taking the title of *Abate di Parigi*.

† *Dove poter peccar non è più nostro*: The penitents in Purgatory are no longer liable to fall into sin. We may remember in Canto xi, 23, the shades of the proud are described as not omitting from the Lord's Prayer the sentence about leading into temptation, but explaining that they use it for the sake of those who remain behind them in the world.

‡ *per dar loco altrui, secondo Che presso avea*: I have here departed from Dr. Moore's text to follow Scartazzini, who quotes Fanfani in putting a comma after *altrui*, and interpreting the passage as I have translated it. Dr. Moore puts no comma into the sentence. The more general punctuation is to put the comma after *secondo*, and to interpret: "forse per dare il secondo luogo, i.e. il luogo dopo lui, *altrui*, cioè all' altro (Arnaldo Daniello) che avea presso di sè." To this interpretation of *altrui* Fanfani very decidedly objects.

§ *Come per l' acqua*, etc.: Compare the disappearance into the mist of Piccarda de' Donati, *Par.* iii, 121:—

"Così parlommi, e poi cominciò: *Ave Maria*, cantando; e cantando vanò,  
 Come per acqua cupa cosa grave."

Now if thou hast such ample privilege, that it is granted to thee to enter into that Cloister (*i.e.* Paradise), in which Christ is the Abbot of the College, repeat to Him a Paternoster on my behalf, in so far as is needful for us in this world (of spirits) where power to sin is no longer ours." Then perchance to give place to some one else, whoever might be nearest to him, he vanished through the flames, like a fish going to the bottom through the water.

Dante's attention has naturally been attracted by Guido's enthusiastic praise of Arnaut, and, when Guido is out of sight, he draws as near as the flames will permit of his doing, and begs Arnaut to reveal his identity, about which Guido had left him in the dark.

Io mi feci al mostrato innanzi un poco,  
E dissi ch' al suo nome il mio disire  
Apparecchiava grazioso loco.

I advanced a little towards him who had been pointed out, and said that my desire was preparing an honourable place for his name.

That is to say: "I told him that my desire to know him was so great, that I should receive his name with especial affection."

Arnaut replies in the Provençal tongue, tells Dante who he is, speaks with much contrition of his past life, and with bright hope of the joys of the life to come, and concludes, before vanishing in his turn, with a prayer to Dante, that he will in due time (by which he probably means when the time shall have come for repeating a Paternoster for Guido Guinicelli) remember him in his pious intercessions.

Ei cominciò liberamente a dire :  
*Tan m' abelis \* vostre cortes deman,*

140

---

\* *Tan m' abelis* : Compare *Inf.* xix, 37 : " Tanto m' è bel, quanto a te piace," and see my note on this passage in *Readings on the*



Qu' ieu no-m püesc, ni-m vueil a vos cobrire  
 Jeu sui Arnaut, que plor, e vai cantan,

*Inferno*, vol. ii, p. 79. On this and other similar passages where the word is introduced, compare Benedetto Varchi (*L' Hercolano*, Venice, 1580, pp. 51, 52): [*Question*] "Come direste voi nella vostra lingua quello, che Terenzio disse nella latina . . . *munus nostrum ornato verbis*? [*Answer*] Abbellisci il dono, o il presente nostro colle parole: Ma Dante, che volle dirlo altramente, formò un verbo da sè d' un nome agghiettivo, e d' una preposizione latina, e disse:—

'Mal dare, e mal tener lo mondo pulcro  
 Ha tolto loro, e posti a questa zuffa:  
 Quale ella sia, parole non ci appulcro.'

—(*Inf.* vii, 58-60.)

[*Question*] Dite il vero, piacevi egli, o parvi bello cotesto verbo *appulcro*? . . . Voi pigliate qui *abbellisce* in significazione attiva, cioè per far bello, e di sopra quando allegaste que' versi di Dante (p. 30):—

'Opera naturale è ch' uom favella;  
 Ma così o così, natura lascia  
 Poi fare a voi secondo che v' abbellia.'

—(*Par.* xxvi, 130-132)

pare che sia posta in significazione neutra, cioè per piacere, e per parer bello. [*Answer*] Voi dite vero, ma quello è della quarta coniugazione, o vero maniera de' verbi, e questo è della prima; quello si pone assolutamente, cioè senza alcuna particella innanzi, e questo ha sempre davanti *se*, *i mi*, *o ti*, *o gli*, secondo le persone che favellano, o delle quali si favella. Questo è il modo di dire Toscano, come mostra Dante stesso, inducendo nella fine del XXVI Canto del Purgatorio Arnaldo Daniello a dire Provenzalmente:—

'Tan m' abelis votre cortois deman.'

e gli altri versi, che seguitano, benchè per mio avviso siano scritti scortatamente: Dicesi eziandio, come il Boccaccio nell' *Ameto*:—

'De' quai la terza via più s' abbelliva.'

I cannot refrain from quoting Mr. Carey's note on Arnaut's words: "Arnaut is here made to speak in his own tongue, the Provençal. According to Dante (*De Vulg. Eloq.* i, cap. 8), the Provençal was one language with the Spanish. What he says on this subject is so curious, that the reader will not be displeased if I give an abstract of it. Dante first makes three great divisions of the European languages. 'One of these extends from the mouth of the Danube, or the lake of Mæotis, to the western limits of England, and is bounded by the limits of the French and Italians, and by the ocean. One idiom obtained over the whole of this space: but was afterwards subdivided into the Sclavonian, Hungarian,

*Consiros vei\* la passata folor,*

Teutonic, Saxon, English, and the vernacular tongues of several other people, one sign remaining to all, that they use the affirmative *jo* (our English *ay*). The whole of Europe beginning from the Hungarian limits, and stretching towards the east, has a second idiom, which reaches still further than the end of Europe, into Asia. This is the Greek. In all that remains of Europe, there is a third idiom, subdivided into three dialects, which may be severally distinguished by the use of the affirmatives, *oc, oil,* and *si*; the first spoken by the Spaniards, the next by the French, the third by the Latins (or Italians). The first occupy the western part of southern Europe, beginning from the limits of the Genoese. The third occupy the eastern part from the said limits, as far, that is, as to the promontory of Italy, where the Adriatic sea begins, and to Sicily. The second are in a manner northern with respect to these, for they have the Germans to the east and north, on the west they are bounded by the English sea and the mountains of Aragon, and on the south by the people of Provence and the declivity of the Apennines.' And *Ibid.*, cap. x., 'Each of these three,' he observes, 'has its own claims to distinction. The excellency of the French language consists in its being best adapted, on account of its facility and agreeableness, to prose narration (*quicquid redactum, sive inventum est ad vulgare prosaicum, suum est*); and he instances the books compiled on the gests of the Trojans and Romans, and the delightful Adventures of King Arthur, with many other histories and works of instruction. The Spanish (or Provençal) may boast of its having produced such as first cultivated in this, as in a more perfect and sweet language, the vernacular poetry: among whom are Pierre d' Auvergne, and others more ancient. The privileges of the Latin, or Italian, are two; first, that it may reckon for its own those writers who have adopted a more sweet and subtile style of poetry, in the number of whom are Cino da Pistoja and his friend: and the next, that its writers seem to adhere to *certain general rules of grammar*, and in so doing give it, in the opinion of the intelligent, a very weighty pretension to preference."

\* *Consiros vei*: Scartazzini (*Ediz. Min.*) says he has followed the version of Fr. Diez (*Leben und Werke der Troubadours*, p. 347, n<sup>o</sup> 1), whom he considers "il più profondo conoscitore della letteratura provenzale." In the version of Diez, instead of *Consiros vei*, etc., the reading is *Car, sitot vei*, etc., *i.e.* "For when I see my past folly," etc. I find *consiroso* in the *Gran Dizionario*, as signifying "Chi è in pensiero molesto," *i.e.* "troubled in one's mind." Dante da Majano uses the word, in the *Canzone* beginning *Tuttoch' eo poco vaglia*, in *Poeti del Primo Secolo della Ling. It.* vol. ii, p. 449, at st. 4:—

*E vei iauzen la ioi\* qu' esper, denan.  
 Ara vos prec per aquella valor,  
 Que vos guida al som de l' escalina †  
 Sovenha vos a temps de ma dolor.  
 Poi s' ascose nel foco che gli affina.*

145

He readily thus began to speak: "Your courteous request pleases me so much, that I neither can nor will hide myself from you. I am Arnaut, who weep and go singing, sorrowfully I contemplate my past folly, and joyfully I see the bliss I hope for in the future. Now I entreat you by that Power, which guides you to the summit of the stairway, be mindful in due time of my sufferings." He then hid himself in the fire that is refining them.

Ozanam who gives almost identically the same text as that in Dr. Moore's edition, of the above Provençal lines, translates them as follows: "Tant me plaît votre courtoise demande, que je ne puis ni ne veux me cacher à vous. Je suis Arnaud qui pleure et vais chantant; je vois avec chagrin ma folie passée. Mais je vois joyeux devant moi la joie que j'espère. Or, je vous prie par cette vertu qui vous guide au sommet de l'escalier, souvenez-vous en temps utile de ma douleur."

---

"E visto aggio di core  
 Irato e consiroso  
 Venir gajo e giojoso  
 In gio' poggiare, e 'n tutta beninanza."

\* *la ioi*: Diez reads *lo jorn*, "the day."

† *guida al som de l' escalina*: As will be seen on the next page, Raynouard reads: *Guida al som sens freich e sens calina*, i.e. "who guides you to the summit without cold and without heat." But, as Scartazzini points out, in all the mountain of Purgatory there is no mention of Cold occurring as a penance, or in any other way; and no one can pretend that the Power (*aquella valor*) guided the Poets up to the summit without heat (*sens calina*), seeing that the very next phenomenon they were to encounter in that very Cornice was, that they should themselves have to pass through the scorching heat of the flames.

Nearly every edition gives a different version of these lines. Scartazzini, in his Leipzig commentary, pp. 546-548, quotes eight different renderings, besides that of Diez, which he adopts.

Raynouard was of opinion that the text should be as follows :—

“ Tan m'abellis vostre cortes deman,  
 Ch' ieu non me puese ni m voil a vos cobrire ;  
 Jeu sui Arnautz, che plor e vai cantan ;  
 Consiros, vei la passada follor,  
 E vei jauzen lo joi qu' esper denan ;  
 Aras vos prec, per aquella valor  
 Que us guida al som sens freich e sens calina,  
 Sovegna vos atenprar ma dolor.”

“ Il n'est pas un des nombreux manuscrits de la *Divina Commedia*, pas une des éditions multipliées qui en ont été données, qui ne présente dans les vers que Dante prête au troubadour Arnaud Daniel, un texte défiguré et dévenu, de copie en copie, presque inintelligible. Cependant j'ai pensé qu'il n'était pas impossible de rétablir le texte de ces vers, en comparant avec soin, dans les manuscrits de Dante que possèdent les dépôts publics de Paris, toutes les variantes qu'ils pouvaient fournir, et en les choisissant d'après les règles grammaticales et les notions lexicographiques de la langue des troubadours. Mon espoir n'a point été trompé, et sans aucun secours conjectural, sans aucun déplacement ni changement de mots, je suis parvenu, par le simple choix des variantes, à retrouver le texte primitif, tel qu'il a dû être produit par Dante ” (Raynouard, *Lexique Roman*, Paris, 1830, 8vo, tom. i, p. xlii).

END OF CANTO XXVI.

## CANTO XXVII.

THE SEVENTH CORNICE—SENSUALITY (CONCLUDED)—THE  
ANGEL OF PURITY—THE PASSAGE THROUGH THE FLAMES  
—ASCENT OF THE LAST STAIRWAY—ARRIVAL IN THE TER-  
RESTRIAL PARADISE—VIRGIL'S FAREWELL.

FROM the ninth Canto, until the close of the scene last described, Dante has been describing Purgatory proper, divided into seven Cornices, in which the seven capital sins are purged in different ways. From now to the end of the *Cantica*, we shall have the description of the *Post Purgatorio*, wherein is situated the Paradise of Delights, figurative of the Church Militant.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

*In the First Division*, from ver. 1 to ver. 45, Dante describes the appearance of an Angel, who purges him from Sensuality, the seventh and last sin; and invites him, with the assistance of Virgil, to pass through the fire into the Terrestrial Paradise.

*In the Second Division*, from ver. 46 to ver. 87, he tells of his passage through the fire.

*In the Third Division*, from ver. 88 to ver. 108, he relates how night came upon the Poets; how they slept on the stairway; and Dante's dream.

*In the Fourth Division*, from ver. 109 to ver. 142, is contained Virgil's farewell exhortation to Dante.

*Division I.*—Before speaking of the Angel, Dante describes the hour of the day by the position of the Sun. According to the Cosmography of the time, when the Sun is first dawning on Mount Sion, it is mid-day (the beginning of the Nones) at the Ganges; and consequently at Purgatory, which is the Antipodes to Jerusalem, the Sun is about to set. If the Sun is at the Ganges in Aries at mid-day, the night would naturally be at the Ebro in Libra, at midnight.

The Angel of God appears to Dante, rejoicing that he had accomplished his last purification, that is, from the vice of Sensuality.

Sì come quando i primi raggi vibra  
 Là dove il suo Fattore \* il sangue sparse,  
 Cadendo Ibero † sotto l' alta Libra,  
 E l' onde in Gange da nona riarse, ‡

---

\* *Là dove il suo Fattore*, etc.: This of course means Jerusalem, where Christ, without Whom was not anything made that was made (*St. John* i, 3), shed His precious Blood on Calvary.

† *Ibero*, etc.: In the time of Dante, to use the expression "from the Ebro to the Ganges" was equivalent to saying "from one end to the other of the inhabited world." Compare Juvenal (*Sat.* x, 1):—

"Omnibus in terris, quæ sunt a Gadibus usque  
 Auroram et Gangem."

Compare also a passage, nearly identically similar to these opening lines of the Canto, in *Purg.* ii, 1-6.

‡ *l' onde in Gange da nona riarse*: Dr. Moore (*Time References*, pp. 72, 73, see also p. 109) says that this passage "is interesting partly from the completeness with which Dante goes through these calculations of synchronism, but still more from the variations of reading *nona*, *nuova*, and *nuovo* in l. 4. These are instructive, because it is clear that the comparatively unusual word *nona* was not understood by the copyists, or at any rate they were all adrift in regard to its meaning as here employed. Consequently some read *nova*. This, being quite unintelligible, led to a further alteration *novo*, and then once more *da* was altered into *di*. This gave a grammatical sense at any rate, but, when we come to attach a meaning to the words, the result is a

Si stava il sole ; onde il giorno sen giva, 5  
Quando l' Angel di Dio \* lieto ci apparse.

As when he darts forth his first quivering rays on the spot where his Maker shed His blood, while Ebro is sinking beneath the lofty Libra, and the waters of the Ganges are being scorched by the noonday heat, so stood the Sun ; and therefore the day was departing, when God's Angel, full of gladness, appeared to us.

In the words of the Beatitude (*St. Matt. v, 8*), especially appropriate to the occasion, the Angel pronounces an Absolution, not alas! for Virgil, but for Dante and Statius alone. These two Poets, having now been purged from the seven mortal sins, have qualified themselves to ascend to the Terrestrial Paradise, where they will have a vision of Christ, and thence ascend still higher.

---

statement false and nonsensical, since it practically would describe sunrise, *i.e.* the light burning forth *di nuovo*, as taking place at the Ganges at the same time as at Jerusalem (see ll. 1 and 2), which is manifestly absurd. The corrupt readings here (as is often the case) have a large majority of MSS. on their side, in somewhat the following proportions . . . *nona* in 65, *Nova* in 77, *novo* in 64 MSS. With the true reading *nona*, the interpretation proceeds quite simply as before. It was sunrise in Jerusalem, consequently midnight in Spain ; (note how *Libra* is used here exactly as in *Purg. ii, 5*, to indicate the middle point of night while the Sun is in Aries at the vernal Equinox). It was therefore noon at the Ganges, and consequently (*onde*, as Dante concludes in l. 5) it was sunset, or the day was departing, in *Purgatory*."

\* *l' Angel di Dio* : On this Cornice alone there are two Angels, one on each side of the flame ; this one is the usual guardian of the Cornice—the Angel of Purity. Scartazzini thinks the other must be the Angel Warder of the Terrestrial Paradise. See Pietro di Dante on this passage: "In principio noctis quando ut plurimum committitur et incalescit vitium et crimen luxuriosi ignis, fingit se mitti et duci ab Angelo, id est ab iudicio conscientiae, et a Virgilio, id est ab iudicio rationis, eodem tempore in flammam et incendium conscientiae et reprehensionis talis vitii."

The Angel now invites them to pass on, but says that they must first go through the flames.

Fuor della fiamma stava in sulla riva,\*  
 E cantava: *Beati mundo corde,*  
 In voce assai più che la nostra viva.†  
 Poscia:—"Più non si va, se pria non morde,‡ 10  
 Anime sante, il foco: entrate in esso,  
 Ed al cantar di là non siate sorde,"—  
 Ci disse, come noi gli fummo presso:  
 Perch' io divenni tal, quando lo intesi,  
 Quale è colui che nella fossa è messo.§ 15

\* *in sulla riva*: Of the three lines in this *terzina*, Perez (*op. cit.* p. 257, *et seq.*) observes that l. 7 indicates the completeness of the Purity, which no hostile flame can injure, and its secure habitation in spots that are inaccessible to the wicked. Line 8, while alluding to the Beatitude: "*Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God,*" also alludes to the abode in which Purity is generated. Line 9 is full of love and eloquence. Some have described the voice as the best part of human life, and certainly the perfection of human life is shown in the purity of the voice.

† *voce assai più che la nostra viva*: We are to understand that the voice of the Angel of Purity was clear, distinct, harmonious, and musical. Perez remarks that we have here a direct contrast with the stammering woman in *Purg.* xix, 7, who is the type of Concupiscence:—

"Mi venne in sogno una femmina balba."

We may notice too that, in ll. 43-45 of that Canto, the Purity of the voice of the Angel of the Love of God is instinctively contrasted with that of the *femmina balba*:—

"Quand' io udi': 'Venite, qui si varca,'

Parlare in modo soave e benigno,

Qual non si sente in questa mortal marca.'

Perez adds that the difference in the types of voice noted by Dante in his poem would offer food for the most interesting observations. Dante had an exquisitely fine ear, and one of the most touching features in his reminiscences of the friends he meets with is their voice. Let it suffice to remember what he relates about Casella in *Purg.* ii, 85, 86, and 112-114; and about Forese, xxiii, 43-45.

‡ *se pria non morde . . . il foco*: Scartazzini quotes the following: "*Si per cordis munditiam libidinis flamma non extinguitur, incassum quælibet virtutes oriuntur*" (Greg. Magn. *Moralium*, lib. xxi, cap. 12).

§ *Quale è colui che nella fossa è messo*: Some have tried to explain this simply to mean that Dante became as pale as is a



Outside the flame on the extreme edge (of the Cornice) was he standing, and chanted: *Beati mundo corde* (Blessed are they of a pure heart), in a voice far more melodious than ours. Then: "No one can advance farther, O sanctified souls, if first the fire afflict not: enter into it, and be not deaf to the chant beyond it," said he to us, as he drew nigh unto him: whereat I became, when I heard it, as one who is placed in the execution-pit.

Dante is paralysed with fear: and all the terrible scenes he has witnessed, of sufferers executed at the stake, recur to his mind with horror.

In su, le man commesse, mi protesi,\*  
Guardando il foco, e immaginando forte  
Umani corpi già veduti accesi.

With interclasped hands I stretched myself upward, looking at the fire, and vividly recalling human bodies that in past times I had seen burning (at the stake).

corpse when placed in the grave, but Scartazzini feels certain that Dante is describing himself as a living man, in the fear of immediate death by the form of execution called in those days *propagginare*, which consisted of planting the condemned assassin head downwards like a vine in a hole dug in the earth, and then choking him to death by filling up the hole. See *Inf.* xix, 49-51. On which see the comment of the *Ottimo*, who says this mode of punishment was more particularly applied to treacherous assassins. The old decrees of Florence say: *Assassinus plantetur capite deorsum, ita quod morietur*. See *Readings on the Inferno*, vol. ii, p. 82.

\* *In su, le man commesse, mi protesi*: I find the Tuscan Commentators, such as Fraticelli, Casini, Torraca and others, favour the interpretation which I now substitute for that in my previous editions. Fraticelli says: "Mi distesi colla persona, commettendo insieme le mani, o inserendo le dita dell' una in quelle dell' altra, e rivoltandone le palme all' ingiù, in atto d' uomo che sta perplesso." Torraca condemns the interpretation which I used before, observing: "La costruzione; *mi protesi in su le man commesse* non darebbe un' imagine ben chiara, esatta, di ciò che Dante fece."

It is worthy of notice that there must have been something personal here in Dante's horror-struck feelings, for we may remember that he had himself been condemned by contumacy to be burnt alive. Deaths by fire were not so unfrequent but that Dante may have witnessed such terrible scenes.

Virgil and Statius turn to him in kindness and sympathy, and Virgil reminds Dante of how he escorted him through all kinds of danger in Hell, and urges Dante to trust him now. He further encourages him by demonstrating that the fire will only burn, but will not consume him.

Virgil's persuasions are, however, as yet totally unavailing to overcome Dante's terrors.

Volsersi verso me le buone scorte,  
 E Virgilio mi disse:—"Figliuol mio,                   20  
 Qui può esser tormento, ma non morte.\*  
 Ricordati, ricordati . . . e, se io  
 Sopr' esso Gerïon † ti guidai salvo,  
 Che farò ora presso più a Dio?  
 Credi per certo che, se dentro all' alvo                   25  
 Di questa fiamma stessi ben mill' anni,

\* *non morte*: The fire of Purgatory is quite different from that in our world, for it burns without consuming. The fire on this Cornice signifies the chastisement of the flesh—abstinence, and prayer—by means of which our flesh is mortified, and consumed, as it were, on the altar of God. As, therefore, the abstinence on earth afflicts and mortifies the flesh, but does not destroy, so does the fire of purification burn without consuming. See St. Gregory (*op. cit.*): "Dum carnalis vita corrigitur, et usque ad abstinentiæ atque orationis studium a perficientibus perveniretur, quasi jam in altari caro incenditur: ut inde omnipotentis Dei sacrificium redoleat, unde prius culpa displicebat."

† *Sopr' esso Gerïon*: It must be remembered that *sopr' esso* has a much more emphatic signification than merely *upon*. Scartazzini renders it: "persino sul dosso di Gerione." Virgil is here reminding Dante of one of the moments of greatest danger from

Non ti potrebbe far d' un capel calvo.\*  
 E se tu credi forse ch' io t' inganni,  
 Fatti vèr lei, e fatti far credenza †  
 Con le tue mani al lembo de' tuoi panni. 30  
 Pon giù omai, pon giù ogni temenza,  
 Volgiti in qua, e vieni oltre sicuro."—  
 Ed io pur fermo, e contro a coscienza. ‡

My kind Conductors turned towards me, and Virgil said to me: "My Son, here there may be torment, but not death. Bethink thee, bethink thee . . . lo if I was able to guide thee safely upon the very (back of) Geryon, what will I not do now when so much nearer to God? Believe for certain that, wert thou even to remain within the bosom of this flame for

which he extricated him in Hell. See *Inf.* xvii, 85-88, where Dante's terror at the sight of Geryon is vividly depicted:—

"Qual è colui, ch' ha sì presso il riprezzo  
 Della quartana, ch' ha già l' unghie smorte,  
 E trema tutto pur guardando il rezzo,  
 Tal divenn' io."

Tommaséo paraphrases Virgil's words thus: "Se ti salvai dalla Frode, pessimo de' mostri, che conduceva all' infernale malizia, e per l' aria nuotando; come non ora?"

\* *capel calvo*: Compare *St. Luke* xxi, 18: "But there shall not an hair of your head perish."

† *fatti far credenza*: See *Voc. della Crusca*, s.v. *credenza*, § 27: "*Saggio, prova*, Lat. *experimentum*." Brunone Bianchi says that *far la credenza* was an expression used in former days about one who tasted the victuals at the table of a prince, to insure their not being poisoned. Compare *Morgante Maggiore*, xvi, st. 24:—

"E sempre di sua man servi 'l marchese  
 Massime Antea, con molta riverenzia,  
 Di coppa, di coltello, e di credenzia."

And *Ibid.* xix, st. 129:—

"E d' ogni cosa, che 'n tavola viene,  
 Sempre faceva la credenza, e 'l saggio."

Buti comments thus upon the text: "Credenza, cioè esperienza la quale fa credere." *Credenza* is now the word for a "sideboard."

‡ *contro a coscienza*: Scartazzini thinks Dante is here alluding to the difficulties a man encounters in overcoming the attacks of Concupiscence before he can apply himself to correct it, and mortify it by worthy deeds. "Per abstinentiam carnis vitia sunt extingueda" (*St. Greg. Mor. lib. xx, 41*).

full a thousand years, it could not make thee bald of a single hair. And if perchance thou thinkest that I am deceiving thee, step forward towards it, and make the experiment with thine own hands upon the hem of thy garments. Lay aside, from this moment, lay aside all fear, turn this way, and come onward in all security." Yet still I stood motionless in spite of conscience (which admonished me to obey).

His conscience was telling him to perform what his unerring Leader (*verace guida*) prescribed for him.

Virgil now, with knowledge of the soft side of Dante's nature, has recourse to an artifice to get round him and urge him forward.

Quando mi vide star pur fermo e duro,\*  
 Turbato un poco, disse:—"Or vedi, figlio, 35  
 Tra Beatrice e te è questo muro."—

When he saw me still stand fast and stubborn, somewhat troubled he said: "Now look, my Son, between Beatrice and thee is this wall."

Virgil's reasoning, which concludes with the sort of persuasive banter that a parent or a nurse uses to a reluctant child, is successful in overcoming Dante's fears.

Come al nome di Tisbe † aperse il ciglio  
 Piramo in sulla morte, e riguardolla,

\* *duro*: Compare St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars iii, suppl. qu. i, art. 1): "Ille qui in suo sensu perseverat, rigidus, et *durus* per similitudinem vocatur; sicut *durum* in materialibus dicitur quòd non cedit tactui; unde et frangi dicitur aliquis quando a suo sensu divellitur."

† *Tisbe*: This alludes to the well-known story of Pyramus and Thisbe, two lovers in Babylon, whose tragic death at the foot of the mulberry tree, which up to that time had borne white fruit, caused it thereafter for evermore to bear purple fruit. See Ovid, *Met.* iv, 145-46:—

"Ad nomen Thisbes oculos jam morte gravatos  
 Pyramus erexit, visaque recondidit illa."

Benvenuto sees close analogy between the loves of Pyramus and Thisbe, and those of Dante and Beatrice.

Allor che il gelso diventò vermiglio ; \*  
 Così, la mia durezza fatta solla, † 40  
 Mi volsi al savio Duca, udendo il nome  
 Che nella mente sempre mi rampolla. ‡  
 Ond' ei crollò la fronte, § e disse :—“ Come ?  
 Volemci star di qua ? ”—indi sorrise,  
 Come al fanciul sì fa ch' è vinto al pome. || 45

As, at the name of Thisbe, Pyramus when at the point of death, opened his eyes and looked upon her, at the time when the mulberry was changed into purple; so did I, all my stubbornness being softened, turn to my sage Conductor, when I heard the name (of Beatrice) which is ever surging up in my mind. Whereupon he shook his head, and said: “Well! are we going to remain on this side?” Then he

\* *il gelso diventò vermiglio*: This is described by Ovid, *Metam.* iv, 55-166. Thisbe, before killing herself, utters a prayer which is answered by the gods (ll. 164, 165):—

“Vota tamen tetigere deos, tetigere parentes:  
 Nam color in pomo est, ubi permaturuit, ater.”

† *solla*, the same as *cedevole* (yielding); or *arrendevole* (flexible, supple). Compare *Inf.* xvi, 28: *Esto loco sollo*, this yielding sandy spot. And *Purg.* v, 18:—

“Perchè la foga l' un dell' altro insolla.”

‡ *rampolla*: Compare *Purg.* v, 16, 17:—

“Chè sempre l' uomo in cui pensier rampolla  
 Sopra pensier, da sè dilunga il segno.”

Buti interprets the passage in the text: “Sempre ne la mente mia si rinnova; però che quanto più l' odo ricordare, tanto maggiore desiderio di lei mi cresce.” And Andreoli: “Mette nuovi rampolli di amorosi ed alti pensieri.”

§ *crollò la fronte*: The Vatican MS. reads here, *crollò la testa*, but the Sta. Croce, Caetani, Cassinese, and the *First Four Editions* read *fronte*.

|| *pome*: As we have before noticed, *pome* or *pomo* means any fruit growing on a tree, not necessarily an apple, as some translate it. The proper word for apple is *mela*. On the passage in the text Landino writes: “Spesso interviene che il fanciullo ricusa di venire ad ubbidire per fuggir fatica; ma se gli è mostro [if he be shown] o mela, o pera od altro pome [fruit], va ed ubbidisce.” N.B.—The Landino of 1481 reads “od ubbidire;” that of 1484 reads “ad.”

smiled, as one does to a child that has been conquered by the (promise of) fruit.

*Division II.*—Dante now relates his successful passage through the dreaded flames. He first tells how Virgil, to obviate the possibility of any further want of decision on his part, walked into the fire in front of him, and begged Statius to bring up the rear. Up to that moment Virgil had been walking first, Statius second, and Dante third. As soon, however, as they enter the Terrestrial Paradise, it is Dante who leads the way. Dante describes his terror and sufferings by a somewhat extreme hyperbole.

Virgil endeavours to distract his attention from the flames by speaking to him of Beatrice.

Poi dentro al foco innanzi mi si mise,  
 Pregando Stazio che venisse retro,  
 Che pria per lunga strada ci divise.  
 Come fui dentro, in un bogliente vetro \*  
 Gittato mi sarei per rinfrescarmi, 50  
 Tant' era ivi lo incendio senza metro.  
 Lo dolce Padre mio per confortarmi  
 Pur di Beatrice ragionando andava,  
 Dicendo :—"Gli occhi suoi † già veder parmi."—

\* *bogliente vetro* : Benvenuto says that Dante has well imagined so intense a fire being necessary to purge out so much wickedness. Glass at white heat was supposed to be the greatest heat imaginable, and that was in Dante's estimation as cold water compared to that of the fire in Purgatory. Ariosto has imitated this passage in *Orl. Fur.* viii, st. 20, where he says of the burning sands on a certain shore :—

"In modo l' aria e l' arena ne bolle,  
 Che saria troppo a far liquido il vetro."

† *Gli occhi suoi* : Buti says : "Li occhi di Beatrice sono le ragioni sottilissime et efficacissime e l' intelletti sottilissimi, che anno avuto li Teologi in considerare e contemplare Iddio et

He then entered into the fire in front of me, begging Statius, who for a long way before that had been between us (*lit.* divided us), to come on behind. As soon as I was in it (the fire), I would willingly have cast myself into molten glass to cool me, so immeasurable was the burning there. My beloved Father (Virgil), to encourage me, spoke of nothing but Beatrice as we walked along, saying: "Already methinks I see her eyes."

As Beatrice represents Theology, the observation may remind one of the supplication in the Book of Common Prayer, that "in all our sufferings here upon earth, we may steadfastly look up to Heaven." Virgil, symbol of human science, tacitly acknowledges the insufficiency of earthly means to comfort and sustain Man in times of great sorrow and suffering.

The Poets are now so enveloped in flames, that they cannot see their way, but an angelic song guides their steps.

The Angel had enjoined them in ver. 12, *al cantar di là non siate sorde*, meaning that, when in the fire, they were to listen to the chant on the far side of it. The voice is, as we shall gather from vv. 58-63, that of another Angel, who is doubtless the Guardian of the

insegnare a considerarlo e contemplarlo." In Canto xxxi, 109, the four Maidens who represent the Cardinal Virtues say to Dante:—

"Menrenti agli occhi suoi."

In *Conv.* ii, c. 16, ll. 27, 28, Dante writes: "Gli occhi di questa donna sono le sue *dimostrazioni*, le quali dritte negli occhi dello intelletto, innamorano l'anima." On the power of the eyes of Beatrice, see *Par.* xv, 34-36:—

" . . . dentro agli occhi suoi ardeva un riso  
Tal, ch' io pensai co' miei toccar lo fondo  
Della mia grazia e del mio Paradiso."

Terrestrial Paradise. Unlike the two with flaming swords placed there by God to drive away whoever should approach, this one, the Angel of Purity, invites the pure in heart to enter, addressing himself to the Poets.

Guidavaci \* una voce che cantava 55  
 Di là; e noi, attenti pure a lei,  
 Venimmo fuor là dove si montava.

*Venite*, † *benedicti patris mei*,  
 Sonò dentro ad un lume che lì era, ‡  
 Tal che mi vinse, e guardar nol potei. 60

— “Lo sol sen va,”—soggiunse,—“e vien la sera;  
 Non v' arrestate, ma studiate il passo,  
 Mentre che l' occidente non s' annera.”—

---

\* *Guidavaci*: Cesari (p. 488) compares this distant chant, guiding the penitents through the flames, to boats on the Lago di Garda, which, during the fogs that are prevalent there, have bells on their prows, to help them to avoid collisions. Scartazzini observes that, whereas in the other Cornices it had always been an Angel who effaced one of the seven P's from Dante's brow, in this Cornice there is no such mention, and we are left to infer that the last P, signifying the sin of Lust, is burnt out while he is in the fire. This is commented on by Pietro di Dante: “Et nota auctorem in hoc vitio fuisse multum implicitum, ut nunc ostendit de incendio quod habuit in dicta flamma in remissentia conscientia.” In none of the Cornices of Purgatory, and not even in Hell, has Dante had to suffer so much as in this Cornice of the Lustful. In *Purg.* xiii, 133-38, he says that he fears he will have *after death* to do penance among the Proud and Envious, but he now finds that for a few moments he has to suffer the torments of the lustful even before his death.

† *Venite*: Scartazzini points out that, as the Angel Warder at the entrance of Purgatory takes the functions of St. Peter, so does the Angel at the exit from Purgatory take the functions of Jesus Christ, pronouncing the great sentence that will be repeated on the Day of Judgment.

‡ *un lume che lì era*: The light was the radiant form of the Angel, far exceeding in brightness those whom Dante had previously seen. As the Poets issued from the flames, they were just opposite the stairway leading up to the Terrestrial Paradise, and the Angel stood at the foot of the staircase.



A voice that was singing on the far side (of the fire) guided us on; and we, giving our attention to it alone, issued forth where the ascent began. *Come, ye blessed of My Father*,\* sounded from the interior of a light that was there, so (brilliant) that it overcame me, and I could not gaze upon it. "The Sun is sinking fast," added (the voice), "and the night cometh; † tarry not, but press on your steps, before that the West shall become darkened by night."

We know from Canto vii, 52, that, as soon as the night falls in Purgatory, all progress is arrested. And therefore the Angel advises their not delaying on the very threshold of the Terrestrial Paradise, as though he would say, "Life is short, Death is at hand."

Benvenuto draws attention to the fact that, up to this point, the road had been winding round the circuit of the mount; but here, as in the *Anti-Purgatorio*, it diverges and ascends through a hollow way straight up to the summit. This path Dante now describes. Benvenuto thinks he wishes, by an allegory, to speak of the path of virtue.

Hardly have the three Poets commenced the ascent of the stairway, when the Sun sets, and as by the law of Purgatory further progress is not permitted at night, they lie down upon the steps of the staircase and Dante falls into a deep sleep.

Dritta salia la via per entro il sasso,  
Verso tal parte, ch' io toglieva i raggi

65

---

\* See *St. Matt.* xxv, 34: "Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of My Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world."

† This reminds one of *St. John* ix, 4: "The night cometh, when no man can work."

Dinanzi a me\* del sol ch' era già basso.†  
 E di pochi scaglion levammo i saggi,‡  
 Che il sol corcar, per l' ombra che si spense,  
 Sentimmo retro ed io e li miei saggi.  
 E pria che in tutte le sue parti immense § 70  
 Fosse orizzonte || fatto d' un aspetto,  
 E notte avesse tutte sue dispense,  
 Ciascun di noi d' un grado fece letto ;  
 Chè la natura del monte ci affranse

\* *Dinanzi a me*: Benvenuto interprets *dinanzi a me* as *reverberantes in faciem meam*, and *verso tal parte* towards the West; but Jacopo della Lana, Buti, Scartazzini, Fraticelli and others, are very positive that it means towards the East: Antonelli (*ap. Tommaséo*) expresses the opinion that this last stairway was lighted by the rays of the Sun just setting; and that the Poet, as he ascended it, would have before him the shadow of his own body. The stairway then was seen from the West, and led towards the East. Buti adds to this that it is an appropriate and allegorical fiction, to describe the ascending to Paradise as ascending towards the East, whence the Sun is first manifested to the world, the Sun, which signifies the Salvation of God.

† *era già basso*: Some read *lasso*, "weary of his long course."

‡ *levammo i saggi*: Buti explains this: "di pochi scaloni avemmo esperienza."

§ *immense*: On this Antonelli writes: "Richiama l' attenzione del lettore all' ampiezza dell' orizzonte, che a quel luogo eccelso si conveniva, somministrandogli l' idea dell' immensità. Prima, dunque, che tutto l' immenso spazio, che di lì dominavasi, o potevasi dominare, fosse fatto d' un medesimo aspetto, cioè oscuro, e perciò prima che la notte avesse dappertutto disteso il suo velo; ciascuno dei tre Poeti si fece letto di un gradino della scala, adagiandovisi."

|| *orizzonte*: Tommaséo thinks that the omission of the definite article before *orizzonte* almost implies the personification of the horizon. Dr. Moore (*Time References*, p. 110) says that in this passage (ll. 70-72) we have the coming on of darkness, and, in ll. 89-90, the shining out of the stars clearer and larger than their wont. This brings us to the end of the third day, Tuesday, April 12th, and the Poets have now reached the end of Purgatory proper. The dawn of the fourth day is beautifully described in ll. 109, etc.; the Earthly Paradise is entered, and Virgil takes his leave in the splendid passage with which this Canto ends, in the course of which (in l. 133) he points to the now fully risen Sun.

La possa del salir più che il diletto.\*

75

The passage ascended straight up through the rock, in such direction, that before me I impeded the rays of the Sun, which was already low. And but of few steps had we essayed the proof, when both I and my Sages, by reason of the disappearance of my shadow, perceived that the Sun had set behind us. And ere the horizon in all its boundless expanse had assumed one unvaried hue (of gloom), and ere night had diffused its darkness equally all over it (*lit.* had made all its distributions), each of us made a bed of a stair; forasmuch as the nature of the mountain had taken away from us the power of ascending even more than the desire (to do so).

Benvenuto says that Dante probably means that he gave himself up to nocturnal meditation with Statius, a poet of moral science, and with Virgil, a poet of natural science.

Quali si fanno ruminando manse †

Le capre, state rapide e proterve

Sopra le cime, avanti che sien pranse,

\* *il diletto*: Giuliani is quoted by Scartazzini as saying, that Virgil had to enter the fire of purification to render himself worthy of passing the threshold of the Terrestrial Paradise; and Statius because he would naturally do so before ascending to God. Dante had to go through that trial and torment as though to mortify the spirit of the flesh as a holocaust to God. Scartazzini thinks that Virgil and Statius had to pass through the flames for the simple reason that there was no other way to ascend. They lay themselves down on a step to obey the law of the holy mountain, which cannot be ascended by night. They do not sleep, not being subject to the imperfections of the flesh, but, like the shepherds, watch all night, while Dante alone, from having the flesh of Adam (*quel d' Adamo*) was overcome by sleep.

† *ruminando manse Le capre*: Boccaccio, in his *Vita di Dante*, relates that Dante wrote two very beautiful Eclogues, in answer to some verses sent to him by his friend Maestro Giovanni del Virgilio, a distinguished poet of Bologna who himself wrote an epitaph on Dante after his death. In the second of these Eclogues of Dante (ll. 7-15) there is a passage resembling this one of the goats.

Tacite all' ombra, mentre che il sol ferve,  
 Guardate dal pastor che in sulla verga 80  
 Poggiato s' è, e lor poggiato serve : \*  
 E quale il mandrian † che fuori alberga,  
 Lungo il peculio ‡ suo queto pernotta,  
 Guardando perchè fiera non lo sperga ;  
 Tali eravamo tutti e tre allotta, 85  
 Io come capra, ed ei come pastori,  
 Fasciati quinci e quindi d' alta grotta. §

Even as the goats become quiet while ruminating, which had been agile and impetuous upon the mountain tops before they took their meal, resting hushed in the shade, as long as the sun is hot, watched by their shepherd who leans upon his staff, and thus leaning watches them ; and as the herdsman that lives in the open, watches by night beside his resting flock, keeping guard that no wild beast scatter it ; even so at that hour were we all three, I like a goat, and they like shepherds, hedged in on either side by lofty rock.

Benvenuto explains that while ascending the winding road, like those striving after virtue, they might have

\* *lor poggiato serve* : Others read "*e lor di posa serve*," "and resting while they rest causes them to rest also," but the former reading has an overwhelming weight of MS. authority. Benvenuto says: Like as the goats ascend the high hill tops, and gather the most succulent branches, shrubs and leaves, and when satiated, are led by the shepherd to ruminant in the shade, so Dante's spirit soars to more lofty themes, to feed on more elevated thoughts, which he can think out and discuss with his guides, at a time well fitted for the contemplation of the new and sublime matter of which he will now have to treat.

† *mandriano* is a herdsman rather than a shepherd (*pastore*), and has charge rather of large cattle than of sheep.

‡ *peculio* is said to be a mixed flock of sheep and goats. Compare Virgil (*Georg.* iv, 433-436) :—

"Ipse velut stabuli custos in montibus olim,  
 Vesper ubi e pastu vitulos ad tecta reducit,  
 Auditisque lupos acuunt balatibus agni,  
 Considit scopulo medius, numerumque recenset."

§ *d' alta grotta* : Some read *dalla grotta*.

slipped over the edge of the Cornice, but, having once arrived at an abode of bliss, there is no more falling away.

*Division III.*—Dante now relates how he fell into a deep sleep and had a dream, which Benvenuto calls *nobile somnium*. He indicates the hour at which he fell asleep.

Poco potea parer li del di fuori ;  
 Ma per quel poco vedev' io le stelle,  
 Di lor solere e più chiare e maggiori.\* 90  
 Sì ruminando, e sì mirando in quelle,  
 Mi prese il sonno ; il sonno che sovente,  
 Anzi che il fatto sia sa le novelle.†

(Of the sky) outside but little could be seen ; but in that little I beheld the stars more brilliant and larger than their wont. Thus musing, and thus gazing

\* *le stelle . . . più chiare e maggiori* : Antonelli says that the increased brilliancy of the stars would be due to the intensely pure and rarefied air of that elevated region ; and, as regards their appearing larger, it is probable that Dante wished to convey to his readers that he had reached such an altitude, as to be appreciably nearer to the starry sphere, so that the stars would actually seem larger. Benvenuto confirms this conception : " *Stellæ videbantur clariores sibi et majores solito, quia erat vicinior cælo et in loco puro a nubibus : distantia enim loci facit stellas videri minimas, quæ sunt in se maximæ.*"

† *il sonno che sovente, Anzi che il fatto sia sa le novelle* : Dreams prophetic of things really about to happen were supposed to be those dreamt in the morning before waking. Compare *Inf.* xxvi, 7:—

"Ma se presso al mattin del ver si sogna."  
 And *Purg.* ix, 13:—

"Nell' ora che comincia i tristi lai  
 La rondinella presso alla mattina,  
 Forse a memoria de' suoi primi guai,  
 E che la mente nostra peregrina  
 Più dalla carne, e men da pensier presa,  
 Alle sue vision quasi è divina ;  
 In sogno mi pareo," etc.

upon them (the stars), sleep came upon me, the sleep that oftentimes has intelligence of a thing before the fact has occurred.

The three Poets were reposing on the steps in a deep hollow way or cutting, and consequently could see but little on either side of them, as one in a well can only see a small portion of the sky.

The ideas which passed through Dante's mind before he fell asleep, developed into a prophetic dream, which he now relates, and which we may infer took place a couple of hours before the dawn.

Nell' ora, credo, che dell' orïente  
 Prima raggiò nel monte Citerea,\* 95  
 Che di foco d' amor par sempre ardente,  
 Giovane † e bella in sogno mi pareo  
 Donna vedere andar per una landa  
 Cogliendo fiori, e cantando dicea :  
 —“ Sappia, qualunque il mio nome domanda, 100  
 Ch' io mi son Lia, e vo movendo intorno  
 Le belle mani a farmi una ghirlanda.

---

\* *Citerea* : Venus was called *Cytheræa* after the island of *Cythera*, the modern name of which is *Cerigo*, where, according to the heathen mythology, the goddess was born out of the foam of the sea. From this circumstance the island was held particularly sacred to Venus, and here she had a celebrated temple. The planet Venus has a peculiarly lustrous splendour, which was popularly supposed to be the throbbing of the fire of love. Compare *Purg.* i, 19 :—

“ Lo bel pianeta che ad amar conforta,  
 Faceva tutto rider l' orïente.”

† *Giovane* : Leah did not die young, but St. Thomas Aquinas, (*Summ. Theol.* pars iii, suppl. qu. lxxxii, art. 1) states that “*Natura humana perfectissimum statum habet in ætate juvenili. Ergo in illa ætate resurgent omnes.*” And she therefore is seen by Dante, as it were in the prime of life, in the form in which she would be supposed to rise again. Benvenuto has a very long note upon Leah, and says that this noble fiction is usually explained all wrong, and that Dante here wishes to speak of the Countess Matelda of Canossa, in the State of Reggio.

Per piacermi allo specchio qui m' adorno ;  
 Ma mia suora Rachel mai non si smaga  
 Dal suo miraglio,\* e siede tutto giorno. 105  
 Ell' è de' suoi begli occhi veder vaga,  
 Com' io dell' adornarmi con le mani ;  
 Lei lo vedere, e me l' oprare appaga."

About the hour, I think, when Venus, who ever seems to burn with the fire of love, first beamed upon the mountain (of Purgatory) from the East, methought I saw in a dream a young and beauteous Lady walking over a plain, culling flowers, and in her song she was saying: "Let whoever may demand my name know that I am Leah, and I go moving about my fair hands, to make for myself a garland. To please me at the mirror (*i.e.* God) I here adorn myself, but my sister Rachel never departs from her looking-glass, and sits at it all day. She is as eager to gaze at her lovely eyes, as I to adorn myself with my hands; contemplation is her delight, and work is mine."

Scartazzini says that, to understand better the difficulties in the lines from 94 to 108, it will be well to consult passages from St. Thomas Aquinas.

In *Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. clxxix, art. 1: "Quia quidam homines precipuè intendunt contemplatione veritatis, quidam verò intendunt principaliter exterioribus actionibus, inde est quòd vita hominis convenienter dividitur per activam et contemplativam." Again, *Ibid.* art. 2: "Istæ duæ vitæ significantur per duas uxores

---

\* *miraglio*: Several important texts, including the Vatican and the Berlin MSS., read *ammiraglio*, which is never used in the sense of "mirror" in the Italian language. On the other hand Fra Guittone (*Lett.* 13) does use *miraglio* in that sense: "Carissimi, del mondo miragli siete voi tutti nel mondo magni, a cui s' affaitan tutti i minori vostri." *Miraglio* is the reading of the Santa Croce, Caetani, Cassinese, and Vienna MSS. Also of the *First Four Editions*, Witte, Benvenuto, Cesari, Tommaséo, Scartazzini, and others.

Jacob : activa quidem per Liam, contemplativa verò per Rachelem ; et per duas mulieres quæ Dominum hospitio receperunt : contemplativa quidem per Mariam, activa verò per Martham . . . Divisio ista datur de vita humana ; quæ quidem attenditur secundùm intellectum. Intellectus autem dividitur per activum et contemplativum, quia finis intellectivæ cognitionis vel est ipsa cognitio veritatis, quod pertinet ad intellectum contemplativum ; vel est aliqua exterior actio, quod pertinet ad intellectum practicum sive activum." Again, *Ibid.* qu. clxxxii, art. 2 : " Deum diligere secundùm se est magis meritorium quàm diligere proximum . . . Vita autem contemplativa directè et immediatè pertinet ad dilectionem Dei ; vita autem activa directius ordinatur ad dilectionem proximi. Et ideò ex suo genere contemplativa vita est majoris meriti quàm activa." In *Conv.* ii, cap. 5, ll. 80-85, Dante, in accordance with the teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas, contends that the contemplative life is the one which most resembles God, and is more loved by Him. The Terrestrial Paradise, into which Dante is just entering, is a figure of the happiness of this contemplative life ; the Celestial Paradise symbolizes the blessedness of Life Eternal. At the entrance of the Terrestrial Paradise, Dante in a dream sees Leah, who represents the perfection of the active life that must follow after expiation of sins, and is but a step to the contemplative life, a link between Purgatory and Heaven, between politics and religion, between Virgil and Beatrice. Leah speaks to Dante of her sister Rachel, who forecasts to him the sight of Beatrice, the two latter both symbolizing the contemplative life.

Dante's dream therefore is intended to show him the double life of Man when purified, and at the same



time shows him by anticipation what he will see when in Paradise. His vision is a foreshadowing of Matelda and Beatrice in the Terrestrial Paradise. In the Old Testament Leah is the symbol of the Active Life, and Rachel of the Contemplative: as Martha and Mary are in the New Testament, and Matelda and Beatrice in the Divine Comedy.

Ruskin (*Mod. Painters*, iii, p. 222) says: "This interpretation appears at first straightforward and certain; but it has missed count of exactly the most important fact in the two passages which we have to explain. Observe: Leah gathers the flowers to decorate *herself*, and delights in *Her Own Labour*. Rachel sits silent, contemplating herself, and delights in *Her Own Image*. These are the types of the Unglorified Active and Contemplative powers of Man. But Beatrice and Matelda are the same powers, Glorified. And how are they Glorified? Leah took delight in her own Labour; but Matelda, in *operibus manuum Tuarum—in God's Labour*: Rachel, in the sight of her own face; Beatrice in the sight of *God's face*." [These italics are Ruskin's own.]

*Division IV.*—In this concluding portion of the Canto, we learn how Dante awakes from his dream, how Virgil in noble language takes leave of him, giving him much comfort and wholesome advice.

The dawn of the fourth day in Purgatory, Wednesday, April 13th, 1300, is beautifully described.

E già, per gli splendori antelucani,  
 Che tanto ai peregrin surgon più grati  
 Quanto tornando albergan men lontani,\*

\* *men lontani* or *più lontani*: Of these two much disputed readings the one most commonly adopted is *men lontani*, which

Le tenebre fuggian \* da tutti i lati,  
 E il sonno mio con esse; ond' io leva' mi,  
 Veggendo i gran maestri già levati.

And now through the brightness that precedes the dawn, which to wayfarers arises all the sweeter on their homeward way, the less distant from home they pass the night, the darkness was flying away on every side, and my slumber with it; whereupon I arose, seeing the great Masters already risen.

Dante now relates how Virgil kindles his desire to get forward by showing him that he is very soon to reap the reward he has been seeking through so many toils. In effect Virgil says: "Blessed are they that do hunger and thirst after righteousness." Dante's eyes are that very day to look upon Beatrice herself in company with the whole Church Militant; and on the morrow Dante will ascend into Paradise. These words of Virgil make a profound impression upon Dante.

---

is that found in the early editions of Jesi and Mantua, and is also followed by Benvenuto, Buti, and all succeeding Commentators. Even Scartazzini, who accepts the reading *più* on account of its MS. authority, says he prefers *men*, besides which he says the idea of *men lontani* is to be found elsewhere in Dante's own works. In *Conv.* iii, c. 10, ll. 17-19, Dante writes: "Quanto la cosa desiderata più s' appropinqua al desiderante, tanto il desiderio è maggiore." And *De Mon.* lib. i, c. 11, ll. 113, 114: "Omne diligibile tanto magis diligitur, quanto propinquius est diligenti." Dante is comparing himself to a returning wayfarer who beholds the dawn with increasing delight, as day by day he gets nearer and nearer to his longed-for home. The sense of the reading *più lontani* is that, the farther off one is from the desired object the more easily does one gird oneself to the daily task of diminishing the distance.

\* *Le tenebre fuggian*: Compare *Purg.* ii, 55-57:—

"Da tutte parti saettava il giorno  
 Lo sol, ch' avea colle saette conte  
 Di mezzo il ciel cacciato Capricorno."

- “Quel dolce pome,\* che per tanti rami  
Cercando va la cura dei mortali,  
Oggi porrà in pace le tue fami.”—  
Virgilio inverso me queste cotali  
Parole usò, e mai non furo strenne †  
Che fosser di piacere a queste eguali. 120  
Tanto voler sopra voler mi venne  
Dell' esser su, ch' ad ogni passo poi

\* *dolce pome* : Compare *Inf.* xvi, 61, 63 :—

“Lascio lo fele, e vo per dolci pomi  
Promessi a me per lo verace Duca.”

And *Deut.* xxxiii, 14: “And for the precious fruits brought forth by the sun, and for the precious things put forth by the moon.” And *Rev.* xviii, 14: “And the fruits that thy soul lusted after are departed from thee.” Scartazzini thinks that Dante drew not only his opinions, but also much of the words of the present passage from one in Boëthius (*Philos. Consol.* iii, pr. ii): “Omnis mortalium cura, quam multiplicium studiorum labor exercet, diverso quidem calle procedit, sed ad unum tamen beatitudinis finem nititur pervenire. Id autem est bonum, quo quis adepto nihil ulterius desiderare queat. Quod quidem est omnium summum bonorum, cunctaque intra se bona continens: cui si quid abforet, summum esse non posset; quoniam relinqueretur extrinsecus quod posset optari. Liquet igitur, beatitudinem esse statum bonorum omnium congregatione perfectum. Hunc, uti diximus, diverso tramite mortales omnes conantur adipisci. Est enim mentibus hominum veri boni naturaliter inserta cupiditas: sed ad falsa devius error abducit. Quorum quidem alii summum esse bonum nihilo indigere credentes, ut divitiis affluent, elaborant: alii vero bonum, quod sit dignissimum veneratione, judicantes, adeptis honoribus, reverendi civibus suis esse nituntur. Sunt qui summum bonum in summa potentia esse constituent: hi vel regnare ipsi volunt, vel regnantibus adhærere conantur. Plurimi vero boni fructum gaudio lætitiæque metiuntur: hi felicissimum putant voluptate diffluere. . . . Sed summum bonum beatitudinem esse definimus. Quare beatum esse iudicat statum quem præ ceteris quisque desiderat.”

† *strenne* : *Strenna* is derived from the Latin *strenna*, a gratuity. The French word is *étrennes* (plur.) and both mean a present given on a special day such as a Christmas, a New Year's, or an Easter present. The *Postillatore Cassinese* explains the passage: “*Strenne* qui primum donum quod datur in Kalendarum dicuntur, ut in decretis habetur.” And Pietro di Dante: “dicitur strenna mancia, quæ datur in principio Kalendarum.”

Al volo mi sentia crescer le penne.\*

"That sweet fruit (*i.e.* The Supreme Good), which the anxious care of mortals goes in quest of upon so many branches, will this day appease thy hungerings." Such words did Virgil use to me, and never were there guerdons that were for pleasure equal to these. Within me longing so grew upon longing to be above, that at every step thereafter I felt my wings growing stronger for flight.

We now reach the time when Virgil, knowing that Dante is about to enter into the presence of Beatrice, Divine Science, and that the companionship of himself, Human Science, will no longer be necessary, addresses his last farewell to Dante, in noble and touching words. We may infer that these are spoken on the very threshold of the Terrestrial Paradise, and although we see Virgil continue to be Dante's silent companion over the Debatable Land, yet as soon as Beatrice appears he vanishes for ever.†

Implying that purer eyes than his are required to guide Dante through the Terrestrial Paradise, Virgil

\* *crescer le penne*: From the intensity of his joy, Dante felt so light that he could almost fly. See *Par.* xv, 71-72:—

" . . . ed arrisemi [or arrosemi] un cenno

Che fece crescer l' ali al voler mio."

And lines 79-81:—

"Ma voglia ed argomento nei mortali,  
Per la cagion ch' a voi è manifesta,  
Diversamente son pennuti in ali."

† Benvenuto thinks that Virgil vanished after concluding his address, but that is manifestly an error, for Virgil is twice spoken of afterwards. See *Purg.* xxviii, 145-47:—

"Io mi volsi dietro allora tutto  
A' miei Poeti, e vidi che con riso  
Udito avevan l' ultimo costrutto."

And again *Purg.* xxix, 55-57:—

"Io mi rivolsi d' ammirazion pieno  
Al buon Virgilio, ed esso mi rispose  
Con vista carca di stupor non meno."

sadly points out the way to his beloved pupil, telling him he must henceforth consider himself emancipated from human teachers and governors, and, until he passes under the tutelage of Beatrice, he must walk on under the sole guidance of his own free will.

Come la scala tutta sotto noi  
 Fu corsa, e fummo in su 'l grado superno, 125  
 In me ficcò Virgilio gli occhi suoi,  
 E disse:—" Il temporal foco e l' eterno  
 Veduto hai, figlio, e sei venuto in parte  
 Dov' io per me più oltre non discerno.\*  
 Tratto t' ho qui con ingegno e con arte; † 130  
 Lo tuo piacere ‡ omai prendi per duce :

\* non discerno: Compare *Purg.* xviii, 48:—

"Ed egli a me: 'Quanto ragion qui vede  
 Dirti poss' io; da indi in là t' aspetta  
 Pure a Beatrice; ch' opera è di fede.'"

† con ingegno e con arte: Martini (*La Div. Com. dichiarata secondo i principii della filosofia*, Torino, 1840) explains this well: "L'ingegno è naturale: ma si può perfezionare colla cultura. Perciò suol dividersi in *nativo* ed *acquisito*. Non è mai interamente acquisito; ma con tal nome s' intende il nativo perfezionato con l' esercizio. Virgilio per *ingegno* intende il nativo, e per *arte* l' acquisito." Scartazzini, who quotes the above, understands the words to mean: "I have brought thee thus far, making use of the gifts that have been vouchsafed me by Nature, as well as of the arts which I have studied."

‡ *Lo tuo piacere*: Comparing this passage with *Ecclus.* xv, 14 (*Vulg.*), "Deus ab initio constituit hominem, et reliquit illum in manu consilii sui," Scartazzini explains that *piacere* sometimes signifies *arbitrio*, and at others *proprio consilio*. When Virgil tells Dante that, from that time forth, he is to take his pleasure (*piacere*) for his guide, he certainly does not in the least mean that Dante is to act without prudence, but that he considers Dante capable of guiding himself. Therefore *piacere* is to be taken here rather with the signification of *consiglio* than of *arbitrio*, and Scartazzini interprets the words, "Let your own good sense guide you." But *piacere* must not be taken in the sense of *volere*, for the will is not here looked upon as a leader, but as a follower after wisdom. The Commentators mostly have it that Dante was now completely purified, and therefore could follow his own

Fuor sei dell' erte vie, fuor sei dell' arte.  
 Vedi là il sol che in fronte ti riluce;\*  
 Vedi l' erbetta, i fiori e gli arbuscelli,  
 Che qui la terra sol da sè produce.† 135  
 Mentre che vegnan lieti gli occhi belli,‡  
 Che lagrimando a te venir mi fenno,  
 Seder ti puoi e puoi andar tra elli.  
 Non aspettar mio dir più, nè mio cenno.

free-will without fear of transgressing. But it is only at the last line of the *Purgatorio* that we learn that he felt himself

"Puro e disposto a salire alle stelle."

Before he becomes so, although cleansed from the seven capital sins, he will have to undergo a heavy act of contrition on the appearance of Beatrice. He has still then got to disencumber himself of a sin, not a capital offence, but still a sin. What is this sin? asks Scartazzini; and he replies: It is, as we shall see, the sin of doubts and vacillations concerning the Faith.

\* *il sol . . . in fronte ti riluce*: "Se i Poeti avevano il Sole alle spalle quando la sera precedente cominciarono a salire la scala, giunti in cima ad essa poco dopo il sorgere di quell' astro, doveva questo esser loro in prospetto, sebbene un poco a sinistra" (Antonelli, in *Tommaséo's Commentary*). Dante's brow is now healed from the seven wounds traced on it by the Angel's sword, and is therefore fitted more worthily to receive the light of God, which Virgil implies will now shine upon Dante and be his guide.

† *la terra sol da sè produce*: Compare *Purg.* xxviii, 67-69:—

"Ella ridea dall' altra riva dritta,  
 Traendo più color con le sue mani,  
 Che l' alta terra senza seme gitta."

And Ovid, *Metam.* i, 101, 102:—

"Ipsa quoque immunis, rastroque intacta, nec ullis  
 Saucia vomeribus, per se dabat omnia tellus."

And 107, 108:—

"Ver erat æternum, placidique tepentibus auris  
 Mulcebant Zephyri natos sine semine flores."

‡ *gli occhi belli*: Compare l. 54 of the present Canto, where Virgil encourages Dante when passing through the flames by saying:—

"Gli occhi suoi già veder parmi."

And *Inf.* ii, 115-117:—

"Pocchia che m' ebbe ragionato questo,  
 Gli occhi lucenti lagrimando volse;  
 Perchè mi fece del venir più presto."

Libero,\* dritto † e sano è tuo arbitrio,

140

E fallo fôra non fare a suo senno :

Perch' io te sopra te corono e mitrio."—†

When the stairway was all run over beneath us, and we were on the topmost step, Virgil fastened his eyes upon me, and said: "My Son, thou hast seen the temporal fire (of Purgatory), and the eternal (fire of Hell), and art come to a place where of myself I can see no further. I have led thee thus far with discernment and with skill; henceforth take for thy guide thine own good sense: thou art (now) beyond the steep paths, beyond the narrow ones. Behold there the Sun which is shining on thy brow; behold the soft grass, the flowers, and the shrubs, which in this region (the Terrestrial Paradise) the soil spontaneously brings forth. Until in joy come to thee those beauteous eyes (of Beatrice), which when they

\* *Libero*: Dante writes in the *De Monarchia*, lib. i, c. 12, ll. 5-26: "Primum principium nostræ libertatis est libertas arbitrii, quam multi habent in ore, in intellectu vero pauci. Veniunt namque usque ad hoc, ut dicant liberum arbitrium esse, liberum de voluntate judicium. Et verum dicunt . . . . Si judicium moveat omnino appetitum, et nullo modo præveniat ab eo, liberum est; si vero ab appetitu, quocumque modo præveniente, judicium moveatur, liberum esse non potest."

† *dritto*: Dante would be in perfect uprightness by keeping himself in conformity with "*Giustizia*, la quale ordina noi ad amare ed operare dirittura in tutte le cose" (*Conv.* iv, cap. 17, ll. 62-64).

‡ *corono e mitrio*: Scartazzini explains this: "I place on thy head the mitred crown of the Emperors." In early times it was usual to place on the head of the Emperor, first the mitre, and upon the mitre the Imperial crown. The ecclesiastical mitre is quite out of the question here, for two reasons. In the first place Virgil would have no power to confer it; and secondly, Dante was not to become from this moment bishop and pastor to himself, but was to be under the direction of his spiritual guide, Beatrice. Scartazzini sums up Virgil's last words thus: "I pronounce thee to be Emperor of thyself, that is, director of thine own reason in the practice of moral and intellectual virtues: thou needest no longer a rider to bestride thee to direct thy will, to hold thee in check with bit and bridle, and to turn thy steps into the direct road."

wept made me come to thy succour, thou mayest sit down (on the grass), and mayest walk among them (the flowers and shrubs). Expect no further speech or sign from me. Thy will is released, upright, and sound, and thou wouldst err greatly not to act upon its judgment; wherefore I crown and mitre thee (as sovereign) over thyself."

Dean Plumptre says: "The most natural interpretation is, that Dante now takes his place among those who are kings and priests unto God (1 *Pet.* ii, 9; *Rev.* i, 6; *Rev.* v, 10). Difficulties have been raised on the ground that the mitre was used in the Roman ritual for the coronation of an emperor. Otho is described as both *coronatus et mitratus*, and hence Scartazzini urges that both words refer to civil and not to ecclesiastical functions. On the other hand this may be traversed by the fact that the word *corona* was used as an equivalent to *mitra*, so that both the words might refer to the Episcopate."

Benvenuto does not seem to attach any ecclesiastical sense to the words, but translates: "Facio te super te regem et dominum."

END OF CANTO XXVII.



## CANTO XXVIII.

THE EARTHLY PARADISE—THE RIVER LETHE—MATELDA—  
THE WIND AND THE WATER IN THE TERRESTRIAL  
PARADISE.

IN the last Canto Dante described how he and his companions had at length reached the summit of the Mountain of Purgatory, where they find the Terrestrial Paradise, of which the present Canto is a description.

Benvenuto divides it into four principal parts.

*In the First Division*, from ver. 1 to ver. 33, Dante describes the freshness and luxuriance of the herbage and trees; the wind, the water, and the birds.

*In the Second Division*, from ver. 34 to ver. 84, he speaks of meeting a beautiful lady.

*In the Third Division*, from ver. 85 to ver. 120, Dante puts a question to the beautiful lady as to the reason of water and wind existing in a region placed higher than the Gate of Purgatory, and she answers him respecting the wind.

*In the Fourth Division*, from ver. 121 to ver. 148, the beautiful lady completes her answer to Dante's question, by explaining to him whence comes the water which irrigates this holy spot.

Benvenuto adds that the whole of this Canto is figurative and allegorical. Were we not to look at it

under this aspect, it would (he says) lack any real meaning or import.

*Division I.*—Dante wishes to describe the happy condition of Man, so far as is compatible with the misfortunes of human life, in a state of perfect virtue. He accordingly figures him to be in an extremely elevated spot, secure from all changes, where no evil can befall him, and living in the midst of bliss.\*

Fratricelli says that, in order to understand the description that follows, the reader should recall to his mind a few leading particulars about the Mountain of Purgatory. Dante has pictured it at a great altitude above the Earth. The lower part alone, which the Commentators have styled the *Anti-Purgatorio*, rose so high above it, that it was supposed to reach up to the highest level of the atmosphere, and it is at this point that Dante places the Gate of Purgatory, which he supposes to be placed on the very lowest edge of the Sphere of Fire. The *Anti-Purgatorio* was subject to rain, heat and cold, earthquakes and other convulsions of nature; not so the

\*St. Thomas Aquinas teaches that the Terrestrial Paradise is situated in the Eastern and more noble parts of the earth. "Cum autem Oriens sit dextera cœli . . . dextera autem est nobilior quam sinistra: conveniens fuit ut in orientali parte paradisi terrenus institueretur a Deo . . . Quidam autem dicunt, quod paradisi pertingebat usque ad lunarem globum, . . . locus ille seclusus est a nostra habitatione aliquibus impedimentis vel montium, vel marium, vel alicujus æstuosæ regionis, quæ pertransiri non potest" (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. cii, art. 1). St. Isidore, *Etym.* lib. xiv, c. 3, writes: "*Paradisus* est locus in Orientis partibus constitutus, cujus vocabulum ex Græco in Latinum vertitur *hortus*: porro Hebraice *Eden* dicitur, quod in nostra lingua deliciæ interpretatur. Quod utrumque junctum facit *hortum deliciarum*; est enim omni genere ligni et pomiferarum arborum consitus, habens etiam lignum vitæ; non ibi frigus, non æstas, sed perpetua aëris temperies."

*Purgatorio* proper. Landino calls the Terrestrial Paradise the *Post-Purgatorio*. It was situated, according to Dante, above the uppermost Cornice or Circle of Purgatory proper; and no spirit could enter therein until purged of all its sins.

Dante paints the Paradise of Delights in the most glowing colours.\*

We must remember that it is now the early morning of Wednesday in Easter week; the seventh and last day of Dante's journey. We know, from l. 133 of the last Canto, that the Sun has risen, and is shining full in Dante's face.

Vago già di cercar dentro e dintorno  
 La divina foresta spessa e viva,  
 Ch' agli occhi temperava il nuovo giorno,†  
 Senza più aspettar lasciai la riva,‡  
 Prendendo la campagna § lento lento||

5

\* Among the best known descriptions of ideal landscapes may be mentioned the following: Homer, *Odyssey*, v, description of the visit of Mercury to the Island of Calypso. Sophocles, *Œdipus Coloneus*, descriptions of the wood of Colonus. Tasso, *Gerusalemme Liberata*, xviii, Garden of Armida. Spenser, *Faerie Queen*, vi, x, 6, Mount Acidale. Milton, *Par. Lost*, iv, 214-270, The Terrestrial Paradise.

† *il nuovo giorno*: We are to understand *giorno* to mean the blazing light of the full-risen Sun.

‡ *la riva*: Dante and his guides have just surmounted the last step of the stairway, and are standing on the edge of the plateau or table land at the summit. Dante now quits this edge, and walks across the table land. Scartazzini explains *riva*, "l' estremità di quel piano."

§ *Prendendo la campagna*: Compare *Inf.* vii, 17:—

"Pigliando più della dolente ripa."

And *Inf.* xii, 28, 29:—

"Così prendemmo via giù per lo scarco  
 Di quelle pietre."

And *Purg.* i, 107, 108:—

"Lo sol vi mostrerà, che surge omai,  
 Prender lo monte a più lieve salita."

|| *lento lento*: "Fra quelle delizie non poteva aver voglia di correre" (Cesari). Benvenuto says of *lento lento* that Dante was

Su per lo suol che d' ogni parte oliva.\*

Already eager to explore within and around the heavenly forest, which, luxuriant and evergreen, made the new-born day tempered to my eyes, without waiting longer I left the mountain's edge, very slowly roaming across the plain, over the soil that on every side breathed fragrance.

Dante's delight in this beautiful region is such, that he cannot hurry over any part of it. He describes the soft wind wafted through the forest.

Benvenuto says that the moral Dante wishes us to deduce from the passage that now follows is that, however much Man, in a state of virtue, may find light winds, *i.e.* slight troubles, come upon him, yet they do not hinder him from performing his allotted duties any more than, in the Terrestrial Paradise, they crush or overthrow the trees that are in it. Although the branches bend where the wind strikes upon them, yet he tells us that the little birds are not prevented from resting upon them, and filling the wood with their songs.

---

entering upon a sacred and, to him, unknown country with fear and trembling; and he also wished to show the difficulty of the new and lofty matter upon which he was entering.

\* *oliva* (equivalent to the Latin *olebat*) is the 3rd singular imperfect tense of *olire*. We find the word twice used by Boccaccio. See *Decam.* Giorn. ii, *Nov.* 5: "Nella sua camera se n' entrò, la quale di rose, di fiori, d' aranci, e d' altri odori tutta oliva." See also, *Decam.* Giorn. iii, p. 4: "Mescolato insieme con quello (odore) di molte altre cose, che per lo giardino olivano." In *Purg.* xxvii, ll. 134, 135, Virgil points out to Dante the soft grass, the flowers, and the shrubs from which we are to suppose this universal fragrance is exhaled:—

"Vedi l' erbetta, i fiori e gli arbuscelli,  
Che qui la terra sol da sè produce."

Contrast the enchanting surroundings, and the aromatic perfume of the soil as related here, with the ghastly description of the City of Dis, and its fetid atmosphere. (See *Inf.* x, 133-136.)

Un' aura dolce,\* senza mutamentof  
 Avere in sè, mi feria per la fronte  
 Non di più colpo che soave vento;  
 Per cui le fronde, tremolando pronte, 10  
 Tutte e quante piegavano alla parte  
 U' la prim' ombra gitta il santo monte:  
 Non però dal lor esser dritto sparte  
 Tanto che gli augelletti per le cime  
 Lasciasser d' operare ogni lor arte; 15  
 Ma con piena letizia l' òre prime,†  
 Cantando, ricevièno intra le foglie,  
 Che tenevan bordone § alle sue rime,

\* *Un' aura dolce*: This was the light breeze of early morning blowing from the East.

† *senza mutamento Avere in sè*: On this passage Dr. Moore writes to me: "Winds on earth involve a disturbance of the atmosphere in itself. This movement follows altogether the equable and calm movement of the *Primum Mobile*, without any disturbance of the particles of the air as in earthly winds. It only becomes perceptible when some obstacle intervenes, such as Dante's forehead (l. 8), or the thick wood (ll. 107, 108)."

‡ *l' òre prime*: Scartazzini censures those Commentators who have interpreted *òre* here as "hours," whereas he agrees with others who hold that the word stands for *aure*. He quotes from Petrarch, part i, *Son.* cxxiv (in some editions 143):—

"Parmi d' udir la, udendo i rami, e l' òre  
 E le frondi, e gli augei lagnarsi," etc.

Benvenuto says that by the birds Dante here means to express wise and virtuous men, who soar to the summits of the virtues, and sing the praises of God with joy.

§ *tenevan bordone*. One sense of *bordone* is a cord of a violin, a lute, or other stringed instrument: and *tener bordone* signifies to keep up an accompaniment. *Tener bordone a chicchessia* (*Gran Dizionario*, § 6) means to keep pace with any one in conversation, anecdote or witticisms. In the *Etymological Dictionary of the Romance Languages chiefly from the German of F. Diez*, by T. C. Donkin, London, 1864, two distinct significations of *bordone* are given: (1) from the Ital. Span. Prov. *bordon*, and the French *bourdon* a pilgrim's staff, and (2) from the French *bourdon* a humble-bee; and *bourdonner* to hum; and the English *burden of a song*; and "if it be true that this word meant originally a long trumpet or organ-pipe, it may be the same as the preceding *bordone* from the resemblance to a staff."

Tal qual di ramo in ramo si raccoglie  
 Per la pineta in sul lito di Chiassi,\* 20  
 Quand' Eölo † Scirocco ‡ fuor discioglie.

\* *Chiassi*, now *Classe*: Scartazzini feels certain that, although in ancient times the name was *Classis*, and in more modern days *Classe*, yet in Dante's age it must have been called *Chiassi*, for both Buti and Landino speak of it by that name without explaining that it stood for *Classe*. In the middle ages it was on the sea shore, though the sea has since receded, and left it far inland; and now it is a dreary, pestilential, marshy plain, untenanted save by the magnificent early Christian Church of Sant' Apollinare in *Classe*, which Benvenuto informs us was built by Justinian, but much damaged by Luitprand, King of the Lombards. It was the port of Ravenna, and was called *Classis* because Augustus used to keep his fleet there for the protection of the Adriatic. One can well imagine Dante, during his exile at Ravenna, often walking on the sea shore of *Classe*, roaming in deep thought through the lovely woods, and treading on the soft carpet of verdure, amid the twittering of the birds, in the far famed *Pineta* of Ravenna. In the beautiful work by Corrado Ricci, *L' Ultimo Rifugio di Dante Alighieri*, Milan, 1891, pp. 114, 115, the author lays great weight on the personal experience of the *Pineta* which Dante exhibits in his comparison to it of the *Divine Forest*: "Anche più personale ci sembra il confronto ch' egli fa del mormorio complesso della foresta del *Purgatorio*, con quello della pineta presso Ravenna, per tutta una serie di considerazioni che seppe accennare sin dal secolo di Dante, e stupendamente, Benvenuto da Imola. Non è soltanto il murmure lieve e il cantar degli uccelli che, nella descrizione poetica, corrispondono alla selva di *Classe*: è tutto il quadro co' suoi particolari. Il confronto e il nome del luogo stanno lì per testimoniare che veramente l' Alighieri descrisse la sua foresta sotto l' impressione di quella di *Classe* profondamente meravigliosa e poetica, come la trovarono quanti penetrarono in lei dal Boccaccio a Giorgio Byron!"

† *Eölo*: Æolus was king of the Lipari Isles, and resided at Stromboli. The inhabitants of those isles used to imagine that they could, by the nature of the flames sent forth by the volcano, foretell the kind of winds that might be expected. Æolus was supposed to have kept the winds imprisoned in bags of skin. The *Scirocco* is the S. E. wind. See Virgil's description (*Æn.* i, 52, etc.) of the cave of Æolus, and his loosing the winds.

‡ *Scirocco*: C. Ricci (*l. c.*) likens the long wide alleys of the *Pineta* to the aisles of some vast Basilica. Into them no dazzling sunshine finds its way, the light is soft, subdued, and equable; a luxuriant undergrowth of shrubs and flowers makes the air

A soft breeze that had no permutation in itself smote me on the brow with no heavier stroke than that of a gentle zephyr; by which the boughs, in tremulous accord, were one and all bent down towards that quarter (the West) whereon the holy mountain (of Purgatory) casts its first shadow. Not however so much diverted from their upright position that the little birds upon their tops had to cease from exercising their skill; but singing with uncontrolled exultation they received the first breezes of the day amid the leaves which kept up an accompaniment to their minstrelsy, such as from branch to branch is taken up through the pine wood on the shore of Chiassi, when Æolus lets forth the Scirocco.

Giovanni Villani (lib. ix, cap. 136) relates that, when Dante died in July (more modern research says in September), 1321, he had just returned from an embassy to Venice sent by the Lords of Polenta; and although there is no documentary evidence of this embassy, there is abundant testimony that during that summer Ravenna was at war against the allied States of Venice and Forlì, to avert which war the embassy had probably been sent. These documents are quoted by C. Ricci (*op. cit.*, pp. 145-154), who shows that, from July to October, the whole country between Venice and Ravenna was extremely insalubrious. He also quotes a statement of Filippo Villani that the Venetians

---

redolent with aromatic fragrance; nor can any violent winds penetrate through the thick foliage. He then adds: "E quando lo scirocco spira, di tra levante e mezzogiorno, tutte le fronde del pineto ravennate, posto sull' orlo dell' Adriatico, si piegano ad occidente mormorando con dolcezza e con una specie di ritmo e di fremito uguale e costante che è proprio de' pini, per la loro forma quasi piana al di sopra e per la qualità della chioma a steli rigidi ed acuti. Così gli uccelli non impauriti da stormire improvviso, nè da troppo ondeggiamento dei tronchi schietti [*upright*] e forti, cantano per le cime senza interruzione come raccolti in dilettevole convegno o in viva gara di voci e canti."

refused to allow Dante a return passage to Ravenna by sea, and that he must have consequently travelled back by Chioggia, by the Delta of the Po, by the Monastery of Pomposa, afterwards abandoned by the Benedictines in consequence of its pestilential climate, then by Codigoro, and by the lagoons of Comacchio. From there to Ravenna, if Dante travelled that way, he must certainly have crossed the Pineta in the last few miles of his journey, and C. Ricci concludes: "Rivide, alfine, Dante *la divina foresta spessa e viva*; ma invano susurravano ancora le acque scorrenti al mare, invano gli uccelli *usavano lor arte, sulle cime*, all' uguale e dolce mormorio delle fronde! La febbre ardeva già nelle vene del poeta, che pochi giorni dopo, tra i figli e gli amici più cari, esalava il faticato spirito!"

Dante now penetrates further into the recesses of the forest, and describes the waters that irrigated the Terrestrial Paradise.

Già m'avean trasportato i lenti passi  
 Dentro alla selva antica \* tanto, ch' io  
 Non potea rivedere ond' io m' entrassi: †  
 Ed ecco il più andar mi tolse un rio, 25  
 Che invèr sinistra con sue picciole onde  
 Piegava l' erba ‡ che in sua riva uscío.

---

\* *selva antica*: The Garden of Paradise is one of the oldest things in Man's history, seeing that our first parents were placed there. Dante has taken the expression from Virgil—see *Æn.* vi, 179:—  
 "Itur in antiquam silvam, stabula alta ferarum."

† *ond' io m' entrassi*: Compare *Inf.* xv, 13-15:—

"Già eravam dalla selva rimossi  
 Tanto, ch' io non avrei visto dov' era,  
 Perch' io indietro rivolto mi fossi."

‡ *Piegava l' erba*: Compare Virgil, *Georg.* iv, 18, 19:—

"At liquidi fontes et stagna virentia musco  
 Adsint, et tenuis fugiens per gramina, rivus."





Sotto l' ombra perpetua, che mai  
Raggiar non lascia sole \* ivi, nè luna.

meaning of *bruno* is not "brown," but "dark (*scuro*)."<sup>1</sup> The *Dizionario* Petrocchi interprets it: "Poco illuminato; Di colore piuttosto che tende al nero." Hence we have also the Tuscan expression *portare il bruno*, "to be in mourning"; *sull' imbrunire*, "at dusk." Compare also *Purg.* iv, 21: "quando l' uva imbruna." The ordinary Tuscan word for "brown" is *marrone*, and a Tuscan lady has given me the following specimens of what would be said in a shop: "Please to show me some brown satin" (*Mi potrebbe far vedere del raso marrone?*). "I should like to look at some brown velvet curtains" (*Vorrei vedere delle tende di velluto marrone*). An English reviewer of my *Readings on the Inferno* takes me to task for my interpretation of *bruno*: "To argue (he says) that because in Tuscany at the present day 'to wear mourning' is *portare il bruno*, therefore Dante means black when he says brown, seems hopelessly unscientific." Will the reviewer tell us what (according to him) Cacciaguیدا is supposed to mean by *bruno* when in *Par.* xv, 50, 51, he says:—

" . . . leggendo nel magno volume  
U' non si muta mai bianco nè bruno,"

which I have translated: "reading in the mighty volume (of futurity) wherein is never altered either white or black." Would the reviewer argue that the page of the mighty volume was "white or brown"? In the same review he reproves me for saying that *drappello* means, not a flag, but a file of men. He remarks: "In the first place, *drappello* does not mean 'a file,' but 'a company,'" taking Barretti's Dictionary as his authority. Whenever this reviewer has censured me, I have made it my practice to appeal to Italians, and I referred the present position to two learned Tuscans, one of whom has served in the army. In answer to my question: "Come intenderebbe Lei *drappello*?" he promptly replied: "Fila di soldati—un piccolo numero—certamente non una compagnia." The other Tuscan wrote: "Sotto *drappello* trovo nel Petrocchi (the latest and most trustworthy dictionary): 'piccola quantità di soldati comandati da un ufficiale inferiore, e la derivazione viene dal provenzale *tropel* (dim. di *troupe*).'" If anything more be required in proof of my assertion that *drappello* means a file of men, I will refer readers to the well-known work of Silvio Pellico, *Le Mie Prigioni*, where in cap. lx, I find: "A sera venne il soprintendente, accompagnato da Schiller, da un altro caporale e da due soldati, per fare una perquisizione. . . . La prima volta che vidi quel *drappello*, uno strano pensiero mi venne," etc. The *drappello* here consisted of two corporals and two soldiers in attendance on the Superintendent of the State Prison of the Spielberg.

\* *che mai Raggiar non lascia sole*, etc.: Scartazzini does not

All the waters that are the most limpid here (in the world) would seem to have in themselves some impurity compared with this which (from its transparency) hides nothing in itself; although it rolls along black and darksome beneath that sempiternal shade, that never suffers a ray of Sun or Moon to penetrate it.

On this Benvenuto observes that such was the density of the foliage, that neither the light of the Sun nor Moon could pierce through the interlacing branches of the trees.

*Division II.*—Dante next describes how they met a beautiful Lady by the side of the stream, who is gathering flowers and singing.

Benvenuto wishes us to mark that Dante now beholds in reality the same lady whom, in the last Canto, he fancied he saw in a dream, in the same dress, and employed in the same occupation. Benvenuto thinks she is figured as being here to warn the purified souls that they cannot ascend to Heaven, without having passed through the hosts of the Church Militant, or without the preliminary two-fold washing

share the opinion of Buti and some other Commentators, that there is a deep allegory concealed in the above six lines. He thinks that Dante, in describing the holy forest, had in his mind some of the passages in Scripture that describe the New Jerusalem. See *Rev.* xxi, 23: "And the city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine in it; for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof." Tasso has a passage in the *Gerusalemme Liberata* (Canto xv, st. 56) which is almost copied from the one here:—

"Ma tutta insieme poi tra verdi sponde  
In profondo canal l'acqua s'aduna;  
E sotto l'ombra di perpetue fronde  
Mormorando sen va gelida e bruna;  
Ma trasparente sì che non asconde  
Dell'imo letto suo vaghezza alcuna:  
E sovra le sue rive alta si estolle  
L'erbetta, e vi fa seggio fresco e molle."

in the waters of Lethe and Eunoe. We see Matelda thus engaged, just as, at the entrance of the *Anti-Purgatorio*, we saw Cato preparing the souls by a similar preliminary washing of the face to ascend the mountain of Purgatory.

Coi piè ristetti e con gli occhi passai	
Di là dal fiumicello, per mirare	35
La gran variazion dei freschi mai :*	
E là m' apparve,† si com' egli appare	
Subitamente cosa che disvia	
Per maraviglia tutt' altro pensare,	
Una Donna soletta, † che si gía	40

\**freschi mai*: *Maio* properly signifies a branch, covered with leaves, which peasants plant on the 1st of May before the houses of their sweethearts, hanging upon it cakes, fruit, etc. It is thus described by Allegri (*Prose e Rime*, 160):—

“E voglio

Dinanzi all' uscio un di ficcarti il majo,  
Il qual di berricuocoli e ciambelle,  
Di melarance dolci e confortini  
Farò gremito, e d' altre cose belle.”

But Scartazzini thinks that here *Majo* simply means any branch of a tree loaded with blossoms. In the Rhaeto-Romance dialect, spoken in the Grisons, *maig* signifies a bunch of flowers. See Donkin's *Etymological Dictionary of the Romance Languages*.

†*E là m' apparve . . . Donna soletta*: It is only in *Purg.* xxxiii, 119, that we learn that *Matelda* is the name of this beautiful lady. What *Matelda* she was, has given rise to a very great difference of opinion. Who, or what was it that suggested to Dante to use the name of *Matelda* for his personification of spiritual activity?

Pietro di Dante, Benvenuto, and all the old Commentators are unanimous in thinking the personage to be *Matelda* of Canossa, the “Great Countess” of Tuscany, daughter of Duke Boniface III, the friend and ally of Pope Gregory VII (Hildebrand), who endowed the Holy See with the great bulk of her vast possessions. Dante's first notion seems to have been to use the name of *Leah*; but though that sufficed for his dream, it did not fulfil his requirements for the person who was to introduce him to *Beatrice* and the Procession of the Church Militant, and afterwards to pass him through the river of oblivion of sin. These qualifications Dante found in the “Great Countess.” Her name must still have resounded in Tuscany, when Dante was writing, as the impersona-

Cantando ed iscegliendo fior da fiore,

tion of *ideal* beauty of body and soul combined with pious activity. It may have been from her name that he took his history, but of course Dante's *Matelda* was not the Matilda of history in the same way that the Cato of the *Anti-Purgatorio* was the Cato of history.

Of modern Commentators the majority hold the above opinion, but there is a strong and learned minority opposed to it. Fraticelli thinks it highly improbable that Dante, a Ghibelline poet, would have so much extolled a woman who was an ally of the Popes, and always warring against the Empire. Prof. Francesco d' Ovidio, in his new and important work *Il Purgatorio e il suo Preludio*, Milano, 1906, p. 573, asks how could Dante represent as a beautiful young maiden of modest demeanour, a fiery and imperious old woman of seventy, who had been twice married? In a pamphlet (*Matelda svelata*, Roma, 1900) Prof. Michele Scherillo contends that the personage referred to is Matilda, daughter of the Emperor Henry I. Both Lubin (*Studi*, pp. 314-353), and Dr. Döllinger, strongly advocate the claims of the Benedictine Nun, Mechtildis von Hackeborn, who left some writings of a mystical character; but it has now been conclusively proved that she did not die until ten years after the assumed date of Dante's vision.

There can be no doubt that Dante is now supposed to see the verification of his dream, though the person is different. In the dream it was Leah, now it is Matelda. It is like Dante's dream related in *Purg.* ix, 19, *et seq.*, when the Eagle was seen in the dream instead of Lucia. Dante has been dreaming of Leah and Rachel; when he awakes he finds neither of them, but in their stead Matelda, and afterwards Beatrice. Dr. Moore (*Studies in Dante*, iii, pp. 210-216) discusses the question in a most exhaustive way. While himself holding strongly to the generally received explanation that by Matelda is meant the "Great Countess" of Tuscany, he remarks that the subject is one of the thorniest problems in the *Divina Commedia*. Matelda's office appears to be that of Guardian of the Earthly Paradise, much in the same way as the idealized Cato is the Guardian of the lower slopes of the Mountain in *Ante-Purgatory*. She is perhaps the only permanent inhabitant of the *Post-Purgatorio*, as was Cato of the *Anti-Purgatorio*. She seems to represent the active life in its highest aspect. The old-world distinction between the Active and Contemplative Lives occurs frequently in the works of Dante. It is generally held that by three pairs of symbols Dante figures this antithesis: Leah and Rachel in the Old Testament (*Purg.* xxvii, 97-108); Martha and Mary in the New Testament (*Conv.* iv, xvii, l. 94, *et seq.*); Matelda and Beatrice in the *Divina Commedia*. Leah and Matelda are both introduced as gathering flowers; Rachel and Beatrice are twice described

Ond' era pinta tutta la sua via.\*

With my feet I stood still, but with my eyes I passed to the other side of the rivulet, to gaze in wonderment at the great variety of the luxuriant shrubs : and there (on the opposite bank) appeared to me—even as there often appears quite suddenly something which from very wonder drives all other thoughts aside—a Lady all alone, who went along singing, and selecting from among the flowers wherewith all her path was enamelled.

Dante felt like one who, while in deep thought, has his ideas swept away by some unexpected sight.

We now learn how Dante addresses Matelda, entreating her to draw nearer to the margin of the rill in order that he may the better converse with her. Feeling himself purified, he has an intense longing

---

as sitting beside each other in Heaven. We may also notice that as Matelda took charge of Dante when Virgil resigned his office as Dante's leader at the entrance to Earthly Paradise, so did St. Bernard become his Guide in the Empyrean Heaven, when Beatrice quitted Dante, and assumed her exalted seat in the Heavenly Rose.

\* *Ond' era pinta tutta la sua via* : In *The Alpine Journal*, vol. x, No. 69, p. 72, Mr. Douglas Freshfield gives a most interesting description of the beauties of the mountain meadows in the Val d'Incisa, and the gorgeous masses of variegated colour to be seen in them; and he thinks it must have been from personal experience of them that Dante described, in such glowing terms, the Valley of the Princess (*Purg.* vii), and the sweet glades where Matelda gathered flowers in the *Divina Foresta* : "It took us two hours to walk across only a portion of the Incisa Alp, a pasturage which stretches for miles westwards from the Col di Lana and Sett Sass. In mid-July it was glorious with flowers beyond all Alpine meadows I have ever seen. The Scisser Alp, which I crossed on the following day, was nothing to it. There were bays of rhododendrons, pools of gentians, lakes of blue forget-me-nots, lilies tawny and white, brilliant arnica, fragrant nigritella, and I doubt not many other plants which would have delighted a botanist by their rarity as much as these pleased me by their profusion. A reader of Dante could hardly help trying to repeat to himself the description of the valley of the great princess on the Mountain of Purgatory" (*Purg.* vii, 79-81).

to be brought nearer to the works of virtue that are represented by Matelda.

—“ Deh, bella Donna, ch' ai raggi d' amore  
 Ti scaldi, s' io vo' credere ai sembianti,\*  
 Che soglion esser testimon del core, 45  
 Vegnati in voglia di trarreti avanti,—  
 Diss' io a lei,—“ verso questa riviera,  
 Tanto ch' io possa intender che tu canti.  
 Tu mi fai rimembrar, dove e qual era  
 Proserpina nel tempo che perdette 50  
 La madre lei, ed ella primavera.”—†

\* *sembianti*: Blanc says the word *sembiante* means features, and especially so here, because in the plural. Compare *Inf.* xxiii, 145-6:—

“ Appresso il Duca a gran passi sen gi,  
 Turbato un poco d' ira nel sembiente.”

Scartazzini says of *sembianti*, that the principal features are the eyes and the smile, and quotes Dante's own words in the *Canzone* (at the opening of *Convivio* iii) that begins, “Amor che nella mente mi ragiona.” *Str.* iv:—

“ 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.”

Compare too *Vita Nuova*, § 15, sonnet viii, 32:—

“ Lo viso mostra lo color del core.”

Compare also *Conv.* iii, 8, ll. 71-90: “E in questi due luoghi dico io, che appariscono questi piaceri, dicendo: ‘*Negli occhi e nel suo dolce riso.*’ Li quali due luoghi per bella similitudine si possono appellare balconi della Donna che nello edificio del corpo abita, cioè l' Anima, perocchè quivi, avvegnachè quasi velata, spesse volte si dimostra. Dimostrasi negli occhi tanto manifesta, che conoscer si può la sua presente passione, chi bene là mira. Onde conciossiacosachè sei passioni siano proprie dell' Anima umana, delle quali fa menzione il Filosofo nella sua *Rettorica* cioè *grazia, zelo, misericordia, invidia, amore e vergogna*, di nulla di queste puote l' Anima essere passionata, che alla finestra degli occhi non vegna la sembianza, se per grande virtù dentro non si chiude.”

† *primavera*: Both Moore and Scartazzini feel strongly that *primavera* here means the flowers of Spring that Proserpine had been gathering when seized by Pluto, and Scartazzini adds that the following quotation from Ovid, *Metam.* v, 396-399, excludes every doubt on the subject:—

"Ah beautiful Lady, who art basking in the rays of love, if I may trust to thy features, which are wont to be the witnesses of the heart, let the will come to thee," said I to her, "to draw so far forward towards this stream, that I may hear what thou art singing. Thou makest me remember where and what was Proserpine, at the time her mother lost her, and she (Proserpine, lost) the flowers of spring."

Dante means that Matelda looked as did Proserpine, when Pluto first saw her gathering flowers in Sicily, at the time Ceres, her mother, lost her, and Proserpine lost the bright world, and the joy of the spring flowers.

Benvenuto considers that Dante wished to express to Matelda: "Thou seemest to me like a goddess, beautiful and modest as Diana the goddess of chastity." Diana was called Luna on earth, and Hecate or Proserpine in Hell; Diana being properly her name in Olympus.

In beautiful language Dante now describes how

"Dea territa mæsto

Et matrem et comites, sed matrem sæpius, ore  
Clamat; et, ut summa vestem lanariat ab ora,  
Collecti flores tunicis cecidere remissis."

Compare also Virg. *Bucol. Ecl.* ix, 40, 41:—

"Hic ver purpureum: varios hic flumina circum  
Fundit humus flores."

Dante uses the word again to signify "*flowers*" in *Par.* xxx, 61-63:—

"E vidi lume in forma di riviera  
Fulvido di fulgore, intra due rive  
Dipinte di mirabil primavera."

The following is Buti's interpretation of the passage in the text: "*Primavera* . . . , cioè lo prato, e la verdura, nella quale ella era a cogliere fiori." And to this comment the *Gran Dizionario* (§ 3) adds:—

"E i fiori che a lei, rapita, caddero di grembo."

Scartazzini notices that in Tuscany the flower which is one of the first to show in spring, a kind of daisy, is called *primavera*.



Matelda complies with his request by turning towards him, and drawing near enough for the words of her song to reach him across the stream.

Come si volge, con le piante strette  
 A terra ed intra sè, donna che balli,  
 E piede innanzi piede a pena mette,  
 Volsesi in sui vermigli ed in sui gialli \* 55  
 Fioretti verso me, non altrimenti  
 Che vergine che gli occhi onesti avvalli : †

\* *vermigli . . . gialli* : See Buti on this : "Dice l' autore che li fiori erano *vermilli* e *gialli* per dare ad intendere che li esempi virtuosì, in su quali tegnano le loro affezioni le persone virtuose che sono date a le virtù attive, sono esempi che procedono da carità, infiammantì d' amore di Dio e del prossimo ; e però finge che siano *vermilli* : e sono tutti puri e splendienti come è l' oro e però finge che siano *gialli*." In the *Libro della Grazia Speciale*, alluded to above, and quoted by Lubin (*op. cit.* p. 335), the following mystic vision of Mechtildis von Hackeborn is related, which bears a curious analogy to Dante's description of Matelda among the flowers in the Earthly Paradise : "In un' altra visione la Beata Vergine le apparve vestita d' un abito color di zafferano [*saffron coloured*], su cui vi erano rose rosse, e nelle stesse vi erano intessute con arte maravigliosa rose d' oro. Il color *giallo*, significa la di lei umiltà, colla quale ella si sottopose a tutte le creature : le rose *rosse* la costanza della di lei pazienza, la quale ella mite e paziente tenne in ogni cosa : le rose d' oro l' amore, con cui ella faceva tutte le cose, e le terminava nell' amor di Dio."

† *avvalli* : The primary meaning of *avvallare* is "Fare ire a valle, cioè a basso. Spingere o Mandare in giù" (*Gran Dizionario*). Hence we get the signification of "to lower, to bend down" (*v.a.*). Compare *Purg.* xiii, 61-63 : where blind beggars are described lying crouched at the doors of churches, each bending down his head so as to rest it on his neighbour's shoulder :—

"Così li ciechi, a cui la roba falla,  
 Stanno ai perdoni a chieder lor bisogna,  
 E l' uno il capo sopra l' altro avvalla."

In *Conv.* iv, 25, ll. 70-88, Dante in describing Modesty, refers to a passage in Statius (*Theb.* ii, 230-232), where the two maiden daughters of Adrastus, when brought into the presence of two strangers, modestly cast down their eyes :—

"Ibant insignes vultuque habituque verendo,  
 Candida purpureum fusæ super ore ruborem  
 Dejectæque genas."

E fece i preghi miei esser contenti,  
 Sì appressando sè, che il dolce suono  
 Veniva a me co' suoi intendimenti.\*

60

Even as a lady who when dancing turns herself with feet close to the ground and (close) to each other, and scarcely puts one foot before the other, so she (the beautiful Lady) turned towards me, (moving) over the scarlet and yellow flowers, not otherwise than a maiden who lowers her modest eyes: and made my entreaties to be contented by approaching so near, that the sweet sound (of her song) came to me, and with it its meaning.

Not only does the sound of her voice now reach Dante, but he can also plainly distinguish her words; and she further increases his rapturous delight, by raising her beautiful eyes to his. Notwithstanding his earnest longing to see Beatrice, he is greatly moved.

Tosto che fu là dove l' erbe sono  
 Bagnate già † dall' onde del bel fiume,  
 Di levar gli occhi suoi mi fece dono. ‡

\* *intendimenti*: Tommaséo interprets this as *concetti*, and says that in Montaigne we find *entendement* used where "thought" is implied. He also quotes the following from Boccaccio, *Decam.* Giorn. ix, Nov. 9: "Queste parole pensando, e non potendo di esse comprendere nè intendimento nè frutto alcuno." Andreoli, followed by Fraticelli and Scartazzini, interprets: "Co' suoi concetti, con le parole del canto chiare e distinte."

† *già*: Giuliani (*Marginalia*, quoted by Poletto) considers that we are not to take *già* in this passage as "una particella riempitiva, come parve al Lombardi; ma se non è determinazione di tempo, serve a dinotare un determinato spazio di luogo nel commento," as in *Purg.* i, 30:—

"Là onde il carro già era sparito."

‡ *mi fece dono*: Compare *Inf.* vi, 77, 78:—

"Ancor vo' che m' insegni,

E che di più parlar mi facci dono."

And *Purg.* xxxi, 136-137:—

"Per grazia fa noi grazia che disvele  
 A lui la bocca tua. . . ."

Non credo che splendesse tanto lume  
 Sotto le ciglia a Venere trafitta \* 65  
 Dal figlio, fuor di tutto suo costume.  
 Ella ridea dall' altra riva dritta,  
 Traendo † più color ‡ con le sue mani,  
 Che l' alta terra senza seme gitta. §

So soon as she had reached the first spot where the grass is bathed by the waters of the fair stream, she did me the grace to raise her eyes. I do not believe that so bright a radiance shone beneath the eye-lids of Venus when transfixed by her own son (in a way) quite contrary to his wont (*i.e.* accidentally). Upon the right bank opposite smiling she stood, gathering with her hands yet more flowers of many hues which that elevated region produces without sowing.

Benvenuto says that this was the highest place in the world. Dante now relates that his desire of passing across the stream to join the unknown Lady was so great, that, although the rill was only three paces wide, he took as great a dislike to it as Leander did to the Hellespont, which separated him from his beloved Hero.

---

\* *Venere trafitta Dal figlio*: The meaning of this simile is that Reason and Intellect are brighter in Matelda, emblem of the Active Life, and whose eyes are full of Divine Love, than in the eyes of Venus, who was the type of pleasure in the things of this world. The fable here alluded to is taken from Ovid (*Metam.* x, 525-528).

† *Traendo, i.e.* gathering yet more flowers than she had already gathered. A few read *trattando*, Buti among others. This would have the sense of twisting or plaiting the flowers.

‡ *color* for *colori*: used here to mean flowers. Compare Propertius, *lib.* i, *Eleg.* ii, 9:—

“Adspice quos submittat humus formosa colores.”

§ *senza seme gitta*: Compare Ovid, *Metam.* i, 107-108:—

“Ver erat æternum, placidique tepentibus auris  
 Mulcebant Zephyri natos sine semine flores.”

Tre passi * ci faceva il fiume lontani ;	70
Ma Ellesponto, dove passò Xerse, †	
Ancora freno a tutti orgogli umani,	
Più odio da Leandro non sofferse,	
Per mareggiare ‡ intra Sesto ed Abido,	
Che quel § da me, perchè allor non s' aperse.	75

\* *Tre passi*: These three paces, which separate Dante from Matelda, remind one of the three steps at the threshold of Purgatory (see *Purg.* ix, 94, *et seq.*). Dante will surmount these three obstacles by three acts of penitence, namely, Contrition, Confession, and Satisfaction. Scartazzini thinks that between the top of the stairway and Lethe is the Ante-Terrestrial Paradise, which Virgil may enter, but may not go beyond. The Terrestrial Paradise on the side of the earth is bounded by Lethe, which takes away from the soul every memory that is only earthly, and unfitted for the Kingdom of Heaven; on the side of Paradise the Terrestrial Paradise is bounded by Eunoe, which restores to the soul the memory of any good deeds that it wrought which may have made for it treasures in Heaven.

† *Xerse*: Compare *De Monarchia* ii, 9, ll. 49-60: "Post hoc vero Xerxes Darii filius et rex in Persis cum tanta gentium multitudine mundum inuasit, cum tanta potentia, ut transitum maris Asiam ab Europa dirimentis, Inter Seston et Abydon, ponte superaverit. Cujus operis admirabilis Lucanus in secundo Pharsaliæ memor fuit. Canit enim ibi sic:—

'Talis fama canit tumidum super æquora Xerxem  
Construxisse vias;'

et tandem miserabiliter ab incæpto repulsus, ad bravium pervenire non potuit."

‡ *mareggiare*: This word means more than "because its waters flow," as I translated the passage in my first edition. It essentially refers to a boisterous tempestuous sea. Scartazzini renders the passage: "Per l' ondeggiare impetuoso delle sue acque." It must not be forgotten that the current in the Dardanelles is exceedingly strong.

§ *quel* means the river Lethe.

|| *s' aperse*: This refers to the two miracles wrought for the Children of Israel, first, of the parting of the waters of the Red Sea, and secondly, of those of the River Jordan. Compare *Purg.* xviii, 133-135:—

"Prima fue  
Morta la gente a cui il mar s' aperse,  
Che vedesse Jordan le crede sue."

The stream kept us three paces apart; but the Hellespont, at the spot where—even now (remembered as) a curb to all human pride—Xerxes crossed it, did not endure more hatred from Leander, because its waves roll tempestuously between Sestos and Abydos, than this (little stream endured) by me, because it did not then and there cleave asunder.

Benvenuto says that Dante compares himself to Leander, Matelda to Hero, and the little stream to the Hellespont. Leander hates the sea, Dante hates the rill.

Up to this time Matelda has not spoken, but she now addresses herself to Dante and his companions. It is evident from her words that the three Poets had in their faces exhibited wonder that she should be smiling playfully in so sacred a spot.

“—Voi siete nuovi,\* e forse perch' io rido,”—  
Cominciò ella,—“in questo loco eletto  
All' umana natura per suo nido,  
Maravigliando † tienvi alcun sospetto ;  
Ma luce rende il salmo *Delectasti*, ‡  
Che puote disnebbiar vostro intelletto.

80

“Ye are new comers,” she began, “and perchance some doubts may keep you marvelling why I should smile in this place set apart for the cradle (*lit. nest*)

\* *nuovi*: Compare *Inf.* iv, 52, where Virgil says:—

“Io era nuovo in questo stato,” etc.

† *Maravigliando*: Benvenuto's paraphrase of this passage is useful: “*Voi*, scilicet, tres poetæ, *siete nuovi*, et novitas rei parit admirationem, quasi dicat: vos estis ignari hujus rei, e forse alcun sospetto tienvi maravigliando, quia creditis quod sim philocapta [*i.e. love-stricken*], ut tu dicebas paulo ante mihi, *perch' io rido*, cum risus non videatur laudabilis in muliere perfecta etiam in loco perfecto.”

‡ *Delectasti*: “For thou, Lord, hast made me glad through thy work: I will triumph in the works of thy hands” (*Psalms* xcii, 4).

of the human race; but the psalm *Delectasti* affords the light that can uncloud your intellect.

The words of the Psalm will make it clear to them why Matelda can be glad and rejoice in this sacred spot. Her laughter is pure and holy, because inspired by the sweet loveliness around her; nor can sin, that was first committed in the Earthly Paradise, and which caused Man to be driven forth from it, disturb its quietude in any way whatsoever.

She addresses herself to Dante personally, having noticed that, whereas he had before been walking behind his companions, he is now in the front of the group.

E tu che sei dinanzi, e mi pregasti,  
Di' s' altro vuoi udir, ch' io venni presta  
Ad ogni tua question, tanto che basti."—

And thou who standest foremost, and who didst make a request to me, say if thou wouldst hear aught else, for I came prompt to (answer) every one of thy questions, so far as may suffice."

*Division III.*—Dante now puts to Matelda a question about the wind and the water, the existence of which seem to him to contradict the teaching received from Statius in the explanation which he gave of the earthquake (*see* xxi, 43-57).

Statius had told him that on the Mountain of Purgatory there was neither wind, nor rain, nor frost, nor dew, nor snow, nor clouds, nor lightning. (*Canto* xxi, 40-57.) This information is now apparently contradicted by his finding water in the Terrestrial Paradise, and hearing the breeze rustling through the leaves of the forest.

—"L' acqua,"—diss' io,—"e il suon della foresta,  
Impugna dentro a me novella fede  
Di cosa, ch' io udi' contraria a questa."—

"The water," said I, "and the murmuring of the forest, militate against a recent belief (implanted) within me (by the words of Statius) about something that I heard contrary to this."

Matelda promises to solve Dante's doubts, and explains to him that the winds up there are due to different causes from those which prevail on earth and originate in the rapid gyrations of the heavens, which cause certain movements in the air that resemble winds.

Ond' ella:—"Io dicerò come procede  
Per sua cagion ciò ch' ammirar ti face,  
E purgherò \* la nebbia che ti fiede. 90  
Lo sommo Ben,† che solo esso a sè piace,  
Fece l' uom buono,‡ e a bene, e questo loco  
Diede per arra § a lui d' eterna pace.

\* *purgherò la nebbia*, et seq.: Compare several sentences in *De Mon.* ii, 1, ll. 36-41: "Verum . . . ut sol æstivus qui disjectis nebulis matutinis oriens luculentus irradiat . . . lucem correctionis effundere mavult, ad dirumpendum vincula ignorantiae," etc. And further on, ll. 52-58: "Nam per hoc . . . non solum ab oculis Regum et Principum . . . ignorantiae nebula eluetur." Compare also *Inf.* vii, 70, 71:—

"O creature sciocche,  
Quanta ignoranza è quella che vi offende!"

† *Lo sommo Ben*: "Deus est summum bonum simpliciter, et non solum in aliquo genere vel ordine rerum. . . Oportet cum bonum sit in Deo, sicut in prima causa omnium non univoca, quòd sit in eo excellentissimo modo; et propter hoc dicitur summum bonum" (St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. vi, art. 2).

‡ *Fece l' uom buono*: "Iddio, che è sommo bene, fece Adamo buono, siccome buono artefice; e fecelo a buono fine, cioè a fine di dargli luogo glorioso ed eterno: e questo Paradiso terreno li diede par arra del pagamento, ch' egli intendea di fare del Paradiso celestiale" (*L' Ottimo Commento*).

§ *arra*: Scartazzini says that God had destined the Terrestrial Paradise as the earnest-money and pledge of the blessedness of

Per sua diffalta qui dimorò poco ;\*

Per sua diffalta in pianto ed in affanno

95

Cambiò onesto riso e dolce gioco.

Whereupon she : " I will declare unto thee how from its own cause proceeds that (effect, namely, the wind and the water), which makes thee to wonder, and I will clear away the mist which strikes upon thee. The Supreme Good (*i.e.* God), Who takes pleasure in Himself alone, created Man good, and (predestined him) for good, and bestowed on him this place as an earnest of eternal peace. Through his default Man made but a short sojourn here ; through his default he exchanged innocent joys and gentle pastimes for lamentation and sorrow.

Benvenuto remarks that our first parents had quiet rest without toil, safety without fear, peace without war, health without fatigue, freedom without slavery,

---

Heaven, for the fruition of which he created Man. Compare *Inf.* xv, 94 : " Non è nuova agli orecchi miei tale arra," on which Buti commenting, says : " Tal arra, cioè tal patto : arra è la caparra, che è fermezza del patto fatto." The French word is *arrhes* (plural). Zambaldi (*Vocabolario Etimologico Italiano*, Città di Castello, 1889, p. 71, E.) says that *arra* = *arrha*, abbreviated from *arrhabôn*, a Phœnician word that had passed first into Greek and then into Latin, is the sum which the buyer pays in advance to the seller, and which he loses if he does not fulfil the contract. This sum in modern Italian is called *caparra*, which seems a hybrid compound of the phrase *cape arrham*.

\**qui dimorò poco* : According to Buti, the theologians supposed Adam and Eve to have only remained in a state of innocence for five hours, and in Paradise itself only for seven hours. It was thought that God placed Adam in Paradise at the third hour, and gave him his commandments, and presented the animals to him, for Adam to give them names ; He then caused a deep sleep to fall upon him, and formed Eve out of his rib, the serpent then came and tempted Eve, and after the ninth hour they ate of the forbidden fruit, and were driven out of Paradise. See *Par.* xxvi, 139, where Adam says :—

" 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."



and, more than all, life without death; but the more happy they were before their fall, the more unhappy were they after it.

Matelda next shows how God, in order that the newly created Man might enjoy in peace the good that had been prepared for him, gave him an abode which had an immunity from all permutation.

Perchè il turbar,\* che sotto da sè fanno †  
 L' esalazion dell' acqua e della terra,  
 Che quanto posson retro al calor vanno,  
 All' uomo non facesse alcuna guerra, 100  
 Questo monte salio verso 'l ciel tanto;  
 E libero n' è d' indi ove si serra.

In order that the disturbance which the exhalations of the water and of the earth occasion down below it—which, so far as they are able, ascend after the heat—should not bring any annoyance to Man, this mountain was made to rise to so great an elevation towards heaven; and is (consequently) free from these (disturbing influences) from above that spot where it is locked in.

\* *turbar*: "Il turbamento che nelle basse regioni della terra avviene per le meteore acquose e ventose, attribuiscesi ottimamente dal Poeta all' esalazione dell' acqua e della terra, cioè all' evaporazione; la quale ben dice che, quanto può, va dietro al calore, cioè, dal calore dipende, giusta leggi opportune. Acciocchè, poi, quel turbamento non molestasse l' uomo, che doveva, innocente, essere felice anche su questa terra, suppone il Poeta che l' abitazione ai nostri progenitori destinata salisse così grandemente verso il cielo, tanto da non vi esser possibili quei turbamenti" (Antonelli in *Tommaso's Commentary*).

† *sotto da sè fanno*: "idest, infra altitudinem istius montis, quia ab introitu veri purgatorii supra non fiunt" (Benvenuto). "sotto a questo monte" (Andreoli). "Affinchè il turbamento, che sotto di sè appiè del monte, è prodotto dalle esalazioni dell' acqua e della terra," etc. (Fratricelli). "*Sotto da sè*; la particella *sè* si riferisce a *questo monte*, del verso 101; e dice *da sè* . . . perchè il punto che si determina coll' espressione *indi ove si serra* (il luogo della porta del purgatorio) è il termine onde partir dee il pensiero di quello che s' esprime" (Biagioli).

The meaning is that, from the Gate of Purgatory up to the Terrestrial Paradise, all atmospheric influences are inoperative. Fraticelli says the ancients were ignorant of the gravity of the air which causes the lightest vapours to ascend upwards, and they believed that these had a natural tendency to go to the Sun.

Up to this point Matelda has confirmed what Dante had already heard from Statius, and she now proceeds to explain to him the origin of the breeze that moves the foliage, and of the water of the river Lethe.

Benvenuto thinks that, because Dante might be supposed to say: "O beautiful Lady, thou hast sufficiently explained to me why our winds from Earth do not extend as far as these altitudes, but that is not what I ask, I want to know the origin of this wind up here that causes the leaves to rustle," therefore Matelda answers Dante:—

Or, perchè in circuito \* tutto e quanto  
L' aer si volge con la prima vòlta,  
Se non gli è rotto il cerchio d' alcun canto,      105

---

\* *Or, perchè in circuito*, etc. : Scartazzini writes that, according to the astronomical notions that prevailed in the time of Dante, the earth remains fixed in the centre of the universe. The air revolves with *la prima vòlta*, i.e. with the *Primum Mobile*, and with all the heavens beneath it from East to West, for the revolution of the *Primum Mobile* causes the air below it to revolve also. The vapours that form the wind often impart to the air down here a different motion than from East to West. Up there vapours do not rise: therefore the air up there is always gyrating in accordance with the *Primum Mobile*, unless it be intercepted anywhere by any extraneous force. Therefore the air moving from East to West finds resistance up there in the density of the forest, and that produces the sound of which Dante begged Matelda to tell him the cause. Scartazzini says that all the many Commentators he has consulted interpret *la prima vòlta* as the *Primum Mobile*. Antonelli alone thinks it means the Sphere of Fire, but Scartazzini observes that Dante adheres to the

In questa altezza, che tutta è disciolta \*  
 Nell' aer vivo, tal moto percote,  
 E fa sonar la selva perch' è folta ;

Now seeing that the whole atmosphere revolves in a circuit together with the first sphere that revolves (*i.e.* the *Primum Mobile*), so long as its gyration meets with no interruption at any point, on this elevated spot, which is wholly disengaged in the pure air, this movement strikes, and makes the forest, because it is thick-set, give forth a sound.

She means that this elevated plateau, on which the forest is situated, is open and not locked in by other mountains, and the wind that exists here is nothing else than a movement of the air.

Matelda next shows Dante how fruits are generated in the Terrestrial Paradise. All the trees there have in their branches a superabundance of seed, and as the Divine Forest is smitten by the peculiar wind described above, the air is impregnated with these seminal properties, and being whirled in a circular course round the earth, it is carried round to those parts that

---

Ptolemaic system, according to which the ninth sphere, or the *Primum Mobile*, revolves with the greatest velocity round the earth in twenty-four hours, and communicates its motion to the eight other lower spheres contained within it.

\* *che tutta è disciolta Nell' aer vivo*: "Già si è detto che dalla porta in su il monte si dischiude nella region pura dell' aere, che dice *aere vivo* per essere d' ogni terrestre vapore scarico [*unburdened*]" (Biagioli). Witte reads here *che in tutto è disciolta* instead of *che tutta è disciolta*. Antonelli (*ap.* Tommaséo) says that Dante uses the expression *vivo* to signify that the air was absolutely pure, and consequently cut off from every exhalation of the region below the Gate of Purgatory. The reason Dante assigns to the sound given forth by the forest merits consideration, as showing that the Poet was acquainted with the reflection and concentration of sounds through the medium of trees; effects that are produced by trees according as they are more or less densely packed together, and according as by such dense packing they form, as it were, walls from which sound is reflected and reverberates. If Dante was an expert in Optics, he was not far behind in Acoustics.

are inhabited by the human race, and there deposits in the different climates the seeds appropriate to them, and plants and trees grow, of which mankind never sowed the seed. If men only knew these phenomena, they need not wonder when they see the growth of new plants, with the seed of which they are unacquainted. The whole of the Terrestrial Paradise is filled with seed of every kind, and gives forth such fruits and flowers as have not their parallel in the Hemisphere inhabited by Man.

E la percossa pianta \* tanto puote,  
 Che della sua virtute l' aria impregna,                    110  
 E quella poi girando intorno scote :  
 E l' altra terra, † secondo ch' è degna  
 Per sè e per suo ciel, concepe e figlia ‡  
 Di diverse virtù diverse legna.


\* *pianta*; Benvenuto thinks that by *pianta* is meant the forest. Tommaséo says: "*Pianta*, Singolare per plurale." I have translated it "every tree."

† *l' altra terra*: Some Commentators explain this "the rest of the earth," others "the other terrestrial hemisphere," namely, that inhabited by Man. Whichever interpretation be preferred, the meaning is the same, namely, that the germinative properties of the Terrestrial Paradise are whirled round by the fictitious wind to those parts of the earth inhabited by Man, and, being scattered on the soil there, spontaneously take root. A few unimportant *Codices* follow the Santa Croce in reading *l' alta terra*, which would make Matelda continue to speak of the Terrestrial Paradise. But the reading *l' altra* is so nearly universal, that the other is not worthy of mention.

‡ *figlia*: *Figliare* properly signifies "to bring forth" as applied to human generation, but the *Gran Dizionario* says it is sometimes applied to vegetative generation, and besides the present passage quotes from Tasso, *Le Sette Giornate del Mondo creato*, Firenze, 1724, 3:—

"L' arido seno indi s' impingua  
 Della terra, che poi concepe e figlia  
 Tante sì varie e sì leggiadre forme  
 Di piante, d' animai, di fiori e d' erbe."

On the present text Buti comments: "*Figlia*, cioè produce fuori lo frutto, come figliuolo."



Benvenuto says that the  
Nature constantly; for  
pregnate the surrounding  
some winds can convey  
country fit to conceive su  
taneously shoots forth, an  
carry the seed of the tre  
just as we may find at t  
growing in the forest, or  
garden.

Benvenuto remarks that  
anon, they marvel if they  
when once they know the  
and therefore Dante need no  
knows that the movement of  
of the trees.

Non parrebbe di là poi r  
Udito questo, quan  
Senza seme palese<sup>4</sup>  
E saper dèi che la camp

---

\* *Senza seme palese*: "Noi ve  
[take root] in luoghi dove -

Ove tu sei, d' ogni semenza \* è piena,  
E frutto ha in sè che di là non si schianta.† 120

It should not then on earth appear a marvel, if this be understood, when at any time some plant or other takes root there without any apparent seed. And thou must know that the holy country wherein thou art, is full of every seed, and has within itself fruit such as is never gathered yonder on earth.

*Division IV.*—Matelda, having enlightened Dante as to the origin of the wind in the Terrestrial Paradise, proceeds to tell him about the water.

L' acqua che vedi non surge di vena ‡

\* *semenza*: Scartazzini says it is evident that by *semenza* Dante meant trees, since they have *frutto in sè* and the fruit is gathered [*si schianta*] from the tree, and not from the seed. Compare Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* xxxiv, st. 60:—

“De' frutti a lui del paradiso dièro,  
Di tal sapor ch' a suo giudicio sanza  
Scusa non sono i due primi parenti,  
Se per quei fur sì poco ubbidienti.”

† *non si schianta*: Not only fruits known on earth can be gathered there, but also those unknown. Some think that Matelda means to allude to the Tree of Life, which remained in Paradise, and was not allowed to bear fruit on Earth as long as Death existed there. Compare *Purg.* xx, 43-45:—

“Io fui radice della mala pianta,  
Che la terra cristiana tutta aduggia  
Sì che buon frutto rado se ne schianta.”

‡ *non surge di vena*, etc.: Scartazzini speaking of Dante's second doubt, namely, as to how there could be water in the Terrestrial Paradise without rain, says that the solution of it is to be found in *Genesis* ii, 5, 6: “The Lord God had not caused it to rain upon the earth, and there was not a man to till the ground. But there went up a mist from the earth, and watered the whole face of the ground.” Of *vena* the *Gran Dizionario*, § 7, says: “*Canaleto naturale sotterraneo per cui scorre l' acqua.*” Compare *Par.* xii, 99:—

“Quasi torrente ch' alta vena preme.”

Compare Boccaccio, *Decam.* Giorn. iii, Proemio: “Nel mezzo del qual prato era una fonte . . . non so se da natural vena o da

Che ristori vapor che giel converta,\*  
 Come fiume ch' acquista e perde lena;†  
 Ma esce di fontana salda e certa,  
 Che tanto dal voler di Dio riprende, 125  
 Quant' ella versa da due parti aperta.

The water which thou seest wells not up from a spring that is restored by vapour which the frost condenses, like a river that now gains, now loses its vigour; but gushes forth from a source both sure and unfailing, which receives back again, by the will of God, as much as it pours away when divided into two streams.

Matelda then describes how the two diverging streams, Lethe and Eunoe, have different names, and different operations, which tend however to one and the same end.

Da questa parte con virtù discende,  
 Che toglie altrui memoria del peccato;  
 Dall' altra, d' ogni ben fatto la rende.  
 Quinci Letè,‡ così dall' altro lato 130

artificiosa . . . gittava tanta acqua e si alta verso il cielo . . . che di meno avria macinato un mulino."

\* *Che ristori vapor che giel converta*: Compare *Purg.* xiv, 31-35:—

“dal principio suo (dov' è sì pregno  
 L' alpestro monte, ond' è tronco Peloro,  
 Che in pochi lochi passa oltra quel segno)  
 Infin là 've si rende per ristoro  
 Di quel che il ciel della marina asciuga," etc.

Scartazzini says that Dante is alluding to the fact expressed by him in *Purg.* v, 109-111, that water is generated by cold:—

“Ben sai come nell' aere si raccoglie  
 Quell' umido vapor che in acqua ricede,  
 Tosto che sale dove il freddo il coglie.”

† *fiume ch' acquista e perde lena*: “*Lena*, § 4, È detto di fiume per metafora, Dante, *Purg.* xxviii, 123, cioè, secondo che è gonfio o povero d' acque” (*Gran Dizionario*).

‡ *Quinci Letè*: On the Western side of the Divine Forest, on which side Dante had entered it, was *Lethe*, the River of Oblivion, which in ancient mythology was supposed to flow through the

Eūnoè si chiama, e non adopra,  
 Se quinci e quindi pria non è gustato.  
 A tutt' altri sapori esto\* è di sopra;

On this side (the left) it descends with power to take away from one the memory of sin; on the other (the right side) it restores that of every good deed. Here on this side Lethe, so, upon the other side it is called Eunoe, and it is not operative (*i.e.* does not produce its beneficial effect), if it be not tasted first on this side and then on that. The savour of this water (of Eunoe) surpasses all others.

Observe, says Benvenuto, that two things are necessary to the man who aims at happiness; in the first place, forgetfulness of what is evil, so that it may no longer come into his mind to sin: and secondly, remembrance of what is good, which will not allow him to sin any more.

It is not only necessary to forget past sins and abstain from present ones, but also is it necessary to work active good.

Both Benvenuto and Buti begin a new paragraph here in the middle of the *terzina*, and Buti says it is a digression. Benvenuto remarks that Matelda now adds

---

Infernal Regions, but, according to Dante, gushed forth from the summit of the Mountain of Purgatory, flowed through the Terrestrial Paradise, and thence, falling to the foot of the mountain, disappeared through the cavity from whence Dante and Virgil emerged into the Southern Hemisphere—see *Inf.* xxxiv, 130; and *Purg.* i, 40. Through this cavity it entered the subterranean watercourse, and flowed down to the centre of the Earth. The word *Lethe* was derived from the Greek, and signifies the oblivion of Evil, which must precede the knowledge or remembrance of Good, which is implied by the river Eunoe.

\* *esto*: This refers to the savour of the water of Eunoe. Compare *Purg.* xxxiii, 138, where Dante describes his delight on drinking of it:—

“Lo dolce ber che mai non m' avria sazio.”



a most powerful conclusion to show the happiness of this enchanting region. And to catch Dante's attention she promises him that this conclusion is spoken by her as a special mark of favour to himself.

Ed avvegna ch' assai possa esser sazia  
 La sete tua,\* perch' io più non ti scopra,                    135  
 Darotti un corollario † ancor per grazia,  
 Nè credo che il mio dir ti sia men caro,  
 Se oltre promission ‡ teco si spazia.

And although it may be that thy thirst (for knowledge) is sufficiently slaked without my making further revelations to thee, I will in addition give thee a corollary in token of favour, nor do I think that my speech will be less prized by thee, if it extends beyond my promise to thee.

In ll. 83, 84, Matelda, addressing herself specially to Dante, told him that she had come ready to answer every one of his questions, so far as was sufficient for him. She has done so, and she now tells him that, to clinch and confirm what she has said in answer to his questions, will volunteer a further explanation, about which he has not asked her.

In explaining her corollary, she remarks how the

\* *La sete tua* : Compare *Purg.* xxi, 1 :—

"La sete natural che mai non sazia," etc.

† *corollario* : Compare Boëthius, *Phil. Consol.* lib. iii, Pros. x. "Super hæc, inquit, igitur, veluti geometræ solent, demonstratis propositis, aliquid inferre, quæ *πρόσπαρα* ipsi vocant, ita ego quoque tibi veluti corollarium dabo. . . . Et pulchrum, inquam, hoc, atque pretiosum, sive *πρόσσμα*, sive corollarium vocari mavis." Benvenuto says that a *corollario* is the final conclusion, which is given after others as the conclusion of conclusions. The word is derived from *corolla*, a little crown, which, in disputations, was given to the victor.

‡ *oltre promission* : Matelda had only promised Dante to explain to him the origin of the wind and the water in the Terrestrial Paradise.

ancient poets may possibly, in describing the Golden Age, have imagined this blessed spot, in which, says Scartazzini, the Golden Age really did exist for man. Here he was placed in a state of innocence, and surrounded by all the beauties and delights of Nature.

Quelli che anticamente poetaro  
 L' età dell' oro \* e suo stato felice, 140  
 Forse in Parnaso esto loco sognaro.†  
 Qui fu innocente l' umana radice; ‡  
 Qui primavera è sempre, ed ogni frutto;  
 Nettare è questo di che ciascun § dice."—

They who in ancient times celebrated in song the Golden Age and its happy state, perchance upon Parnassus dreamed of this spot. Here did the parents (*lit.* root) of Mankind dwell in innocence; here is there perpetual spring, and every fruit; this (rill) is the nectar of which every one of them speaks."

Dante evidently thinks that Matelda's corollary rather applies to Virgil and Statius, who, more than himself,

\* *Quelli che anticamente poetaro L' età dell' oro*: Ovid was the poet who was foremost in describing the Golden Age, in *Metam.* i, 89-112. ✓

† *in Parnaso esto loco sognaro*: Daniello, commenting on this passage, draws attention to the opening lines of the *Prologus* to the *Satires* of Persius:— ✓

"Nec fonte labra prolui caballino,  
 Neque in bicipiti somniasse Parnasso  
 Memini." ✓

‡ *l' umana radice*: This means Adam and Eve, the parents of the human race. Compare *Ezek.* xvi, 3 (*Vulgate*): "Radix tua et generatio tua de terra Chanaan." And *Purg.* xx, 43, quoted above:—

"Io fui radice della mala pianta," *et seq.*

And *Par.* xv, 88, 89, where Cacciaguida, Dante's great-great-grandfather, says to him:—

"O fronda mia, in che io compiacemmi  
 Pure aspettando, io fui la tua radice."

§ *ciascun*: This does not mean simply everybody, but every one of the poets *che anticamente poetaro*. ✓

*poetaron dell' età dell' oro*, and he looks round to see what impression the last words have made upon them.

Io mi volsi dietro allora tutto 145

A' miei Poeti, e vidi che con riso\*

Udito avevan l' ultimo costruito :

Poi alla bella Donna tornai il viso.

I turned me then right round towards my Poets, and noted that they had heard the concluding words with a smile: then to the beautiful Lady I turned back my eyes.

This is not the last time that Dante is to see Virgil's face. He looks upon it once more. See Canto xxix, l. 55 *et seq.*

---

\**con riso Udito avevan*: Virgil and Statius had heard with gratification, and smiled their approval of these last words of Matelda: "*l' ultimo costruito, l' ultima costruzione, l' ultima conclusione, e l' ultime parole, che furono che quelli che anticamente poetaro, si havevano in Parnaso sognato l' aureo secolo, il quale veramente era stato in cima il monte del Purgatorio, nel terrestre Paradiso*" (Danicello).

END OF CANTO XXVIII.

## CANTO XXIX.

THE TERRESTRIAL PARADISE (CONTINUED)—THE MYSTIC PROCESSION—THE CHURCH MILITANT.

IN the last Canto Dante described the beauties of the Terrestrial Paradise, which Matelda pointed out to him. He now tells how a Mystic Procession passes before him, which we find is figurative of the whole of the books of the Old and New Testament.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

*In the First Division*, from ver. 1 to ver. 30, Dante relates how Matelda moved on along the banks of the river Lethe, bidding him follow her, and how she drew his attention to a great light that suddenly shone in the forest.

*In the Second Division*, from ver. 31 to ver. 60, he describes the Seven Golden Candlesticks, the standards of the approaching Church Militant.

*In the Third Division*, from ver. 61 to ver. 105, he describes the Glorious Army of the Church Militant with its Leaders.

*In the Fourth Division*, from ver. 106 to ver. 154, he tells us of the Triumphal Chariot, of the Gryphon who drew it, and of those that accompanied it.

*Division I.*—Matelda, having given Dante the explanation he sought, as to the causes of the wind

and the water in this sacred region, recommences her singing. In l. 80 of the last Canto we read that she was singing the Psalm *Delectasti*, and broke off to listen to Dante's doubts. She now resumes with another psalm.

Cantando come donna innamorata,\*  
 Continuò col fin di sue parole: †  
*Beati quorum tecta sunt peccata.* ‡

\* *donna innamorata*: Scartazzini says that Dante, in the description of his meeting with Matelda, has imitated a *Ballata* of his friend Guido Cavalcanti addressed to a shepherdess:—

“ In un boschetto trovai pastorella  
 Più che la stella bella al mio parere.  
 Capegli avea biondetti, e ricciutelli,  
 E gli occhi pien d' amor, cera rosata;  
 Con sua verghetta pasturava agnelli;  
 E scalza, e di rugiada era bagnata:  
 Cantava come fosse innamorata,  
 Era adornata di tutto piacere.”

See *Rime Antiche*, Venezia, 1532, p. 70; or *Poeti del Primo Secolo della Lingua Italiana*, Firenze, 1816, vol. ii, pp. 283, 284.

† *col fin di sue parole*: Tommaséo interprets this: “ Appena finite le sue parole,” and Daniello explains that the last words of Matelda had been:—

“ Nèttare è questo di che ciascun dice.”

Dante had thereupon turned round, and had seen Virgil and Statius smiling approval, but Matelda went on at once with her singing without any intermission. One may perhaps be reminded of a contrast between Matelda here, at the end of her speech, devoutly pronouncing a blessing, and the passage at the beginning of *Inf.* xxv, where the robber Vanni Fucci concludes his speech with a hideous blasphemy. Dante is quite as wonderful in his contrasts as in his similes.

‡ *Beati quorum tecta sunt peccata*: The full text of this in the *Vulgate* is: *Beati quorum remissæ sunt iniquitates, et quorum tecta sunt peccata*. This is verse 1 of the Penitential Psalm xxxi, which is one of the Psalms for Matins in the Roman Breviary. In the Authorized Version (Psalm xxxii), “ Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered.” It may well follow on to *Delectasti* (which is in verse 5 of Psalm xci in the *Vulgate*), as rightly indicating the joy of which the latter Psalm is the utterance: “ Quia delectasti me, Domine, in factura tua; et in operibus manuum tuarum exultabo.”

Singing like a lady in love, on the conclusion of her speech, she went on with: *Beati quorum tecta sunt peccata.*

Matelda, who is emblematical of the doctrine of Holy Scripture, enamoured of virtuous deeds, rejoices in the purification of Dante, and having said at the end of the preceding Canto, the words *qui fu innocente l' umana radice*, she continues by singing *Beati quorum tecta sunt peccata*, words most appropriate to the occasion, as Dante is about to pass through the river that takes away the memory of sin. It is as though she would say to him: "O happy thou who has been found worthy to behold this state of blessedness."

Dante now describes Matelda walking along the bank of the stream.

E come ninfe \* che si givan sole  
 Per le salvatiche ombre, disiando 5  
 Qual di veder, qual di fuggir lo sole, †  
 Allor si mosse contra il fiume, ‡ andando

---

\* *E come ninfe*, etc.: Biagioli thinks Dante's imagination was exalted by some peculiarity in the beautiful lady's mode of walking, which must certainly have had in it something godlike, and superior to the gait of a mortal being. So did Petrarch describe the walk of his Laura in part i, sonnet 61 (or 69):—

Non era l' andar suo cosa mortale  
 Ma d' angelica forma."

So in *Æn.* i, 405, is the goddess-like walk of Venus disclosed:—  
 "Vera incessu patuit dea."

† *Qual di veder, qual di fuggir lo sole*: "Quelle de' monti chiamavano (*li poeti*) *Oreades*, quelle delle selve *Dryades*, quelle delle fontane *Hamadryades*, quelle de' campi *Nayades*. Quelle de' monti veggiono volentieri il Sole, quelle delle selve il fuggono" (*Ottimo*).

‡ *contra il fiume*: Their course is now due South, as they walk, Matelda on one side of the stream, and Dante on the other, keeping exactly even with each other, and preserving the same distance as before, parallel and equidistant.

Su per la riva, ed io pari di lei,  
Picciol passo con picciol seguitando.

And like the nymphs, that were wont to roam in solitude through the sylvan shades, some desirous of seeing, others of avoiding the Sun, so did she then move on counter to the stream, going up along the bank, and I (moved) evenly with her, following her short paces with paces equally short.

Benvenuto remarks that the Poets, by the Nymphs or water-goddesses, wished to portray the various wonderful powers of God over the waters, shown in so many ways; according to many authors, they figuratively represent wise and good men, being thus a fair type of Matelda and Dante advancing with slow and dignified steps up the course of the stream, under the shadow of the lofty trees.

Dante next tells how the rill took a sudden bend, so that he finds himself facing the East.

Non eran cento *tra i* i suo' passi e i miei, 10  
Quando le ripe igualmente dièr volta,  
Per modo ch' a levante mi rendei.\*

\* *a levante mi rendei*: In a note in Tommaséo's Commentary Antonelli observes, that Dante, when he reached the top of the stairway, had the East facing him. Being *vago di cercar dentro e dintorno*, it is natural to suppose that, as he penetrated into the depths of the holy forest, he should turn in different directions. He walked upstream along the bank of the Lethe, which flowed from its source towards the West, but with many bends; the part up which he had last been walking had a bend towards the North, and Dante had been therefore facing the South. Now a sudden turn to the left brings him back to face the East, and Antonelli adds: "Nuovo modo d' indicare geometricamente la variazione d' orientamento d' un viaggiatore, e l' andamento d' un corso d' acqua, che deve irrigare una superficie circolare, senza uscire da essa, imponendosi evidentemente da tal condizione un numero conveniente di svolte e di piegature nel canale, e un assorbimento d' acqua per la nutrizione delle piante in ugual misura di quella che viene somministrata dalla sorgente, giacchè qui non si ammette la evaporazione." That Dante was facing

Nè ancor fu così nostra via molta,  
Quando la Donna tutta a me si torse.\*

Dicendo:—"Frate mio, guarda, ed ascolta."— 15

Not yet a hundred paces were there between hers and mine (*i.e.* we had not walked fifty each), when both the banks took an equal bend, in such wise, that I again faced the East. Nor even thus had our way continued far, when the Lady turned completely round towards me, saying: "My brother, look and listen."

Benvenuto explains this to mean that they had not yet walked far beyond the bend the river had taken.

Dante now begins to describe the Church Militant, and points out that theologians always distinguish between the Church Militant, which is ever fighting against the Church's enemies, and the Church Triumphant, which rejoices in Heaven over the victories obtained. Of the latter Dante will shortly give a description in the *Paradiso*, but he will first duly give an account in this passage of the Church Militant. He now relates how he saw a great light approaching him, and at first imagined it might be a flash of lightning, until he perceived it was not followed by thunder.

Ed ecco un lustro † subito trascorse

---

the East when he reached the top of the stairway, we know from Canto xxvii, 133, where Virgil says to him:—

"Vedi là il sol che in fronte ti riluce!"

\* *tutta a me si torse*: Nearly all the best authorities read *la donna tutta a me si torse*. Some read *Quando la donna mia a me si torse*; but this does not seem nearly so good a reading as the first, as Dante has never elsewhere called Matelda "*la donna mia*," but "*la donna*," or "*la bella donna*." "*La donna mia*" could only refer to Beatrice, just as in *Inf.* v, 123: "Ciò sa il tuo dottore" refers to Virgil and not to Boëthius.

† *lustrò*: Compare *Par.* xiv, 67-68:—

"Ed ecco intorno di chiarezza pari  
Nascere un lustro sopra quel che v'era."

Scartazzini and Tommaséo suggest that Dante must have had



Da tutte parti per la gran foresta,  
 Tal che di balenar mi mise in forse.\*  
 Ma perchè il balenar, come vien, resta,†  
 E quel durando più e più splendeva, 20  
 Nel mio pensar dicea :—"Che cosa è questa ?" ‡—

And behold a bright lustre ran suddenly through the vast forest on every side, so brilliant that it set me to doubt of lightning. But since the lightning disappears as soon as it has come, and this kept getting more and more brilliant, in my thought I said: "What thing is this?"

Benvenuto thinks Dante would hardly dare to ask Matelda what it was he saw, and that he is obliged to confine himself to inward cogitation.

The light proceeds from the seven candlesticks carried at the head of the procession. A soft sweet

---

in his mind, when he wrote these passages, Virgil's lines in *Æn.* ix, 110, 111:—

"Hic primum nova lux oculis offulsit, et ingens  
 Visus ab Aurora cœlum transcurrere nimbus."

And Dante again has been imitated by two authors: Fazio degli Uberti, *Dittamondo*, lib. i, cap. ii, terz. 19:—

"Agli occhi un lume subito m' apparve,  
 Qual par balen, che vien per l' aere acceso."

And Frezzi, *Quadriregio*, lib. i, cap. v, terz. 6:—

"Giuno per dimostrar, ch' ella l' udisse,  
 Mandò un lustro, e sin' a lor discese,  
 Come balen, che subito venisse."

\* *mi mise in forse*: Compare *Inf.* viii, 109, 110:—

"Così sen va, e quivi m' abbandona  
 Lo dolce padre, ed io rimango in forse."

And *Par.* xii, 40, 41:—

"Quando lo imperador che sempre regna,  
 Provvide alla milizia ch' era in forse."

† *resta*: Although the primary meaning of *restare* is "to remain," and secondarily "to cease," I find in the *Gran Dizionario*, § 7, that, in this particular passage, it has the sense of "to disappear [*sparire*];" and "to take itself off [*dileguarsi*]."

‡ *Che cosa è questa?* Compare *Par.* xx, 82, 83:—

"Ma della bocca: 'Che cose son queste?'  
 Mi pinse con la forza del suo peso."

strain falls on Dante's ear. The Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, Doctors, and Saints, filled with the grace of the Holy Spirit, are chanting their prophecies, prayers, psalms, and orations. The scene, with its glorious accessories, so enchants Dante, that he cannot repress an outburst of indignation against Eve, on thinking of the fatal effects to Man of her fall.

Ed una melodia dolce \* correva  
 Per l' aer luminoso ; onde buon zelo  
 Mi fe' riprender l' ardimento d' Eva,†  
 Che, là dove ubbidia la terra e il cielo,

25

\* *melodia dolce* : We see by ll. 82-87, that this melody is the song of the four-and-twenty Elders. Compare *Par.* xiv, 121-123 :—

“Così dai lumi che li m' apparinno  
 S' accogliea per la croce una melode,  
 Che mi rapiva senza intender l' inno.”

† *l' ardimento d' Eva* : Scartazzini notices that, whereas in this passage Dante censures Eve, in *Purg.* xxxii, 37, we read that the Mystic Procession censures Adam. But St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars. ii, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. clxiii, art. 4) demonstrates that the sin of the woman was greater than that of the man. “Videtur quòd peccatum Adæ fuerit gravius quàm peccatum Evæ. Dicitur enim 1 ad *Tim.* ii, 14, quòd *Adam non est seductus, mulier autem seducta in prævaricatione fuit* : et sic videtur quòd peccatum mulieris fuerit ex ignorantia, peccatum autem viri ex certâ scientia . . . Si consideremus conditionem personæ utriusque, scilicet mulieris et viri, peccatum viri est gravius, quia erat perfectior muliere. Sed quantum ad ipsum genus peccati utriusque peccatum æqualitur dicitur, quia utriusque peccatum fuit superbia . . . Sed quantum ad speciem superbiæ gravius peccavit mulier, triplici ratione. Primò quidem quia major elatio fuit mulieris quam viri; mulier enim credidit verum esse quod serpens suasit, scilicet quòd Deus prohibuerit ligni esum, ne ad ejus similitudinem pervenirent; et ita dum per esum ligni vetiti Dei similitudinem consequi voluit, superbia ejus ad hoc se erexit quod contra Dei voluntatem aliquid voluit obtinere. Sed vir non credidit hoc esse verum: unde non voluit consequi divinam similitudinem contra Dei voluntatem; sed in hoc superbit, quod voluit eam consequi per seipsum. Secundò, quia mulier non solum ipsa peccavit, sed etiam viro peccatum sug-

Femmina sola,\* e pur testè formata,  
 Non sofferse di star sotto alcun velo ;  
 Sotto il qual, se devota fosse stata,  
 Avrei quelle ineffabili delizie  
 Sentite prima, e più lunga fiata.†

30

And a sweet melody was borne along through the illumined air, whereat a righteous indignation made me upbraid the temerity of Eve, who in that place where Earth and Heaven were obedient (to the Divine Will), she, a woman, alone, and but newly formed, could not endure to remain under any veil (*i.e.* in ignorance) ; under which, if she had submissively remained, I should sooner have tasted those ineffable delights, and (I should have) much longer enjoyed them.

*Division II.*—Dante now describes the approach of the seven golden candlesticks, the standards of the Church Militant, and supposed to typify the Sevenfold Holy Spirit, or, according to others, the Seven Sacraments of the Roman Church.

Mentr' io m' andava tra tante primizie ‡  
 Dell' eterno piacer, tutto sospeso,

gessit : unde peccavit et in Deum et in proximum. Tertio, in hoc quòd peccatum viri diminutum est ex hoc quòd in peccatum consensit amicabilem quòdam benevolentiam, quàm plerumque fit ut offendatur Deus, ne homo ex amico fiat inimicus, quod cum facere non debuisset divinam sententiã justus exitus indicavit, ut Augustinus dicit (*Super Gen.* ad. litt. lib. xi, cap. ult. à med.). Et sic patet quòd peccatum mulieris fuit gravius quàm peccatum viri."

\* *Femmina sola* : Andreoli explains this by saying that, being alone, the only woman, she could not have the excuse of having been tempted by emulation, or the desire to excel over other women.

† *più lunga fiata* : Others read *poi lunga fiata*. If Eve had not sinned, Dante would have tasted these delights from his birth onwards ; for the Terrestrial Paradise would have remained the abode of the human race.

‡ *tante primizie* : The Terrestrial Paradise is a foretaste of the Celestial. The blessedness of this life is a first-fruit of the

E disioso \* ancora a più letizie,  
 Dinanzi a noi, tal quale un foco acceso  
 Ci si fe' l' aer, † sotto i verdi rami, 35  
 E il dolce suon per canto era già inteso : ‡

Whilst amid such wonderful first-fruits of the Bliss of Eternity I was walking along, all enrapt, and eager for still greater joys, in front of us under the green boughs we saw the whole atmosphere glow just like an enkindled fire, and the sweet sound could now be distinguished as a chant.

Dante, before entering upon this new and lofty theme, invokes the favour and aid of the Muses. He has always studied to do them honour; and feels entitled now to ask their help.

O sacrosante Vergini, se fami, §  
 Freddi, o vigilie mai per voi sofferesi,  
 Cagion mi sprona ch'io mercè ne chiami.

blessedness of Life Eternal. I prefer to take *tante* in the sense of "so great," "so wonderful," which after all is its primary signification; rather than as "so many" as it is interpreted by several Commentators and Translators.

\* *disioso*: Dante had heard frequently from Virgil that, as soon as he reached the top of the mountain, he should behold Beatrice (see *Purg.* vi, 46, et seq.). Therefore his suspense may be understood, expecting, as he does, to see her appear at any moment.

† *Ci si fe' l' aer*: lit. "The air made itself to us" (*ci*) i.e. "we perceived the air," etc.

‡ *il dolce suon per canto era già inteso*: "Vult dicere quod propter propinquitatem apparuit illam melodiam esse cantantium. Et nota quod bene assimilat istum splendorem igni, quia veniebat a Spiritu sancto, qui ubique figuratur in igne" (Benvenuto).

"Veni creator spiritus,	Qui diceris Paraclitus,
Mentes tuorum visita,	Altissimi Donum Dei,
Imple superna gratia	Fons vivus, ignis, caritas
Quae tu creasti pectora.	Et spiritalis unctio"; etc.

(*Hymnus in die Pentecostes.*)

§ *se fami*, etc.: In Filippo Villani's *Vita Dantis* the following passage occurs: "Tanto pernoscendæ poesis amore flagravit, ut dies noctesque nil aliud cogitaret." In *Convivio*, tr. iii, c. 1, ll.

Or convien ch' Elicona \* per me versi,  
 Ed Urania † m' aiuti col suo coro,  
 Forti cose a pensar mettere in versi.

40

O most holy Virgins, if for you I have ever endured hunger, cold, or vigils, the occasion spurs me on to claim my reward for them from you. Now must Helicon pour forth (its waters) for me, and Urania with her choir aid me to put into verse things hard to think out.

In the next fifteen lines, from v. 43 to v. 57, Dante explains what it was that caused the light to shine forth so brilliantly, and what were the voices that he heard singing. †

16-20, Dante writes himself, "O quante notti furono, che gli occhi dell' altre persone chiusi dormendo si posavano, che li miei nell' abitacolo del mio amore fisamente miravano." See also Boccaccio (*Vita di Dante*): "Non curando nè caldo, nè freddo, nè vigilie, nè digiuni, nè niuno altro corporale disagio, con assiduo studio divenne a conoscere della divina essenza e delle altre separate intelligenze quello che per umano ingegno qui se ne può comprendere."

\* *Elicona*: Helicon, a mountain, or rather a mountain range, in Bœotia, was celebrated in ancient Greece as the abode of the Muses, who were hence called Heliconiades. On its slopes were the famous fountains of Aganippe and Hippocrene, whose waters were supposed to give poetic inspiration. Dante names Helicon here almost as if it were a fountain, but he must be understood as entreating Helicon, the mountain, to be liberal to him of the fountains that take their source in it. Compare the line of Virgil *Æn.* vii, 641; and repeated in *Æn.* x, 163:—

"Pandite nunc Helicon, deæ, cantusque movete."

Compare also the invocation to the Muses with that at the beginning of the *Purgatorio*, i, 7, 8, and *Inf.* ii, 7.

† *Urania*, the Muse of Astronomy or things celestial, is represented as crowned with stars and robed in azure. Compare Milton, *Par. Lost*, vii, 1.

‡ Scartazzini explains that Dante's vision of the Mystic Procession in the Terrestrial Paradise may be divided into two principal parts. *The first* (xxix-xxx, 33) shows how the Church as a divine institution, or the ideal of the Church, comes to meet the penitent sinner who is earnestly seeking salvation, and does so as the depository of divine mysteries and means of grace. *In the second part* (from xxxii, 16, to xxxiii, 12) Dante beholds in the

Poco più oltre sette arbori d' oro \*  
 Falsava nel parere il lungo tratto  
 Del mezzo, † ch' era ancor tra noi e loro ;                    45  
 Ma quando fui sì presso di lor fatto  
 Che l' obbietto comun, ‡ che il senso inganna,

vision the vicissitudes of the Church from its origin up to the time of the transfer of the seat of the Papacy to Avignon, and he endeavours further (xxxiii, 34-78), through the mouth of Beatrice, to predict the future destiny of the Church. Midway in the vision there occurs a great scene of a personal character; namely Dante's final penitence and his reconciliation with Beatrice. In that part of the great vision Dante shows what must be done by the man who desires to obtain salvation. The Church comes to meet the sinner, seeks for him so to speak, as the good Shepherd for the lost sheep, gathers him into her bosom, and administers to him the means of grace; the sinner in his turn goes to meet the Church, and submits himself voluntarily to perform whatever she may require from him; repentance of sins, xxx, 78; xxxi, 64; regeneration, xxxi, 91 *et seq.*; practice of virtue, xxxi, 103 *et seq.*

\* *sette arbori d' oro*: Seven was a sacred number. St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. cii, art. 5) writes: "Septenarius numerus universitatem significat." Seven is composed of *three*, the number of the Trinity, and *four*, which is the number of the world. The union of *three* and *four* into the single number *seven* is a figure of the union of God and the world in general concord and harmony. Scartazzini thinks Dante certainly took the idea of the seven candlesticks from *Rev.* i, 12, and *Rev.* iv, 5; the name from the first, and the signification from the second. The seven candlesticks signify therefore the Sevenfold Holy Spirit, Who is Sevenfold, not for what He is in God, but as He exists in the world as an instrument of divine government. As the Sevenfold Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters, after a fashion preceding the work of Creation, so that same Spirit, in the vision of Dante, precedes the Mystic Procession which represents the work of Salvation. These seven candlesticks being the Sevenfold Spirit of God, we must not take them, as many Commentators have done, for the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit, for gift and giver are not the same thing. Dante tells us that the twenty-four Elders followed these lights *come a lor duci*. The writers of the Books of the Old Testament cannot be said to have been guided by the Gifts of the Holy Spirit, but by that Sevenfold Spirit Itself. The Gifts of the Holy Spirit are rather the *sette liste* mentioned in v. 77.

† *il lungo tratto Del mezzo*, *i.e.* the intervening space between the Poets and the unknown objects that were coming towards them.

‡ *l' obbietto comun . . . Non perdea . . . alcun suo atto*: "Obbietto comune del senso (secondo le dottrine aristoteliche, *De Anima* ii, 6),

Non perdea per distanza alcun suo atto ;  
 La virtù ch' a ragion discorso ammanna,\*  
 Siccom' elli eran candelabri apprese, 50  
 E nelle voci del cantare *Osanna*.

A little further on, the wide tract of the middle space which yet intervened between us and them gave a false illusion of there being seven golden trees ; but when I had drawn so near to them that the common object which by distance deceives the sense of vision no longer lost each individual detail ; the (apprehensive) faculty, which prepares for Reason its materials of judgment, began to apprehend that they (really) were candlesticks, and in the words of the chant (it distinguished) the word *Hosannah*.

è quel tanto che differenti cose a' sensi sottoposte possono aver di comune : *obbietto particolare* sono le sensibili qualità proprie di ciascuna cosa. Nel caso di Dante l' *obbietto* (o vuoi dirlo *sensibile*) comune era ciò che di comune hanno, veduti a una certa distanza, un albero ed un candelabro ; *obbietto particolare* erano le specifiche qualità del candelabro, ch' egli scolasticamente denomina *atti*. Dice adunque in sostanza, che quella similitudine che da lontano aveva ingannata la sua vista, da vicino cessò" (Andreoli). See also Cesari, *Bellezze*, vol. ii, p. 525. And *Convivio*, iv, 8, ll. 43-58. See also St. Thom. Aquin. *Summ. Theol.* pars ii, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. vii, art. 1 : "Actus autem habent speciem ex objecto." And pars i, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. xviii, art. 2 : "Actio habet speciem ex objecto, sicut et motus ex termino." And pars ii, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. iv, art. 1 : "Considerandum est quòd cum habitus cognoscantur per actus, et actus per objecta." Scartazzini defines *atto* "particolare qualità."

\* *discorso ammanna* : The *Gran Dizionario*, § 11, interprets this : "Uso prudente della ragione." And § 10 : "*Discorso* è dunque il passaggio che fa la mente di pensiero in pensiero colla naturale agilità dello spirito, ma altro dall' intuizione dell' intelletto, la quale è atto più semplice." St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. xiv, art. 7) thus defines the term : "cognoscere effectum per causam est scientiæ discurrentis . . . discursus est procedentis de noto ad ignotum." And in pars i, qu. lviii, art. 3 : "Sic igitur et inferiores intellectus, scilicet hominum . . . si . . . statim in ipsa cognitione principii noti inspicerent quasi notas omnes conclusiones consequentes, in eis discursus locum non haberet." *ammanna* : This verb literally signifies to gather up straw or hay into bundles (*manne*), and thence it comes to mean "to prepare."

Dante had at first, before getting near enough to the objects advancing to meet him, been deceived by that delusive similitude of things one to another when seen indistinctly from afar. Here it was a certain resemblance between a tree with branches and a candlestick with branches. The seven candlesticks were very large, and appeared like small trees.

Dante next relates in what manner he recognised that the light proceeded from the seven candlesticks.

Di sopra fiammeggiava il bello arnese \*  
 Più chiaro assai che luna † per sereno  
 Di mezza notte nel suo mezzo mese.

\* *arnese*: Scartazzini calls special attention to *arnese* being in the singular, as showing that the seven lamps were on one candlestick, and says it shows that, without doubt, Dante wished his readers to understand that the seven candlesticks symbolize a sevenfold unity, which also demonstrates the accuracy of his (Scartazzini's) interpretation. Carena (*Prontuario, o Vocabolario Metodico d'Arti e Mestieri*, Torino, 1853, pt. ii, p. 8), says of *arnese* that "nel linguaggio delle arti, è tutto ciò di che uom può servirsi in opera di mano, e che non sia propriamente [*in particular*] nè Macchina nè Strumento, nè Ordigno [*mechanical appliance*]. Il Mestone [*wooden spoon*]; il Ramajuolo per iscodellare la Minestra; il Randello per istringer la soma, e simili, sono arnesi. Nel linguaggio comune Arnese è parola di estesissima significazione, che applicasi collettivamente alle suppellettili di casa, alle masserizie di campagna, ad attrezzi di guerra . . . ed è frequentemente parola di compenso . . . per indicare qualche minuto oggetto, il cui vero e proprio nome o si ignori, o non soccorra subito alla mente," in the same way as we might use "thing"; "concern"; "gear"; "equipment"; "apparatus."

† *Più chiaro* . . . *che luna*, et seq.: "In due versi raccoglie le circostanze generali del massimo lume di luna *Per sereno*, cioè limpidezza d'aria, senza nuvoli, nemmeno sottili e trasparenti: *di mezza notte*, quando sono più remoti gli alberi mattutini e serali del sole, e quindi la notte più cupa dà più risalto al chiaror della luna; *nel suo mezzo mese*, cioè nel punto che questo astro raggiunge la opposizione col sole, incominciando il mese lunare della congiunzione o luna nuova: che è quanto dire mentre la luna è perfettamente nella fase che *piena* appelliamo" (Antonelli, in *Tommaséo's Commentary*).



in a clear sky.

Dante turns round full  
time, looks at Virgil, but  
symbol of human knowledge  
himself.

*Io mi rivolsi \* d' ammirar  
Al buon Virgilio, ed  
Con vista carca di s*

I turned me round full of  
Virgil, and he replied to  
charged with bewilderment.

Benvenuto thinks he gave a look  
as all Italians do when a thing  
hension. Virgil's look of awe  
these divine mysteries were  
human science.

Dante then turns round again  
sticks that are advancing to  
their forward movement is  
bashful maid leaving the altar.

---

*\* Io mi rivolsi . . . Al buon  
forgotten that Virgil in his*

Indi rendei l' aspetto all' alte cose,\*  
 Che si moveano incontro a noi sì tardi  
 Che fôran vinte da novelle spose.†

60

Then I turned my gaze back to those sublime objects, which were moving towards us at a pace so slow, that they would have been outstripped by newly-wedded brides.

*Division III.*—In the next twenty lines Dante gives a magnificent description of the army of the Church Militant, which, with its leaders, was following after the golden candlesticks, even as a host follows after the standards.

Matelda reproves Dante for confining his attention to the candlesticks, and for not seeing what comes after them. She reminds him that his mind must take a wide grasp of the whole scene, and not fritter itself away on any single detail, however important.

He thereupon turns his eyes in the direction indicated:—

La Donna mi sgridò : †—“ Perchè pur ardi

\* *alte cose* : Scartazzini rightly points out that *alte* does not refer to the visible height of the candlesticks, but rather to their sublime character as typifying the Sevenfold Spirit of God, or as Biagioli says : “ il settentrione del primo cielo ” (*Purg.* xxx, 1).

† *novelle spose* : Tommaséo observes that this comparison in various forms is to be found in the *Paradiso*. Compare *Par.* xxv, 110, III :—

“ E la mia Donna in lor tenne l' aspetto,  
 Pur come sposa tacita ed immota.”

The passage in the text has been imitated by Frezzi, *Quadrivregio*, lib. i, cap. xvi, terz. 22 :—

“ E come va per via sposa novella  
 A passi rari, e porta gli occhi bassi  
 Con faccia vergognosa, e non favella.”

‡ *sgridò* : Dante is in *Purg.* xxxii, 1-9, reproved by the three holy maidens representing Faith, Hope, and Charity, for gazing too long at Beatrice instead of at the procession of the Church

Sì nell' aspetto \* delle vive luci,  
 E ciò che vien dietro a lor non guardi ?"—  
 Genti † vid' io allor, com' a lor duci,  
 Venire appresso, vestite di bianco ;  
 E tal candor di qua giammai non fuci.

65

The Lady reproved me : " Wherefore dost thou only take pleasure in gazing at those living lights, and regardest not that which comes behind them ? " Then I saw people coming on behind (the candlesticks), as though after their leaders, arrayed in white ; and such whiteness never existed (*fuci for ci fu*) on our earth (*di qua*).

The white vesture is a symbol of their faith : such faith as has never been found since.

He next describes, as a sight of increasing perfection, the purity of the water, when struck by the light of the candlesticks.

L' acqua splendeva dal sinistro fianco,  
 E rendea ‡ a me la mia sinistra costa,  
 S' io riguardava in lei, come specchio anco.

Militant. Beatrice herself makes a similar reproof to Dante in *Par. xxiii, 70-72* :—

" Perchè la faccia mia sì t' innamora,  
 Che tu non ti rivolgi al bel giardino  
 Che sotto i raggi di CRISTO s' infiora ? "

\* *aspetto* : This is the reading of the *S. Croce*, *Cassinese*, and other MSS., as also of Benvenuto, and the early editions of Foligno, and the *Nidobeatina*. The more common reading is "perchè pur ardi Sì nell' affetto delle vive luci," etc.

† *Genti . . . vestite di bianco* : These were the four-and-twenty Elders. " And round about the throne were four-and-twenty seats : and upon the seats I saw four-and-twenty elders sitting, clothed in white raiment " (*Rev. iv, 4*). " These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the lamb " (*Rev. vii, 14*).

‡ *rendea* : " La gente vestita di bianco, venendo per la destra ripa del rio, dovea far risplendere l' acqua dalla sinistra del medesimo, ch' era quella su cui seguitava a camminare il Poeta ; il quale, procedendo in direzione contraria a coloro che scendevano, esponeva al riflesso dell' acqua il suo lato sinistro. In

The water was glittering upon my left hand, and when I looked into it, it reflected back to me my left side, even as in a mirror.

As Dante was going to the right, his left side was of course nearest to the rill. This was the side of his heart, and Buti thinks that the allegorical sense would show that Lethe is the emblem of the purity and innocence that causes oblivion of sin, and makes the heart known to one's self-perception, if we seek to see ourselves as we are.

He places himself so that he can the better contemplate the vision, and, as he stops, the candlesticks pass on beyond him.

Quand' io dalla mia riva ebbi tal posta, 70  
 Che solo il fiume mi faceva distante,  
 Per veder meglio ai passi diedi sosta,\*  
 E vidi le fiammelle andar davante,  
 Lasciando retro a sè l' aer dipinto,  
 E di tratti pennelli † avean sembante ; 75

quanto poi dice che erasi resa l' imagine di questo lato, se avesse riguardato nell' acqua che pareva uno specchio, viene a significarci che la lucente superficie era tranquilla, cioè l' acqua ivi era stagnante, e ch' egli era proprio sulla sponda del fiume: altrimenti, non avrebbe potuto vedere quella parte del suo corpo riflessa" (Antonelli, in *Tommasèo's Commentary*).

\* *diedi sosta*: Compare *Purg.* xix, 93:—

"Sosta un poco per me tua maggior cura."

† *E di tratti pennelli*, etc.: Compare *Virg. Georg.* i, 365-367, from which this passage in the text may have been imitated:—

"Sæpe etiam stellas, vento impendente, videbis  
 Præcipites cælo labi, noctisque per umbram  
 Flammarum longos a tergo albescere tractus."

And Dante himself has been imitated by Tasso, in *Gerus. Liber.* viii, st. 32:—

"Allor vegg' io che dalla bella face,  
 Anzi dal Sol notturno un raggio scende,  
 Che dritto là, dove il gran corpo giace,  
 Quasi aureo tratto di pennel si stende."

Great difference of opinion exists as to the proper signification

Sì che li sopra \*rimanea distinto †  
Di sette liste, ‡ tutte in quei colori,

of *pennelli*, and even as to the reading; some few contending that the word should be *pannelli* or *panelli* (i.e. torches made of inflammable linen, Latin, *paniculi*). Others again, while reading *pennelli*, interpret it as “*pen-noncelles, pennons, flags*,” and in the dialogue that runs through Cesari’s *Bellezze*, vol. ii, p. 529, one of the party is made to advocate this interpretation, for the purpose of being confuted by the other, who in reply says: “Quanto a me . . . io non mi partirei da’ veri pennelli [i.e. painter’s brushes] . . . dico che notando accuratamente ogni ragion del parlare di Dante, si vuole stare ai veri pennelli. Dante dice d’aver veduto le sette fiammelle andare avanti, *Lasciando dietro a sè l’aere dipinto*. Qui son due cose; un muoversi di ciascuna fiammella, e l’lasciar dietro a sè una striscia di colore. Ora questo atto egli lo pareggia ad un altro, che è tutto desso: ma quale sarà? la banderuola [*pennon*] fitta nella freccia, e dal vento distesa? non punto: che in questa non veggio l’atto del muoversi avanti, nè il colore lasciatosi dietro . . . nel *pennello* veggio il dipingere che dice Dante; nel *tratti* il muoversi; essendo poi *tratti*, lasciano la tela per lo lungo dipinta del proprio colore: sicchè in tutta la natura non era forse altro esempio, che più fosse desso, di questo.” Andreoli uses very similar words: “Cosicchè le dette fiammelle avean sembianza di altrettanti pennelli che, tratti per l’azzurro dell’aere, lo listassero di sette pennellate de’ colori dell’iride [*prismatic colours*], come appresso dirà. Il *dipinto* che precede, e i *colori* che seguono, non mi pare che lascino sul proprio significato de’ *pennelli* alcuno de’ dubbi posti in campo dagli interpreti.” I follow the interpretation given above by Cesari and Andreoli, which is also that of Scartazzini.

\* *Sì che li sopra*: Some read *Sicchè di sopra*, and others *Si ch’egli sopra*.

† *distinto*: “marked,” “indicated.” In the *Gran Dizionario*, s.v. *distinto*, § 4, I find: “segnatamente della varietà di colori.” Compare *Par.* xviii, 95, 96:—

“Sì che Giove

Pareva argento li d’oro distinto.”

And *Par.* xxxi, 130-132:—

“Ed a quel mezzo con le penne sparte

Vidi più di mille Angeli festanti,

Ciascun distinto e di fulgore e d’arte.”

‡ *sette liste*: The seven long streaks of light, which stream behind the seven golden candlesticks, are, as we take the latter to be the Sevenfold Spirit of God, undoubtedly the effects of that Holy Spirit, His Sevenfold Gift to Man of the Virtues

Onde fa l' arco il sole, e Delia il cinto.\*

When I had gained such a position on my side of the river, that the stream alone kept me apart (from the procession), I brought my steps to a halt, in order to see better, and I saw the flames pass on in front, leaving behind them the air streaked with colour, and they had the semblance of the strokes of a painter's brush; so that there overhead it (the air) remained marked with seven streaks, and all in those colours whereof the Sun makes his bow, and Delia (the Moon) her girdle (*i.e.* her halo).

The dimensions of the streaks or bands of light are then precisely defined.

Questi ostendali † dietro eran maggiori

Che la mia vista; e, quanto al mio avviso,

80

which are often called the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit. These are said to be:—

Piety as opposed to	Envy.
Fear of God	“ Pride.
Knowledge	“ Anger.
Fortitude	“ Sloth.
Counsel	“ Avarice.
Intellect	“ Sensuality.
Wisdom	“ Gluttony. ( <i>Convivio</i> , iv, 21.)

But Scartazzini points out these are not seven separate gifts, but one sevenfold gift, as St. Thomas Aquinas lays down in *Summ. Theol.* pars i, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. lxxviii, art. 5: “*Dona Spiritus sancti sunt connexa per hoc quòd se invicem reficiunt. . . Sicut virtutes morales connectuntur sibi invicem in prudentia, ita dona Spiritûs sancti connectuntur sibi invicem in charitate; ita scilicet quòd qui charitatem habet, omnia dona Spiritus sancti habet, quorum nullum sine charitate haberi potest.*”

\* *quei colori, Onde fa l' arco il sole, e Delia il cinto*: These are the prismatic colours of the Solar spectrum as seen in the rainbow, and in the halo [*cinto*] of the Moon. Diana, who was the goddess of the Moon, was said to have been born in Delos, and hence Dante speaks of the Moon as *Delia*.

† *Questi ostendali*: This is the reading adopted by Lana, Benvenuto, Witte, the *Codice Cassinese*, and the early editions of Foligno, Mantua, and Naples. Lana not only reads *ostendali*, but in his comment on l. 115 of this canto he writes: “*Anticamente ogni cittade avea uno carro . . . e sovra esso era l' o-*

four in number, represented  
mentioned in *Rev.* iv, 4, the  
four books of the Old Test  
the Elders were singing a  
of Beatrice, symbol of divi  
expected to descend in triu

Sotto così bel ciel com'

stendale principale della terra  
Commentaries read *stendali*. In  
Middle High German *stanthart*,  
*Etymological Dictionary of the F*  
Diez), London, 1864, *stanthart* is

\* *Dieci passi*: Many interprets  
most Commentators taking the t  
ments. I am inclined, howeve  
perfect number symbolising col  
of colour indicate the sevenfold  
illuminates and sanctifies the Cl  
*distavan quei dai fiori*, meaning  
sticks above the flowery turf wa

† The twenty-four books are  
two books of Samuel, the two bo  
of Chronicles as one book ea  
twenty Elders include the tw  
Apostles. "Dante ne marche  
Ezéchiel, l'Apocalypse et tou  
tien. A Rome, dans les mosa  
l'agneau sur l'autel, les sept  
les vingt-quatre vieillards; au

Ventiquattro seniori,\* a due a due,  
 Coronati venian di fiordaliso.†  
 Tutti cantavan:—"Benedetta tue‡  
 Nelle figlie d' Adamo, e benedette  
 Sieno in eterno le bellezze tue."—

85

Under a sky so beautiful as I describe, there came four-and-twenty Elders, two and two, crowned with *fleurs-de-lys*. All were chanting: "Blessed art thou among the daughters of Adam, and blessed for evermore be thy loveliness."

Having now described the books of the Old Testament in the persons of the four-and-twenty Elders. Dante passes on to the four Evangelists.

*mirabiles*). But in the *Gran Dizionario* (*s.v. divisare*, § 5) we find: "Per *Descrivere ordinatamente, Mostrare*," and the present passage is quoted. The word is frequently used in this sense by Boccaccio. Compare *Decam.* Giorn. ii, Nov. 8: "Mentre che la fortuna in questa guisa, che divisata è, il Conte d'Anguersa et i figliuoli menava, avvenne, che," etc. And Giorn. vi, Nov. 10: "Ma perchè vi vo io tutti i paesi cerchi da me divisando?" And Giorn. viii, Nov. ix: "Io non vi potrei mai divisare, chenti, e quanti sieno i dolci suoni d' infiniti instrumenti, e i canti pieni di melodia, che vi s' odono." And *Rime Antiche Incert.* 121:—

"Da bella donna più ch' io non diviso,  
 Són io partito innamorato tanto."

\* *Ventiquattro seniori*: "And round about the throne were four-and-twenty seats: and upon the seats I saw four-and-twenty elders sitting, clothed in white raiment; and they had on their heads crowns of gold" (*Rev.* iv, 4).

† *Coronati . . . di fiordaliso*: Tommaséo considers that the four-and-twenty Elders are crowned with lilies to signify the purity of Holy Writ, and Scartazzini adds to this that, in all probability, it signified their faith in the coming Messiah.

‡ *Benedetta tue*, et seq.: The words of the salutation of the Angel Gabriel to the Virgin Mary (*Luke* i, 28): "Blessed art thou among women." Scartazzini is doubtful whether the person saluted here is Beatrice or the Virgin Mary. If however one considers that in the following Canto (xxx, 11) Beatrice is hailed in the words "*Veni sponsa de Libano*," and (xxx, 19), "*Benedictus qui venis*," and if one considers that it is Beatrice, and not Mary, who will shortly appear and will sit upon the Car of the Church, one may believe that Beatrice is the person referred to here. It should also be remembered that in the *Vita*



Poscia che i fiori e l' altre fresche erbette,  
 A rimpetto di me dall' altra sponda,  
 Libere \* fur da quelle genti elette, 90  
 Sì come luce in ciel seconda, †  
 Vennero appresso lor quattro animali, ‡  
 Coronato ciascun di verde fronda.

After that the flowers and other tender herbage, in front of me on the other bank, had been left clear by that band of the Elect, even as in the heavens star rises after star, so there followed after them (the Elders) four Living Beings, each crowned with verdant foliage.

Dante then describes how they were fashioned.

Ognuno era pennuto di sei ali,  
 Le penne piene d' occhi ; e gli occhi d' Argo, 95  
 Se fosser vivi, sarebber cotali.

*Nuova*, § 43, Dante distinctly states that he will say of Beatrice what no poet ever said of his lady before.

\* *Libere*: As the four-and-twenty Elders passed away onwards, they left the flowery meadow on the right bank of the stream unoccupied for an instant.

† *luce luce in ciel seconda*: Tommaséo quotes Antonelli here: "A dipingere l' ordine, la maestà del movimento, la bellezza e la giocondità dei personaggi che passavano dinanzi al Poeta, in piccola distanza sull' altra riva, non si poteva scegliere imagine più conveniente di quella del passaggio degli astri ad un cerchio celeste, cui sia rivolto lo sguardo d' esperto osservatore."

‡ *quattro animali*: The four Living Beings are generally interpreted as the Four Evangelists, of whom the four mysterious animals in Ezekiel are regarded as symbols. To *St. Matthew* was given the human semblance, because he begins his Gospel with the human generation of Our Lord, or possibly because *St. Matthew* seems to emphasize the human nature of the Saviour more than the divine. *St. Mark* is thought to be the Lion because he sets forth the royal dignity of the Anointed Christ, though one Commentator attributes it to the fact that *St. Mark* begins his Gospel with roaring (!) "the voice of One crying in the wilderness." *St. Luke* is the Ox, because he has more especially insisted on the priesthood of Christ, and the Ox is the emblem of sacrifice. *St. John* is the Eagle, the symbol of the highest inspiration, because he soared upwards to the contemplation of the divine nature of the Saviour.

Each was plumed with six wings, the feathers full of eyes; and the eyes of Argus, did they exist, would be such as these.

The six wings were to enable them to soar up to high heaven, and symbolized the rapid spread of the Gospel; while the eyes in their wings, which looked all ways, were to show their knowledge alike of the past and the present, and to exercise untiring vigilance to maintain the Church doctrines pure in the future.

Dante excuses himself for not more fully describing these wondrous Beings, and Benvenuto observes, that though Dante must of necessity mention the leader of this army, he does not wish to dwell too long over the followers, lest it should diminish the importance of the Lord and Master. The account of the coming of the four Living Creatures from the cold North may be read in Ezekiel, who gives a more detailed description of them than does St. John.

A desriver lor forme più non spargo \*  
 Rime, lettor; ch' altra spesa mi strigne  
 Tanto, che a questa non posso esser largo.  
 Ma leggi Ezechiel, † che li dipigne

100

\* *più non spargo Rime*: Compare Virg. *Bucol. Eclog.* iii, 26-27:—

“Non tu in triviis, indocte, solebas  
 Stridenti miserum stipulâ disperdere carmen?”

† *Ezekiel*: “And I looked and behold, a whirlwind came out of the north, a great cloud, and a fire infolding itself, and a brightness was about it, and out of the midst thereof, as the colour of amber, out of the midst of the fire. Also out of the midst thereof came the likeness of four living creatures. And this was their appearance; they had the likeness of a man. And every one had four faces, and every one had four wings. And their feet were straight feet; and the sole of their feet was like the sole of a calf's foot; and they sparkled like the colour of burnished brass” (*Ezekiel*, i, 4-7).

Come li vide dalla fredda parte \*  
 Venir con vento, con nube e con igne ;  
 E quali i troverai † nelle sue carte,  
 Tali eran quivi, salvo ch' alle penne  
 Giovanni è meco, ‡ e da lui si diparte.

105

To describe their forms, Reader, no more of my verses do I waste, for a different expenditure (*i. e.* subject) so much engrosses me, that in this I am not able to be diffuse. But read Ezekiel, who depicts them as he saw them come from the cold quarter, with wind, with cloud, and with fire; and such as thou shalt find them in his pages, such were they here, save that in the matter of wings John's account tallies with mine (*lit.* John is with me), and differs from him.

In St. John's description the Four Beasts have each six wings, whereas Ezekiel only saw four wings.

*Division IV.*—In the concluding portion of the Canto, Dante describes the Triumphal Chariot with the Leader of the Church Militant.

He relates how he saw a chariot on two wheels, by which he means to express the Church (or, according to some, the Pontifical Court), resting on the Old and New Testaments, and drawn by a fabulous animal, called a Gryphon, commonly understood to be symbolical of our Lord Jesus Christ; its two-fold nature, half lion, half eagle, representing His two-fold nature, God and Man.

\* *dalla fredda parte*: Compare Virg. *Georg.* i, 370-371:—

"Ut Boreæ de parte trucidis cum fulminat, et cum Eurique Zephyrique tonat domus," etc.

† *quali i troverai*: This is the reading adopted by Witte, and by Dr. Moore, and is that of the *Sta. Croce*; the *Caetani*; the *Cassinense* and other *Codices*. It is also found in the Foligno, Mantua and Naples editions. Others read *E quai li troverai*.

‡ *Giovanni è meco*: "And the four beasts had each of them six wings about him; and they were full of eyes within" (*Revelation of St. John*, iv, 8).

Lo spazio dentro a lor quattro contenne  
 Un carro, in su due rote, trionfale,\*  
 Ch' al collo d' un grifon † tirato venne.

Esso tendea in su l' una e l' altr' ale ‡

Tra la mezzana e le tre e tre liste,

110

Si ch' a nulla fendendo facea male.

The space (intervening) between those four (Living Beings) contained a triumphal chariot on two wheels, which by the neck of a Gryphon came drawn along. And he extended both his wings aloft between the

\* *Un carro . . . trionfale*: The Triumphal Chariot is the Church Universal. Scartazzini points out that Dante, in his other works, speaks of the Chariot as the Church Universal, and not the Papal seat. In *De Monarch.* lib. iii, c. 3, Dante writes: "Dicit Ecclesia, loquens ad Sponsum: Trahe me post te!" The Gryphon draws the chariot behind him; therefore he is the bridegroom and the chariot is the Church. In *Conv.* ii, ch. 6, Dante expressly says that "the Bride" of the Canticles is the Church. But Scartazzini thinks that the following passage is quite decisive, from the letter Dante wrote to the Italian Cardinals (*Epist.* viii, ll. 42-52) a short time before he wrote the *Purgatorio*: "Vos equidem, Ecclesie militantis veluti primi præpositi pili, per manifestam orbitam Crucifixi currum Sponsæ regere negligentes, non aliter quam falsus auriga Phaeton exorbitastis, et, quorum, sequentem gregem per saltus peregrinationis, hujus illustrare intererat, ipsum una vobiscum ad præcipitium traduxistis. Nec ad imitandum recenseo vobis exempla, quum dorsa, non vultus, ad Sponsæ vehiculum habeatis." That the two wheels have an allegorical signification is proved by the passage in Canto xxxii, 131-139, but, what they symbolize exactly, has been much disputed by the Commentators. (See note to line 121.)

† *grifon*: There is no lack of description in classical and mediæval literature of the Gryphon or Griffin, and it is also a common figure in Heraldry. It was supposed to be a quadruped, part eagle and part lion. It had the head, neck, beak and wings of an eagle, and the body of a lion. See *Ælian, De Animalium Natura*, iv, 27. It is twice mentioned in Herodotus (iii, 116; and iv, 13, 27) as dwelling in the Rhipæan mountains, between the Hyperboreans and the one-eyed Arimaspians, and guarding the gold which these latter had attempted to steal.

‡ *l' una e l' altr' ale*: Note that *ale* is here in the singular. *Ale* singular, *ali* plural; or *ala* singular, *ale* plural.

central (band of light) and the three and three bands,  
so that he did harm to no one of them by cleaving it.

The Gryphon was moving behind the lamps, but his wings rising straight up, crossed the slanting bands of light, not touching any, because they rose between the middle band and the three bands on either side.

Dante then speaks of the twofold nature of Christ in one body.

Tanto salivan, che non eran viste;  
Le membra d' oro \* avea, quanto era uccello,  
E bianche l' altre di vermiglio miste.

So high did they (the wings) reach, that they were  
lost to sight; his members were of gold so far as he  
was bird, and the rest were white mixed with scarlet.

The wings of gold indicate His incorruptibility, the white mingled with red, the purity of His human nature glowing with the blood of the Passion.

The splendour of the chariot is extolled.

Non che Roma † di carro così bello

115

\* *Le membra d' oro*: The colours are suggested in *Song of Solomon*, v, 10-11: "My beloved is white and ruddy, the chiefest among ten thousand. His head is as the most fine gold, his locks are bushy, and black as a raven."

† *Roma . . . Rallegrasse Affricano*: There seems to be much difference of opinion as to the construction of this sentence. Nearly all the modern Commentators take *Affricano* to be the nominative case, and *Roma* the accusative in the sense that "Africanus never gladdened Rome with so sumptuous a car," etc. But I have followed Benvenuto and Buti in taking the sentence in the order in which it is written. Biagioli is in agreement with Benvenuto and Buti: "La costruzione sincera del *non che Roma*, etc., si è: *non solo s' ha a dire che Roma non rallegrasse Affricano o vero Augusto con trionfo di carro così bello, ma quel del sole*," etc. There is a passage somewhat similar to this one in Tasso, *Gerus. Liber. viii*, st. 44:—

"Nè dar l' antico Campidoglio esempio  
D' alcun può mai sì glorioso alloro."

Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of Hannibal,

Rallegrasse Affricano, o vero Augusto;\*  
 Ma quel del Sol saria pover con ello;  
 Quel del Sol,† che sviando fu combusto,  
 Per l' orazion della Terra devota,  
 Quando fu Giove arcanamente giusto. 120

Not only did Rome never honour Africanus, nor even (Caesar) Augustus with so sumptuous a car, but that of the Sun would be poor beside it; that of the Sun, which, when driven awry, was burnt up in answer to the prayer of suppliant Earth, when Jove was just in his mysterious purpose.

Dante now describes seven maidens who accompanied the car, and who are supposed to symbolize the four cardinal and the three theological virtues. Benvenuto says that, after speaking of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit and, as some contend, of the seven Sacraments, it is very appropriate to describe the seven virtues.

Tre donne ‡ in giro, dalla destra rota,§

---

was honoured by the Romans after his victory at Zama, B.C. 202, with the surname of Africanus and a magnificent triumph.

\* *Augusto*: Compare Petrarch, part iv, *Canzone* i, st. 6:—

“Sai, dall' imperio del figliuol di Marte  
 Al grande Augusto, che di verde lauro  
 Tre volte, trionfando, ornò la chioma.”

† *Quel del Sol*: For the description of the magnificence of the chariot of the Sun, see Ovid, *Metam.* ii, 107-110:—

“Aureus axis erat, temo aureus, aurea summae  
 Curvatura rotæ; radiorum argenteus ordo.  
 Per juga chrysolithi, positæque ex ordine gemmæ,  
 Clara repercusso reddebant lumina Phœbo.”

‡ *Tre donne*: The three theological virtues, namely, Faith, Hope, and Charity or Love.

§ *destra rota*: The right wheel of the chariot is thought to symbolize the New Testament, and the left wheel the Old. Some, however, have contended that Dante meant by the two wheels the monastic and the secular Orders of the clergy; some the active and contemplative life; or Justice and Mercy; or the clergy and the laity; or the Latin and Greek Churches, while others again insist that the wheels signify the Bible and tradition. I much prefer the common interpretation which I have adopted, which is that accepted by Pietro di Dante, *Falso Boccaccio*, Buti, Landino,

Venian danzando ; l' una tanto rossa \*  
 Ch' a pena fôra dentro al foco nota :  
 L' altr' era come se le carni e l' ossa  
 Fossero state di smeraldo fatte ;  
 La terza pareva neve testè mossa :  
 Ed or parevan dalla bianca tratte,  
 Or dalla rossa, e dal canto di questa  
 L' altre toglican l' andare e tarde e ratte.

125

Three ladies came onward dancing in a circle at the right wheel (of the chariot); one so ruddy that scarce would she have been distinguished in the very midst of the fire; the second was as if her flesh and bones had been fashioned out of emerald; the third appeared as new driven snow: and at one moment they seemed to be led by the one in white, and at another by the one in red, and to the melody of this one (leading), the other two timed their movement quick or slow.

It must be either Love or Faith that leads; Hope can only follow.

Dante next describes the four maidens who represent four Cardinal or Moral virtues.

---

Tommaséo, Brunone Bianchi, Fraticelli, Andreoli, Trissino, Camerini, and many others. Lana, Benvenuto, and the *Anonimo Fiorentino*, take them to mean the active and the contemplative life. In *Par.* xii, 106-111, Dante speaks of St. Dominic and St. Francis as the two wheels of the chariot:—

“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  
 Dinanzi al mio venir fu sì cortese.”

\* *l' una tanto rossa*, et seq.: The red denotes Charity, as typifying burning Love; the emerald green is Hope; and the snow-white is Faith.

“Hope ever fresh and green,  
 Faith ever pure, like newly-fallen snow.”

In *La Fiera* of Buonarrotti the Younger, in the Introduction to *Giornata Terza* (p. 330 of Le Monnier's edition, 1860), *Commercio* is made to say to *Fede*:—

Dalla sinistra quattro \* facean festa,  
 In porpora vestite,† dietro al modo  
 D' una di lor, ch' avea tre occhi in testa.

130

On the left side (*i.e.* on that of the Old Testament) there were four in blood-red vestments that made jubilee (*i.e.* Justice, Prudence, Fortitude, and Temperance), following the measure of one of them who had three eyes in her head.

Prudence is represented with three eyes, as looking at the past, the present and the future, and is therefore represented as leading the group. One cannot have any virtue (says Benvenuto) without prudence, but one may easily have prudence without the other three virtues.

"Fatti adorna

Delle tue bianche vesti: comparisci  
 Astersa di ogni macchia."

And Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* Canto xxi, st. 1:—

"Nè dagli antiqui par che si dipinga  
 La santa Fè vestita in altro modo,  
 Che d' un vel bianco che la copra tutta:  
 Ch' un sol punto, un sol neo la può far brutta."

\* *quattro*: "Quatuor a sinistra, idest circa paginam veteris Testamenti, sunt quatuor virtutes cardinales, Justitia, Fortitudo, Temperantia, et Prudentia. Et quia, ut ait Seneca de formula honestatis: *si prudens est animus tuus tribus temporibus dispensetur: præsentia ordina, et futura prævide, et Præterita recordare*; et alibi: *Judico prudentem, prius et nunc postque videntem*; ideo ipsam prudentiam nunc fingit auctor cum tribus oculis" (Pietro di Dante).

† *In porpora vestite*: "illæ dico, vestite in porpora, qua olim induebantur principes" (Benvenuto). "The rich crimson of regal robes" (Plumptre). "*Porpora*, simbolo d' amore e di dignità" (Tommaséo). Scartazzini is positive that the word *purple* means "*color rosso, emblema della carità*." And he says that to the question, why they were clothed with the garb of Charity, the answer must be found in the words of St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars i, 2<sup>dæ</sup>, qu. lxxv, art. 2). Compare also: "And above all these things put on charity, which is the bond of perfectness" (*Col.* iii, 14). "And above all things have fervent charity among yourselves: for charity shall cover the multitude of sins" (1 *Peter*, iv, 8). Unless they are garbed in Charity, the other virtues are useless.



Dante then describes two old men, whom nearly all the Commentators agree in taking for St. Luke and St. Paul, the former as representing the book of the Acts of the Apostles, and the latter the books of his Epistles. This seems the more certain, since all the other personages in this procession represent, not men, but the different books of the Old and New Testaments. Benvenuto thinks the former is St. Peter, but Lana, Buti, Fraticelli, *Philalethes*, Lubin, Longfellow, Pollock, and Lamennais all agree that the former is intended to represent St. Luke.

One of these, St. Luke, is dressed as a physician; the other, St. Paul, has a sword in his hand.

Appresso tutto il pertrattato\* nodo,†  
 Vidi due vecchi in abito dispari,  
 Ma pari in atto, ed onesto e sodo.‡

135

\* *pertrattato*: Andreoli says that *pertrattare* (from the Latin *pertractare*) is *trattare distesamente*. Compare *Inf.* xi, 79-81:—

“Non ti rimembra di quelle parole,  
 Colle quai la tua Etica pertratta  
 Le tre disposizion che il ciel non vuole.”

† *nodo*: The *Gran Dizionario*, among the many significations of *nodo* says, in reference to this passage, that Dante “*nodo* chiama l’ unione di tutte quelle vedute cose.” It is in one of its meanings a military term, § 26: “Un piccolo numero di soldati raccolti e serrati insieme, Drappello.” N.B. *Drappello* never means a flag, but a file of men (see p. 439 note). In illustration of this, see Macchiavelli (*Il Segretario Fiorentino*), *Arte della Guerra*, Milan, 1805, 10 vols. 8vo, vol. x, lib. ii, p. 72: “Nè alcuno si maravigli, che un nodo di fanti sostenga ogni impeto de’ cavalli, perche il cavallo è animale sensato, e conosce i pericoli, e mal volentieri vi entra . . . talchè si è visto per le antiche e moderne esperienze un nodo di fanti essere sicurissimo, anzi insuperabile dai cavalli.”

‡ *ed onesto e sodo*: This is the reading of the best MSS., as also of Benvenuto, Witte, Moore and Scartazzini. The more common reading is *ed onestato e sodo*. This reading is approved of by the *Gran Dizionario*, though it can only cite one very obscure use of *onestato*. A considerable number of editions read *ognuno onesto e sodo*.

L' un si mostrava alcun de' famigliari\*  
 Di quel sommo Ippocrate, che natura  
 Agli animali † fe' ch' ell' ha più cari.  
 Mostrava l' altro la contraria cura  
 Con una spada ‡ lucida ed acuta,  
 Tal che di qua dal rio mi fe' paura.§

140

Behind all the group here treated of, I beheld two old men, unlike in habit, but alike in demeanour, both dignified and grave. The one (St. Luke) showed himself as one of the disciples of that great Hippocrates, whom Nature made for those living creatures whom she holds most dear (*i.e.* the human race). The other (St. Paul) showed an opposite in-

---

\* *alcun de' famigliari*: This Trissino explains as *uno de' discipoli*, and the word implies the reverent and affectionate subservience of a servant to a master; of a pupil to a teacher; of a confidant to a ruler; etc. Compare *Par.* xii, 73, where it is said of St. Dominic:—

“Ben parve messo e famigliar di Cristo.”

† *animali*: The living beings most beloved by Nature are the race of Mankind. “E l' Anima umana, la qual è colla nobiltà della potenza ultima, cioè *ragione*, partecipa della divina natura a guisa di sempiterna Intelligenza; perocchè l' Anima è tanto in quella sovrana potenza nobilitata e dinudata da materia, che la divina luce, come in angelo, raggia in quella; e però è l' uomo *divino animale* da' filosofi chiamato” (*Conv.* iii, 2, ll. 115-122). “Ciascuno è certo che la natura umana è perfettissima di tutte le altre nature di quaggiù: e questo nullo niega; e Aristotile l' afferma, quando dice nel duodecimo degli *Animali*, che l' uomo è perfettissimo di tutti gli animali” (*ib.* ii, 9, ll. 75-80).

‡ *spada*: Mrs. Jameson states that the sword was not attributed to St. Paul before the end of the eleventh century. “When St. Paul is leaning on his sword, it expresses his martyrdom; when he holds it aloft, it expresses also his warfare in the cause of Christ; when two swords are given to him, one is the attribute, the other the emblem; but this double allusion does not occur in any of the older representations” (*Sacred and Legendary Art*, vol. i, p. 188).

§ *mi fe' paura*: We may here again notice how Dante, who had fought bravely at the battle of Campaldino when he was twenty-four years old, never fails to depict himself as totally devoid of courage, whether in presence of the horrors of Hell, or the exalted supernatural mysteries of Purgatory.

tent, with a sword so glittering and sharp, that even on this hither side of the river, it caused me fear.

St. Luke, as a physician, had the thought of saving men's lives; St. Paul, as a champion of Christ, holds the sword aloft to express his warfare in the cause of Christ.

St. Luke and St. Paul were followed by four of a humble aspect, and after them came an aged Solitary (St. John). The four of humble aspect are supposed figuratively to represent the Epistles of St. James, St. Peter, St. John and St. Jude.

Poi vidi quattro in umile paruta,\*  
E dietro da tutti un veglio solo  
Venir dormendo,† con la faccia arguta.‡

\* *quattro in umile paruta*: Benvenuto thinks the four are St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, and St. Gregory; and that the aged Solitary is Bernard.

† *Venir dormendo*: On this Lubin comments thus: "L' autore dell' Apocalissi, il rapito di Patmos, San Giovanni Evangelista . . . veniva dormendo, cioè in *estasi*, e però con faccia, non smorta, com' è quella di chi dorme, ma *arguta* di chi, tenendo gli occhi del corpo chiusi a tutte le cose terrene, ha fissi quelli della mente nelle cose celesti." Compare *Solomon's Song*, v, 2: "I sleep, but my heart waketh."

‡ *arguta*: Tommaséo, after quoting the expression *argutias vultus* from Pliny, says: "Forse la estenuatezza che vien dal digiuno rende la faccia più spirituale e quindi ingenuosa." The *Gran Dizionario* speaks of the *veglia colla faccia arguta*, "che nella faccia esprime i concetti ispirati che gli si rivelano." Buti comments: "*Arguto*, cioè sottile; imperocchè quello libro (*l' Apocalisse*) è di grande sottigliezza ad intendere." Virgil (*Georg.* iii, 79, 80) says of the horse:—

"Illi ardua cervix,

Argutumque caput, brevis alvus, obesaque terga."

"Questa voce *argutus* trovo da' latini usato per acuto, sottile, spiccato, vibrato. Il dà Virgilio al capo del cavallo, raccolto e vivace; e Cicerone alla mano, che scocca le dita con gesto animato. Queste nozioni debbono fornire l' idea della faccia di San Giovanni, che rapito in sonno estatico, mostra penetrazione ed acume di altissimo conoscimento" (Cesari).

I then saw four of humble aspect, and in the rear of all an aged man alone, walking in a trance (but) with visage keen.

By this is meant the personification of St. John, as representing the Apocalypse. He appears to be in a vision, as if he were in the Spirit on the Lord's Day, and heard behind him the great voice as of a trumpet. Or perhaps the allusion may be to the belief of the early Christians that St. John did not die, but tarries in sleep till his Lord's re-appearance. St. John survived all his contemporaries, and lived on into a generation which had not known them, and it is said that it was to supply this new generation with additional information concerning the incidents of our Lord's life and ministry on earth, that St. John wrote his Gospel. It is therefore a beautiful and most appropriate idea of Dante to depict him as an old man, of very great age, walking all alone, the sole survivor of the brethren whom he had known in his youth.

Dante next points out wherein their attire was identical with that of the patriarchs who passed first, and wherein it was different.

E questi sette col primaio stuolo 145  
 Erano abituati; ma di gigli  
 Dintorno al capo non facevan brolo,\*

\* *brolo*: "idest ghirlandam" (Benvenuto). Compare Poliziano, *Stanze*, lib. i, st. 68:—

"Ma fatta Amor la sua bella vendetta,  
 Mossesi lieto pel negro aère a volo;  
 E ginne al regno di sua madre in fretta  
 Ov' è de' picciol suo' fratei lo stuolo;  
 Al regno ove ogni Grazia si diletta,  
 Ove Beltà di fiori al crin fa brolo."

The *Gran Dizionario* derives *brolo* from the Greek περιβόλιον, an enclosure, and quotes from Muratori, *Scol. Gioven.*: "Locus arboribus pomiferus consitus et muro aut sepe circumseptus";

Anzi di rose e d' altri fior vermigli :  
Giurato avria poco lontano aspetto,\*

and from the *Attavanta, Villa di Antonfrancesco Doni*, Florence, 1857, 38: "Alla porta principale ne risponde un' altra che nel brolo ir conduce." Though the Commentators differ as to whether Dante in this passage intended to signify a garland, or a garden, the *Gran Dizionario* distinctly prefers the former. *Brolo* is the Lombard for a garden in which there is verdure. In the Romagnole dialect there occurs the word *Broi*, a nursery ground; and as the Romagnoles habitually clip their terminations, we must suppose it to be an abbreviation. In Ainsworth's Latin Dictionary (*Vocabula in Jure Anglicano municipali occurrentia*), one finds *Bruilletus*, a small coppice or wood. Ducange (*Glossarium mediæ et infimæ Latinitatis*, ed. L. Favre, Niort, 1883, s.v. *Brolium*, § 1) interprets: "Nemus, silva, aut saltus in quo ferarum venatio exercetur; maxime vero silva muris aut sepibus cincta." He quotes from *Charta Ludovici Junioris anni 1158*: "Dum in manu regia *Episcopatus fuerit, Brolium nec vendere, nec donare, nec aliquo modo diminuere poterimus.*" Upon which the editor of Ducange remarks: "Ubi *Brolium* sumendum videtur pro excelsa silva quam *de haute futaye* appellamus, non autem tonsili et cædua, *Bois taillis.*" Dr. Moore calls *Brolo* a most curious and difficult word, and believes it to signify "a thicket," so that the idea is not so much that of a brilliant garden-like look of the flowers, but rather that of a thicket or bush of them, referring to their *quantity*. There are two places called *Broill* near Chichester, named respectively in the old charters *Bruillum Regis* and *Bruillum Depe-marsh*. From the same root perhaps are, *Brailsford* in Derbyshire, and *Brill* near Oxford. The celebrated *Castel di Brolio* near Siena, the residence of the Barons Ricasoli, probably owes its name to a similar derivation. In Donkin's *Etymological Dictionary of the Romance Languages*, I find "*Broglio, bruolo*, Ital. (Dante *brolo* a crown); Prov. *bruelh*; French *breuil*; Portug. *brulha*; Prov. *bruelha*; Old French *bruelle*; Old Spanish *brollar*; Prov. and Portug. *brollhar*; French *brouiller*, to sprout, break out, rebel, raise a disturbance; Ital. *broglio* [and *imbroglio*]; English *broil*. Probably from the Celtic; Welsh *brog*, a swelling, whence *brog-il* in Old German. From *brouiller* comes *brouillon*, a disturber, a make-bate, also a sketch, a rough copy." Hence also we get the Italian *imbroglione*, one who deceives by jumbling up the facts, a mischief-maker, whether intentionally or the reverse.

\* *aspetto*: "erano coronati di rose e di altri fiori vermigli di sì acceso colore, che un *aspetto*, cioè una vista, uno spettatore un po' lontano (non così vicino come Dante) avrebbe giurato che i sette personaggi avessero fuoco intorno alla fronte" (Andreoli).

Che tutti ardesser di sopra dai cigli.\*

150

And these seven were apparelled like those in the first troop (*i.e.* in white raiment); but they had not a thick crown of lilies about their heads, but rather of roses and other scarlet flowers: A sight of them but little distant would have made one swear that they were all on fire above their eye-brows.

The seven were composed of the two in l. 134, the four of poor appearance in l. 142, and the aged Solitary in l. 143. By the first is meant the four-and-twenty Elders mentioned in ll. 82-84, who came along in procession in pairs, with garlands of lilies upon their heads.

Dante concludes the Canto by relating how the whole host, having displayed itself before him, was brought to a halt.

E quando il carro a me fu a rimpetto,  
 Un tuon s' udì; † e quelle genti degne  
 Parvero aver l' andar più interdetto,  
 Fermandos' ivi con le prime insegne.

\* *ardesser di sopra dai cigli*: Biagioli says the red crowns were signs of their martyrdom, but if we take all these personages as representing the books of the Old and New Testaments, which I much prefer, we may well take the view that the red, flame-coloured garlands, on the heads of the later writers of the New Testament, showed that they were more burning with the fire of Godly Love than their predecessors.

† *Un tuon s' udì*: "The thunder comes, as in *Rev.* vi, 1; and *Rev.* x, 3, as the sign of supernatural revelation, and then the procession halts till Dante has passed through his final act of confession and penitence, and is taken (*Purg.* xxxi, 100-113) to the breast of the Gryphon, Christ" (Dean Plumptre). Scartazzini says we are to understand that the clap of thunder came from heaven, and he quotes Vellutello to show that the procession, which was advancing from East to West, was in the form of a cross—first the candlesticks fashion the foot of the cross; then the four-and-twenty Elders the rest of the lower limb up to the cross piece. This is formed by the Car drawn by the Gryphon in the midst of

And when the chariot was opposite to me, a clap of thunder was heard; and all that noble throng appeared to have their further progress forbidden, halting on that spot at the same moment as the leading standards (*i.e.* the candlesticks).

Benvenuto thinks that Dante would show that God had done him the wondrous favour of letting him see these things for himself, so that he might in turn describe them to others.

---

the four Living Beings, while the three Theological Virtues on the right hand side, and the four Cardinal Virtues on the left, represent the arms of the Cross to the right and left respectively. The head of the Cross is made up by the *sette col primo stuolo abituati*.

END OF CANTO XXIX.

## CANTO XXX.

THE TERRESTRIAL PARADISE (CONTINUED)—APPEARANCE OF  
BEATRICE—DISAPPEARANCE OF VIRGIL—DANTE SEVERELY  
CENSURED BY BEATRICE.

WHEREAS, in the last Canto, Dante gave a figurative description of the Militant Church of God, so, in the present one, he introduces Beatrice, who represents Divine Theology, and who teaches and instructs both Churches, in order that she may, by first showing Dante the Church Militant, prepare his mind for gazing, later on, upon the Church Triumphant.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

*In the First Division*, from ver. 1 to ver. 21, Dante relates how the army of the Church Militant came to a halt.

*In the Second Division*, from ver. 22 to ver. 57, the appearance of Beatrice, her attire and demeanour, are minutely described, while Virgil is found to have disappeared.

*In the Third Division*, from ver. 58 to ver. 99, Dante relates how Beatrice reproves him for not having remained faithful to her after her death, and he describes the effect upon himself of her censure.

*In the Fourth Division*, from ver. 100 to ver. 145, she begins by praising his early life of promise, and goes



rising, nor other clouding than the veil of sin, and which was making each person there (in the Terrestrial Paradise) acquainted with his duty, even as the lower one (*i.e.* the Septentrion of the Great Bear) does for him who turns the helm to come into port,—came to a halt, that truthful band (the four-and-twenty Elders) the first who had come between the Gryphon and it (the Septentrion of candlesticks), turned to the chariot, as it were to their peace. And one of them, as though sent from Heaven, cried out three times in song, *Veni, sponsa, de Libano*, and all the others after him.

The word Septentrion in its literal sense means the seven-fold group of stars which form the Constellation of the Great Bear. The Septentrion of the Highest Heaven means the seven golden candlesticks, which perform the same office for Christians as the Constellation does for mariners. The Septentrion here implies the Sevenfold Holy Spirit, which, with Its sevenfold benefits, is ever ready, as It has ever been, to receive all who make themselves worthy.

Dante now describes the holy festival that took place round the chariot. Having related the manner in which (the so-called) Solomon and the other Elders had sung the praises of the Church, he now introduces a multitude of the Heavenly Host, singing the praises of the Bridegroom, and he says that these Angels suddenly rose from the chariot, just as the Blessed will rise from their sepulchres at the sound of the last trump.

Quali i beati al novissimo bando \*

---

\* *bando*: The *Gran Dizionario* quotes this passage and explains it: "*Novissimo bando*, il Giudizio annunziato dalle angeliche trombe." Compare *Par.* xxvi, 44, 45:—

"L' alto preconio, che grida l' arcano  
Di qui laggiù sopra ogni altro bando,"

on to show how great was his fall from it, and the necessity that had arisen for her interposition.\*

*Division I.*—The Procession having come to a halt, one of the four-and-twenty Elders now cries aloud to Beatrice to appear, and at the sound of his voice a hundred Angels rise up upon the chariot.

Quando il settentrion del primo cielo,  
 Che nè occaso mai seppe nè orto,  
 Nè d' altra nebbia che di colpa velo,  
 E che faceva li ciascuno accorto  
 Di suo dover, come il più basso face, 5  
 Qual timon gira per venire a porto,  
 Fermo si affisse, la gente verace †  
 Venuta prima tra il grifone ed esso,  
 Al carro volse sè, come a sua pace : ‡  
 Ed un di loro, § quasi da ciel messo, 10  
 Veni, sponsa, de Libano cantando,  
 Gridò tre volte, || e tutti gli altri appresso.

When the Septentrion of the Highest (*i.e.* the Em-  
 pyrean) Heaven,—which never knew setting nor

\* The *Vita Nuova* should be carefully read with this and the succeeding Canto.

† *la gente verace*: The truthful company are supposed to represent or personify the books of the Old Testament, which preceded the Chariot.

‡ *come a sua pace*: When the four-and-twenty Elders were walking, they had the chariot directly behind them; but, when they stopped, they turned themselves round and faced it, as though the goal and object of all their desires was before them, in the form of the Gryphon (Jesus Christ) and the chariot (His Church).

§ *un di loro*, etc.: We are not to understand this to mean Solomon, as many of the Commentators explain, but the book of the *Canticles* personified by one of the four-and-twenty Elders.

|| *Gridò tre volte*: The words *Veni, sponsa, de Libano* are taken from the *Song of Solomon*, or Book of the *Canticles*, iv, 7, 8 (*Vulgate*), where the word *Veni* occurs three times: "Tota pulchra es, amica mea, et macula non est in te. Veni de Libano, sponsa mea, veni de Libano, veni: coronaberis . . . de cubilibus leonum, de montibus pardorum."

rising, nor other clouding than the veil of sin, and which was making each person there (in the Terrestrial Paradise) acquainted with his duty, even as the lower one (*i.e.* the Septentrion of the Great Bear) does for him who turns the helm to come into port, —came to a halt, that truthful band (the four-and-twenty Elders) the first who had come between the Gryphon and it (the Septentrion of candlesticks), turned to the chariot, as it were to their peace. And one of them, as though sent from Heaven, cried out three times in song, *Veni, sponsa, de Libano*, and all the others after him.

The word Septentrion in its literal sense means the seven-fold group of stars which form the Constellation of the Great Bear. The Septentrion of the Highest Heaven means the seven golden candlesticks, which perform the same office for Christians as the Constellation does for mariners. The Septentrion here implies the Sevenfold Holy Spirit, which, with Its sevenfold benefits, is ever ready, as It has ever been, to receive all who make themselves worthy.

Dante now describes the holy festival that took place round the chariot. Having related the manner in which (the so-called) Solomon and the other Elders had sung the praises of the Church, he now introduces a multitude of the Heavenly Host, singing the praises of the Bridegroom, and he says that these Angels suddenly rose from the chariot, just as the Blessed will rise from their sepulchres at the sound of the last trump.

Quali i beati al novissimo bando \*

---

\* *bando*: The *Gran Dizionario* quotes this passage and explains it: "*Novissimo bando*, il Giudizio annunziato dalle angeliche trombe." Compare *Par.* xxvi, 44, 45:—

"L' alto preconio, che grida l' arcano  
Di qui laggiù sopra ogni altro bando,"

Surgeran presti ognun di sua caverna,  
 La rivestita voce \* alleluando, 15  
 Cotali, in sulla divina basterna,†  
 Si levâr cento, ad vocem tanti senis,‡  
 Ministri e messaggier § di vita eterna.

And *Par.* xxx, 34, 35:—

“Cotal, qual io la lascio a maggior bando  
 Che quel della mia tuba.”

The *Gran Dizionario* says that the primary signification of *bando* is *Annunzio pubblico d' autorità*. Blanc (*Vocab. Dant.*) gives to *bando* (akin to the German *Bann*, and *ban* in English) two meanings:—(1) The extension of the jurisdiction of the district (hence “*abbandonare*”), whence comes also, “exile from the district,” [*uscir di bando* (*Purg.* xxi, 102) means to return from exile,] and (2) the publication, the edict, proclamation; and here *il novissimo bando* is the summons to the Universal Judgment.

\* *rivestita voce*: Compare St. Paul, 11 *Cor.* v, 2: “Earnestly desiring to be clothed upon with our house which is from Heaven.” Benvenuto puts it very well: “*Resumptis organis corporalibus*”; the body in which the voice once resided is again restored to it. The voice re clothed with its body. Compare *Inf.* xiii, 103-104, where poor Pier delle Vigne tells Dante what will be the ultimate fate of himself and his companions in doom:—

“Come l' altre verrem per nostre spoglie,  
 Ma non però ch' alcuna sen rinvesta.”

Others read *La rivestita carne alleviando*, making light and active (*levia*), through immortality, the bodies which they have again assumed; but the reading *alleluando* is much to be preferred. There has, however, been much controversy about the two readings.

† *basterna*: Benvenuto says that *basterna* is a vehicle for travelling, so called from *vesterna*, because it was spread over with soft garments, and drawn by two beasts, being used for carrying noble ladies. He thinks the metaphor appropriate, for the chariot here is drawn by an animal of a twofold nature and in it a most noble lady, Beatrice, is carried.

‡ *ad vocem tanti senis*: Some modern Commentators say that Dante wrote these words in Latin for the sake of the rhyme, a supposition I am wholly disinclined to admit. I feel sure that he was quoting some line known to him.

§ *Ministri e messaggier*: Compare *Hebrews*, i, 7: “And of the angels he sayeth, Who maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire,” and in v. 14: “Are they not all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation?” Scartazzini imagines that the Angels were in the chariot, but only sprang into view at the call of Solomon,

As the Blessed at the last trump shall quickly rise up each from his sepulchre, singing Hallelujah with their re-assumed bodily voice, so *ad vocem tanti senis* (at the voice of so great an Elder) there rose up upon the heavenly litter a hundred ministers and messengers of life eternal.

It may be taken for granted that Dante meant Angels, for in line 82 he says: *Ella si tacque, e gli Angeli cantaro*, etc., clearly showing that he was speaking of the Angels having been previously introduced as having appeared. Otherwise he would not have said *Gli Angeli*.

The song, which was now taken up by the Heavenly Choir, is from the words of the Canticle for Palm Sunday, and, as the Angels scattered flowers over and around the chariot, they also sang one of the most beautiful lines of Virgil's *Aeneid*.

just as the chariots and horses of fire, which surrounded the town of Dothan, were invisible to mortal eyes, until Elisha prayed that the eyes of his servant might be opened to behold them (11 *Kings*, vi, 17). The idea of presenting Beatrice to his readers in the midst of a cloud of Angels would seem to have been a fixed one in Dante's mind before ever he composed the *Divina Commedia*. Compare *Vita Nuova*, § xxiii, ll. 49-63, where in a vision he imagines he sees a multitude of Angels, and then Beatrice lying dead: "Io imaginava di guardare verso il cielo, e pareami veder moltitudine di angeli, i quali tornassero in suso ed avessero dinanzi loro una nubioletta bianchissima: e pareami che questi angeli cantassero gloriosamente . . . e fu sì forte la errante fantasia, che mi mostrò questa donna morta." And in the *Canzone* (ii) in the same section we read, ll. 185-188:—

"E vedea (che parean pioggia di manna),  
Gli angeli che tornavan suso in cielo,  
Ed una nuvoletta avean davanti,  
Dopo la qual cantavan tutti: *Osannah*."

And in *Canzone xvii*, st. 4, ll. 55-60:—

"Questa, in cui Dio mise grazia tanta.  
Morte, deh! non tardar mercè, se l'hai;  
Chè mi par già veder lo cielo aprire,  
E gli angeli di Dio quaggiù venire,  
Per volerne portar l'anima santa  
Di questa, in cui onor lassù si canta."

Tutti dicean : *Benedictus qui venis,\**

E fior gittando di sopra e dintorno, 20

*Manibus o date lilia plenis.†*

They were all exclaiming ; *Benedictus qui venis*, and, while they were casting flowers above and around, *Manibus o date lilia plenis* (*Oh, give lilies with full hands*).

It was as if they wished their praise not only to be in laudation of saints, but also to take in the praise of mortal man.

I venture to offer the opinion that this is the moment when Virgil vanishes, just when Beatrice is about to come into view, and that, as he himself wrote of scattering lilies over the glorious tomb of the young Marcellus, so Dante quotes the choicest line in the choicest passage of Virgil's great work, by way of figuratively throwing flowers in sorrow and regret over the grave that is to separate them for ever.‡

\* *Benedictus qui venis* : With the exception of the word *venit*, altered by Dante into *venis* these are the identical words of the song chanted by the multitude of the Jews when Our Lord made His triumphal entry into Jerusalem. Dean Plumptre remarks that they are referred by some Commentators to Beatrice, the masculine *Benedictus* notwithstanding ; by some to Dante himself. But Dean Plumptre thinks it seems better to take them in their primary application, Christ being thought of as leading the triumph of His Church, and the manifestation of the Divine Wisdom (*Ephes. iii, 9, 10*).

† *Manibus [o] date lilia plenis* : This famous line in *Æn.* vi, 884, is not the only passage in which Virgil has used the same words. Compare *Bucol. Eclog. ii, 45-48* :—

“Huc ades, o formose puer ; tibi lilia plenis  
Ecce ferunt Nymphæ calathis ; tibi candida Nais,  
Pallentes violas et summa papavera carpens,  
Narcissum et florem jungit bene olentis anethi.”

‡ We read in the sixth book of the *Æneid* that Æneas, conducted by the Sybil into the Infernal Regions, finds his father Anchises in a beautiful spot, and surrounded by the shades of illustrious men whom he points out to his son. He also shows him the great

*Division II.*—In a simile drawn from the rising of the Sun, and which Venturi (*Similitudini Dantesche*, p. 5, *sim.* 5) thinks one of the most beautiful in the poem, alike for its true colouring and for the sweetness of the verses, Dante relates how Beatrice makes her first appearance in the Terrestrial Paradise. We shall see that she is arrayed in white, green and red, the same colours as the three Theological virtues.\*

Io vidi già nel cominciar del giorno

---

Romans who were to descend from his stock, among whom was the young Marcellus. When Virgil read out aloud before the Emperor the magnificent lines which compose this passage, Augustus could not restrain his tears; Octavia, the mother of Marcellus, swooned away at the words *Tu Marcellus eris*, but afterwards presented Virgil with ten sesterces for every line in praise of her son, the whole equivalent to £2,000 sterling.

\* These colours were those of Dante's attire in the fresco portrait of him by Giotto in the chapel of the *Bargello* at Florence. When that portrait was discovered in 1841, the Government of the Grand Duke, horrified to find Dante represented in a costume which contained the forbidden colours adopted by the party of United Italy [now the national colours of the Kingdom], employed an obscure artist to paint them out. He exceeded his instructions, and, after turning Dante's attire into a dark red colour, he painted in the eye which a nail in the wall had destroyed, and painted it out of drawing, so that the portrait now represents Dante with a squinting eye. The frontispiece to the first volume of this work is from the drawing made for my father by Baron Seymour Kirkup, preserved in the family collection at Sudbury Hall, Derbyshire, immediately after the discovery of the original fresco by Giotto. A spirited popular song well describes the colours of the Italian flag:—

“Giovantottin della pupilla nera,  
 Dimmi qual è il color di tua bandiera?—  
 —Se a una rosa vermiglia e un gelsomino  
 Una foglia d' allor metti vicino,  
 I tre colori avrai più cari e belli  
 Di che noi ci conosciam fratelli;  
 I tre colori avrai che fremer fanno  
 Chi ognor s' ostina ad essere tiranno.”—etc.

La parte oriental tutta rosata,\*  
 E l' altro ciel † di bel sereno adorno,  
 E la faccia del sol nascere ombrata,  
 Sì che per temperanza di vapori ‡  
 L' occhio la sostenea lunga fiata ;

25

I have ere now seen at break of day the Eastern  
 region all rosy, and the rest of the sky decked in  
 tranquil loveliness, and the face of the sun rising  
 shaded, so that, from the tempering of mists, the eye  
 could endure it for a long while.

\* *rosata* : Compare Ovid, *Metam.* vi, 47, 48 :—

“ Ut solet aer

Purpureus fieri, cum primum Aurora movetur.”

And Petrarch, *Rime in Morte di Laura*, Son. xxiii :—

“ Quand' io veggio dal ciel scender l' Aurora

Con la fronte di rose, e co' crin d' oro.”

And Tasso (*Ger. Lib.* viii, st. 1) nearly copies Petrarch :—

“ E l' alba uscia della magion celeste

Con la fronte di rose, e co' piè d' oro.”

And Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* xliii, st. 54 :—

“ . . . e già il color cilestro

Si vedea in Oriente venir manco ;

Chè, votando di fior tutto il canestro,

L' Aurora vi facea vermiglio e bianco.”

And Boëthius, *Philos. Consol.* ii, metr. 8 :—

“ Quod Phœbus roseum diem

Curru provehit aureo.”

“ Dalla circostanza meteorologica, per la quale vediamo non di rado esser sereno tutto il cielo, fuor che a ponente o a levante, ove uno strato poco denso di vapori s' infiamma ai raggi solari, prende una tinta rosata, e fa velo al grand' astro diurno per modo, da permetterci di rimirarlo senza offesa ; leva il Poeta l' imagine di una delle più soavi e felici pitture, ch' egli abbia saputo ideare, e che noi possiamo ammirare ” (Antonelli, in *Tommaséo's Commentary*).

† *l' altro ciel* = *il rimanente del ciel, or le altre parti del ciel*, is the interpretation agreed on by most of the Commentators.

‡ *temperanza di vapori* : Compare *Par.* v, 133-135 :—

“ Sì come il sol, che si cela egli stessi

Per troppa luce, come il caldo ha rose

Le temperanze dei vapori spessi.”

“ Volendo l' Autore introdurre Beatrice, mostra che ella sia velata d' una nuvoletta, la quale ha virtute temperativa, acciò che l' occhio, cioè l' intelletto umano, possa, mediante la mistica e figurativa Scrittura, soffrire li raggi e la chiaritate della divina Scrittura ” (*Ottimo*).



Benvenuto too remarks on the appropriateness of this simile: for Beatrice is as the Sun that illumines the chariot, and just as the human eye cannot bear the rays of the Sun, except through the medium of vapours, so the human intellect cannot contemplate the glory of Beatrice, except through the rain of flowers falling over the chariot.

Così dentro una nuvola di fiori,\*  
 Che dalle mani angeliche saliva,†  
 E ricadea in giù dentro e di fuori, 30  
 Sopra candido vel † cinta d'oliva

\* *nuvola di fiori*: Compare the beautiful lines in Petrarch, part i, *Canzone xi*, st. 4:—

“Da' be' rami scendea  
 (Dolce nella memoria)  
 Una pioggia di fior sovra 'l suo grembo;  
 Ed ella si sedea  
 Umile in tanta gloria,  
 Coverta già dell' amoroso nembo.  
 Qual fior cadea sul lembo,  
 Qual su le trecce bionde,  
 Ch' oro forbito e perle  
 Eran quel dì a vederle;  
 Qual si posava in terra, e qual su l' onde;  
 Qual con un vago errore  
 Girando, pareva dir: qui regna Amore.”

† *Che dalle mani angeliche saliva*: Poletto points out in his Commentary, that from the moment of Beatrice's appearance, and during the whole of her long speech to Dante, the Angels continued unceasingly to shower the flowers upon her and upon the chariot. Compare *Purg.* xxxi, 77, 78:—

“Posarsi quelle prime creature  
 Da loro aspersion l' occhio comprese.”

‡ *candido vel*: Beatrice appears to Dante veiled, as he is not as yet sufficiently purified and reconciled to her to be thought worthy to look upon her face. Compare *Vita Nuova*, § xxiii, ll. 62-65: “È fu sì forte la errante fantasia, che mi mostrò questa donna morta; e pareami che donne le coprissero la testa con un bianco velo.” Compare also Milton, *Par. Lost*, ix, 424-425:—

“Eve separate he spies,

Veiled in a cloud of fragrance, where she stood.”

And Thomson, *Invocation to Spring*, 4:—

“veiled in a shower

Of shadowing roses, on our plains descend.”

The white represents Faith, the crimson, Love. The olive (l. 68), and perhaps also o

Benvenuto says that the books of the Old Testament are in the hands of learned writers. It is a beautiful idea to make Beatrice appear through the mirror.

Dante now relates how he recognized Beatrice (Canto 25) though he could not see her face veiled.†

---

\* *fiamma viva* : Compare *Vita Nuova*, l. 100, where Beatrice is described as "vestita d' un nobilissimo colore ed ornata alla guisa che alla vita". In *Vita Nuova*, § 3, both white and green are mentioned as her attire: "apparve a me vestita di coloro di gentili donne . . . E pensando a questo sonno . . . mi pareva vedere Beatrice involta mi pareva in un drappo verde". In the *Canzoniere*, *Sestina* i, st. 1, the color is in green:—

"Io l' ho veduta già vestita  
Sì fatta, ch' e lla  
L' Amor. ch' iol

E lo spirito mio, che già cotanto \*

Tempo era stato che alla sua presenza †

35

Non era di stupor tremando ‡ affranto,

hood of both, and that his glorification of the Beatrice of the poem is his apotheosis of the real Beatrice of his tender youth. Benvenuto is most precise, and be it remembered that his Commentary was written but fifty years after Dante's death: "Sed ad pleniorum cognitionem eorum, quæ dicuntur hic et in capitulo sequenti de ista Beatrice, volo te scire quod cum quidam Fulcus Portinari, honorabilis civis Florentiæ de more faceret celebre convivium kalendis maii, convocatis vicinis cum dominabus eorum, Dantes tunc puerulus novem annorum secutus patrem suum Aldigherium, qui erat unus de numero convivarum, vidit a casu inter alias puellas puellulam filiam præfati Fulci, cui nomen erat Beatrix, ætatis octo annorum, miræ pulchritudinis, sed majoris honestatis; quæ subito intravit cor ejus, ita quod numquam postea recessit ab eo donec illa vixit, sive ex conformitate complexionis et morum, sive ex singulari influentia cæli. Et cum ætate continuo multiplicatæ sunt amorosæ flammæ; ex quo Dantes totus deditus illi quocumque iret pergebat credens in oculis ejus videre summam felicitatem, per quam lacrymas, vigiliis et infinitas tulit pœnas; tamen hic amor honestissimus semper fuit, ut numquam apparuit signum libidinosi actus in amante vel amata. Hoc autem fuit certissimum prognosticum et augurium futuri amoris, quem habiturus erat ad magnam Beatricem sacram, ad quam erat pronus a natura. Ex his potes videre, quod poeta aliqua dicit historice, aliqua allegorice de Beatrice sua."

\* *cotanto Tempo*: We know from *Purg.* xxxii, 1, 2, that it was ten years since Dante's eyes had last rested on Beatrice's face:—

"... eran gli occhi miei fissi ad attenti

A disbramarsi la decenne sete."

† *che alla sua presenza*: Others read the whole line *Tempo era stato con la sua presenza*, on which Cesari contemptuously observes: "dalla qual lezione uscì un guazzabuglio [confused jumble] di concetti falsi e storti, che fu una miseria." It is however the reading adopted by Pietro di Dante and by the *Falso Boccaccio*.

‡ *tremando*: In more than one passage of the *Vita Nuova* Dante relates how the sight of Beatrice caused him to tremble: see § ii, ll. 19-25: "In quel punto dico veracemente che lo spirito della vita, lo quale dimora nella segretissima camera del core, cominciò a tremare sì fortemente, che apparia ne' menomi polsi orribilmente: *Ecce Deus fortior me, qui veniens dominabitur mihi.*" And § 11, ll. 9-13, and 15-17: "E quando ella fosse alquanto propinqua al salutare, uno spirito d' Amore, distruggendo

Senza degli occhi aver più conoscenza,  
Per occulta virtù che da lei mosse,  
D' antico amor senti la gran potenza.\*

And my spirit, which now for so long a time had not been (as formerly) crushed trembling down with awe at her presence, without having any further knowledge (of her) by my eyes, through some occult virtue that emanated from her, felt the mighty influence of ancient love.

Dante now says that, finding himself in sore perplexity, his first impulse prompted him to turn to Virgil, as he had been wont to do during the whole of his passage through Hell and Purgatory.

Tosto che nella vista mi percosse † 40  
L' alta virtù, che già m' avea trafitto  
Prima ch' io fuor di puerizia fosse,  
Volsimi alla sinistra col rispetto ‡  
Col quale il fantolin corre alla mamma,  
Quando ha paura o quando egli è affitto, 45

tutti gli altri spiriti sensitivi, pingea fuori i deboletti spiriti del viso . . . E chi avesse voluto conoscere Amore, far lo potea mirando lo tremore degli occhi miei." And § 24, ll. 2-5: "Avvenne un dì, che sedendo io pensoso in alcuna parte, ed io mi sentii cominciare un tremito nel core, così come s' io fossi stato presente a questa donna."

\**senti la gran potenza*: In the *Canzoniere*, *Canz.* xiv, st. 1, Dante says:—

"Io sento sì d' Amor la gran possanza,  
Ch' io non posso durare  
Lungamente a soffrire."

The last words (§ xlii) of the *Vita Nuova*, show that it was Beatrice's influence that made Dante write the *Divina Commedia*.

†*nella vista mi percosse l' alta virtù*: Some difficulty has been felt in explaining how a vivid impression, a sublime influence, could strike upon Dante's vision. What did strike upon it was the figure, in outline, of Beatrice; but he mentions *la virtù*, because his thought is centred now, not upon her outward aspect, but upon her personality—the power, the nobility, the perfection which he acknowledged in her—and by which he was made into the man he was now and would be hereafter.

‡*rispetto*: Scartazzini thinks with the *Ottimo*.

Per dicere a Virgilio:—"Men che dramma\*  
 Di sangue m'è rimaso che non tremi;  
 Conosco i segni dell' antica fiamma."—

Soon as smote upon my vision that sublime influence, which had already transfixed me before I was out of my boyhood, I turned me to the left with the confidence with which a little child runs to its mother, when it is in fear, or when in distress, to say to Virgil: "There is not so much as a drop of blood left in me that does not tremble; I recognise the symptoms of the ancient flame."

Dante's hopes of aid and counsel from Virgil are disappointed; he turns round, but his father in poetry has vanished from his sight for ever. Overflowing with affection Dante repeats in three consecutive lines the name of Virgil, and then, notwithstanding the bliss of that sacred spot, he cannot restrain his tears.

the best is to understand that Dante turned to his left hand to get comfort and help from Virgil. He thinks *rispetto* is derived from the Provençal word *respicit*, which means trust, confidence, hope; Nannucci gives that interpretation (*Voci e locuzioni italiane derivate dalla lingua provenzale*). We may note here that the very last words, which Dante addresses to Virgil in the poem, are words of Virgil's own in *Æn.* iv, 23, where Dido says to Anna: "Agnosco veteris vestigia flammæ." One may notice some inconsistency in Beatrice visiting the gates of death to induce Virgil to go and succour Dante, and then, in the Terrestrial Paradise, Virgil vanishing on Beatrice's appearance without their exchanging a word.

\* *dramma*: Compare Petrarch, part i, *Canz.* x, st. i:—

"Ardendo lei che come un ghiaccio stassi,  
 E non lassa in me dramma  
 Che non sia foco e fiamma."

And *Dittamondo*, lib. i, Canto xix, *terz.* 28:—

"Al qual fanciul fu vista una gran fiamma  
 Sopra la testa, stando nella cuna;  
 Arder pareva, nè consumarsi dramma."

In these two passages, as well as the one in the text, the *Gran Dizionario* interprets *dramma*, "minima particella."

Ma Virgilio \* n' avea lasciati scemi †  
 Di sè, Virgilio dolcissimo padre, ‡  
 Virgilio a cui per mia salute die' mi:—  
 Nè' quantunque perdè l' antica matre,  
 Valse alle guance nette § di rugiada,  
 Che lagrimando non tornassero atre ||.

But Virgil had left us deprived of himself, Virgil, my most beloved father (in song), Virgil, to whom for my salvation I gave myself. Nor could all that our ancient Mother (Eve) lost (*i.e.* the Earthly Paradise) avail against my cheeks washed (so recently) with dew, being soiled again with tears.

Beatrice's voice is now heard. She severely rebukes Dante for his tears.

—"Dante, ¶ perchè Virgilio se ne vada, 55

\* *Virgilio*: Dante here imitates a passage in the *Georgics*, book iv, 525-527, where the name of Eurydice is three times repeated.

“. . . . Eurydicen vox ipsa et frigida lingua,  
 Ah, miseram Eurydicen! anima fugiente vocabat:  
 Eurydicen toto referebant flumine ripæ."

† *n' avea lasciati scemi*: Observe, Dante says: Virgil had left us [*ne*] deprived (in the plural, *scemi*), meaning that he and Statius were left alone.

‡ *dolcissimo padre*: Dante always called Virgil *dolce padre*, but, now that he finds he has lost him, he calls him *dolcissimo*. *Dolcissimo amico* is a common expression in Italy, occurring frequently in Leopardi's letters, meaning simply between two male friends, "my very dear friend." See *Gran Dizionario*, s.v. *dolce*, § 30: "*dolce*, per *Caro*, *Amato*, *Prediletto*." I mention this, as I have constantly seen English versions render *dolcissimo* "sweetest," an expression perfectly inadmissible between two men, totally foreign to Dante's meaning, and one that ignores an every-day Tuscan idiom. (See vol. i, p. 275.)

§ *guance nette*: We read in *Purg.* i, 95 and 121, *et seq.*, that Virgil, in obedience to the command of Cato, washed Dante's cheeks with dew from the rushes on the sea-shore.

|| *atre*, the same as *oscur*, *fosche*. The *Ottimo* comments: "Quando uomo piange, così abbuia e oscura nel viso, come quando è lieto, si sciampia [*expands, widens*] ed esilara il viso."

¶ *Dante*: This is the only mention of Dante by name throughout the *Divina Commedia*, though some Commentators have tried

Non pianger anco, non pianger ancora ;  
Chè pianger ti convien per altra spada."—

"Dante, weep thou not yet because Virgil is gone, weep not just yet, for thou wilt have to weep for another wound (*lit. sword*)."

He will have to weep for the faults of which Beatrice is about to remind him, namely, for having forgotten her and the higher life she set before him, and given himself to the leadership of baser persons; through which, in spite of her attempts to rescue him by means of dreams and otherwise, he fell so low, that there was no other resource left but to show him the lost souls in Hell.

*Division III.*—Scartazzini (*Ediz. Min.*) observes that from the beginning of Dante's mystic journey up to the present moment, he had been buoyed up by the thought of seeing Beatrice. Each of the seven P's has been effaced in turn from his brow, and Virgil has told him that his judgment and will are to be free, upright, and sound. He may well, therefore, have been taken aback by this wholly unexpected greeting.

He sees Beatrice, who, on her first appearance, was only to be imperfectly discerned amid the clouds of flowers that fell upon her from the ministering Angels, standing on the left hand border of the chariot, *i.e.* on the side of the Old Testament. She

---

to prove that the words *Da te*, in *Par.* xxvi, 104, ought to be *Dante*, but Scartazzini feels that their arguments have not much weight, inasmuch as in verses 62-63 of the present Canto Dante says:—

" . . . mi volsi al suon del nome mio,  
Che di necessità qui si registra;"

showing the exceptional circumstance under which he mentions his name, and modestly apologizing for doing so.

looks steadily at him, as he is standing on the Purgatory side of Lethe. Dante shows great ingenuity in the modest way he introduces his own name, making Beatrice only utter it for the purpose of disparagement. His description of her demeanour is fully in keeping with the dignity of the subject.

Quasi ammiraglio,\* che in poppa ed in prora  
Viene a veder la gente che ministra †  
Per gli altri legni, ‡ ed a ben far la incuora, 60  
In sulla sponda § del carro sinistra,  
Quando mi volsi al suon del nome mio,  
Che di necessità || qui si registra,  
Vidi la Donna, che pria m' apparío

\* *Quasi ammiraglio*: Compare *Convivio* iv, 4, ll. 50-59: "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 voce tutti ubbidire deono. . . ."

† *ministra*: Virgil (*Æn.* vi, 302) says of Charon:—

"Ipse ratem conto subigit, velisque ministrat."

‡ *Per gli altri legni*: Buti points out that the admiral's inspection is naturally required in the other ships of his fleet, though not so much so in his own ship. Some read *alti*, an insipid, colourless reading, wholly lacking in vigour.

§ *sponda*: Venturi (*Simil. Dant.* pp. 214-215, sim. 359) says that this word is equally applicable to the idea of a chariot or of a ship. Scartazzini remarks that on this left side [*sponda . . . sinistra*] of the car whereon Beatrice was standing, was also Dante and the four fair damsels who typified the four Cardinal virtues. \*

|| *necessità*: "Convenne che la donna il chiamasse per nome, per due cagioni: l' una, perche certa fosse la persona, intra tante, alla quale dirizzava il suo sermone; l' altra, perochè come più addolcisce nello umano parlare il nomare la persona per lo proprio nome, in ciò che più d' affezione si mostra; così più pugne il repressivo, quando la persona ripresa dalla riprendente è nomata [*i.e. when the person rebuked is named by the rebuker*]" (*Ottimo*). In *Conv.* i, ii, ll. 8-17, Dante is very explicit about an author not naming himself: "Parlare alcuno di sè medesimo pare non licito. . . Non si concede per li rettorici alcuno di sè medesimo senza necessaria cagione parlare."



Velata sotto l' angelica festa,\* 65  
 Drizzar gli occhi vèr me di qua dal rio.  
 Tutto che il vel che le scendea di testa,  
 Cerchiato dalla fronde di Minerva,  
 Non la lasciasse parer manifesta ;  
 Regalmente nell' atto ancor proterva † 70  
 Continuò, come colui che dice,  
 E il più caldo parlar dietro serva : ‡  
 — " Guardaci ben : ben sem, § ben sem Beatrice :

\* *Velata sotto l' angelica festa* : Trissino amplifies this : "velata dalla nube di fiori dalle angeliche mani formata," etc. *Festa* has the sense of *accoglienza*, reception, greeting, welcome. Compare *Purg.* vi, 79-81 :—

"Quell' anima gentil fu così presta,  
 Sol per lo dolce suon della sua terra,  
 Di fare al cittadin suo quivi festa."

See also *Purg.* xxvi, 33 ; and especially *Par.* xv, 83, 84 :—

" . . . e però non ringrazio  
 Se non col core, alla paterna festa."

† *Regalmente nell' atto . . . proterva* : Andreoli thinks *proterva* must be taken in the sense of *imperiosa*, *altera*. Cesari says that the line is a priceless gem, "che maestà aggiunge quel *realmente!* e quel *proterva!* vince ogni dire. Essa non si lasciava veder manifesta : ma di sotto all' ombra del velo, apparia bene l' altera maestà e 'l minaccioso atto del suo sembante." Brunone Bianchi, Biagioli, Tommaséo, and Scartazzini, quote the following from *Conv.* iii, 15, ll. 203-210, but Scartazzini says that, although the passage is marvellously similar to the one in the text, the *donna gentile* of the *Convivio* must on no account be identified with Beatrice as some Commentators have tried to show : "È da sapere che dal principio essa filosofia pareva a me, quanto dalla parte del suo corpo (cioè Sapienza), fiera, chè non mi ridea, in quanto le sue persuasioni ancora non intendea ; e disdegnosa, chè non mi volgea gli occhi, cioè ch' io non potea vederle le sue dimostrazioni. E di tutto questo il difetto era dal mio lato."

‡ *E il più caldo parlar dietro serva* : Compare Dante's own words in *Conv.* ii, 9, ll. 9-13 : Sempre quello che massimamente dire intende lo dicitore, si dee riservare di dietro ; perocchè quello che ultimamente si dice, più rimane nell' animo dell' uditore."

§ *Guardaci ben : ben sem*, etc. This reading, giving the royal plural, has overwhelming MS. authority, but Dr. Moore (*Textual Criticism*, pp. 431, 432), observes that it is only fair to draw attention to the fact that all the old Commentators who notice the passage explicitly (*i.e.* Benvenuto, Buti, Landino, Vellutello, and Daniello) have *guardami* and *son*, which is the reading almost

Come degnasti \* d' accedere al monte ?

Non sapei tu che qui è l' uom felice ?"—

75

Even as an admiral that comes to the poop or to the prow to inspect the crews that serve on board the other ships, and inspires them with good zeal, (so) on the left hand edge of the car,—when I turned at the sound of my own name, which from necessity is recorded here—I saw the Lady who had at first appeared to me veiled under that angelic welcome (*i.e.* the rain of flowers), bend her eyes towards me across the stream. Although the veil which descended from her head, enwreathed with the foliage of Minerva (*i.e.* the olive) did not allow her to be seen distinctly, (yet) with the imperious gesture of a queen, she went on, as one who speaks, and keeps back his most burning words for the last: "Look well upon us, we are indeed, we are indeed, Beatrice: how didst thou deign to approach the mountain? Knewest thou not that here Man is happy?"

The whole speech, when disconnected from Dante's description of the scene, runs thus: "Dante, because

universally adopted among the moderns. Witte and Scartazzini read *guardaci* and *sem*. There are many minor variants.

\* *Come degnasti*, et seq.: The usual interpretation of this sentence is to attribute irony to Beatrice, and to translate her words: "how didst thou deign to approach the mountain?" But Casini points out that although this verse may appear very obscure to modern students, the early Commentators thought it too clear to need elucidation. To them it was perfectly clear because they knew the particular force of the verb *degnare* in the language of poetry, where, like the Provençal *denhar*, it signified "to be able." Mr. Tozer, in his Commentary, has been, I believe, the first English translator to recognise this use of *degnare*, and he renders Casini's words very well: "Beatrice was aware that Dante had been conducted to the Mountain of Purgatory by Divine Grace, but this she puts out of sight in order to reproach him with his sinfulness." The sinful man cannot be happy, and therefore has no place in the Terrestrial Paradise. Compare the question in *Psalm* xxiv, 3, 4: "Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord?" to which the answer is given, "He that hath clean hands and a pure heart; who hath not lift up his soul unto vanity," as Dante (*Purg.* xxxi. 34-36) confesses himself to Beatrice to have done.

Virgil has disappeared, do not weep any longer, or at all events not just at present, but thou wilt soon have to weep to some purpose for a very different kind of wound. Look well at me, look, I *am*, yes, I *am* Beatrice! How camest thou to deign to ascend this mountain? Didst thou not know that here alone Man is truly happy?"

Dante then relates the shame that he felt at her reproof.

Gli occhi mi cadder giù nel chiaro fonte ;  
 Ma veggendomi in esso, i \* trassi all' erba,  
 Tanta vergogna mi gravò la fronte.  
 Così la madre † al figlio par superba,  
 Com' ella parve a me ; per che d' amaro 80  
 Sente il sapor ‡ della pietate acerba. §

My eyes fell down to the limpid stream ; but seeing myself in it, I withdrew them to the grass, such great shame did weigh upon my brow. So to her son the

\* *i* (for *li*) *trassi all' erba* : *i* means *essi*, i.e. *gli occhi*. Dante uses *i* for *li* several times. Compare *Inf.* vii, 53 :—

"La sconoscente vita che i fe' sozzi."

And *Inf.* v, 77, 78 :—

"e tu allor li prega

Per quell' amor che i mena ; e quei verranno."

And *Par.* xii, 26, 27 :—

Pur come gli occhi ch' al piacer che i move  
 Convien insieme chiudere e levarsi."

† *madre* : Compare *Par.* i, 100-102, where Dante again likens Beatrice to a mother :—

"Ond' ella, appresso d' un pio sospiro,  
 Gli occhi drizzò vèr me con quel semblante  
 Che madre fa sopra figliuol deliro."

And *Par.* xxii, 4, 5 :—

"E quella, come madre che soccorre  
 Subito al figlio pallido ed anelo."

‡ *Sente il sapor* ; Others read *sentì 'l sapor*.

§ *acerba* : "La pietà che castiga sa sempre d' amaro [*always has a bitter taste*] al castigato. *Acerba* si riferisce qui alla cosa, cioè alla pietà raffigurata come cibo ; *amaro* si riferisce alla sensazione. Fra *acerba* ed *amaro* vi ha la differenza che passa tra *sapore* e *gusto*" (Scartazzini).

mother appears haughty, as she appeared to me, because the savour of stern pity has a bitter taste.

Dante has some reason to think that Beatrice loved him, seeing that she was making so great an effort to save his soul, as to be his guide, and, with that belief in his mind, her displeasure cuts him to the quick. The Angels, gentle Ministers of comfort to the mourning sinner, suddenly burst out into song.

Ella si tacque, e gli Angeli cantaro  
Di subito: *In te, Domine, \* speravi*;  
Ma oltre *pedes meos* non passaro.

She held her peace, and straightway the Angels sang:  
“*In te, Domine, speravi*”; but beyond (the words)  
“*pedes meos*” they did not go.

Their gentle intercessions so touch Dante's heart, that he bursts into tears. He compares the breaking out of his pent up feelings to the melting of the snow and ice on the Apennines under the influence of the hot winds from the South. Venturi (*Simil.* 114) remarks that the conception is tender, but the simile is long, and not expressed with Dante's accustomed terseness.

Si come neve † tra le vive travi ‡

85

\* *In te, Domine*, etc.: The words are taken from *Psalm xxxi*, 1, et seq.: “In thee, O Lord, do I put my trust; let me never be ashamed.” They sang the first eight verses of this *Psalm*, in order that Dante should not despair, but ceased at the words in v. 8: “Thou hast set my feet in a large room.”

† *come neve*: Compare *Vita Nuova*, § xviii, ll. 41-45: “Allora queste donne cominciaro a parlare tra loro; e siccome talor vedemo cader l'acqua mischiata di bella neve, così mi pareva vedere le loro parole uscire mischiate di sospiri.”

‡ *vive travi*: Compare Virgil, *Æn.* vi, 181-182:—  
“*Fraxinæque trabes cuneis et fissile robur  
Scinditur.*”

And Ovid, *Metam.* viii, 329:—

“*Silva frequens trabibus, quam nulla ceciderat ætas,*”

The expression is of frequent occurrence in Ovid. Poletto re-

Per lo dosso d' Italia \* si congela,  
 Soffiata e stretta dagli venti schiavi, †  
 Poi liquefatta in sè stessa trapela,  
 Pur che la terra che perde ombra spiri,  
 Sì che par foco fonder la candela : ‡  
 Così fui senza lagrime e sospiri §

marks that *travi* are properly dead trees; and the epithet *vive* shows them to be alive and still growing.

\* *Per lo dosso d' Italia*: Compare Dante, *De Vulg. Eloq.* i, 14, ll. 1-4: "Transeuntes nunc humeros Apennini frondiferos, lævam Italiam cunctam venemur, ceu solemus, orientaliter ineuntes." The Apennines are, as it were, the spine of Italy. "On the summit grew those magnificent pines, which gave the district of Massa the epithet of *Trabaria*, from the beams which were carried thence for the palaces of Rome, and which are noticed by Dante as

'The living rafters  
 Upon the back of Italy.'

(Dennistown, *Memoir of the Duke of Urbino*, i, 4.)

† *venti schiavi*: "I venti schiavi che stringono la neve tra i rami degli alberi, sono quelli che oggi si direbbero grecali, chiamati in antico boreali; perciocchè la Schiavonia è fra levante e tramontana rispetto alla nostra penisola. I venti poi dai quali viene liquefatta la neve, spirano da mezzodì e da ostro, indicato dal Poeta per la terra che perde ombra, proprietà delle regioni tropicali, o della zona torrida, ove due volte all' anno a mezzogiorno il sole tocca lo zenit di ciascun punto; e quindi l' ombra di un corpo opaco, in situazione verticale, cade alla sua base, onde non comparisce da alcun lato" (Antonelli, quoted by Tommaséo). Benvenuto compares the Mountain of Purgatory to the beautiful Apennines; the trees of the Apennines to Dante born among the Apennines; the snow to the purified soul. The fierce North Wind, the *Bora*, is compared to Beatrice, harsh, but penetrating the heart for Dante's good. The hot South Wind, which brings rain, is compared to the song of the Angels which melts Dante's heart into tears.

‡ *par foco fonder la candela*: Compare Ovid, *Metam.* iii, 487-489:—

". . . ut intabescere flavæ  
 Igne levi ceræ, matutinæve pruinzæ  
 Sole tepente solent."

And *Psalms* lxxviii, 2: "As wax melteth before the fire, so let the wicked perish at the presence of God." And *Micah* i, 4.

§ *senza lagrime e sospiri*: Compare *Vita Nuova*, § ix, ll. 1-11: "Appresso la morte di questa donna alquanti di . . . l' andare mi dispiacea sì, che quasi li sospiri non poteano disfogare l' angoscia che il core sentia."

Anzi il cantar di quei che notan sempre  
 Dietro alle note degli eterni giri.\*  
 Ma poichè intesi nelle dolci tempore †  
 Lor compatire a me, ‡ più che se detto 95  
 Avesser:—"Donna, perchè sì lo stempre?"—§  
 Lo giel che m'era intorno al cor ristretto,  
 Spirito ed acqua fessi, e con angoscia  
 Per la bocca e per gli occhi || usci del petto.

Even as the snow that amid the living beams (*i.e.* pine-trees) on the backbone of Italy (*i.e.* the Apennines) congeals, when blown on and packed by the Slavonian (*i.e.* Northern) winds, and afterwards melting trickles through itself (*i.e.* through the snow beneath), if only the land which loses shadow (Africa) breathes its wind, so that it seems a fire that melts a candle: just so was I without tears and sighs before (I heard) the song of them (the Angels) who always tune their notes after (in accord with) the eternal spheres. But when in their sweet melodies I heard their pity for me, more than if they had said: "Lady, why dost thou so break his spirit?" then, the ice that was congealed around my heart, made itself into breath

\* *eterni giri*: The Platonists believed that the spheres of Heaven gyrated with great velocity, giving forth a harmonious sound.

† *tempore*: Compare Petrarch, part i, *Canzone* i, st. 4 —

"Nè mai in sì dolci o in sì soavi tempore  
 Risonar seppi gli amorosi guai."

‡ *Lor compatire a me*: Compare St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars iii, suppl. qu. xciv, art. 2): "Peccatores . . . quamdiu sunt in hoc mundo, in tali statu sunt, quòd sine præjudicio divinæ justitiæ possunt in beatitudinem transferri de statu miseriæ et peccati. Et idèd compassio ad eos locum habet et secundum electionem voluntatis (prout Deus, angeli et beati eis compati dicuntur, eorum salutem volendo), et secundum passionem, sicut compatiuntur eis homines boni in statu viæ existentes."

§ *stempre*: "cioè, perchè sì lo rompi; imperò che con coteste aspre riprensioni tu l' arrechi a disperazione e rompi la sua costanza" (Buti).

|| *per gli occhi*: "Rivers of waters run down mine eyes, because they keep not thy law" (*Psalms* cxix, 136).

and water (*i.e.* sighs and tears), and with anguish issued from my breast, through my mouth and through my eyes.

*Division IV.*—Beatrice now addresses herself to the Angels, and after greatly commending Dante's early life of promise, she speaks in terms of severe reprobation of his fall from it, and points out the necessity that had arisen for her interposition.

Ella, pur ferma in sulla detta coscia \* 100  
 Del carro stando, alle sustanzie pie †  
 Volve le sue parole così poscia :  
 — “ Voi vigilate nell' eterno die, ‡

\* *in sulla detta coscia* : We have here a very important difference of reading, about which the principal authorities are pretty equally divided, *viz.* :—

“ Ella, pur ferma in su la *detta* còscia  
 Del carro,” etc.,

which reading I take here ; or

“ Ella, pur ferma in su la *destra* coscia  
 Del carro,” etc.,

which Benvenuto adopts ; and which would imply that Beatrice had changed her position, and passed over to the right, or New Testament side of the car. The word *pur* speaks in favour of the former reading. Beatrice was *still* standing on the aforementioned side of the car.

† *sustanzie pie* : Scartazzini says that *pie* has a very distinct double sense, meaning both devout, *i.e.* holy, and compassionate. Compare *Conv.* ii, 5, ll. 5-8 : “ Li movitori di quello (*terzo cielo*) sono Sustanze separate da materia, cioè Intelligenze, le quali la volgare gente chiama Angeli.” Compare St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. 1, art. 5 : “ Cùm angelus sit ipsa forma subsistens, impossibile est quòd ejus substantia sit corruptibilis.” And qu. lvi, art. 1 : “ Angelus est quædam forma subsistens, et per hoc intelligibilis in actu. Unde sequitur quòd per suam formam, quæ est sua substantia, seipsum intelliget.”

‡ *nell' eterno die* : The Angels are unceasingly engaged in the contemplation of God, the Eternal Day or Light, and Beatrice, reminding them of this fact, tells them that neither night nor sleep can deprive them of the knowledge of a single point in the revolutions of time, *i.e.* of any event that happens. Therefore, as they know everything, her answer is not addressed to them, but to Dante. Compare St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.* pars i,

Sì che notte nè sonno a voi non fura  
 Passo, che faccia il secol \* per sue vie ; 105  
 Onde la mia risposta è con più cura  
 Che m' intenda colui che di là piagne,  
 Perchè sia colpa e duol d' una misura.†

She, still standing motionless on the afore-mentioned side of the chariot, thereafter (at the conclusion of the chant) addressed her words to those holy and compassionate Beings (the Angels) thus: "Ye watch in the eternal day, so that neither night nor sleep robs you of a single step which the world can make along its ways; wherefore my reply is (given) with the more special aim (*cura*) that he who is weeping yonder over the stream may understand me, so that his fault and his contrition may be of equal measure.

Having thus made it clear that Dante's penitence must be proportioned to his errors, Beatrice points out all the influences which had contributed (says Plumptre) to endow Dante with the promise and potency of good. These influences were *partly* those of the heavens, which were believed to dispose every human being to a predestined end, according to the concomitance of the constellation under which that human being was born; and *partly* Dante's own natural endowments which were to be considered due to the influence of Divine Grace.

qu. lvii, art. 1): "Sicut Deus per suam essentiam materialia cognoscit, ita Angeli ea cognoscunt per hoc quòd sunt in eis per suas intelligibiles species."

\* *il secol*: Daniello explains that Dante here takes "*il secol* per il tempo, il quale altro non è che ombra dell' eternità: e perchè le cose mondane soggiaccion al tempo, prendesi ancora il secol per il mondo e il mondo per gli huomini in esso contenuti." Compare Petrarch, part iv, *Son.* 3:—

"I' era amico a queste vostre Dive,

Le qua' vilmente il secol abbandona."

† *d' una misura*: Compare, *Par.* vii, 82-84:—

"Ed in sua dignità mai non riviene,

Se non riempie dove colpa vota,

Contra mal diletta con giuste pene."



Non pur per opra delle rote magne,\*  
 Che drizzan ciascun seme ad alcun fine, 110  
 Secondo che le stelle son compagne ;  
 Ma per larghezza di grazie divine,  
 Che sì alti vapori † hanno a lor piova,  
 Che nostre viste là non van vicine,  
 Questi fu tal nella sua vita nuova ‡ 115  
 Virtualmente, § ch' ogni abito destro  
 Fatto averebbe in lui mirabil prova.

\* *per opra delle rote magne* : Compare *Par.* xxii, 112-114 :

"O gloriose stelle, o lume pregno  
 Di gran virtù, dal quale io riconosco  
 Tutto, qual che si sia, lo mio ingegno."

And *Vita Nuova*, § 30, ll. 15-20 : "conciossiacosachè, secondo Tolomeo e secondo la Cristiana verità, nove siano li cieli che si muovono, e secondo comune opinione astrologa li detti cieli adoperino quaggiù secondo la loro abitudine insieme." And Petrarch, part I, *Canzone* ii, st. 7, on the auspicious birth of Laura :—

"Benigne stelle che compagne fêrsi  
 Al fortunato fianco,  
 Quando 'l bel parto giù nel mondo scorse."

† *sì alti vapori*, etc. : The Grace of God in its descent upon Man has powers so efficacious and so great, that the eye of the human intellect is not only unable to reach them, but not even to approach them near enough to know and comprehend them. Compare *Par.* xx, 118-120 :—

". . . per grazia che da sì profonda  
 Fontana stilla, che mai creatura  
 Non pinse l' occhio infino alla prim' onda."

‡ *vita nuova* : The interpretation that finds most favour among the Tuscan Commentators is "nella sua novella, giovanile, età." Some see it in Dante's life regenerated by his love for Beatrice ; while others take it literally as the title of his book, *La Vita Nuova*, and translate the line : "this man, at the time that he was writing the *Vita Nuova*," etc.

§ *Virtualmente* : This is a Scholastic expression signifying "potentially," or of "such a natural disposition." See *Conv.* iv, 21, too long to quote here. Compare also Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* iii, cap. 1 : "Quod si tales nos natura genuisset, ut eam ipsam intueri et perspicere, eademque optima duce cursum vitæ conficere possemus : haud erat sane, quod quisquam rationem ac doctrinam requireret. . . . Sunt enim ingenii nostris semina innata virtutum ; quæ si adolescere liceret, ipsa nos ad beatam vitam natura perduceret." Buti interprets the three lines, 115-117, thus.

Not only through the working of the mighty spheres, which guide each seed to some destined end, according as the stars second (*i.e.* influence) them; but through the bounteous gift of divine graces which to rain them down have vapours so lofty, that our powers of vision cannot come near them, this man in his early age had such potentialities of good, that every good talent in him would have produced wondrous results.

From this Beatrice concludes that, Dante having made a bad use of Divine Grace, it turned to his injury.

Ma tanto più maligno \* e più silvestro  
 Si fa il terren col mal seme e non colto,  
 Quant' egli ha più del buon vigor terrestre.

120

"*Questi*, cioè Dante, *fu tal*, cioè si fatto e si bene disposto, *ne la sua vita nova*, cioè ne la sua puerizia, *Virtualmente*, cioè potenzialmente, secondo la sua buona disposizione dell' anima e del corpo, *ch' ogni abito destro*, cioè ogni buona dottrina, *Fatto averebbe in lui mirabile pruova*, cioè avrebbe fatto meravigliosa prova de la sua grande e buona disposizione."

\* *maligno*: Compare Virgil, *Georg.* ii, 179:—

"*Difficiles primum terræ, collesque maligni.*"

Dante (*Conv.* iv, 21, ll. 112-133) thus apostrophizes the sevenfold gifts of the Holy Spirit: "O buone biade! e buona e mirabile sementa! ed oh ammirabile e benigno Seminatore, che non attendi, se non che la natura umana t' apparecchi la terra a seminare! Oh beati quelli che tal sementa coltivano come si conviene! Ov' è da sapere che 'l primo e nobile rampollo che germogli di questo seme, per essere fruttifero, si è l' *Appetito dell' Animo*, il quale in Greco è chiamato *hormen*. E se questo non è bene culto e sostenuto diritto per buona consuetudine, poco vale la sementa, e meglio sarebbe non essere seminato. E però vuole santo Agostino, e ancora Aristotile nel secondo dell' *Etica*, che l' uomo s' ausi a ben fare e a rifrenare le sue passioni, acciocchè questo tallo, che detto è, per buona consuetudine induri, e rifermissi nella sua rettitudine, sicchè possa fruttificare, e del suo frutto uscire la dolcezza della umana felicità." Compare also Horace, *Od.* iv, 4, 35-36:—

"*Doctrina sed vim promovet insitam,  
 Rectique cultus pectora roborant;  
 Ut cunque defecere mores  
 Indecorant bene nata culpæ.*"

But all the more does the ground become unprofitable and rank (when sown) with bad seed or (when) untilled, in proportion as it has (soil of) good strong fertility.

This scene between Dante and Beatrice has given rise to much discussion and much difference of opinion, as to what were the sins for which Beatrice rebukes Dante, requiring him to repent and to confess. Witte, Scartazzini, and other Commentators, both ancient and modern, contend that Dante is not being rebuked for any profligate habit, but only for worldliness and for philosophical aberrations, rash speculation, and disloyalty to the Catholic Faith.

Against this view may be set the passage in *Inferno* xvi, 108, where Dante states that at one time he sought to take captive the Leopard (Lust) by means of the Franciscan cord; the account in *Purg.* xxiii, 115, of his interview with Forese (see note on p. 293 of 2nd edition); and the words addressed by Lucia to Beatrice in *Inf.* ii, 107; all of which, as well as other passages in the *Divina Commedia*, such as *Purg.* xxxi, 59, seem rather to favour the view that Beatrice is here rebuking Dante for some one or more of the Seven Deadly Sins.

The words *tanto giù cadde* in l. 136, and those in ll. 127-130, seem also more suitable to moral than to intellectual failings; and the extreme shame displayed by Dante when forced to confess the truth of Beatrice's accusations, as well as the text of his confession in *Purg.* xxxi, 34-36, point rather to the same conclusion.

It must not be forgotten that the whole object of Virgil's mission was to deliver Dante from three Wild Beasts, that is to say, three of the Seven Deadly Sins,

and to bring him back to Beatrice. And it would seem to be somewhat inconsequent, therefore, to assume that, when he reached her presence, he had nothing to confess except worldly ambition or unorthodox speculations.

Benvenuto hesitates between these two views. For example, on ll. 125, 126, he says: "*mutai vita quia nupsi, diessi altrui scilicet aliis mulieribus.*" But on l. 131 he says: "*seguendo false imagini di ben scilicet honores, dignitates, magistratus, vel scientias mundanas.*"

Beatrice now speaks both historically and allegorically of their early acquaintance.

Alcun tempo\* il sostenni col mio volto ;  
Mostrando gli occhi giovinetti † a lui,  
Meco il menava in dritta parte ‡ volto.

\* *Alcun tempo*, etc.: "Cioè in puerizia, dove l' autore non cercava circa le sue cognizioni ragione alcuna, e a lui soddisfacea *quia sic est*" (Lana). By *alcun tempo* we are to understand that sixteen years had elapsed from the time that Dante had first met Beatrice, until the time that she died.

† *Mostrando gli occhi giovinetti*: "Era . . . Beatrice . . . assai leggiadretta secondo la sua fanciullezza, e ne' suoi atti gentilezza, e piacevole molto, con costumi e con parole assai più gravi e modeste che 'l suo piccolo tempo non richiedeva" (Boccaccio, *Vita di Dante*). In the *Canzone* beginning *Voi ch' intendendo*, etc., which is *Canzone i* of the *Convivio*, at the beginning of *Tr. ii*, Dante says, ll. 24, 25:—

"Chi veder vuol la salute,  
Faccia che gli occhi d' esta Donna miri."

And in *Canzone ii* of *Conv. iii*, beginning *Amor che nella mente mi ragiona*, ll. 63-65:—

"Sua beltà piove fiammelle di fuoco,  
Animate d' un spirito gentile,  
Ch' è creatore d' ogni pensier buono."

‡ *dritta parte*: Poletto (*Dizionario Dantesco*, vol. viii, *Appendice ii*) feels sure no one can doubt that this *Dritta parte* is the same as the *diritta via* of *Inf. i*, line 3:—

"Che la diritta via era smarrita."

And line 12:—

Sì tosto come in sulla soglia fui

Di mia seconda etade,\* e mutai vita,

125

Questi si tolse a me, e diessi altrui.

For some time I sustained him with my countenance ; showing him my youthful eyes, I led him with me bound on the right way. So soon as I was on the threshold of my second age (*i.e.* about twenty-five years old), and changed life (earthly for heavenly), he abandoned me, and gave himself to others.

Benvenuto takes this passage in its literal sense, implying that, when Beatrice married, Dante forgot her and thought of others, and eventually, at the solicitation of his friends, took a wife, but he adds that many explain it allegorically, that *gli occhi giovinetti* would represent the first elements of Theology, that *si tolse a me e diessi altrui* would be that he took to other and secular sciences, and that, when Beatrice died, the wife whom he afterwards married made him enter into public, municipal, and diplomatic affairs. Scartazzini follows Witte (see p. 546) in thinking that *altrui*, taken in its literal sense, refers to *la donna gentile* mentioned in the *Vita Nuova*, 30-39, and, allegorically, the philosophic speculation to which he gave himself up, after abandoning his faith ; but that, whoever *la donna gentile* may have been, she was in no way unworthy, either morally or socially, of the pure affection and holy love of a great mind like that of Dante.

"Che la verace via abbandonai."

We may contrast this with ll. 130, 131, of the present Canto :—

"E volse i passi suoi per via non vera,

Imagini di ben seguendo false."

\* *seconda etade* : In the *Convivio*, *Tr.* iv, c. 24, Dante divides human life into four ages, the first age ending at twenty-five years ; so he rightly speaks of Beatrice as just about to enter upon her second age when she died, which she did in 1290, at the age of twenty-four years and three months.

II.

LL

Beatrice continues her narrative.

Quando di carne a spirito era salita,  
E bellezza e virtù cresciuta m' era,\*  
Fu' io a lui men cara † e men gradita ;  
E volse i passi suoi per via non vera, ‡  
Imagini di ben seguendo false, §  
Che nulla promission || rendono intera.

130

\* *bellezza e virtù cresciuta m' era*: "L' anima del giusto è bella, e vigorosa: ma entro il corpo non può manifestar tutta la sua bellezza e vigoria: nel Paradiso è nella pienezza di beltà e di vita" (*La Divina Commedia dichiarata secondo i principii della filosofia*, per Lorenzo Martini, Torino, 1840, 3 vols. in 8vo. Quoted by Scartazzini). "Anima beata separata a corpore est liberior in voluntate, ratione et memoria" (Benvenuto).

† *men cara*: Scartazzini points out that Beatrice does not say that Dante altogether ceased to love her, but that his love for her grew lukewarm, and that, moreover, just when he ought to have loved her most.

‡ *volse i passi suoi per via non vera*: In *Inf.* i, 10-12, Dante says of the *selva selvaggia*, i.e. the path of sin, that he knows not how he entered it, so full of sleep was he at the time that he abandoned the true way (*che la verace via abbandonai*); and this made Virgil say to him (*ibid.* 91-93):—

"A te convien tenere altro viaggio. . . .

. . . . Se vuoi campar d' esto loco selvaggio."

Compare *Conv.* iv, 12, ll. 181-191: "Veramente così quest cammino si perde per errore, come le strade della terra . . . nella vita umana sono diversi cammini, delli quali uno è veracissimo, e un altro fallacissimo, e certi men fallaci, e certi men veraci." See other illustrations of this passage in *Readings on the Inferno*, 2nd ed. vol. i, p. 7.

§ *Imagini di ben . . . false*: Dante's own confession in answer to Beatrice's peremptory interrogatory (*Purg.* xxxi, 34-35), is the best comment on these words:—

"Piangendo dissi: 'Le presenti cose

Col falso lor piacer volser miei passi."

|| *Che nulla promission rendono intera*: Compare Boëthius, *Philosophical Cons.* lib. iii, pr. 8: "Nihil igitur dubium est, quin hæc ad beatitudinem viæ devia quædam sint, nec perducere quemquam valeant ad quod se perducaturas esse promittunt." And *ibid.* p. 9: "Hæc igitur vel imagines veri boni, vel imperfecta quædam bona dare mortalibus videntur: verum autem atque perfectum bonum conferre non possunt." On this Pietro di Dante observes: "dedit se ipse auctor mundanis et poeticis scienti infructuosus, et quæ nil promittunt integrum."

When I was risen up from flesh to spirit, and beauty and virtue had increased in me, I was less dear to him and less pleasing; and he turned his steps into a path that was untrue, following after deceptive semblances of good, which to no promise give its due fulfilment.

After thus censuring Dante for entering into the paths of error, *i.e.* into Deadly Sin (see *Inf.* ii, 107), Beatrice points out his obstinate persistence in them, which, but for her further interposition, had well-nigh resulted in the ruin of his soul.

Né impetrare ispirazion \* mi valse,  
 Con le quali ed in sogno ed altrimenti  
 Lo rivocai; † sì poco a lui ne calse. 135  
 Tanto giù cadde, che tutti argomenti  
 Alla salute sua eran già corti, ‡  
 Fuor che mostrargli le perdute genti. §  
 Per questo visitai l' uscio dei morti,  
 Ed a colui che l' ha quassù condotto, 140

\* *impetrare ispirazion*: Qui vuole l' autore mostrare che essendo in sì perverso stato, visioni alcune li avvenisse per corregger sua selvaggia via" (Lana). "E questo si puote esponere in due modi: o che in sogno Beatrice, donna di mortale ad immortale secolo trapassata, l' ammonisse, come ha detto di sopra, capitolo vigesimosettimo di questo Cantico; o vero, che la affezione, ch' ielli avea allo studio di teologia, ed in sogno ed altrimenti li mostrasse: sì come detto è delle passioni, che inducono sogno, capitolo predetto" (*Ottimo*).

† *lo rivocai*: "Lo richiamai dalla torta strada del vitio alla dritta della virtù" (Daniello). Lubin sums up the whole passage thus: "La Beatrice fiorentina gli fu occasione di darsi alla virtù, e la Beatrice celeste d' insegnarli a mantinervisi e perfezionarsi."

‡ *corti*: The *Gran Dizionario* interprets *corto* in this passage: "Iscarso, non sufficiente." "Tutti argomenti . . . A la salute sua eran già corti, imperò che non bastavano, nè erano sufficienti."

§ *le perdute genti* and *l' uscio dei morti*: Compare the words above the Gate of Hell (*Inf.* iii, 3):—

"Per me si va tra la perduta gente."

And *Inf.* viii, 84, 85:—

"Chi è costui, che senza morte

Va per lo regno della morta gente?"

In *Purg.* xxiii, 121-123, Dante says:—

Li preghi miei piangendo \* furon pôrti.

Nor did it avail me to obtain inspirations (through the grace of God), with which both in dreams and otherwise, I called him back; so little recked he. So low did he fall, that all means for his salvation had already proved insufficient, except showing him the people of perdition (*i.e.* the lost in Hell). For this purpose I visited the gateway of the dead, and to him (Virgil) who has guided him up hither, my prayers with weeping were addressed.

The whole of this episode is recounted in the Second Canto of the *Inferno*, and is often referred to in other passages.

Beatrice's concluding words are, in Benvenuto's opinion, an answer to the question of the Angels in l. 96, *Donna perchè sì lo stempre?* We shall see in the ensuing Canto, that she turns from the Angels, to whom hitherto she has been speaking, and addresses herself directly to Dante himself.

Alto fato † di Dio sarebbe rotto ‡

“. . . Costui per la profonda  
Notte menato m' ha da' veri morti,  
Con questa vera carne che il seconda.”

\* *piangendo*: Compare *Inf.* ii, 115-117:—

“Pocchia che m' ebbe ragionato questo,  
Gli occhi lucenti lagrimando volse;  
Perchè mi fece del venir più presto.”

† *Alto fato*: Scartazzini says that *l' alto fato di Dio* is God's justice. Compare Boëthius, *Phil. Cons.* lib. iv, pr. 6: “Nanque Providentia est ipsa illa divina ratio in summo omnium principum constituta, quæ cuncta disponit: Fatum vero inhærens rebus mobilibus dispositio per quam Providentia suis quæque nectit ordinibus. Providentia namque cuncta pariter, quamvis diversa quamvis infinita, complectitur: Fatum vero singula digerit in motum, locis, formis, ac temporibus distributa: ut hæc temporalis ordinis explicatio, in divinæ mentis adunata prospectu Providentia sit, eadem vero adunatio digesta, atque explicata temporibus, Fatum vocetur.” And St. Thomas Aquinas (*Summa Theol.* pars i, qu. cxvi, art. 2): “Causaliter Dei potestas, vel voluntas dici potest fatum.”

‡ *sarebbe rotto*: Compare *Inf.* ii, 96:—



Se Lete si passasse, e tal vivanda  
Fosse gustata senza alcuno scotto \*

Di pentimento che lagrime spanda." 145

God's high decree would be transgressed, if Lethe should be passed and such food (*i.e.* its living waters) should be tasted without some scot of penitence which may pour forth tears."

"Sì che duro giudizio lassù frange."

And *Purg.* i, 46, where Cato asks:—

"Son le leggi d' abisso così rotte?"

\* *scotto*: (= *Angl.* scot) is properly the food one consumes in taverns, and also the reckoning that is paid for such food. The verb *scottare* has the sense of burning oneself. See Petrocchi, *Nuovo Dizionario*: "Del dolore che si sente bruciandosi. *Questa minestra scotta*, 'This soup is scalding.'" To any one picking up a kettle one can say: "Bada che l'acqua bolle; non ti *scottare* le dita (*mind you do not burn your fingers*)."

END OF CANTO XXX.

## CANTO XXXI.

THE TERRESTRIAL PARADISE (CONTINUED)—BEATRICE REPROVES DANTE—HIS PENITENCE, CONFESSION, AND FORGIVENESS—HIS IMMERSION IN LETHE—HE IS CONDUCTED TO THE HANDMAIDENS OF BEATRICE—BEATRICE UNVEILS HERSELF TO HIM.

IN the last Canto we read of the severe reprehension of Dante by Beatrice in general terms. In the present Canto her reproaches go more into particulars.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

*In the First Division*, from ver. 1 to ver. 42, Beatrice compels Dante to confess his past errors, and their causes.

*In the Second Division*, from ver. 43 to ver. 75, she convinces him that he had no valid excuse to offer for straying from the right path.

*In the Third Division*, from ver. 76 to ver. 111, after Dante's manifestation of sincere repentance, he is immersed by Matelda in the waters of Lethe, and led up to the four Nymphs.

*In the Fourth Division*, from ver. 112 to ver. 144, Beatrice, at the request of the four Nymphs, unveils herself, and allows Dante at last to contemplate her features.

*Division I.*—We left Dante in the preceding Canto, after lamenting the departure of Virgil, being reproved by Beatrice for doing so, with the warning that he would soon have to weep for a more serious cause (*pianger ti convien per altra spada*, l. 57). In her reply to the Angels, beginning with the words "*Voi vigilate nell' eterno die*" (l. 103), she made good her words, though as yet only assailing Dante with the edge of her sword; but now in this Canto she begins to attack him with the point; that is, much more vigorously, making her words go home, forcing him fully and freely to avow his faults, and to confirm by his own admission the justice of her censure.\*

—"O tu, che sei di là dal fiume sacro,"—

Volgendo suo parlare a me per punta,

Che pur per taglio m'era paruto acro,

Ricominciò, seguendo senza cunta,†

—"Di', di',‡ se questo è vero; a tanta accusa

5

\*Tommaséo, in graceful language, sums up the opening scene of this Canto: "L' amenità del Paradiso terrestre, la dolce vista di Matelda e di Beatrice, la fiorita [*the masses of flowers*] e i canti degli Angeli, non isvestono di imagini di guerra il pensiero e la dicitura del poeta, nel *parlare acro* volto a lui, il *taglio e la punta* (ll. 2, 3); che vede nella giustizia di Dio, commisurata alla misericordia, *rivolgersi contro il taglio la ruota* (l. 14). Il prorompere della sua angoscia è assomigliato ad *arco che si rompe* (l. 16), ad *asta che tocca con men foga il segno* (l. 18). Dagli occhi di Beatrice *Amore gli trasse le sue armi* (l. 117). Il *primo strale delle cose fallaci* (ll. 55, 56) doveva levare in alto il suo volo; perchè *dinanzi ai pennuti saettasi indarno* (ll. 62, 63). Gli ostacoli al bene sono *fosse e catene* che alla via *s' attraversano* (l. 25). Il pentimento poi è *ortica che lo punge* (l. 85); il pentimento lo *morde*. Egli *scoppia sotto il carco* (l. 19) della sua vergogna, e *l' accusa del suo peccato gli scoppia* (ll. 40, 41) di bocca."

†*cunta*: "Senza cunta, cioè senza dimoranza" (Buti). From the Latin *cunctatio*, delay.

‡*Di', di'*: This is conduplication expressing vehemence of speech. "La Filosofia costringe Boezio [all through the first

Tua confession conviene esser congiunta."—

"O thou, that art on the far side of the sacred stream," turning to me the point of her discourse, which even edgeways had seemed to me so trenchant, she recommenced, continuing without a pause, "Say, say, if this be true. To so heavy a charge thine own confession must needs be conjoined."

She implies that thus alone will he be able to merit absolution.

Dante is suffocated with shame, and, for a moment is unable to utter a word. Beatrice thereupon follows up her attack.

Era la mia virtù \* tanto confusa,  
Che la voce † si mosse, e pria si spense ‡  
Che dagli organi suoi fosse dischiusa.

book of *Phil. Consol.*) a confessare i suoi falli. Bello veder questi due sapienti infelici [*i.e.* Dante and Boëthius], che dal dolore deducono cagione d'umiltà virtuosa e di lagrime sante (Tommaséo).

\* *la mia virtù*: "Intendesi la potenza naturale di usare degli organi corporali" (Brunone Bianchi). Compare Petrarch part i, *Son.* ii:—

"Era la mia virtute al cor ristretta."

Compare also *Vita Nuova*, § 15, and the Sonnet following in which in their entirety are an illustration of this passage, though too long to quote in detail.

† *voce*: Biagioli compares this passage with Virg. *Æn.* ii, 774

"Obstupui, steteruntque comæ, et vox faucibus hæsit," and considers the Virgilian line to be far inferior in beauty to that of Dante.

‡ *spense*: Compare *Par.* xxvi, 124:—

"La lingua ch' io parlai fu tutta spenta."

Tommaséo speaks with delight of the beauty of the picture in this scene, where Dante's haughty nature bows down in humility before the loveliness of Beatrice's innocence, while every word in the passage depicts him alike in mien, in gesture, in word as a helpless child that hardly dares to open its lips.

Poco sofferse,\* poi disse:—"Che pense? † 10  
 Rispondi a me; chè le memorie triste  
 In te non sono ancor dall' acqua offense." ‡—

My faculties were so confused, that my voice moved,  
 and died away before it had been set free from its  
 organs. She tarried awhile, then said: "On what  
 thinkest thou? Reply to me; for thy bitter recollec-  
 tions have not as yet been effaced by the water (of  
 Lethe)."

Dante admits his errors by a monosyllabic confession.

Confusione § e paura insieme miste  
 Mi pinsero un tal sì fuor della bocca,  
 Al quale intender fur mestier le viste. || 15

\* *sofferse*: Cesari smiles at certain Commentators who profess to give a roundabout explanation as to *sofferse* here meaning *Beatrice poco sofferse me così in silenzio* for he observes that *sofferire*, like *sostenere*, signifies of itself *aspettare*, *indugiare*. Compare *Boccaccio, Decam. Giorn. ix, Nov. 9*; "Perciocchè una gran carovana di some sopra muli e sopra cavalli passavano, convenne lor sofferir di passar [they had to wait to pass] tanto che quelle passate fossero." Cesari gives an instance from the *Vita Santa Elisab. 369* where *sostenere* is used in the same sense: "Lo suo santissimo corpo, anzi che si seppellisse, fu per divozione sostenuto quattro dì (i.e. kept back four days before it was buried)."

† *Che pense?* Virgil roused Dante from his compassionate meditation on the sorrows of Francesca da Rimini and Paolo Malatesta with the same words. (See *Inf. v, 111.*)

‡ *offense*: According to the *Gran Dizionario*, *offenso* is an adjective, the same as *offesodam*. In this particular passage it is used figuratively "per morto, spento, tolto via. Allude alla virtù dell' acque di Lete, le quali nel suo Purgatorio hanno la virtù di spegnere in chi ne beve la memoria delle colpe commesse." Biagioli interprets it *scancellate*.

§ *Confusione*: The *Gran Dizionario* interprets the word in this passage (§ 9) as signifying *Shame*, and quotes the following passage from one of the celebrated *Prediche* of the Padre Paolo Segneri (preached about 1690): "Fu tanta la confusione ch' egli n' ebbe, che cadde infermo."

|| *Al quale intender fur mestier le viste*: On this line Cesari exclaims: "Sempre e mirabile questo Dante, nel notare le più minute particolarità; di che ne riesce la verità viva e visibile. Egli fu un 'sì' tanto morto, che non sentire, ma fu convenuto agli occhi indovinare dal moto delle labbra senza più."

Shame and fear mingled together forced out of my mouth such a feeble "yes," that eyesight was requisite for it to be perceived.

Benvenuto remarks that Dante's answer was like that of a bride, when being asked by the priest if she will take the bridegroom to be her husband, her words can only be read from the lips, but rarely heard by the ear.

Dante now gives way to an outburst of grief.

Come balestro \* frange, † quando scocca  
Da troppa tesa, la sua corda e l' arco,  
E con men foga l' asta il segno tocca ;  
Si scoppia' io sott' esso grave carico,  
Fuori sgorgando lagrime e sospiri,  
E la voce allentò ‡ per lo suo varco.

As a crossbow breaks both its string and the bow, when it is discharged at too much tension, and with diminished force the bolt strikes the mark ; so did I burst out under that heavy burden (of shame and fear), pouring forth tears and sighs, and my voice faltered in its passage.

The voice nearly dies on the lips, which are the passage of the voice.

Beatrice continues her reproaches, and presses Dante to show, if he can, any just cause or excuse for his having gone astray.

Ond' ella a me :— " Per entro i miei disiri, §  
Che ti menavano ad amar lo bene

\* *balestro* : " Balestro è un fusto di legno, a modo d' archibus con arco innestatovi alla cima, donde si scocca la freccia (Cesari)."

† *frange* : Many Commentators take this as having *si* understood, *si=frange*. But Tommaséo says : " Costrutto non chiaro forse meglio intendere : Balestro frange la corda e l' arco, troppa tesi questo o quella, quand' egli scocca il dardo."

‡ *allentò* : Compare Virgil, *Æneid* xi, 150 :—  
" Et via vix tandem voci laxata dolore est."

§ *disiri* : Buti interprets the sentence *Per entro i miei disiri* " cioè per mezzo dei miei desiderî, cioè desiderî che avevi inversi"

Di là dal qual non è a che\* si aspiri,  
 Quai fossi † attraversati o quai catene 25  
 Trovasti, per che del passare innanzi  
 Dovessiti così spogliar la spene? ‡  
 E quali agevolezze o quali avanzi §  
 Nella fronte degli altri si mostraro,

me;” and Benvenuto: “idest, inter desideria quæ habebas ad me in pueritia tua, quando me sequebaris.” So again in line 54: *Dovea poi trarre te nel suo disio* = “should afterwards have attracted thee into loving it.”

\* *a che*: In *Conv.* iv, c. 22, l. 196, Dante writes: “Dio è nostra beatitudine somma.” See also Boët. *Phil. Cons.* lib. iii, pros. 10: “Deum rerum omnium principem bonum esse communis humanorum conceptio probat animorum; nam cum nihil Deo melius excogitari queat, id quo melius nihil est bonum esse quis dubitet? Ita vero bonum esse Deum ratio demonstrat, ut perfectum quoque in eo bonum esse vincat. Nam ni tale sit rerum omnium princeps esse non poterit: erit enim eo praestantius aliquid perfectum possidens bonum, quod hoc prius atque antiquius esse videatur: omnia namque perfecta minus integris priora esse claruerunt. Quare ne in infinitum ratio prodeat, confitendum est summum Deum summi perfectique boni esse plenissimum: sed perfectum bonum veram esse beatitudinem constituimus: veram igitur beatitudinem in summo Deo sitam esse necesse est.”

† *Quai fossi*, etc.: Compare Petrarch, part iv, *Son.* 4:—

“E se tornando all’ amorosa vita,  
 Per farvi al bel desio volger le spalle,  
 Trovaste per la via fossati o poggi;  
 Fu per mostrar quant’ è spinosa calle,  
 E quanto alpestra e dura la salita,  
 Onde al vero valor conven ch’ uom poggi.”

‡ *spene* and *speme* are poetic forms of *speranza* in frequent use. Compare *Inf.* xi, 111:—

“ . . . poichè in altro pon la spene.”

And Petrarch, part i, *Canzone* xvii, st. 3:—

“Or ti solleva a più beata spene.”

And Petrarch, part ii, *Ballata* i:—

“Quando fioria

Mia spene e ’l guidardon d’ ogni mia fede.”

§ *avanzi*: See *Gran Dizionario*, s. v. *Avanzo*, § 4, where this passage is quoted: “Per *Acquisto*, *Guadagno*, nel proprio e nel figurativo.” Compare Boccaccio, *Decam.* Giorn. x, *Nov.* 8: “Quali stati, qua’ meriti, quali avanzi avrebbon fatto Gisippo non curar di perder i suoi parenti e quelli di Sofronia?”

Per che dovessi lor passeggiare anzi?"\*— 30

Whereupon she to me: "Amidst the love that I inspired thee, which was leading thee on to love that Supreme Good beyond which there is nothing to which Man can aspire, what trenches didst thou find traversing thy path, or what chains (impeding thy bark), that thou shouldst strip thyself of the hope of passing onward? And what allurements or what advantages were displayed upon the face of the others (*i.e.* temporal goods), that thou shouldst have walked (astray) towards them?"

Benvenuto remarks that Beatrice's argument here is most subtle and ingenious, and may be taken in the allegorical sense that, however difficult the study of holy things may be, as it requires faith in matters that cannot be known to our natural reason; yet, when the Supreme Good was the Instructor of Dante, leading him on to the knowledge of God, every fatigue in acquiring experience of holy things ought to have seemed easy to him. Although the secular sciences have the greatest charm outwardly, yet they are in substance vain and hurtful, because they tend to vain glory, and often lead to covetousness.

In the twelve lines that follow, we learn how Dante

---

\* *lor passeggiare anzi*: Anzi in the *Gran Dizionario*, § 2, is in this passage interpreted: "Per davanti, Alla presenza." The Commentators nearly all give different meanings to the word. Benvenuto has "sequi eas." Buti thinks it means to go to meet anyone; and I follow that interpretation: "dovessi passeggiando farti loro incontra." Landino is quite different in his view of it; thinking *passeggiare anzi* means "to walk before," as servant preceding their masters, and, therefore, the sentence would imply that Dante was *in the service of* the temporal pleasures spoken of. Daniello's idea is that *passeggiare anzi* means *vagheggiarle*, *i.e.* to court or woo them, or to look upon them with the eyes of a lover: "come si suol dire degli innamorati, i quali hanno in costume di passeggiare dinanzi la casa delle amate loro." Blanc (*Voc. Dant.*) says: "dizione molto oscura."



replied to Beatrice's questions by a full confession of his weakness, how she commended him for his complete admission of his sin, and gave him hopes of forgiveness after he should have heard from her what his conduct ought to have been.

Dopo la tratta d' un sospiro amaro,  
 A pena ebbi la voce che rispose,  
 E le labbra a fatica la formarò.\*  
 Piangendo dissi:—"Le presenti cose  
 Col falso lor piacer volser miei passi; 35  
 Tosto † che il vostro viso ‡ si nascose."—

\* *la formarò* for *formarono*. Compare Virg. *Æn.* i, 370, 371:—"Quaerenti talibus ille

Suspīrans, imoque trahens a pectore vocem."

† *Tosto*, etc. Scartazzini criticises those Commentators who seek to put an allegorical interpretation on Beatrice's words in ll. 22-30. He does not admit that Dante, who was twenty-five years old when Beatrice died, had, before that time, been so given up to the study of the Holy Scriptures, or of Theology, and that he abandoned it afterwards. Is not the *Divina Commedia* itself a convincing proof that he continued that study? The word *tosto* must not be taken literally. The "*donna gentile*" with whom Dante fell in love, in consequence becoming unfaithful to the memory of Beatrice, first appeared to him, he relates in the *Vita Nuova*, § xxxv (Norton's Translation), "on that day on which the year was complete since that lady (Beatrice) was made one of the denizens of life eternal." In § xxxvi of *Vita Nuova* he says: "I saw a gentle lady, young and very beautiful, who was looking at me from a window with a face full of compassion, so that all pity seemed assembled in her." See *Readings on the Inferno*, 2nd edition, vol. i, pp. 547, 548, footnote on *l'età . . . piena*.

‡ *il vostro viso*: This is the first occasion of Dante addressing Beatrice, and we may note that, whereas she had spoken to him with the familiar *tu*, he is careful to address her with the respectful *voi*, the only mode, in Dante's time, of addressing a superior. In modern Italian, *tu* is never used except between the most intimate friends, in the family life, or to inferiors. Respect, or simply consideration, is shown by addressing people in the third person with the *Ella* or *Lei*, called in Tuscany, *dare del Lei*. *Voi* in Tuscany is seldom used, except from masters to servants, but is in constant use in ordinary conversation in society in other parts of Italy, where the *Lei* is less frequent. On Dante's marked

After the heaving of a bitter sigh, scarcely had I the voice to make an answer, and only by an effort could my lips give it utterance. Weeping I said: "The things of present life with their false pleasures turned my steps astray, so soon as your countenance was hidden from me."

By the false pleasures Dante means not only the seductions of the world, but also those of the flesh and of the devil. All, in short, that leads to sin.

Beatrice, seeing Dante's shame and evident contrition, somewhat relents, and tells him that his confession has benefited him.

Ed ella :—" Se tacessi, o se negassi  
 Ciò che confessi, non fòra men nota  
 La colpa tua ; da tal giudice sassi.  
 Ma quando scoppia dalla propria gota  
 L' accusa del peccato, in nostra corte  
 Rivolge sè contra il taglio la rota.

And she :—" Hadst thou been silent or hadst denied that which thou confessest, thy fault would not be the less manifest, by such a Judge is it known. But when the accusation of sin bursts forth from the sinner's own mouth, then in our (heavenly) Court of Justice, the grindstone turns back against the edge.

The grindstone is usually turned *with* the edge of the Sword of Justice [*sotto il taglio*], so as to sharpen it. Beatrice means that, after the confession of the penitent, it would be made to revolve in the opposite direction [*contra il taglio*], so as to blunt the edge. Divine mercy disarms Divine justice.\*

distinction between *voi* and *tu*, see *Readings on the Inferno*, 2nd ed. vol. i, pp. 365-367.

\* "Questo è uno de' tratti maestri di Dante, che trae a se forma il concetto con quelle forme che vuole; e qui è un dire: Quando il peccator si confessa; e Dio muta la sua sentenza;

*Division II.*—Beatrice now, by way of proving to Dante that he has no valid excuse to offer for having strayed out of the right path, shows him the emptiness and folly of his transgressions, which, if excusable in an inexperienced stripling, are not so by any means in a man of mature age.

Tuttavia, perchè mo vergogna porte  
 Del tuo errore, e perchè altra volta  
 Udendo le Sirene sie più forte, 45  
 Pon giù il seme del piangere, ed ascolta ;  
 Sì udirai come in contraria parte  
 Mover doveati mia carne sepolta.

All the same, that thou mayest now feel shame for thy error, and that another time thou mayest be stronger if hearing the Sirens (*i.e.* the temptations of pleasure), lay aside the source of thy tears (*i.e.* shame and fear), and listen ; so wilt thou hear how my death (*lit.* my buried flesh) should have led thee in the contrary direction (to that of earthly pleasures).

Scartazzini explains that by the seed of weeping is meant the *grave carco* (line 19), *di confusione e paura insieme miste* (line 13). Beatrice wanted Dante's full attention to the words she was about to address to him. One who is oppressed by shame and fear is not in the best condition of mind to follow attentively the grave discourse of another.

Benvenuto says that by the Sirens are to be understood the liberal arts and sciences, and poetry. He adds that St. Jerome called finely written words the Devil's bait, and said that he was once himself ensnared by them, at a time when the Holy Scriptures seemed to be rough and uncultivated writing ; but that when he

---

la colpa non gli è più reputata ; presa la immagine dalla cote [*the whet-stone*], che si mangia il taglio del coltello da sè affilato, rodendo di costa " (Cesari).

abandoned the liberal arts and sciences, and turned his thoughts wholly to religion, the words of the Scriptures seemed the food of the Angels.

Beatrice now argues that if love for her was to be preferred to love for others by reason of her excellence, and that failed her, he should have turned his love away from all mortal things.

Mai non t' appresentò \* natura o arte  
 Piacer, quanto le belle membra † in ch' io 50  
 Rinchiusa fui, e sono in terra sparte :  
 E se il sommo piacer sì ti fallio  
 Per la mia morte, ‡ qual cosa mortale  
 Dovea poi trarre te nel suo disio ? §

\* *Mai non t' appresentò*, et seq.: The poet Alfieri, in one of his unpublished marginal notes quoted by Biagioli, says: "Fu veramente Beatrice una di quelle divine, soprannaturali e straordinarie bellezze, che veggonsi tratto tratto risplendere fra di noi, come stelle, sotto 'l corporeo e terrestre velo, immagini più sincere della bellezza di lassù, e degne ch' ogni gentil cuor arda sui loro altari il purissimo incenso di meraviglia e amore." Casini (*La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri con il commento di Tomaso Casini*, quarta edizione, riveduta e corretta. Firenze, 1895, 16mo) says: "Della bellezza corporea di Beatrice sono pochi e delicati accenni nelle poesie di Dante, ma tutti ce la presentano come sovrumana e straordinaria; basterebbe ricordare anche solo i versi della famosa canzone della *Vita Nuova*, § xix, st. 4:—

‘Dice di lei Amor: Cosa mortale  
 Come esser può sì adorna e sì pura ?  
 Poi la riguarda, e fra sè stesso giura  
 Che Dio ne intende di far cosa nuova.  
 Color di perla quasi informa, quale  
 Convieni a donna aver, non fuor misura :  
 Ella è quanto di ben può far natura ;  
 Per esempio di lei beltà si prova.’”

† *le belle membra*: Compare *Conv.* i, cap. 5, ll. 95-97. And *Conv.* iv, cap. 25, ll. 128-138. The meaning of what Beatrice says to Dante is, that it never would be possible for him to find greater delight than her beauty presented.

‡ *Per la mia morte*: Scartazzini begs us to observe that there is no doubt that Beatrice is here speaking of her real and literal, not her figurative death.

§ *nel suo disio*: Scartazzini thinks the whole sense of ll. 49-54 is this: "My beauty (says Beatrice) offered to thee the most exalted

Never did Nature or Art set before thee such a delight as the fair members (*i.e.* form) wherein I was enclosed, and they are now crumbled into dust. And if the chiefest delight thus failed thee through my death, what mortal thing should afterwards have attracted thee into loving it?

Benvenuto says that, as Beatrice seemed to Dante more beautiful than any other woman, so in an allegorical sense the science of Theology is the most beautiful of all sciences; and *le belle membra*, from this point of view, would mean all the Theological writings dispersed throughout the world. In the same way, *qual cosa mortale* may signify "what mortal science."

Beatrice continues her reproaches, telling Dante that, having been once deceived, he ought never to have been led astray a second time.

Ben ti dovevi, per lo primo strale \* 55  
Delle cose fallaci, levar suso  
Diretro a me che non era più tale.

delight; this delight failed thee at my death, and thou wert left in despair. Thou oughtest not then to have let thyself be allured by any other earthly love, so as not to be left in despair a second time.

\* *Ben ti dovevi, per lo primo strale*, etc. "Questo testo è chiaro. Dice Beatrice: poichè la mia carne e le belle membra, che tanto piacere ti rappresentarono, erano fallite (il quale fu *lo primo strale delle cose fallaci*, che più ti punse), tu non dovevi attendere, nè operare, sì che un altro te ne fosse saettato. E dice, che nè quella giovane, le quale elli nelle sue *Rime* chiamò pargoletta, nè quella Lisetta, nè quell' altra montanina, nè quella, nè quell' altra li dovevano gravare le penne delle ali in giù, tanto ch' elli fosse ferito da uno simile, o quasi simile, strale" (*Ottimo*). "*Pel primo strale*: cioè, pel primo colpo che ti dette la fortuna quando ti tolse il mio corpo" (Landino). Scartazzini thinks that *lo primo strale* certainly meant the death of Beatrice, and therefore she tells him that when thus wounded, and losing the *sommo piacere*, *i.e.* the contemplation of her beautiful form (*le belle membra*), he ought to have understood that all earthly joys are transitory and perishable, and consequently should have ceased to follow after them, for fear of being struck by a second shaft. He should have aspired alone to eternal and incorruptible joys.

Non ti dovea gravar le penne in giuso,  
 Ad aspettar più colpi, o pargoletta,\*  
 O altra vanità con sì breve uso.  
 Nuovo augelletto † due o tre ‡ aspetta ;  
 Ma dinanzi dagli occhi dei pennuti  
 Rete si spiega indarno o si saetta.<sup>19</sup>—

Thou shouldst in sooth, (when stricken) by the first shaft of the perishable things (of the world), have soared aloft after me, who (having attained immortality) was no longer of such sort. Nor should thy wings have been weighed down to abide further heart-strokes, whether of a young girl, or other vanity

\* *o pargoletta*: Dante uses *parvoletti* for *bambini* in *Par.* xxv 128. One of his canzoni (*Ballata* vi) begins "Io mi son pargoletta bella e nuova." Scartazzini says that the general consensus opinion agrees that Beatrice here alludes to a girl. Benvenuto and others think rather that it is Gentucca of Lucca who is meant. But Beatrice is reproving Dante for *past* loves, not for what are in the *future*. Dante had not, at the time of his supposed mystical journey, even seen Gentucca. One hardly need go deeply into all the opinions that are held as to *pargoletta* but from the context two things seem pretty clear. First, that Beatrice is not speaking of abstractions, but of real persons; secondly, that she is not speaking of any one special person but of young women generally.

† *Nuovo augelletto*, et seq. Talice da Ricaldone (*La Commedia di Dante Alighieri col commento inedito di Stefano Talice da Ricaldone fatta pubblicare da S.M. Umberto I, Re d' Italia, per cura di Vincenzo Promis e di Carlo Negroni, Torino, 1886, folio*) has the following comment on these three lines: "*Nuovo augelletto*: et adducit comparationem avium, dicens quod nova avis spectat duas balestas sed avis pennata et antiqua non spectat ultra. Unde Salomo (*Prov. i, 17, Vulgate*): *frusta jacitur rete ante oculos pennatorum*. Quasi dicat: si in juventute errasti, certe debes te corrigere in virilitate; sed nimis senuisti in istis vanitatibus." Compare also *Eccles. vii, 27 (Vulgate)*: "Et inveni amariorem morte mulierem quæ laqueus venatorum est, et sagena cor ejus." Dante evidently took this *terzina* from these two passages.

‡ *due o tre*: Benvenuto reads *due otte*. *Otta* is an ancient form of *ora*, and he explains it "*aspetta due otte, scilicet, percussione antequam fugiat vel evadat.*" Compare *Inf. xxi, 112-114*:—

"Ier, più oltre cinqu' ore che quest' otta,  
 Mille dugento con sessanta sei  
 Anni compìè, che qui la via fu rotta."

of such-like brief enjoyment. Only a fledgeling awaits two or three (shots); but before the eyes of the full plumaged birds the net is spread in vain or the arrow shot."

Dante is unable to utter a word in self-defence.

Quali i fanciulli \* vergognando muti,  
 Con gli occhi a terra, stannosi ascoltando, 65  
 E sè riconoscendo, e ripentuti,†  
 Tal mi stava io. Ed ella disse:—"Quando  
 Per udir sei dolente, alza la barba,  
 E prenderai più doglia riguardando."‡—

Even as children silent in shame stand listening with their eyes upon the ground, both avowing their fault and repentant, so was I standing. And she said: "Since thou art distressed through hearing, raise up thy beard, and thou wilt feel more grief from looking."

Beatrice commands Dante to raise his *beard*, instead of his face, by way of reminding him that he is a full-

\* *fanciulli*: In the *Convivio* iv, 19, ll. 95-98, Dante uses very similar words: "Buono e ottimo segno di Nobiltà è nelli pargoli e imperfetti d' etade, quando, dopo il fallo, nel viso loro vergogna si dipigne, ch' è allora frutto di vera Nobiltà."

† *ripentuti*: Compare Guido da Montefeltro's description of his contrition for his sins, *Inf.* xxvii, 83: ". . . pentuto e confesso mi rendei." And *Conv.* iv, 25, ll. 43, 44: "A questa età è necessario d' essere penitente del fallo, sicchè non s' aùsi a fallare."

‡ *riguardando*: "Mirabile fecondità dell' ingegno di Dante! come rincalza la sua materia del mostrare la sua confusione! Fino ad ora era stato sempre ad occhi bassi; et udendo le trafitture di Beatrice, ne avea avuto buona derrata. [This may either mean *had had a liberal share of them, or, had got off tolerably cheap*]; ora dee anche sguardar in viso il suo giudice: che vorrà essere? e quanta pena a dover levare il viso verso di lei!" (Cesari). On this passage Gioberti, whose Commentary has been almost silent since Canto xxiii, writes: "Che novità di concetto! L' ultimo verso di questa terzina torna inaspettato [takes us quite by surprise]: e dà l' esempio questa terzina di quella tragica e sublime ironia che si bene adoperarono il Shakespeare e l' Alfieri." Gioberti only makes one more comment in the *Purgatorio* after this, and only two or three in the whole of the *Paradiso*! Gioberti's Dante studies suffered from the time that he gave to politics.

grown man, and cannot plead the extenuating circumstances of youth, while she knows besides that to look her in the face will disconcert him still more.

Dante obeys, but relates that he could scarcely overcome his strong reluctance to looking Beatrice in the face while she was reproving him.

Con men di resistenza si dibarba  
 Robusto cerro, o vero al nostral vento,\*  
 O vero a quel della terra di Iarba,  
 Ch' io non levai al suo comando il mento;  
 E quando per la barba il viso chiese,  
 Ben conobbi il velen dell' argomento.†

With less resistance is a stout oak uprooted, either by a native (*i.e.* northern) gale, or by that from the

\* *nostral vento*, et seq. Il *vento nostrale* means the North wind, the *Tramontana*, which coming from Europe was called by the Italians *Nostrale*. The adjective is of common use, especially in Tuscany, to denote "of or belonging to the country." *Vento nostrale* "wine of the country"; *olio nostrale*, "oil of the country." Compare Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* xliii, st. 108:—

"E quivi Adonio a comandare al cane  
 Incominciò, ed il cane a ubbidir lui;  
 E far danze nostral, farne d' estrane."

In *Inf.* xxii, 9, Dante calls things native and foreign "*cei nostrali e . . . istrane*." In the same way that the North wind is called *nostrale* as blowing from Europe, so Dante characterises the South wind as being breathed from Africa, which he calls *la terra d' Iarba* after Iarbas or Hiarbas, King of Gætulia in Libya, from whom Dido bought the land for building Carthage.

† *velen dell' argomento*: On pp. 545, 546, I have fully discussed the question as to what sins it was that Beatrice was laying to Dante's charge, and I feel convinced that the *selva oscura* in which at the beginning of the *Inferno*, he was said to be wandering, was that of deadly sin. Dante's close relations with Forese, the brother of Corso de' Donati, who was a man of pleasure, and the six sonnets exchanged between the two, certainly indicate a lapse from strict morality. In *Purg.* xxiii, 115, Dante says to Forese:

" . . . Se ti riduci a mente  
 Qual fosti meco e quale io teco fui,  
 Ancor fia grave il memorar presente."



land of Iarbas (*i.e.* from the South-East), than I raised my chin at her command; and when by "beard" she asked for my face, well understood I the venom of her allusion.

*Division III.*—Dante now relates how, after his penitence and confession, he was washed in the river Lethe, and then conducted to the four Nymphs who represent the four Cardinal Virtues. But first he shows how the Angels gave him an opportunity of seeing Beatrice. He rivets his eyes upon her, and gets full proof of how superhuman is her beauty. She, however, does not apparently pay any further attention for the nonce to her faithless lover.

E como la mia faccia si distese,  
 Posarsi quelle prime creature \*  
 Da loro aspersion l' occhio comprese :  
 E le mie luci, ancor poco sicure,  
 Vider Beatrice vòlta in sulla fiera, 80  
 Ch' è sola una persona in due nature.  
 Sotto suo velo, ed oltre la riviera †

\* *prime creature*: See St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summ. Theol.* pars i, qu. lxi, art. 3; where, with reference to the question *Utrum Angeli sint creati ante mundum corporeum*, St. Thomas replies: "Respondeo dicendum quòd circa hoc invenitur duplex sanctorum doctorum sententia. Illa tamen probabilior videtur, quòd angeli simul cum creatura corporea sunt creati." After quoting some words of St. Jerome, St. Thomas adds: "dicendum quòd Hieronymus loquitur secundum sententiam doctorum græcorum, qui omnes hoc concorditer sentiunt, quòd angeli sunt ante mundum corporeum creati."

† *oltre la riviera Vincer*: Scartazzini says that the reading with *vincer* in both lines makes the sense difficult, but the reading has the authority of all the older Codices. Witte has an excellent alternative reading, but unfortunately lacking good authority:—

"Sotto suo velo, ed oltre la riviera  
 Vincer pareami più sè stessa antica,  
 Che vincea l' altre qui, quand' ella c' era."

Bengel's famous canon of criticism *Proclivi lectioni præstat ardua* reminds us that the more difficult reading is to be preferred.

Vincer pareami più sè stessa antica,  
Vincer che l' altre qui, quand' ella c' era.

And when my face was turned up again, my sight perceived that those primal Beings (the Angels) had ceased from their strewing of flowers; and my eyes, as yet but little reassured, beheld Beatrice turned round towards the animal (the Gryphon) that is One Person only (Jesus Christ) in two-fold nature (*i.e.* God and Man). (Even) under her veil, and on the far side of the stream, she seemed to me to surpass her former self (in loveliness), to surpass it more than (she surpassed) all others when she was here (on earth).

The sight of Beatrice's celestial beauty is to Dante the decisive moment; it completes, by resuscitating his love, what fear, confusion, and shame have been preparing in his mind. Now that he feels so much penitence for his past life, he will soon be fit to pass through Lethe. He falls unconscious to the ground.

Di penter sì mi punse \* ivi l' ortica,  
Che di tutt' altre cose, qual mi torse  
Più nel suo amor, più mi si fe' nimica.

85

There is another reading, by which the word *verde* agreeing with *riviera* is substituted for the first *Vincer*. It is plausible, but lacks authority. One MS. reads *Vieppiù* instead of the second *Vincer*. The reading I have adopted is that preferred by Moore in his new text, and which is also found in the *First Four Editions*, the four *codici* of Witte, in the *Codice Cassinese*, and in the *Viennese*. Dr. Moore wrote to me in 1905: "I have examined here about 40 MSS. and all have *Vincer* in both lines."

\* *Di penter sì mi punse*: The *Ottimo* comments happily on this: "Dice l' Autore, che quando il suo viso porse in quello di Beatrice, che allora si videro chiari ed aperti li suoi peccati, aggravati di tutte circostanze di condizione, di persona, di luogo, e di tempo; che elli fu ditanta penitenza percosso e punto, che *quanto* ciascuna cosa temporale e mondana infino allora più l' aveva torto nel suo amore, *cotanto* li venne in maggior odio; perocchè *cotanto* per quella senti maggiore afflizione, perciocchè al fallo fu data corrispondente pena; onde per non essere mai più così punto, dice, sè odiarle ciascuna, secondo il grado ch' egli l' amò."

Tanta riconoscenza\* il cor mi morse,  
 Ch' io caddi vinto,† e quale allora femmi,  
 Salsi colei che la cagion mi porse.

90

The nettle of remorse so stung me thereupon, that of all other things, whatever (in the past) had most turned me to its love, now became to me the most abhorred. So much self-conviction gnawed my heart, that I sank down overcome, and what I then became, she (Beatrice) knows, who furnished me with the cause (of my swoon by her severe reproofs).

When Dante recovers consciousness, he finds that his immersion in the waters of Lethe by Matelda has already commenced.

\* *riconoscenza*: Tommaséo (*Dizionario dei Sinonimi*, § 1327) says that the word in the sense of self-recognition is now obsolete, but the meaning is preserved in the expression *riconoscimento dei falli*. See *Gran Dizionario* s.v. *riconoscere*, § 19: "riconoscere un errore, un peccato, o simile, vale Confessarlo." Giov. Villani (viii, 92) when describing the persecution of the Templars by Philippe le Bel, uses *riconoscere* several times in that sense. "Il re Luis . . . gli fece tormentare . . . e non si trovava che niente volessono di ciò confessare nè riconoscere . . . Ammonendogli, che quale di loro volesse riconoscere l' errore e' peccati loro opposti potesse scampare; e in su questo martorio confortati [*encouraged*] da' loro parenti e amici che riconoscessonno, niuno di loro il volle confessare."

† *caddi vinto*: Scartazzini draws attention to Dante falling down in a swoon, and says it is a symbol of dying to sin to rise again to grace. It is the second time that Dante has so fallen. The first occasion is told in *Inf.* v, 140-142, when, after witnessing the anguish of Francesca da Rimini, he says of himself:—

"Sì, che di pietade  
 Io venni men così com' io morisse;  
 E caddi, come corpo morto cade."

There he was, perhaps, not only struck with compassion, but also with compunction at the sight of the penalty for a sin of which he is himself not altogether innocent. Here in this Canto, Beatrice reproves him for these same faults, and her censure has the same effect on him as had the sufferings and tears of Francesca. We must take it for granted that, as soon as Dante fell down fainting on the bank of Lethe, Matelda crossed the river from the opposite bank, and drew him still unconscious into the water, and not until she had plunged him up to the chin did he recover his senses.

Poi quando il cor di fuor virtù rendemmi,\*  
 La Donna ch' io avea trovata sola,  
 Sopra me vidi, e dicea:—"Tiemmi † tiemmi."—  
 Tratto m' avea nel fiume infino a gola,  
 E tirandosi me dietro, sen giva  
 Sopr' esso ‡ l' acqua, lieve come spola.

95

Then when my heart restored to me my outward faculties, I saw standing over me the Lady whom I had found (wandering) alone, and (she) was saying: "Hold me fast, hold me fast." She had drawn me into the stream up to my throat, and dragging me after her, was speeding over the water as lightly as a shuttle.

Instead of *spola*, Benvenuto reads *scola*, which he says is a kind of long light vessel, suitable for naval war-

\* *quando il cor di fuor virtù rendemmi*: Compare *Purg.* xv, 115, 116:—

"Quando l' anima mia tornò di fuori  
 Alle cose, che son fuor di lei vere," etc.

And *Inf.* vi, 1:—

"Al tornar della mente, che si chiuse."

Scartazzini explains that, on Dante's feeling the sting of repentance, his heart restored to him di *fuori*, *i.e.* to his outward senses, those powers that had previously been all concentrated within him.

† *Tiemmi*: I had never till now heard of any other interpretation of this passage than the one I have adopted, namely, that Dante represents Matelda saying to Dante, "Hold me fast." But I see that Poletto, in his Commentary, contends that it must have been Dante, in terror at finding himself in the water up to the chin, who called to Matelda not to let him go. I offer no opinion upon the subject, but follow the usual translation. Anyhow, had it been Dante who was speaking, it would probably have been a more appropriate mode of expressing himself for him to say "*dissi*" = "I said," rather than "*dicea*" = "I (or she) was saying."

‡ *Sopr' esso*: Blanc says (*Vocab. Dant.*) that *esso* in this compound word is an indeclinable pronoun, and, when placed between the preposition and the noun, has no other function than that of making the phrase more precise, so that here *sopr' esso* would have the signification, *proprio sopra*, right over, right above. Compare *Purg.* xxiv, 98:—

"Ed io rimasi in via con esso i due."

And *Purg.* iv, 26, 27:—

"Montasi su Bismantova in cacume  
 Con esso i pié."

fare and for war. Buti and nearly all the old Commentators read *spola*.

While yet immersed in the water, Dante hears the soft cadences of a chant.

Quando fui presso alla beata riva,  
*Asperges me* \* sì dolcemente udissi,  
 Ch' io nol so rimembrar, non ch' io lo scriva.†

When I was near the blessed shore, I heard *Asperges me* so sweetly (sung), that I cannot recall it to mind, much less can I tell it in writing.

---

\**Asperges me*: The words are from *Psalm* li, 7, "Purge me with hyssop, etc.;" in the Vulgate, *Psalm* l, 9, "Asperges me hyssopo, et mundabor; lavabis me, et super nivem dealbabor." The words *Asperges me* are used in the Roman Church, when the priest sprinkles the penitent with holy water after confession, and before absolution. In *Inferno* xiv, 136-138, in answer to Dante's question as to where

#### ERRATUM.

*Footnote on page 553.*

\* Dr. L. C. Casartelli, R.C. Bishop of Salford, in a letter dated 4th December, 1907, writes to me: "Just a word on '*Asperges*'. The priest never sprinkles the penitent with holy water after confession and before absolution. I daresay it is done in some Oriental rites, but never now in the Western Catholic Church. I say now, because possibly it may have been done in early ages. The '*Asperges*' is now used (1) before High Mass, when the whole congregation is sprinkled; (2) on entering the sick-room, before the Sacraments are administered; (3) in certain other rites: at funerals, marriages, religious clothings, blessings, etc. etc."

forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus."

† *non ch' io lo scriva*: Compare *Par.* xxiv, 23, 24:—

"Si volse con un canto tanto divo,  
 Che la mia fantasia nol mi ridice."

And in *Vita Nuova*, § xxi, Sonnet xi:—

"Quel ch' ella par quand' un poco sorride,  
 Non si può dicer, nè tener a mente."

fare and for war. Buti and nearly all the old Commentators read *spola*.

While yet immersed in the water, Dante hears the soft cadences of a chant.

Quando fui presso alla beata riva,  
*Asperges me* \* sì dolcemente udissi,  
 Ch' io nol so rimembrar, non ch' io lo scriva.†

When I was near the blessed shore, I heard *Asperges me* so sweetly (sung), that I cannot recall it to mind, much less can I tell it in writing.

\**Asperges me*: The words are from *Psalm* li, 7, "Purge me with hyssop, etc.;" in the Vulgate, *Psalm* l, 9, "*Asperges me hyssopo, et mundabor; lavabis me, et super nivem dealbabor.*" The words *Asperges me* are used in the Roman Church, when the priest sprinkles the penitent with holy water after confession, and before absolution. In *Inferno* xiv, 136-138, in answer to Dante's question as to where, in the world of departed spirits, is the river Lethe, Virgil replies:—

"Letè vedrai, ma fuor di questa fossa,  
 Là dove vanno l' anime a lavarsi  
 Quando la colpa pentuta è rimossa."

Poletto, in his Commentary, contends at length that Dante was not immersed in Lethe for the purpose of receiving a second absolution; but, in accordance with what Virgil had foretold him in the above quotation, to have all memory of his repented and absolved sins extinguished in him; and that the river Lethe is but one of the many mercies of God, Who even on earth so operates, that the sinner, after long and sincere repentance, loses the memory of his former sins, in so far as the recollection of them might be an incentive to other sins, or be hurtful to his inward peace. And this blessed forgetfulness of sin is but a foretaste, while on earth, of an anticipated Paradise. This idea may remind one of the words of St. Paul (*Philip.* iii, 13, 14): "Brethren, I count not myself to have apprehended: but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus."

† non ch' io lo scriva: Compare *Par.* xxiv, 23, 24:—

"Si volse con un canto tanto divo,  
 Che la mia fantasia nol mi ridice."

And in *Vita Nuova*, § xxi, Sonnet xi:—

"Quel ch' ella par quand' un poco sorride,  
 Non si può dicer, nè tener a mente."

fare and for war. Buti and nearly all the old Commentators read *spola*.

While yet immersed in the water, Dante hears the soft cadences of a chant.

Quando fui presso alla beata riva,  
*Asperges me* \* sì dolcemente udissi,  
 Ch' io nol so rimembrar, non ch' io lo scriva. †

When I was near the blessed shore, I heard *Asperges me* so sweetly (sung), that I cannot recall it to mind, much less can I tell it in writing.

---

\**Asperges me*: The words are from *Psalm* li, 7, "Purge me with hyssop, etc.;" in the Vulgate, *Psalm* l, 9, "Asperges me hyssopo, et mundabor; lavabis me, et super nivem dealbabor." The words *Asperges me* are used in the Roman Church, when the priest sprinkles the penitent with holy water after confession, and before absolution. In *Inferno* xiv, 136-138, in answer to Dante's question as to where, in the world of departed spirits, is the place of the living,

#### ERRATUM.

*Footnote on page 553.*

\* Dr. L. C. Casartelli, R.C. Bishop of Salford, in a letter dated 4th December, 1907, writes to me: "Just a word on '*Asperges*'. The priest never sprinkles the penitent with holy water after confession and before absolution. I daresay it is done in some Oriental rites, but never now in the Western Catholic Church. I say now, because possibly it may have been done in early ages. The '*Asperges*' is now used (1) before High Mass, when the whole congregation is sprinkled; (2) on entering the sick-room, before the Sacraments are administered; (3) in certain other rites: at funerals, marriages, religious clothings, blessings, etc. etc."

forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus."

† *non ch' io lo scriva*: Compare *Par.* xxiv, 23, 24:—

"Si volse con un canto tanto divo,  
 Che la mia fantasia nol mi ridice."

And in *Vita Nuova*, § xxi, Sonnet xi:—

"Quel ch' ella par quand' un poco sorride,  
 Non si può dicer, nè tener a mente."

The sweet notes of Casella's song were still sounding in Dante's inner being as he wrote his poem after returning to the world [*la dolcezza ancor dentro mi suona*]; but the song of the Angels is too much for the human mind to retain.

He is now made to swallow the water of Lethe.

La bella Donna nelle braccia aprissi, 10  
 Abracciommi la testa, e mi sommerse,  
 Ove convenne ch' io l' acqua inghiottissi ; \*  
 Indi mi tolse, e bagnato mi offerse  
 Dentro alla danza delle quattro belle,  
 E ciascuna del braccio † mi coperse. 10

The beautiful Lady opened her arms, embraced my head, and submerged me, where I had perforce to swallow the water; she then drew me forth, and presented me dripping within the dance of the four beautiful ones, and each of them covered me with her arm.

The four Cardinal Virtues, in the form of four maidens were dancing by the left wheel of the chariot. The above passage may be taken to mean that, when a man by sacerdotal confession and absolution has been removed from the act and guilt of sin, he is passed on into the company of the Cardinal Virtues, in order that he may behold the happiness of practising these virtues and may be the better prepared for the three higher virtues, the handmaidens of sacred Theology. And when

\* *inghiottissi*: Matelda had told Dante (*Purg.* xxviii, 130-13) that the water of the Terrestrial Paradise could not be operative of good effect unless it were tasted in both its branches after its bifurcation, namely Lethe for forgetfulness of evil, and Eunoe for knowledge of good.

† *ciascuna del braccio mi coperse*: "i.e. colla sua possanza e col suo aiuto. Imperocchè il braccio della giustizia difende dall' iniquità la giustizia; la prudenza dalla stoltizia; la forza dalla timidità; la temperanza dalla libidine" (Landino).



each of the four maidens covered Dante with her arms, it was, as it were, a promise that that particular virtue would, from that moment, protect him from the sin to which that virtue is opposed.

The four damsels now address Dante.

— "Noi siam qui ninfe, e nel ciel siamo stelle ;\*  
 Pria che Beatrice discendesse al mondo,†  
 Fummo ordinate a lei per sue ancelle.  
 Menrenti agli occhi suoi ; ma nel giocondo ‡  
 Lume ch' è dentro aguzzeranno § i tuoi  
 Le tre di là,|| che miran più profondo."— 110

"Here we are nymphs, and in Heaven we are stars ; before Beatrice had descended into the World we were ordained unto her for her handmaidens. We will lead thee before her eyes, but to behold the joyous light that is within (them), thy sight must be sharpened by the Three on the far side (of the chariot), who discern more deeply."

Before Beatrice, who is Ecclesiastical Authority, descended into the world, which she only did after the In-

\* *nel ciel siamo stelle* : Scartazzini thinks it is evident from these words that the four Maidens made Dante to understand that they are "*le quattro chiare stelle*," which guided Dante's steps, as he tells in *Purg.* viii, 91, and whose rays illumined the face of Cato (*Purg.* i, 23).

† *Pria che Beatrice discendesse al mondo* : i.e. at her birth. Compare what Dante says of her in the *Vita Nuova*, § xxvi, *Son.* 15 :—

"E par che sia una cosa venuta  
 Di cielo in terra a miracol mostrare."

‡ *giocondo Lume* : Compare Virg. *Æn.* vi, 363, 364 :—

"Quòd te per cœli jucundum lumen, et auras,  
 Per genitorem oro, per spem surgentis Iuli."

§ *aguzzeranno* : Compare *Inf.* xv, 20, 21 :—

"E sì vèr noi aguzzavan le ciglia,  
 Come 'l vecchio sartor fa nella cruna."

|| *Le tre di là* : In *Conv.* iii, 14, ll. 136-141, after speaking at length of the three Theological Virtues, Dante concludes by saying : "Per le quali tre virtù si sale a filosofare a quella Atene celestiale, dove gli Stoici e Peripatetici ed Epicurei, per l' arte della Verità eterna, in un volere concordevolmente concorrono."

carnation of Jesus Christ, the four Cardinal Virtues were appointed as her satellites, preparing men's minds, by disposing them to virtuous and holy lives, in order that the seeds of Theology might the more readily bear fruit in them.

Scartazzini says: "There can be no doubt whatever that there is an allegory in these lines. But Beatrice, as we have noticed before, does not symbolize Theology in the abstract, but rather Ecclesiastical Authority, personified by the Supreme Pontiff, the Pope. The business of that authority is, like that of Beatrice in the *Divina Commedia*, to direct Man to Heaven, or to the blessedness of Life Eternal. Now the Cardinal Virtues are those which formerly, in the Gentile world, prepared the way for Christianity, of which Ecclesiastical Authority is the head. They had then been appointed handmaidens to Ecclesiastical Authority of old, before the foundation of the Church. The Cardinal Virtues prepare Man, and render him fit to recognize the demonstrations of Truth, driving away from his mind the passions which darken his intellect. To arrive afterwards at a full knowledge of celestial and divine truths, the Theological Virtues are requisite, which refine the mind, and fit it to contemplate divine things, because God opens His secrets, as Landino observes, to whoever has sincere Faith, firm Hope, and burning Love."

*Division IV*,—Dante now relates how he attained a more complete cognizance of Beatrice, and how the Four Handmaidens led him forward and invited him to look at her. We saw in Canto xxx, 61-69, that she was standing on the left-hand edge of the chariot still covered by her veil, and we have just read in l. 80 of this canto,



Thus singing, they began ; and then led me with them to the breast (*i.e.* in front) of the Gryphon, where Beatrice was standing turned towards us. " See," said they, " that thou spare not thy gaze ; we have placed thee in front of the emeralds, whence in days gone by Love drew forth his darts against thee."

By emeralds Dante means either to express the brightness or the colour of Beatrice's eyes.

Dante at once obeys this command, and describes with a wonder which he entreats his readers to realize how in Beatrice's eyes (*i.e.* in Divine Theology, rather Ecclesiastical Authority) he saw reflected the Gryphon, by which he means Jesus Christ, at one moment displaying His human nature, at another His divine ; at one moment bearing a literal, at another an allegorical sense. Sometimes as the Lamb, and sometimes as the Lion.

Many Commentators think that Dante here wishes to show that Theology ought to contemplate Christ one time as God, and at another as Man, so as not to confound His two natures.

Mille disiri \* più che fiamma caldi  
Strinsermi gli occhi agli occhi rilucenti,  
Che pur † sopra il grifone stavan saldi.

" Dagli occhi della mia Donna si muove  
Un lume sì gentil, che dove appare  
Si vedon cose, ch' uom non può ritrare  
Per loro altezza e per loro esser nuove.  
E da' suoi raggi sopra 'l mio cor piove  
Tanta paura, che mi fa tremare."

\* *Mille disiri* : Compare *Conv.* iii, *Canzone* ii, ll. 34-36 :—

" E gli occhi di color, dov' ella luce,  
Ne mandan messi al cor pien di disiri,  
Che prendon aere e diventan sospiri."

† *pur* is here equivalent to *continuamente*. Compare *Psalms* 15 : " Mine eyes are ever towards the Lord."

Come in lo specchio il sol,\* non altrimenti  
 La doppia fiera dentro vi raggiava,  
 Or con uni, or con altri reggimenti.†  
 Pensa, lettor, s' io mi maravigliava,  
 Quando vedea la cosa in sè star queta,  
 E nell' idolo suo si trasmutava.‡

125

A thousand desires more burning than fire riveted my eyes upon the translucent eyes (of Beatrice), that still remained fixed upon the Gryphon. As the Sun in a mirror, even so was that two-fold animal beaming (*i.e.* reflected) therein, now with the actions of one nature, now with those of the other. Think, Reader, if I marvelled within me, when I saw the thing stay motionless in itself, and yet in its image (reflected in Beatrice's eyes) undergoing transformations.

Dante now relates how the other three Damsels on the right hand side of the chariot came forward. We know that they represent the three Theological Virtues, and he describes them as giving evidence, by

\* *Come in lo specchio il sol*: Venturi (*Similitudini Dantesche*, p. 90, sim. 142) notices that Dante has imitated this from Ovid, *Metam.* iv, 348, 349:—

“Non aliter, quam cum puro nitidissimus orbe  
 Opposita speculi referitur imagine Phœbus.”

Venturi thinks Dante may have taken this simile from the passage (which he also quotes in *Conv.* iii, 15, ll. 190-192) from *Wisdom*, vii, 26: “For she [Wisdom] is the brightness of the everlasting light, the unspotted mirror of the power of God, and the image of his goodness.”

† *reggimenti*: “Dove la divina luce più espeditamente raggia, cioè nel parlare e negli atti, che reggimenti e portamenti sogliono essere chiamati” (*Conv.* iii, 7, ll. 97-100). “In speculatione Theologiæ cognoscuntur et representantur facta Christi, cum diversis actibus et factis” (Talice da Ricaldone). “Or con atti d' una natura, ora con atti d' un' altra: perchè Cristo, l' uomo-dio, nelle sue operazioni ora dimostrò natura umana, ora natura divina” (Casini).

‡ *nell' idolo suo si trasmutava*: On this passage, the *Gran Dizionario* observes: “L' imagine di Gesù Cristo, immota in sè, nella sapienza contemplante riceveva quelle varietà che porta l' umano ragionamento, detto però dagli antichi filosoficamente *Discorso*.” The *Gran Dizionario* then quotes the *Ottimo*: “L' idolo, cioè la figura che di lui si mostrava nelli occhi di Beatrice, avea ora una forma, cioè divina, ora un' altra, cioè umana.”

their lofty mien, and more noble movements, of being of a higher order than the Four Cardinal Virtues. Benvenuto says that the Three were to the Four, as the tribe of Judah to the other tribes.

Commenting on Dante's declaration of the insatiable longing for still further revelations, Benvenuto remarks that it was well to be understood, for the delight of seeing the nine Muses is as nothing compared with that of beholding the nine Dames who were doing honour to the triumphal car.

The nine consist of the four Cardinal and the three Theological Virtues, together with Matelda and Beatrice.

Mentre che piena di stupore e lieta \*

L' anima mia gustava di quel cibo,

Che saziando di sè, di sè asseta ; †

Sè dimostrando di più alto tribo ‡

Negli atti, l' altre tre si fero avanti,

Danzando al loro angelico caribo.§

130

\* *piena di stupore e lieta* : Dante's soul is full of awe [*pieno di stupore*] at beholding the transformation of the Gryphon within the eyes of Beatrice ; but his soul at the same time is rejoicing [*lieta*] at the sense of being completely disburdened from the weight of his own sins, and at finding himself in the presence of her whom he had loved so well.

† *saziando di sè, di sè asseta* : Compare *Ecclus.* xxiv, 21 : "They that eat me shall yet be hungry, and they that drink me shall yet be thirsty."

‡ *di più alto tribo* : Others read *del più alto*, the superlative, instead of *di più alto*, the comparative. *Tribu* is another form for *tribù*, tribe, race, order, from the Latin *tribus*.

§ *Danzando al loro angelico caribo* : Scartazzini observes that this is one of those passages which still remain obscure. There are numberless explanations and readings. Some read *cantando* instead of *danzando*. The reading depends on the word *caribo*, which is obscure in its meaning and origin. It would seem that the word was one generally understood in the time of Dante, as the oldest Commentators never took the trouble to explain it, excepting that Benvenuto, whose idea of it seems to be a mixture of dancing and song, interpreted it "*canzone da ballo*."

While full of awe and delight my soul was feasting on that food (of Heaven), which though giving of itself abundantly, yet for itself creates a thirst; the other Three came forward showing themselves by their actions to be of a more exalted order, as they danced to their angelic roundelay.

The Three unite their voices in a song of intercession on behalf of Dante, beseeching Beatrice to reward his return to fidelity.

— “Volgi, Beatrice, volgi gli occhi santi,”—  
Era la lor canzone,\*—“ al tuo fedele †

Buti reads *garibo*, which he derives from *garbo*, “cioè, al loro angelico modo.” Scartazzini thinks the silence of the oldest expositors is a proof that, in their time, the word was not unknown. It is hardly possible that they would pass it over from not themselves understanding it. Cesari (*Bellezze*, vol. ii, pp. 574, 575), after giving what is probably the best interpretation, which I have adopted, mentions another given by the Arciprete Luigi Nardi, which is both ingenious and striking, according to which he thinks *tribo* stands for *trivio*, and *caribo* for *quadrivio*. I prefer the interpretation more generally received. Giacomo Pugliesi, better known as *Il Beato Jacopone* (who died in 1306) in one of his poems beginning with the words *Donna, per vostro amore*, st. 3, uses the word *cari'o* in the sense of a song which serves to regulate the measure of a dance (in *Scrittori del Primo Secolo*, Firenze, 1816, vol. i, p. 236):—

“Però a voi m' appresento  
A tal convento  
Isto caribo  
Ben dipristibo  
Delle maldicente,  
Bono talento,  
Lo stormento  
Vo sonando,  
E cantando, biondetta piacente.”

It must be remembered that Fra Jacopone's songs are of an earlier date than Dante's, although he died in Dante's lifetime, and was partly his contemporary.

\* *Era la lor canzone*: Others read *era la sua canzone*, with *sua* meaning *loro*, a practice, according to Scartazzini, which prevailed largely among the early writers.

† *al tuo fedele*: The Three call Dante Beatrice's faithful one, for as a Christian poet he had battled for the Faith as no other

Che per vederti ha mossi passi tanti.\*

135

Per grazia fa noi grazia che disvele

A lui la bocca tua, sì che discerna

La seconda bellezza † che tu cele."—

"Turn, Beatrice, turn thy holy eyes," was their song, "upon thy faithful one, who to behold thee has travelled so far (*lit.* has taken so many steps). Of thy grace grant us the grace to unveil to him thy mouth, so that he may discern the second beauty which thou hidest."

The Four had promised to conduct Dante to Beatrice's eyes (*Merrenti agli occhi suoi*). That was her first beauty. The Three beg her to unveil her mouth, to display her second beauty, and her sweet smile (*dolce riso*). See *Par.* xxx, 26.

We now gather from the context that Beatrice, moved by the entreaties of her handmaidens, displays to Dante's gaze her second beauty, which he declares himself unable to describe.

---

poet had done. Beatrice herself, in *Inf.* ii, 61, calls him her friend, though he was still lost in the paths of error: "L' amico mio."

Compare also *Inf.* ii, 98, 99:—

"Or ha bisogno il tuo fedele

Di te, ed io a te lo raccomando."

\**ha mossi passi tanti*: Benvenuto points out that this is the fact both historically and allegorically, for when Dante turned to the task of ascending to the glory wherein Beatrice was; that is, to undertake this glorious poem, feeling that he had learned enough of philosophy and poetry, he travelled to Paris, poor, and as an exile; and there, with the greatest zeal and perseverance, studied and mastered theology. He then passed through Hell, next through the gradual ascent of the mountain of Purgatory, and now, at last, after *tanti passi*, he has found his long-lost Beatrice in the Paradise of Delights.

† *La seconda bellezza* of Beatrice was her mouth. Compare *Conv.* iii, 8, ll. 96, 97, and ll. 110-112: "L' anima . . . dimostrasi nella bocca, quasi siccome colore dopo vetro . . . Ahi mirabile riso della mia Donna, di cui io parlo, che mai non si sentia se non nell' occhio."



O isplendor di viva luce eterna,\*  
 Chi pallido si fece sotto l' ombra 140  
 Sì di Parnaso, o bevve in sua cisterna,  
 Che non paresse aver la mente ingombra,  
 Tentando a render te qual tu paresti  
 Là dove armonizzando il ciel t' adombra,  
 Quando nell' aere aperto ti solvesti? 145

O (Beatrice) thou splendour of living light eternal, who is there that ever grew so pale beneath the shade of Parnassus, or drank at its fount, that would not seem to have his mind encumbered, were he to attempt to portray thee, such as thou didst appear when thou didst disclose thyself in the open day in that place (the Terrestrial Paradise) where Heaven in harmony (with that region of innocence), shadows thee forth?

Various have been the interpretations of this very difficult passage, observes Casini. By far the most general opinion is, that Dante is here (as in *Purg.* xxx, 93) indicating the Platonic theory of the harmonious sound produced by the heavens in their motion, and that the words in the passage signify: *là nel paradiso terrestre, dove le sfere risonando con la loro armonia ti circondavano*. But Antonelli justly observing that, in that case, Dante would have said *adombrava* instead of *adombra*, explains the passage in a different way, which I follow, as does Scartazzini in his newest edition (Milan, 1896). Antonelli thinks that *adombrare* must be taken as *simboleggiare, rappresentare*, and that *t' adombra* is to be paraphrased, *rende immagine di tue bellezze divine*. He thus interprets the passage: "O Splendour of living and Eternal Light, who, amongst those dearest to the Muses, would not appear to have

\* *isplendor di viva luce eterna*: Compare *Wisdom* vii, 26: "For she is the brightness of everlasting light," etc.

his mind confused and unformed, were he to a  
to describe thee as thou didst appear, when thou  
unveil thyself to the open day, there, where H  
harmonizing with the land of Innocence, with  
cult shadows forth the emblem of thy Divine Be

END OF CANTO XXXI.

## CANTO XXXII.

THE TERRESTRIAL PARADISE (CONTINUED)—THE TREE OF KNOWLEDGE—ASCENT OF THE GRYPHON—TRANSFORMATION OF THE CHARIOT—THE GIANT AND THE HARLOT.

IN the last Canto Dante gave a description of the beauty of Beatrice. In this he relates how the procession of the Church Militant turned about and retraced its way; how he followed the chariot with Beatrice and her handmaidens; how an eagle struck the chariot, and divers other strange events.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

*In the First Division*, from ver. 1 to ver. 33, Dante is warned not to look too fixedly at Beatrice. The procession returns through the forest, Dante and Statius following.

*In the Second Division*, from ver. 34 to ver. 60, they stop at the Tree of Knowledge, to which the Gryphon fastens the chariot.

*In the Third Division*, from ver. 61 to ver. 99, Dante falls asleep, and, on awaking, finds Beatrice, Matelda, and the seven handmaidens alone by the tree.

*In the Fourth Division*, from ver. 100 to ver. 160, Dante describes, in figurative language, the more notable persecutions which the Church Militant has suffered.

*Division I.*—At the conclusion of the last Canto Dante had at length been accorded the privilege of beholding Beatrice's countenance in its glorified state. He gazes upon it with such rapture that all other objects around him are forgotten. Now that he can see the beloved object, his other senses are in abeyance. His concentrated gaze is interrupted.

Tanto eran gli occhi miei fissi ed attenti  
 A disbramarsi la decenne sete,\*  
 Che gli altri sensi m' eran tutti spenti;  
 Ed essi quinci e quindi avean parete †  
 Di non caler, così lo santo riso  
 A sè traiali con l' antica rete; ‡

\* *la decenne sete*: Beatrice had died in 1290, ten years before 1300, the year in which the scene is supposed to take place, and therefore Dante's ten years' thirst means the longing that he had to behold her again. Tommaséo says that the present passage, as well as the opening words of *Purg.* vii, are imitated by Tasso, *Ger. Liber.* vi, st. 110:—

“Così costei, che dell' amor la sete,  
 Onde l' infermo core è sempre ardente,  
 Spegner nelle accoglienze oneste e liete  
 Credeva, e riposar la stanca mente.”

† *avean parete Di non caler*: Biagioli says this is a phrase Dante alone, and the construction is: “tanto erano gli occhi miei fissi ed attenti in lei, che il non calermi (il non curarmi) niuna altra cosa, mi faceva quinci e quindi come un muro, e mi rendea impossibile ogni altra veduta.” Buti considers that this wall of indifference was the steadfastness of mind that made Dante continue firm in the resolute aim he had set before himself, so that he cared neither for the prosperity of the world signified by the right-hand side, nor for the adversity of the world as signified by the left. Compare Dante, *Canzoniere*, *Seest.* ii, st. 4 (p. 160 in Dr. Moore's text):—

“Dagli occhi suoi mi vien la dolce luce,  
 Che mi fa non caler d' ogni altra donna.”

‡ *l' antica rete*: By this Dante means the same as in *Purg.* xiv, 41, 42:—

“L' alta virtù, che già m' avea trafitto  
 Prima ch' io fuor di puerizia fosse.”

Beatrice is again compared to the Sun in *Par.* iii, 1:—

“Quel sol, che pria d' amor mi scaldò il petto.”

Quando per forza mi fu vòlto il viso  
 Vèr la sinistra mia da quelle Dee,  
 Perch' io udia da loro un :—" Troppo fiso."

So fixed and intent were my eyes on satisfying their ten years' thirst, that my other senses were altogether rendered null; and on every side they (*i.e.* my eyes) had a wall of indifference, so much did the saintly smile (of Beatrice) draw them to itself in its long-known toils; when my face was perforce diverted towards my left hand by those goddesses (*i.e.* the Three Divine Maidens), for I heard from them a sound of "Too fixedly (thou gazest)!"

In verse 116 of the previous Canto, we saw that Dante had been placed in front of the emerald eyes of Beatrice, who was still standing upon the mystic Chariot, and turned towards the Gryphon. Dante was therefore standing in front of the chariot, and had on *his* right hand the four nymphs dressed in purple (xxix, 130), *i.e.* the Cardinal Virtues, and on *his* left the three others (xxix, 121), *i.e.* the Theological Virtues. The latter are, therefore, the goddesses who speak to him the words: "*Troppo fiso.*" They invite him to look at other things that are passing around him, and notably they would seem to be drawing his attention to the procession of the Church Militant now about to retrace its steps. Benvenuto thinks that they wish to modify the admonition of the other four damsels, who (in xxxi, 115) told him "*Fa che le viste non risparmi.*"

Dante now explains how impossible it was for him at first to see anything at all, so soon as he withdrew his gaze from Beatrice's eyes, which had completely dazzled him; but, as soon as he had somewhat recovered his sight, he beholds the Chariot and the

whole Procession turn round on its right, and move back again towards the East.

E la disposizion ch' a veder ee	10
Negli occhi pur testè dal sol percossi,	
Senza la vista alquanto esser mi fee ;*	
Ma poi che al poco il viso riformossi,	
Io dico al poco, per rispetto al molto †	
Sensibile, onde a forza mi rimossi,	15
Vidi in sul braccio destro esser rivolto	
Lo glorioso esercito, e tornarsi	
Col sole e con le sette fiamme al volto.	

And that condition of the visual faculties which exists in eyes that have but recently been smitten by the Sun, bereft me of my sight for a while. But when my vision re-adapted itself to the lesser (splendour) —I say the lesser, as compared with the greater dazzling radiance (*i.e.* the eyes of Beatrice), from which I had by force torn myself away—I saw that the glorious army had wheeled upon its right flank, and was returning back again with the Sun and with the seven flames in its face.

\**fee*: Nannucci (*Analisi Critica*, p. 620) repudiates the assertion of certain Commentators, who say that Dante substituted *fee* for *fe'* for the sake of the rhyme, a contention which all through his works is vehemently denied by the great philologist. He denies it *first*, because the termination *ee* is to be found among prose writers, *e.g.* Fra Giordano (whom he quotes) 53: "Quella notte lucee secondo che dicono i santi," and St. Gregory, *Dial.* i, 4: "Con sola la parola gli rendee la salute." Nannucci denies it *secondly*, because the second *e* in *fee* was not added for any poetic licence, but because the rule for the terminations of the persons singular of the perfect tense required it. Instead of *io temei*, the early Italians said *io temee*, and in the third person singular, *egli temee*.

† *al molto Sensibile*: Scartazzini thinks these words are equivalent to *la soverchia luce*, *i.e.* the overpowering light. Both Poletto and Tommasèo maintain that *il sensibile* is here used as a substantive, meaning the object that attracts our sense, and here means the light that emanates from Beatrice. Buti explains it: "splendore che per li occhi è atto ad essere sentito."

The right wheel of the Chariot (that of the New Testament) turns to the right. Up to this time, the procession had been marching towards the West, meeting Dante, who had been walking towards the East, as we gather from Cantos xxvii and xxviii. The Chariot now wheels about, and they all proceed together towards the East.

Benvenuto and Buti hold that *tornarsi* does not mean *volgersi*, but *tornare indietro*, return back again. Antonelli observes that if we reflect upon the facts narrated during this day, from the ascent of the stairway up to this point, we shall be led to the conclusion that it was now about ten o'clock in the morning. Therefore, the majestic procession, in wheeling upon its right flank, described a semi-circle from West to East, by the North, and thus the personages composing it were struck full in the face by the rays of the Sun, as they wended their way up the stream along its right bank. Lana remarks on what follows, and says that, as when hosts are about to change their camp, all await the standards, and do not march in a straight, but in a circular line, and in such wise that the shields shall always be on the outside, so this mystic host set itself in motion, behind its first standards, and the Chariot did not move until the whole of the procession had passed Dante.

Come sotto gli scudi \* per salvarsi  
Volgesi schiera, e sè gira col segno,

20

\* *Come sotto gli scudi*: Compare Tasso (*Ger. Liber. xi, st. 33*):—

La gente Franca impetuosa e ratta  
Allor quanto più puote affretta i passi:  
E parte scudo a scudo insieme adatta,  
E di quegli un coperchio al capo fassi."

Venturi (p. 210, sim. 354) says the simile is quite exact in all its parts, and corresponds to what Dante calls in l. 22, *milizia del*

Prima che possa tutta in sè mutarsi ; \*  
 Quella milizia † del celeste regno,  
 Che precedeva, tutta trapassone  
 Pria che piegasse il carro il primo legno. ‡

As a troop of soldiers to protect itself wheels under (cover of) its shields, and moves round with the standard, before it can wholly change its front ; (so) the soldiery of the celestial kingdom, that formed the vanguard, had all of them passed beyond us before the front beam (*i.e.* the pole) had turned the chariot.

When the long line of Elders had passed by, the Gryphon also began to draw the Chariot after them. The calmness of his movements seem to indicate that the

---

*celeste regno.* A long column must wheel many times before the whole of it has changed its front. First the van with the standard; then the main body by degrees, and last of all the rear-guard. In like manner here, first the candlesticks go in front, then the band of the saints, and last of all the Chariot.

\* *in sè mutarsi* : Tommaséo interprets this *voltar direzione*. The *Falso Boccaccio* says that a troop changing front moves off by the right : "in sul braccio destro, sicchè gli scudi rimangono dal lato di fuori in difension delle loro persone." In *Par.* xii, 4, Dante uses similar words in describing the gyrations of a blessed soul revolving upon its own axis :—

"È nel suo giro tutta non si volse," etc.

† *milizia* : Tommaséo remarks that *milite* in Dante's time meant a knight. We may see this in *Par.* xv, 139, 140, where Cacciaguida uses *milizia* to mean knighthood, when he relates how he was made a belted knight by the Emperor Conrad :—

"Poi seguitai lo imperador Corrado,

Ed ei mi cinse della sua milizia."

And in *Par.* xxx, 43, where the Angels and the Saints of Heaven are termed "l' una e l' altra milizia." In the Terrestrial Paradise the four-and-twenty Elders form the vanguard of the Chivalry of Heaven.

‡ *il primo legno* : There are two interpretations of this line : *first*, that the pole bent the Chariot round to the right ; *second* that *carro* governs the construction, and must be understood that the chariot, as if animated, turned its own pole. Scartazzini thinks that the first of these interpretations, as the more simple and natural, deserves the preference, and it is the one that I follow.



operations of Divine Power are set in motion by the sole exercise of the Divine Will. No other external means or instruments are necessary for Christ to guide His Church, than His Word alone, and His Holy Spirit.

Dante himself, with Matelda and Statius, close the procession. It may be noticed that, from the time that Statius enters the Terrestrial Paradise, he never utters a word, but becomes perfectly passive.

Indi alle rote si tornâr le donne,\* 25  
 E il grifon mosse il benedetto carco,  
 Sì che però nulla penna crollonne.  
 La bella donna che mi trasse al varco,  
 E Stazio † ed io seguitavam la rota  
 Che fe' l' orbita sua con minore arco. 30

Then did the Ladies return unto the wheels (*i.e.* the Four to the left wheel, and the Three to the right), and the Gryphon set his holy burden in motion, but in such wise (*i.e.* so smoothly) that not one of his feathers quivered. The fair Lady (Matelda), who had drawn me through the ford, and Statius, and I, were following the (right-hand) wheel which made its orbit with a lesser arc.

As the procession wheeled on its right hand, the left wheel had to make the longest turn, and the right wheel, consequently, a much shorter one.

\* *le donne*: The four damsels had left their appointed post for the purpose of conducting Dante towards Beatrice's eyes (xxxii, 109); while the other three had come forward, *danzando al loro angelico caribo*, to entreat Beatrice to display her features (xxxii, 132).

† *Stazio*: There is no means of conjecturing what part Statius is now made to serve in the great vision. As a soul purified from every sin he might have ascended direct up to Heaven, without waiting to behold the mysteries which are shown to Dante in order that they may be related to the living (xxxiii, *et seq.*). Dante certainly must have had some reasons for mentioning Statius up to the end of the *Purgatorio* (xxxiii, 134), but what the reasons were is not evident.

Thus as we passed through  
 habited through the fault  
 in the serpent, an angelic

*Division II.*—We now re-  
 followed by Dante and Stat  
 denuded of its foliage. Th  
 and to it the Gryphon faste  
 Beatrice alights when th  
 Tree, which action, as we  
 Obedience, and she then s  
 the boughs. The act of a  
 of homage to Obedience.  
 Tree is also symbolic of th  
 trice's descent from the Ch

---

\* *quella* : Dante here repeats th  
 on Eve in xxix, 23-30. In the *De*  
 says that by the Terrestrial Para  
 this life. By saying that the  
 through the fault of Eve, Dante  
 of sin no one occupies himself in  
 words of the Psalmist (*Ps.* liii, 3)  
 no, not one." Dante implies, in  
 the fault of our first parents.

ence and submission of the ecclesiastical to the civil authority, in accordance with St. Paul's injunction (*Rom.* xiii, 1), "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers." And these two interpretations of the Tree, being symbolic both of Obedience and of the Empire, are not antagonistic to each other, because deference paid to Imperial authority is precisely homage rendered to Obedience.

The whole company murmur against Adam, through whose disobedience sin entered into the world, and by sin death (*Rom.* v, 12). This murmuring involves censure on any one, even a pope, who is guilty of disobedience. Brunone Bianchi (9th ed.) says that we have here a tacit comparison between the sin of Adam, who, having been placed in the Terrestrial Paradise, touched the tree forbidden by God, the Supreme Emperor, on the one hand; and on the other, we have the Pope, who, placed in Rome, and under the protection of the Imperial throne, withdraws himself from obedience to the Emperor, whose authority derives from God, and lays his hands upon the secular jurisdiction belonging to the Emperor, and that in direct opposition to the express commands of Christ.

Forse in tre voli\* tanto spazio prese

---

\* *tre voli*: Compare *Inf.* xxxi, 83, 84:—

"ed al trar d' un balestro

Trovammo l' altro assai più fiero e maggio."

And *Purg.* iii, 67-69:—

"Ancora era quel popol di lontano,  
Dico dopo li nostri mille passi,  
Quanto un buon gittator trarria con mano," etc.

And Ovid, *Metam.* viii, 695, 696:—

"Tantum aberant summo, quantum semel ire sagitta  
Missa potest."

And Statius, *Theb.* vi, 354:—

"Quale quater jaculo spatium ter arundine vincas."

Disfrenata saetta, quanto eramo

Rimossi, quando Beatrice scese.

Io sentii mormorare a tutti:—"Adamo!"—

Poi cerchiaro una pianta \* dispogliata

Di fiori e d' altra fronda in ciascun ramo.

Perchance an arrow loosened from the string had three flights traversed as great a space as we moved onward, when Beatrice descended (from chariot). I heard murmured by all, "Adam!" Th

\* *una pianta*: Scartazzini observes that, to explain and amine accurately all the divergent opinions as to the alle meaning of *una pianta*, even a long dissertation would suffice. First and foremost there is no doubt but that *la* in its literal sense is the Tree of Knowledge of Good and planted by God in the Garden of Eden or Terrestrial Paradise. In describing the tree the Poet had also under his eye that (mentioned in *Daniel* iv, 20-22), that was great and whose height reached unto the heaven, and which King chadnezzar saw in "the visions of his head in his bed" (iv, 10). In many passages in Holy Scripture the tree is deduced as an emblem of power and royal majesty. As stretches up above all other plants so the supreme power elevated above its subjects, and just as a tree gives shade the supreme power protects its subjects. Many Commentators think that the tree of the Dantesque vision is a symbol of Obedience, but that is only part of the full sense. Two stand out prominently in the great vision, namely, the Tree of the Chariot. The Chariot is the emblem of the Church. Terrestrial Paradise is a figure of the happiness of this life. But in this life we can have no happiness without well-being (*ben essere*). And, to secure well-being in this world, a temporal monarchy is necessary, as Dante maintains in the *Monarchia*, i, ch. 5. If Empire be necessary to the well-being of the world, and if the Terrestrial Paradise be a figure of the world in a state of well-being where Man is happy (*Purg.* 75), it follows of necessity that Dante, true to his system, is bound to introduce the symbol of the Empire into his vision with the others. The only symbol of the Empire admitted is the Mystic Tree. Besides this, it is not at all rare to find a tree, amongst the poets, used as a symbol of the Empire, a reigning house. Hence Dante could with reason take the Tree as the symbol either of the monarchy or of the Roman Empire. And in truth all that Dante says of the Tree fits very well with the Empire.

they encircled a tree that was despoiled of blossoms and other leafage on every bough.

Dante next describes the extraordinary height of the Tree, and we learn that, like the Tree on the Sixth Cornice (see *Purg.* xxii, 133-135), its foliage was abundant at the top, but that it diminished in the lower parts, so as to offer no opportunity of access. This passage (says Scartazzini) is intended above all things to symbolize the inviolability of the Empire, which, according to the Will of God, must not be touched. In *De Monarchia*, iii, ch. 10, ll. 39, 40, Dante says that it is not even lawful for the Emperor himself "*scindere imperium.*"

La coma sua,\* che tanto si dilata 40  
 Più quanto più è su, fōra dagl' Indi †  
 Nei boschi lor per altezza † ammirata.

\* *coma sua*: This tree would seem to be similar in form to the one described on the Sixth Cornice (*Purg.* xxii, 130-135). Dante there explains the shape, saying of it:—

"Cred' io io perchè persona su non vada."

In *Purg.* xxxiii, 58, Beatrice says that whosoever robs or injures the Tree sins against God; and then, after mentioning the punishment of Adam, who ate of its fruit, she adds (v. 64):—

"Dorme lo ingegno tuo, se non estima  
 Per singular cagione essere eccelsa  
 Lei tanto, e sì travolta nella cima."

The words *travolta nella cima* describe how that the tree was inverted on its summit to render it more difficult of access. *Coma* is a Latinism for *chioma*. Others read *chioma* [hair or foliage]; *cima*. The *Ottimo*, who reads *chioma* in the text, and *cima* in the notes, suggests *vetta*.

† *dagl' Indi*: Compare Virg. *Georg.* ii, 122-124:—

" . . . . gerit India lucos,  
 Extremi sinus orbis, ubi aera vincere summum  
 Arboris haud ullæ jactu potuere sagittæ? "

‡ *per altezza*: Scartazzini says there is a complete parallelism between the two trees as described by Daniel (iv, 7-19), and this tree described by Dante. With Daniel the tree is an emblem of the Babylonian Empire, with Dante, of the Roman Empire.

included the occurrence  
Tree which Adam had

—" Beato sei, grifon,\*  
Col becco d' es  
Posciachè mal  
Così d' intorno all'  
Gridaron gli alt  
—" Sì si conserva i

" Blessed art thou, Gry  
not rend this Tree (v

---

\* *Beato sei, grifon*: The Gryphon because he does not rend the Tree which our Lord willed that He gave the command: "I will not touch things which are Cæsar's, and things which are God's" (*St. Matt. xxii, 21*). He was crucified and confirmed the authority of the Empire, submitting Himself to the Census of Augustus, thereby registering His name in the Empire. Secondly, at His Crucifixion, "Thou couldst have no power, for what were given thee from above, were not legitimate" (*St. John xix, 11*).

† *mal si torce*: The more correct reading but *torce* is the reading of the MSS. and of the MSS. and of the MSS. and of the MSS. Lana interprets it "mal si torce" sua voglia." Compare *Rev. v*

sweet to the taste, since by that taste (*quindi*) the belly is contorted with anguish (*i.e.* Man still suffers).<sup>7</sup> Thus around the mighty Tree cried the others (*i.e.* the Saints of the Church Militant); and the animal of twofold nature (replied): "Thus is preserved the seed of all righteousness."

These words, put into the mouth of the Gryphon, may be a paraphrase of those spoken by Christ to St. John the Baptist: "For thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness," [in the *Vulgate* "justice"]. *St. Matt.* iii, 15.

The Gryphon now draws the Chariot up and binds it to the tree, which throws out fresh blossoms.

Evólto al tēmo ch' egli avea tirato,  
Trasselo \* al piè della vedova frasca; †      50  
E quel di lei a lei lasciò legato.

And turning to the pole which he had drawn, he dragged it to the foot of the denuded Tree, and left bound to it (the Tree) that which was of it (*i.e.* the pole made of its wood).

Scartazzini thinks that by the pole is meant the Seat of the Church, and that, as the Gryphon drags the Chariot by the pole, so Christ guides His Church by means of the Sacred Seat. The tree then is, literally, the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil; allegorically, the Empire.

The Cross of Christ, derived from the Tree of Knowledge, is the origin of the Papal Seat. If the Cross is made from a branch of the Tree of Knowledge, and the

\**Trasselo*: "Come lo dimonio separò l'omo da l'obediēza di Dio facendoli mangiare del pomo di quella pianta vietatoli; così Cristo tirò l'omo a l'obediēza di Dio, ponendo l'umanità sua a morire per la verità" (Buti).

† *frasca*, is properly speaking "a bough"; but Tommaséo says it must here be taken to mean the bare tree [*albero ignudo*].

Papal Seat originates in the Cross, it can well be said that the Papal Seat was formed from a branch of that Tree. Christ joins the Papal Seat, Roman in its origin, to the Roman Empire; and that not only in externals, shown by both Papacy and Empire having their centre abode at Rome; but also inwardly, in that, according to Dante, both Pope and Emperor ought to go hand in hand in guiding the human race to its two-fold object and end.

Dante now describes the marvellous change that came over the Tree after the Gryphon had bound it to the pole of the Chariot.

Come le nostre piante, quando casca  
Giù la gran luce mischiata con quella  
Che raggia retro alla celeste lasca,\*  
Turgide fansi,† e poi si rinnovella ‡

\* *lasca*, which properly means a roach or mullet, here signifies the Constellation of the Fish. Aries follows after Pisces, when the Sun is in Aries we are in spring. On this see Antonio in Tommaséo's Commentary: "Nel moto apparente delle stelle celesti la costellazione dei Pesci precede l' Ariete. La gran luce pertanto, cioè la solare, si troverà mischiata con quella che raggia dall' Ariete, quando il sole apparirà in questa costellazione, quando per noi sarà primavera, quando le piante si fanno turgide per il dilatarsi delle loro gemme, e poi ciascuna si riveste di fructi e di fiori, prima che il sole attacchi al Carro del dì i suoi corni sotto altra costellazione, cioè avanti di aver percorso tutta quella dell' Ariete e così prima che passi un mese di tempo."

† *Turgide fansi*: "Swell with sap." Compare Virg. *Bucol. Ecl.* vii, 48:—

"Jam læto turgent in palmite gemmæ."

And *Georg.* i, 315:—

"Frumenta in viridi stipula lactentia turgent."

‡ *si rinnovella Di suo colore ciascuna*: Compare Petrarch, *poem. Son.* viii (in some editions ix):—

"Quando 'l pianeta che distingue l' ore,  
Ad albergar col Tauro si ritorna,  
Cade virtù dall' infiammate corna  
Che veste il mondo di novel colore."



Di suo color ciascuna, pria che il sole  
 Giunga li suoi corsier sott' altra stella ;  
 Men che di rose,\* e più che di viole  
 Colore aprendo, s' innovò la pianta,  
 Che prima avea le ramora † sì sole.

60

As the trees of our world, when (in Spring) the Sun's great light falls downwards mingled with that (of Aries) which beams behind the celestial Roach (*i.e.* which comes next after the constellation of Pisces), begin to swell, and then each is renewed in its own colour, before the Sun yokes his steeds beneath another constellation (Taurus), even so did the Tree, which before had its branches so bare, renew itself, disclosing a tint less (vivid) than that of roses, but more than that of violets.

---

\* *Men che di rose*, etc.: For a mixture of colours as described here we have an apt illustration in Virg. *Georg.* iv, 273-275:—

“Namque uno ingentem tollit de cæspite silvam,  
 Aureus ipse ; sed in foliis, quæ plurima circum  
 Funduntur, violæ subluceat purpura nigræ.”

Ruskin (*Mod. Painters*, vol. iii, 226) says: “Some three arrowflights farther up into the wood we come to a tall tree, which is at first barren, but, after some little time, visibly opens into flowers of a colour ‘less than that of roses, but more than that of violets.’ It certainly would not be possible, in words, to come nearer to the definition of the exact hue which Dante meant—that of the apple-blossom. Had he employed any simple colour phrase, as a ‘pale pink,’ or ‘violet pink,’ or any other such combined expression, he still could not have completely got at the delicacy of the hue: he might perhaps, have indicated its kind, but not its tenderness; but by taking the rose-leaf as the type of the delicate red, and then enfeebling this with the violet grey, he gets, as closely as language can carry him, to the complete rendering of the vision, though it is evidently felt by him to be in its perfect beauty ineffable; and rightly so felt, for, of all lovely things which grace the springtime in our fair temperate zone, I am not sure but this blossoming of the apple-tree is the fairest.”

† *le ramora*: This is an early form in the neuter plural that stands for *i rami*; so we have *le campora* for *i campi*; *le pratora* for *i prati*; *le borgora* for *i borghi*. These forms are now obsolete, but they are fully discussed by Nannucci in his *Teorica dei Nomi della Lingua Italiana*, pp. 359-362.

Scartazzini remarks that here again we have one of those passages which have not yet found their interpreter. Speaking generally, he has no doubt that the allegorical sense of this passage is, that the vision infused by the mystic Chariot into this Tree, then by the Church into the Empire, was so great, that the Tree was seen in a short time to renovate itself entirely, and to clothe itself with foliage and fruits, implying thereby that the Empire, when converted to Christianity, was endowed with new life. As soon as the Church was joined to the Empire, the latter prospered at once, at least *potentially*, to prosper.

*Division III.*—Dante relates how he fell asleep on awaking, found Beatrice, Matelda, and the Damsels alone by the Tree. He misses the glorious Procession of the Church Militant, and learns that in the company with the Gryphon, it has re-ascended to Heaven. He first tells how the whole of the celestial beings present before him chanted a hymn so beautiful that overwhelmed with emotion he fell asleep.

Io non lo intesi, nè qui non si canta \*  
L' inno che quella gente allor cantaro,†

\* *qui non si canta*: Compare St. Paul in 2 *Cor.* xii, " . . . he was caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter." Other readings are *nè quaggiù si canta*; others *e qui non si canta*. Compare *Rev.* xiv, 3: "They sung as it were a new song before the throne, and before the four beasts, and the elders: and no man could learn that song but the hundred and forty and thousand."

† *quella gente allor cantaro*: Observe the construction, by which the noun *gente* as a collective noun is made to agree with *cantaro* (the singular form for *cantarono*). Giovanni Villani (lib. xii, cap. 17) uses it in the same way (to signify the people of Arezzo) *governi plural*: "Arezzo sentendo come il duca era . . . assediato"

Nè la nota sofferi\* tuttaquanta.  
 S' io potessi ritrar come assonnaro  
 Gli occhi spietati,† udendo di Siringa, 65  
 Gli occhi a cui più vegghiar ‡ costò si caro ;  
 Come pittor che con esempio pinga  
 Disegnerei com' io m' addormentai ; §  
 Ma qual vuol sia che l' assonnar ben finga.

I did not understand, nor here on earth can be sung,  
 the hymn which that assembly then chanted, nor  
 could I endure the whole melody throughout. If I  
 could describe how the unrelenting eyes (of Argus)  
 sank into slumber, on hearing tell of Syrinx, those eyes  
 whose too much wakefulness cost them so dear ; like  
 an artist who paints from a model, I would portray  
 how I fell asleep ; but whoever wishes to do so, let  
 him be one who can well depict slumber.

Dante here implies that he has not himself this power,  
 and that he will therefore only describe what he saw  
 when he awoke.

---

nel palagio, incontanente si rubellarono." Compare also Tibullus,  
 lib. iv, *Carm.* 4, 25, 26.

\* *sofferi* : Here Dante's ears are unable to endure the exquisite  
 melody of Heaven. In *Par.* i, 58, we learn that his eyes cannot  
 endure the light :—

"Io nol sofferi molto, nè sì poco," etc.

† *Gli occhi spietati* : The hundred eyes of Argus. Juno, having  
 cause to be jealous of Io, had placed her under the guardianship  
 of Argus, whose hundred eyes watched without intermission.  
 Jupiter, having ordered Mercury to carry off the young nymph,  
 Mercury slew Argus, after lulling him to sleep by telling him the  
 story of Syrinx, the nymph of Arcadia, who was changed into a  
 reed. See Ovid, *Met.* i, 568-721.

‡ *a cui più vegghiar* : Others read *a cui pur vegghiar*. Others  
*vegljar* ; *a cui vegghiar* ; and some *a cui non vegghiar*.

§ *m' addormentai* : Scartazzini thinks that perhaps this falling  
 asleep symbolizes that perfect peace and happiness which, accord-  
 ing to Dante, reigns in the world, when the twofold authority of  
 the Emperor and the Pope are united, and come up to the ideal  
 state aspired to by Dante.

Però trascorro a quando mi svegliai,  
 E dico ch' un splendor \* mi squarciò il velo †  
 Del sonno, ed un chiamar:— " Surgi, che fai ?

Therefore I pass on to when I awoke, and I say t  
 a dazzling light rent aside the veil of my slumber, :  
 (likewise) a crying out: " Arise, what doest thou ?

The dazzling light is the now distant glory of the  
 Gryphon, the Elders, and the Angels re-ascend  
 Heaven. It would seem to be Matelda who spoke  
 words, and Dante finds her standing over him af  
 sleep, even as she had hovered over him after his  
 in Canto xxxi, 91-96. Up to this point (says Scart  
 the great vision has presented to us a picture of the  
 quillity, universal peace and happiness, that reig  
 the world during the first ages of Christianity.  
 henceforward Dante will show us, as in a mirro  
 from that time to this the seamless garment wa  
 and torn by the talons of cupidity. He goes  
 compare himself to the disciples at the Transfigu  
 who on awaking found Our Lord alone, and h  
 heavenly attendants vanished.

Dante asks Matelda what has become of Be  
 and she tells him to look at the foot of the Tree,  
 Beatrice is sitting on the roots with her atte  
 handmaidens.

\* *splendor*: The description of the dazzling light has  
 analogy to that of the Transfiguration. The three discip  
 asleep (*St. Luke ix, 32*): " But Peter and they that were wi  
 were heavy with sleep, and when they were awake they s  
 glory and the two men that stood with Him." And in the d  
 tion by *St. Matthew xvii, 7*, we find the resemblance to " Sa  
 fai ? " " And Jesus came and touched them, and said: Ari  
 be not afraid."

† *mi squarciò il velo Del sonno*: Compare *Inf. xxxiii, 26*:—  
 " quand' io feci il mal sonno  
 Che del futuro mi squarciò il velame."

Quale a veder dei fioretti del melo,*	
Che del suo pomo gli Angeli fa ghiotti,†	
E perpetue nozze fa nel cielo,	75
Pietro e Giovanni e Jacopo condotti	
E vinti ritornaro alla parola,	
Dalla qual furon maggior sonni rotti,	
E videro scemata loro scuola,‡	
Così di Moisè come d' Elia,	80
Ed al Maestro suo cangiata stola ; §	
Tal torna' io, e vidi quella pia	
Sopra me starsi, che conducitrice	
Fu de' miei passi lungo il fiume pria ;	
E tutto in dubbio dissi :—" Ov' è Beatrice ?"—	85
Ond' ella :—" Vedi lei sotto la fronda	

\* *melo* : Compare *Song of Solomon*, ii, 3 : "As the apple-tree among the trees of the wood, so is my beloved among the sons." This passage is interpreted as referring to Christ, and Dante here calls the Transfiguration the blossoming of that tree. Casini says that, by *fioretti del melo*, is to be understood those glimpses of beatitude which the three Apostles enjoyed at the sight of the glorified body of Our Lord during His Transfiguration.

† *ghiotti* : lit. "greedy," but constantly used by Dante to express "eager to see." Compare *Purg.* viii, 85 :—

"Gli occhi miei ghiotti andavan pure al cielo."

And Poliziano, *Stanze*, lib. i, st. 41 :—

"E fatto ghiotto del suo dolce aspetto  
Già mai gli occhi dagli occhi levar puolle."

‡ *scuola* is used for "company," because the disciples were in presence of their Divine Master. In *Inf.* iv, 94-96, Dante uses the word to describe the group of poets under the leadership of their sublime leader, Homer :—

"Così vidi adunar la bella scuola  
Di quei [*i.e. quello*] signor dell' altissimo canto,  
Che sopra gli altri com' aquila vola."

And in line 148 of the same Canto we have the word *si scema* used to express the separation of the group of poets, which corresponds to the present passage *scemata loro scuola*.

§ *cangiata stola* : This means that Our Lord's vesture, which had been changed when He was transfigured, was, when the vision was over, changed back again to His ordinary habit.

|| *sotto la fronda*, et seq. : Beatrice is sitting beneath the foliage and upon the roots of the mystic tree. We have seen

Nuova sedere in sulla sua radice.  
 Vedi la compagnia che la circonda ;  
 Gli altri dopo il grifon sen vanno suso  
 Con più dolce canzone e più profonda."\*—

As when Peter, and John, and James were led to a spot (on Mount Tabor) the blossoming of that Apple-tree (*i.e.* the Transfiguration of Jesus Christ) which makes the Angels greedy for its fruit, and makes a perpetual marriage-feast in Heaven (*i.e.* the full glory of Christ of which the Transfiguration was but a foretaste), and after falling into a trance were aroused at His Word by which far deeper slumbers had been broken (namely, those of the dead recalled to life by Jesus) and saw their company diminished alike by (the disappearance of) both Moses, and Elias, and (saw) the raiment of their Master changed (back again): I came I to myself, and saw standing over me the compassionate Lady (Matelda), who had before been the conductress of my steps along the river-bank and all in doubt I said: "Where is Beatrice?" And she: "Behold her beneath the new-grown foliage of the Tree) sitting upon its root. Behold the company that surrounds her; the others are ascending on high after the Gryphon; with a song that is sweeter and of deeper import."

Tommaséo thinks that the Angels and the seven Virgins were standing round Beatrice, but Scartazzini points out that, as the Angels were mentioned before, and now, it is reasonable to suppose that they were included in the glorious host that was following the Gryphon to Heaven.

that the tree is a symbol of the Empire. Therefore, it allegorically signify the spot on which the Empire itself was situated, and from which it stretched forth its branches, and that spot is Rome.

\* *più dolce canzone e più profonda*: *Dolce* is thought to refer to the melody, and *profonda* to the lofty concept of the heavenly song. The ascent of the Gryphon to Heaven would seem to symbolize the Ascension of Jesus Christ.



... successors of  
imagined by Dante.  
Dante now describ  
maidens.

In cerchio le facev  
Le sette ninfe  
Che son sicuri

In a circle the seven  
selves an enclosure fo  
hands that are secure  
which neither North n

The Virtues formed the  
first successors of St. Pet  
should be surrounded by

It may be inferred th  
Elders had departed, th  
had before that time be  
were taken in charge by  
Virtues. Allegorically it  
to the descent of the Ho  
Christ on the day of Pe  
longer to be separated fro



of the procession. But, we repeat, the lamps had been moving in front of the four-and-twenty Elders, and it could only have been during Dante's slumber that the change could have taken place.

*Division IV.*—In the concluding division of the Canto, Dante gives a description, in figurative language, of the more notable of the tribulations through which the Church Militant would have to pass.

Beatrice again addresses Dante, admonishing him that his sojourn in the Terrestrial Paradise will be but short ; but that when, after his return to earth, his life ends, he shall be with her an inhabitant of the Kingdom of Heaven, where Christ, as Man, is a citizen, and where God reigns as Emperor. She exhorts him to watch the Chariot attentively, and for the good of Mankind, after his return there, to write what he has seen. She adds that the world is living ill, both socially and morally, because neither of the two leaders assigned to it by Heaven, the Pope and the Emperor, is performing his proper functions.

Dante relates how he at once obeyed Beatrice's injunction.

—“ Qui sarai tu poco tempo silvano,\*  
E sarai meco senza fine cive

100

---

\* *silvano* : I think that *qui . . . silvano* means an inhabitant of this forest of the Terrestrial Paradise, and implies that when after death Dante's soul comes to Purgatory, its detention there will be brief before rejoining Beatrice in Paradise. Some contend that the sentence foretells Dante's early death, and that *qui* meant "on earth." But the world is always spoken of by Dante as *di là*, and we actually have this very contrast given in line 105, *Ritornato di là*, "when thou art back in the world." Casini thinks Beatrice's meaning is that the present condition of Dante is only transitory, but it is difficult to explain this extremely obscure passage very clearly.

Di quella Roma\* onde Cristo è Romano ;  
 Però, in pro del mondo che mal vive,  
 Al carro tieni or gli occhi, e quel che vedi,  
 Ritornato di là, fa' che tu scrive."† —  
 Così Beatrice ; ed io, che tutto ai piedi ‡  
 De' suoi comandamenti era devoto,  
 La mente e gli occhi, ov' ella volle, diedi.§

"Here in this forest (the Terrestrial Paradise) shalt thou be a dweller but for a brief while (after thy death) and shalt be with me for evermore a citizen of that Rome whereof Christ is a Roman citizen (*i.e.* thou shalt be a fellow-citizen of Christ in Heaven). Therefore, for the good of the world which liveth evilly, keep thine eyes fixed upon the Chariot, and what thou seest, when thou art back in the world yonder, see that thou write." Thus Beatrice ; and I, who at the feet of her commandments was all devoted, directed my mind and my eyes whither she willed (*i.e.* upon the Chariot).

Dante now begins to describe the persecutions of Church ; the first that he mentions are those of early Roman emperors : Nero, Domitian, Dioclet and others. These persecutions are figured by an Eagle swooping down on the Chariot with such great force to make it totter.

Non scese mai || con sì veloce moto

\* *quella Roma*, et seq. : On this Tommaséo remarks : " chiamar Roma il Cielo, vedasi che alta idea gli sedesse in mente di Roma."

† *fa' che tu scrive* : Compare *Rev.* i, 11 : " What thou seest, write in a book, and send it unto the seven churches which are in Asia."

‡ *ai piedi De' suoi comandamenti* is like *le ginocchia della mente* Petrarch ; and *alle mani della sua grazia*, in Boccaccio, though am unable to give the references.

§ *La mente e gli occhi . . . diedi* : Compare *Purg.* iii, 14 : —  
 " E diedi il viso mio incontro al poggio."

|| *Non scese mai*, et seq. : " La velocità del volo dell' aquila è più che d' un fulmine, quando cade la pioggia da quell' estre confine superiore, nel quale può questa formarsi giacchè egli ha detto esserci regioni aeree a grande altezza sui bassi lidi, ne quali non avvengono meteore di pioggia, di vento e simili."

Foco di spessa nube, quando piove *	110
Da quel confine che più va remoto,	
Com' io vidi calar l' uccel di Giove	
Per l' arbor giù, rompendo della scorza,	
Non che dei fiori e delle foglie nuove ;	
E ferì il carro di tutta sua forza,	115
Ond' ei piegò, come nave in fortuna,	
Vinta dall' onda, or da poggia † or da orza.	

Never descended with so swift a motion fire from a dense cloud, when it is raining from that region (the Sphere of Fire) which is the most remote, as I beheld the bird of Jove swoop down through the Tree, rending off part of its bark, as well as of its flowers and of its young leaves ; and he smote the Chariot with all

---

ragione poi che questa circostanza nell' intendimento del Poeta par debba accrescere la volontà del fulmine, potrebb'essere questa, che quando piove dalle più remote regioni pluviali, e però vengono ivi a formarsi nuvole, queste si trovano nel massimo avvicinamento alla supposta sfera del fuoco, la quale credevasi potesse influire su quelle, nel far loro concepire e concentrare maggior copia di calore ; il perchè il divampare di questo in luce e fuoco, e quindi il precipitare del fulmine, fosse in tal caso e più fragoroso e più violento, in ragione appunto di quel piu grande concentramento per cui doveva prodursi quella che oggi diremmo straordinaria tensione. Tale interpretazione pare che possa confermarsi e illustrarsi dalla terzina 14 (ll. 40-42) del xxiii del Paradiso :—

' Come foco di nube si disserra,  
Per dilatarsi sì che non vi cape,  
E fuor di sua natura in giù s' atterra, '

ov' è da vedere accennato il concetto delle esplosioni, e il Poeta non poteva ignorare il ritrovato e le esperienze del celeberrimo Fra Ruggero Bacone intorno alla polvere pirica, o da schioppo, o da mine ; il quale insigne dottore precedette di mezzo secolo il nostro Allighieri" (Antonelli *ap.* Tommaséo).

\* *quando piove* : Scartazzini thinks that, in this passage, Dante most probably follows the teaching of Aristotle, who, in his second book of the *Meteors*, teaches that lightning is generated by fire being confined in the clouds, when the latter rise to the level of the sphere of fire.

† *poggia*, starboard ; *orza*, larboard or port. These words also signify "right" or "left," as in Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* xxvi, st. 76 :—

" Passò il ferro crudel l' omero bianco :  
Piegò Aldigier ferito a poggia e ad orza. "

his might, whereat it reeled like a ship in a tempest,  
driven by the waves, now to starboard, now to port.

The eagle not only smites the mystic Chariot, but likewise seriously damages the mystic Tree. The persecutions of the Emperors against the Christians not only injured the young Church, but the Empire itself, depriving it in part of that new life which it had acquired from its union with the Church; depriving it, moreover, of many of the most loyal and faithful, because the most virtuous and holy minded, of its subjects. The tribulation of the Church is that which it sustains from false prophets and heretical teachers, and these are symbolized here by a fox, hungry and lean, who leaps into the body of the Chariot.

Poscia vidi avventarsi nella cuna\*  
Del trionfal veiculo una volpe,†  
Che d' ogni pasto buon pareo digiuna.‡

\* *cuna*: The poetic and occasional form for *culla*, which latter is the word for "cradle" in general use all over Italy. It also comes to mean "abode," "dwelling place," as in *Inf.* xiv, 101:—

"Rea la scelse già per cuna fida  
Del suo figliuolo."

The *Gran Dizionario* says that, in the present passage, *cuna* signifies the middle of the Chariot, where one would sit, which is somewhat like a cradle. *Avventarsi nella cuna* means more than simply to leap into the car. The word implies an attack. The fox hurled himself head foremost into the car for the purpose of attacking the structure itself.

† *volpe*: "La volpe simboleggia, come già nella Bibbia, l' eresia che venne a perturbare la Chiesa dopo le persecuzioni imperiali e fu sradicata dalla parola dei dottori" (Casini). Compare *Ps.* lxxiii, 10: "They shall fall by the sword: they shall be a port for foxes." And *Lam.* v, 18: "Because of the mountain of Zion which is desolate, the foxes walk upon it." And *Ezek.* xiii, 4: "Israel, thy prophets are like the foxes in the deserts."

‡ *d'ogni pasto buon . . . digiuna*: As heresies are founded upon vain doctrines, those who follow them are deprived of wholesome spiritual sustenance.

Ma riprendendo lei di laide colpe,\*  
 La Donna mia la volse in tanta futa,†  
 Quanto sofferson l' ossa senza polpe.

Then I saw dash into the body of the triumphal Car a fox that (from its leanness) appeared to be fasting from all wholesome food. But upbraiding it for its evil faults, my Lady put it to as swift a flight as its fleshless bones would allow.

Its extreme weakness did not admit of a very rapid flight.

Scartazzini observes that the fox leaped into the Chariot from without, and therefore signifies a heresy that did not take its origin within the body of the Church, but from the outside. He says that Dante, in this part of his vision, seems to follow a chronological order, and that, if in verse 124 there is an allusion to the gift of Constantine to the Church, it is evident that he here refers to a heresy which took place before that time. It can neither be the heresy of Arius, of Mahomet, of Anastasius II, nor of Novatian. He is convinced that the heresy here alluded to is that of the Gnostics. Gnosticism sprang up within the Church, but had its origin in Oriental philosophy. The fox is put to flight by Beatrice; and Gnosticism was victoriously combated by the Fathers of the Church.

Dante now goes on to describe the Third Tribulation of the Church, namely, its rich endowment by the Roman Emperors.

---

\* *riprendendo lei di laide colpe*: Faith demonstrates the errors of false tenets, and, by confuting them, obtains the triumph of true doctrine. Compare *Inf.* xix, 82: "laid' opra."

† *futa*: the same as *fuga*, was formerly in common use. A mountain on the road between Bologna and Florence is said to have been called *Montagna della Futa* on account of *la fuga*, the rout and flight of the Ghibellines at that place.

Poscia, per indi ond' era pria venuta,  
 L' aquila vidi scender giù nell' arca  
 Del carro, e lasciar lei di sè pennuta.\*  
 E qual esce di cor che si rammarca,  
 Tal voce uscì del cielo, e cotal disse :  
 —“ O navicella mia, com' mal sei carca ! ”—

\* *lasciar lei di sè pennuta* : This is generally understood to mean that the Emperor Constantine impoverished himself to bestow endowments on the Church when he moved the seat of Empire to Constantinople. Compare *Inf.* xix, 115 :—

“ Ahi, Constantin, di quanto mal fu matre,  
 Non la tua conversion, ma quello dote  
 Che da te prese il primo ricco patre ! ”

On the passage in the text Pietro di Dante writes: “A figurat imperialem largitatem Constantini, qui replevit curiam idest Ecclesiam, plurimis, idest temporalibus bonis. Et legitur fere [probably *fuisse*] auditam vocem in aere Romæ dicens *hodie infusum est venenum in Ecclesia Dei.*” Lana, the *Autore Fiorentino*, and other old Commentators, narrate this legend in greater or lesser detail. In the great commentary of Giovanni Serravalle (stated to have been completed while its author was his patrons Cardinal Amidei, Nicolas Bubwith, Bishop of Bath Wells, and Robert Hallam, Bishop of Salisbury, were in attendance at the Council of Constance in 1417) recently published at Florence (1891, one vol. folio), the author, a Franciscan friar, is careful to disavow an opinion so likely to be financially prejudicial to the Order. He says that, with all respect to Dante, he cannot agree with him that endowments are destructive of the Church; that the people are depraved and addicted to avarice, are unwilling to pay their tithes, and even kings and potentates are desirous of getting the Pope to remit their tithes and all other dues of the Church. That the poor are despised, to be poor is looked upon as a crime, and that therefore, were the priesthood to be impoverished, would without doubt be brought into contempt. Besides, ecclesiastics are less good, perfect, and exemplary than they were in the times of the Apostles, and are not of such good report as they should be; consequently, if the wealth of the Churches should be taken from them, there would certainly be a deficiency of alms, unwilling to take Orders, and so divine worship would diminish. Although there are no doubt many bad prelates, whose lives are evil, and who make a bad use of the goods of the Church, yet there are also many good ones, of holy lives, and who give largely to the poor, according to report. “Unde puto quod, pro certo, tempore isto nunc currenti, non expedit quod Ecclesia perdat bona sua jura et possessiones, atque dominium, ullo modo.”

Then, by the same course whereby he had come before (*i.e.* through the Tree), I saw the eagle swoop down into the body of the Chariot, and leave it covered with his feathers. And there came a voice from Heaven, such as issues from a heart that is mourning, and thus it spoke: "O my little bark, how ill art thou laden!"

Nearly all the Commentators agree that Dante is here making allusion to the riches and luxuries bestowed on the Apostolic Seat by the Roman Emperors, and more especially to the "Donatio Constantini." Whereas the Church had come victorious out of all its previous tribulations and trials, this last was far more insidious and fatal, and the Church was put to the same temptation which Satan attempted with Jesus Christ, when he showed Him all the kingdoms of the Earth and the glory of them. With Our Lord he failed, but with the Church he was successful. Gold, power, and earthly glory were objects of admiration on the part of the ministers and servants of the Living God.

Poi parve a me che la terra s' aprisse	130
Tr' ambo le rote, e vidi uscirne un drago,	
Che per lo carro su la coda fisse:	
E come vespa che ritragge l' ago,	
A sè traendo la coda maligna,	
Trasse del fondo, e gissen vago vago.	135

Then methought that the earth opened between the two wheels, and from it I saw issue forth a dragon, who thrust his tail upward through the Chariot; and like a wasp that draws back its sting, so did he, drawing back his envenomed tail, tear off a part of the bottom (of the Chariot), and went his way in malignant eagerness (to work further evil).

Some Commentators interpret *vago* as "rejoicing, exulting," but Scartazzini does not agree with them, and

thinks Dante nearly always uses the word to mean "eager" (see *Purg.* xxviii, 1, and many other passages). The dragon was far from going away satisfied, but like the wolf (*Inf.* i, 99) who *dopo il pasto ha più fame che prima* it departed as departs the devil, who having worked evil, is eager to work another worse one.

Now what is this dragon? The figure is most probably taken from *Rev.* xii, 3-4: "And behold a great dragon, having seven heads and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his heads. And his tail drew the third part of the stars of Heaven, and did cast them to the earth." In the dragon of the Apocalypse, Scartazzini says that modern Biblical exegesis sees figured the Roman Empire, antichristian, the enemy and persecutor of the Church. Its seven heads are the seven hills of Rome; the ten horns are the Roman Emperors from Augustus down to Nero: the tail that drags away the third part of the stars of Heaven figures the oppression and desolation of the Church. The dragon is "that old serpent, the Devil and Satan," as in the Apocalypse. The dragon issues from the earth, where the Gryphon, or Christ, descended from Heaven; consequently the dragon is the infernal antithesis to the celestial Gryphon. Up to the time of the appearance of the dragon, the body of the Chariot had escaped injury, but from this point it begins to degenerate. The dragon in attacking it with his envenomed tail, typifies the Devil who instilled corruption into the Church, and despite its strength it of all its virtues. And the dragon coming forth between the two wheels of the Chariot is thought to indicate that the demon of cupidity of worldly possessions attacked in the hearts of the clergy, the two wheels typifying the two orders, the secular and the monastic clergy.



Casini, one of the most recent of modern Commentators, says that, as to the Dragon of the Dantesque vision, three interpretations hold the field: (1) that of Lana, accepted by Benvenuto, Buti, Landino, and many moderns, who think it symbolizes Mahomet, as the founder of the religion which withdrew so many people from the Christian faith; (2) that of Pietro di Dante, adopted by many moderns, which sees in it the Antichrist, or the concupiscence after temporal goods, which acted as the first incentive to the ruin of the Church; and (3) that formulated by Lombardi, followed by Scartazzini, which I have adopted. On these three interpretations Casini offers no opinion. Tommasèo thinks it means every schism that was first promoted and then aggravated, from the time that a part of the Imperial power fell into the hands of the Priesthood, and a part of the Ecclesiastical power was arrogated by the Princes. Serravalle takes it to be "*quarta persecutio Ecclesiæ quam fecit ille porcus Machomettus.*"

In the next six lines, Dante relates how the plumage of the eagle covered every part of the Chariot in an instant of time.

Quel che rimase, come di gramigna \*  
 Vivace terra, della piuma, offerta  
 Forse con intenzion sana e benigna,†

\* *come di gramigna*: "Pars vero que remansit, fuit venenata, quia pastores Ecclesie et viri Ecclesiastici, qui remanserunt, vestierunt se illas pennas, quas dimisit aquila, idest pompas dominandi, et divitias, et dederunt se vitiis mundanis, unde facti sunt pravi et mali" (Serravalle). *Gramigna* is the *triticum repens*, i.e. "couch-grass," or "dog-grass," and it is a common agricultural term in the Roman Campagna to "*purgare i campi gramignosi*," or "*combattere e vincere la gramigna.*"

† *sana e benigna*: This is the reading of all the early Commentators, and nearly all the MSS. The Aldine was the first

Si ricoperse, e funne ricoperta  
 E l' una e l' altra rota e il tēmo, in tanto  
 Che più tiene un sospir la bocca aperta.

What remained (of the Chariot)—even as fertile soil with dog-grass—clothed itself again with the plumage, offered perchance with holy and beneficent intent; and both the wheels, as well as the pole, were again clothed with it in less time than a sigh doth keep the lips apart.

This evidently alludes to the rich endowments of the Church. Up to this point the mystic Chariot had the symbolical meaning of the Church universal inasmuch as it owns the Pope for its head, but then forward it seems to have signified the Papal throne. It is now transformed into a monster of terrible appearance.

Trasformato così il dificio santo \*  
 Mise fuor teste per le parti sue,  
 Tre sopra il tēmo, ed una in ciascun canto.  
 Le prime eran cornute come bue ;  
 Ma le quattro un sol corno avean per fronte :  
 Simile mostro visto ancor non fue.†

Thus transformed, the holy structure put forth heads on all its different parts, three above the pole, and one at each corner. The first (three heads) were horned like oxen (*i.e.* with two horns each); but the four (at the corners, each) had a single horn upon the forehead: A monster such as this was never seen before.

---

to read *casta e benigna*, and nearly all the modern Commentators, with the exception of Scartazzini and Casini, read *casta*. It must be noticed that Dante only says that the Donation of Constantine was *offered* with a holy and beneficent intent. He only exculpates the giver. Not so those who accepted the gift.

\* *il dificio santo*: Compare *Inf.* xxxiv, 7:—

“Veder mi parve un tal 'dificio allotta.”

† *visto ancor non fue*: Others read *in vista ancor non fue*. Compare *Inf.* xxv, 75:—

“... membra che non fur mai viste.”

Scartazzini thinks that the monster with the seven heads and ten horns in this passage is a symbol of the degeneracy of the Church, and more especially of the corruption of the Papal throne.\* Lana is of opinion that the seven heads imply the seven capital sins which entered into the Church as soon as it became possessed of worldly riches:—

Pride,	}	which, offending against God and against one's neighbour, are two- horned sins.
Anger,		
Avarice,		
Envy,	}	which, only offending one's neighbour, are one-horned sins.
Sensuality,		
Sloth,		
Gluttony,		

Most of the principal Commentators give this interpretation.

Dante, having now passed rapidly over the vicissitudes of the Church from the earliest epoch of its existence, proceeds to notice its condition in his own times. He carries on the allegory by relating how he beheld upon the Chariot, now transformed into a monster, a bold shameless woman, and beside her a giant, who appeared to guard her. But when she turned her eyes upon Dante, the giant scourged her, loosed the Chariot from the Tree to which the Gryphon had bound it, and dragged it and the woman so far into the forest that they were lost to Dante's sight.

\* Compare *Inf.* xix, 109-10:—

“Quella che con le sette teste nacque,  
E dalle dieci corna ebbe argomento.”

And *ibid.*, 115-17:—

“Ahi, Constantin, di quanto mal fu matre,  
Non la tua conversion, ma quella dote  
Che da te prese il primo ricco patre!”

Sicura quasi rocca \* in alto monte,  
 Seder sopr' esso una puttana sciolta †  
 M' apparve con le ciglia intorno pronte. ‡  
 E come perchè non gli fosse tolta,  
 Vidi di costa a lei dritto un gigante, §  
 E baciavansi insieme alcuna volta :  
 Ma perchè l' occhio cupido e vagante ||  
 A me rivolse, quel feroce drudo

\* *Sicura quasi rocca* : Casini observes that this simile indicates that the Church, however much corrupted, rested upon foundations. Compare *St. Matt. v, 14* : "A city that is on a hill cannot be hid." I am surprised to notice that translators have fallen into the error of rendering *rocca* as "Rock." *Rocca* is a citadel, a fortress, or the keep of a castle (Latin *rocca* is *roccia*, though in some rare and quite obscure instances *rocca* has been used for "rock." The Rook in chess is derived from *rocca*, which is the regular word for "citadel" in the best writers. Even Cary and Longfellow have not been making this slip, but Dugdale, Norton, Butler, and Hall have rendered it correctly.

† *sciolta* primarily means ungirdled, dishevelled ; hence, licentious.

‡ *le ciglia intorno pronte* : See Cesari on this : "Ogni paup' guizzar qui la protervia dell' atto e del guardar meretricio ; *ciglia intorno pronte* : scolpisce lo sbalestrar degli occhi attorno saettano." Compare *Ecclus. xxvi, 9* : "The whetstone of a woman may be known in her haughty looks and eyelids."

§ *dritto un gigante* : i.e. a giant standing on his feet, in contrast to *sedere . . . una puttana sciolta* in l. 149. In my former edition I was criticised because in the episode of Belacqua (Canto 104) I had not translated *che si stavano all' ombra* "who were standing in the shade" in contrast to Belacqua sitting as I have since explained in a note on that passage, *stare* does not mean "to stand." "Dritto" does mean "standing on the feet."

|| *l' occhio cupido e vagante A me rivolse* : "quasi dicitur Bonifacius voluit respicere ad gentem italicam, dimissa quia nolebat amplius pati servitutem Philippi" (Benvenuto). This Lana remarks that, whenever the Popes did turn their backs towards Christian people, or, to continue the allegory, attempted to withdraw from their adultery, the above-mentioned kings of the House of France have scourged them to death, and bent them to their will. The simile (l. 157) implies the jealousy these kings felt lest any other power but France should have influence in Italy.

La flagellò \* dal capo infin le piante.  
 Poi di sospetto pieno e d' ira crudo,  
 Disciolse il mostro, e trassel per la selva  
 Tanto, che sol di lei mi fece scudo †  
 Alla puttana ed alla nuova belva.

160

Secure as a citadel on some lofty hill, methought there sat upon it (*i.e.* the Chariot transformed into a monster) a dishevelled harlot with bold and eager looks. And, as if in order (to guard) that she should not be taken from him, I saw standing at her side a giant, and ever and anon they kissed each other. But because she turned on me her wanton and roving eye, that savage paramour scourged her from head to foot. Then, full of jealousy and fierce with rage, he unloosed the monster (from the Tree to which the Gryphon had bound the Chariot before its transformation), and dragged it off through the forest so far, that he made of that alone a shield for me against the harlot and the newly-formed beast.

The giant made of the forest an impediment to Dante seeing the strange group any longer.

Dante has here been giving, in allegorical language, a sketch of the events that happened in his own time, which Scartazzini considers to be perfectly clear. There are two personages: the harlot and the giant. The harlot, styled *fuja* in xxxiii, 44, is that harlot of *Rev.* xvii, 1-2, "that sitteth upon many waters: with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication," and is also "that great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth" (*ib.* 18), evidently meaning Rome. In the allegory of this Canto there is a symmetrical arrangement, which makes each personage and component part

\* *La flagellò*: Tommaséo says that the woman with the wanton glance reminds one of *la lupa . . . di tutte brame . . . carca*, *Inf.* i, 49; and her roving eye of *la bestia senza pace*, *Inf.* i, 58.

† *mi fece scudo*: "quasi dicat, quia inter me et monstrum interposita est sylva" (Benvenuto).

have its antitype or antithesis. Now Dante has taken Beatrice as the ideal type and symbol of the spirit and papal authority, and therefore the harlot must be the antitype of Beatrice, and must signify the papal authority, degenerate, corrupt, and transformed into the contrary of what it ought to be, and consequently deserving of all censure. Such were in Dante's eyes the Popes of his time, and notably so Boniface VIII, who in *Par.* xxvii, 22, is called by St. Peter "*quegli ch' usci in terra il loco mio.*" The harlot is therefore the Papal Curia degenerate and corrupt, and is the symbol of the two Popes contemporary with Dante, Boniface VIII and Clement V.

The giant, who appears to be an imitator of the kings of the earth that have committed fornication with the great Whore, symbolizes the Royal House of France, and especially Philip *le Bel*, whose contests with Boniface VIII are well known.\*

In recapitulation, the interpretation of the allegory may thus be summed up:—

The Monster is the antitype of the Triumphal Chariot.

The Seven Heads form the antitype of the Seven Nymphs or the Seven Candlesticks. The Ten Heads are the antitype of the Ten Paces (see *Purg.* xxix, note).

The Harlot is the antitype of Beatrice.

The monster being loosed from the Tree, and dragged through the forest, is the antitype of the Chariot bound to the Tree and bound to it.

The Giant, as Paramour of the Church, is the antitype of the Church.

---

\* Sometimes the two seemed to be in accord (*baciavansi insieme* l. 153).

type of the Gryphon, who, as the symbol of Christ, is the Bridegroom.

In the Gospel History, Pontius Pilate is taken as an antitype of Christ. But in *Purg.* xx, 91, Dante calls Philip *le Bel* "il nuovo Pilato."

This argument speaks in favour of the common interpretation. The episode of the giant dragging the transformed Chariot through the forest out of sight, is an imaginary prophecy of Dante relating to the translation of the Apostolic Seat from Rome to Avignon in 1305, Dante supposing himself to be looking five years in advance of 1300, when the vision is supposed to have occurred.

Pietro di Dante observes: "Et hoc est quod dicit, scilicet, quomodo traxit eam secum per silvam, idest quod fecit ut Curia romana tracta est ultra montes in suo territorio de Roma."

END OF CANTO XXXII.

## CANTO XXXIII.

THE TERRESTRIAL PARADISE (CONCLUDED)—THE PROPHECY  
BEATRICE—THE FIVE HUNDRED AND TEN AND FIFTY  
THE RIVER EUNOE—DANTE'S LAST PURIFICATION.

As in the last Canto Dante described at very great length the persecutions of the Church Militant, he now relates how Beatrice and her attendant ladies mourn over the indignities that the Church was suffering from the Kings of France.

Benvenuto divides the Canto into four parts.

*In the First Division*, from ver. 1 to ver. 33, Dante relates the plaintive dirge over the Church, sung by



*Division I.*—The seven Damsels break forth into a plaintive strain of psalmody, of which the responsive verses are sung alternately by the three Evangelical and by the four Cardinal Virtues. Beatrice listens with deep emotion.

*Deus, venerunt gentes,\** alternando  
 Or tre òr quattro,† dolce salmodia  
 Le donne incominciaro, e lagrimando :  
 E Beatrice sospirosa e pia  
 Quelle ascoltava sì fatta, che poco  
 Più alla croce si cambiò Maria.

5

*Deus, venerunt gentes.* This sweet psalmody the Ladies commenced singing in alternate choirs, now of three, now of four, weeping the while : and Beatrice listened to them with sighs of compassion, (and) with such an aspect (of woe), that Mary at the cross was but little more changed (in appearance).

Dante, in the above passage, uses the words of the Psalmist lamenting over the desolation of Jerusalem by the Assyrians, and applies them to the tribulations of the Church, which he described under an allegory in the last Canto. Beatrice had been standing on the Chariot of the Church, when the Gryphon, Jesus Christ, bound it to the Tree, *i.e.* the Empire. The scene has now entirely changed. The place of Beatrice, the representative of the *ideal* ecclesiastical authority, has been usurped by the shameless harlot that typifies *corrupted* ecclesiastical authority, and as such, is the antitype of

\* *Deus, venerunt gentes*, is the beginning of *Psalm lxxviii*, of the *Vulgate*: "O God, the heathen are come into Thine inheritance; Thy holy temple have they defiled; they have laid Jerusalem on heaps."

† *Or tre or quattro*: "Le tre donne diceano l' uno verso del Salmo, e le quattro diceano il seguente; e così procedevano per lo Salmo" (*Ottimo*).

Beatrice. The brutal giant has dragged his wife and paramour out of sight, that is to say, Philip le Beau transferred the Papal Seat to Avignon. The authority can only rule in Rome, and therefore Beatrice, its representative, is here depicted as standing by the sea in desolation and woe.

Having described Beatrice's appearance and her expression, Dante tells how she at length broke silence.

Ma poichè l' altre vergini dièr loco  
 A lei di dir, levata dritta in piè  
 Rispose, colorata come foco :  
*Modicum,\* et non videbitis me,*  
*Et iterum sorelle mie dilette,*  
*Modicum, et vos videbitis me.*

But when the other maidens had given place for her to speak, rising up upon her feet, she answered (with countenance) crimsoned like fire : *Modicum, et non videbitis me, et iterum*, my beloved sisters, *Modicum et vos videbitis me.*

These words of Our Lord (*St. John* xvi, 16) are spoken by Beatrice, partly as a prophecy, partly as an inspiration for the speedy restoration of the Papal Seat to Rome. Her face is burning with indignation at the wrongs suffered by the Church of which she is guardian.

The company now moves on. The seven Danes walk in front, then Beatrice; while Matelda, Dante, Statius, bring up the rear.

Poi le si mise innanzi tutte e sette,  
 E dopo sè, solo accennando, mosse  
 Me e la Donna, e il Savio che ristette.

---

\* *Modicum*, et seq. : "Con queste parole intende l' autore avvegnacchè la Chiesa sia in privazione d' obbedienza al tempo presente, el verrà tempo che essa sarà in abito di obbedienza così si mostrerà a tutti" (Lana).

Then she sent on all the seven before her, and, by a mere sign, motioned me and the Lady (Matelda), as also the sage who still remained (*i.e.* Statius) to follow her.

In this new procession, diminished in numbers, the same kind of order is observed as in the greater procession that had proceeded to the Tree. The candlesticks are borne aloft in the front by the seven Damsels.

Before they have walked ten paces further, Beatrice invites Dante to draw nearer to her, the better to hear her words. Dante obeys her commands, and she then encourages him to take heart and converse with her.

Così sen giva, e non credo che fosse  
 Lo decimo suo passo \* in terra posto,  
 Quando con gli occhi gli occhi mi percosse ;  
 E con tranquillo aspetto :—"Vien più tosto,"—  
 Mi disse,—"tanto che s' io parlo teco,                   20  
 Ad ascoltarmi tu sie ben disposto."—  
 Sì com' io fui, com' io doveva, seco,  
 Dissemi :—"Frate, perchè non ti attenti  
 A domandarmi omai venendo meco?"—

Thus she (Beatrice) moved on, and I do not believe that her tenth step had been planted on the ground, when with her eyes she encountered my eyes; and with a tranquil mien: "Come on more quickly," said she to me, "so that if I speak to thee, thou mayest be ready to listen to me." So soon as I was, as in duty bound, by her side, she said to me: "Brother, why dost thou not venture to question me now that thou art walking with me?"

\* *decimo suo passo*: Tommaséo thinks that Dante speaks of these ten paces merely from love of mathematical exactness, but Scartazzini believes that, in this number, Dante has again concealed some allegory which we do not know how to unravel. These ten paces of Beatrice remind us of the ten paces' distance, by which the candlesticks were separated from the mystic procession, of which they were the standards.

Benvenuto thinks Beatrice is hinting that Dante will ask her how long such offences shall remain punished. Dante feels encouraged to ask her what is in his heart, but does so with much timidity, expressing his assurance that she knows how much information is good for him to have. In reply, Beatrice exhorts him to lay aside this timidity, and no longer to talk like one in a trance.

Benvenuto remarks that, from this point up to the end of the *Paradiso*, we never again find that Dante loses consciousness, or dreams within his vision.

Come a color che troppo reverenti \*  
 Dinanzi a' suoi maggior parlando sono,  
 Che non traggon la voce viva ai denti,  
 Avvenne a me, che senza intero suono †  
 Incominciai:—"Madonna, mia bisogna  
 Voi conoscete, e ciò ch' ad essa è buono."—  
 Ed ella a me:—"Da tema e da vergogna  
 Voglio che tu omai ti disviluppe, ‡

\* *reverenti Dinanzi a' suoi maggior*, etc.: Compare the address of Telemachus to Mentor, when exhorted to pay a visit to Nestor, *Odys.* iii, 27, Lord Carnarvon's Translation:—

"It ill beseemeth youth to question eld."

† Compare also *Purg.* i, 51:—

"Riverenti mi fe' le gambe e il ciglio."

It has been well said that Dante must be commented on by himself. We have in *Conv.* iv, cap. 8, ll. 1-9, Dante's definition of reverence, which we will take in his own words: "Lo più bello che dalla radice razionale consurga si è la *discrezione* . . . Uomini più belli e dolci frutti di questo ramo è la *reverenza* che del maggiore il minore." And (ll. 100, 101): "*Reverenza non è che confessione di debita suggezione per manifesto segno.*"

‡ *senza intero suono*: Compare Ariosto, *Orland. Fur.* xli

"Spesso la voce, dal desio cacciata,  
 Viene a Rinaldo sin presso alla bocca  
 Per domandarlo; e quivi raffrenata  
 Da cortese modestia, fuor non scocca."

‡ *Da tema . . . ti disviluppe*: Compare *Inf.* iii, 14, where Dante says to Dante:—

Si che non parli più com' uom che sogna.\*

As befalls those who speak with such excessive reverence in the presence of their superiors, that they fail to force any distinct utterance through their teeth, so it befell me, for without any perfect sound I began: "My Lady, thou knowest my necessity, and that which is good for it." And she to me: "I will that henceforward thou disentangle thyself from timidity and shame, so that thou mayest no more speak like one who dreams.

*Division II.*—Beatrice now foretells the swift retribution that is about to befall the persecutors of the Church from the hand of one who will set her free. She says that the eagle will, in its turn, have an heir, for before long a messenger of God will slay the harlot and her paramour the giant.

Sappi che il vaso † che il serpente ‡ ruppe,

---

"Qui si convien lasciare ogni sospetto;  
Ogni viltà convien che qui sia morta."

And *Par.* xv, 67:—

"La voce tua sicura, balda e lieta  
Suoni la volontà, suoni il disio,  
A che la mia risposta è già decreta."

And *Par.* xvii, 7:—

"Manda fuor la vampa  
Del tuo disio, 'mi disse,' sì ch' ella esca  
Segnata bene della interna stampa."

\* *com' uom che sogna*: Compare Petrarch, *Rime*, p. i, son. 34 (in some editions 41):—

"Se parole fai,  
Sono imperfette, e quasi d' uom che sogna."

And Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* xiii, 30:—

"Gli ragiona in guisa d' uom che sogna."

† *vaso*: This properly means the hollow body of the Chariot = *la cuna del carro*, but is used here to signify the Chariot itself.

‡ *serpente*. In Canto xxxii, 130-35, we are told that it was *un drago* which transfixed and then destroyed the body of the Car. Dante now calls the Dragon a serpent, as St. John did in *Rev.* xii, 9: "And the great dragon was cast out, that old ser-

Fu, e non è; \* ma chi n' ha colpa, creda  
Che vendetta di Dio non teme suppe.

Know that the vessel which the serpent broke, was  
and is not; but let him whose fault it is, be assured  
that the vengeance of God is not to be scared away  
by sops.

Let not him, Philip *le Bel*, who has occasioned  
destruction of the Church (represented by the Dragon  
who broke up the hollow body of the Car with his  
hope to appease the anger of the Deity by any outward  
act of religious, or rather superstitious, ceremony  
such as was, in Dante's time, performed by a murderer  
in Florence, who imagined himself secure from punish-  
ment, if he ate a sop of bread steeped in wine  
within nine days. Corso Donati, Benvenuto tell  
acted on this belief, and the *Falso Boccaccio* re-

---

presented, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the  
world." Wherefore we may consider it fully proved that the  
Dragon in Dante's vision, the author of all evil, the Devil  
signified.

\* *Fu, e non è*: Barelli (*L' Allegoria della D.C.*, Firenze,  
p. 279) says that these words, compared with "*Modice  
videbitis me*, etc., prove, first, that the Papal Seat, corrupted  
by wealth, and alienated from the knowledge of God, is  
no longer as holy, as perfect as it was in its early days,  
efficacious in the sanctification of Christians; secondly, that  
before long what was shown in allegory, of the carrying off  
the Chariot, would be literally fulfilled. But all this degradation  
of the Church was but for a little while. *Et iterum me  
et videbitis me*. Hence we must understand *fu e non è* in  
two senses: first, *Il vaso fu e non è santo quanto Dio lo fece*  
the Church no longer has that holiness which it had when  
first created it; second, *Il vaso fu e non è congiunto alla  
dove Dio lo pose, i.e.* the Church no longer remains  
attached to that Tree to which God attached it, namely, the seat  
of the Roman Empire, but has been transferred to Avignon."  
The word "Church" is used here in the sense that it has gradually  
acquired towards the end of the last Canto, namely, not the  
Church Universal, but the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy at the  
Papal Seat.

that when Charles of Anjou defeated and captured the youthful Conradin, son of the Emperor Conrad IV, with young Frederick of Austria, and the two Lancias, and had them beheaded at Naples, it was reported that Charles and his barons caused sops to be prepared, and they ate them over the dead bodies, saying that thenceforward there could be no vengeance carried out against them. Scartazzini states that, out of sixty-four Commentators whom he has quoted, forty-nine are agreed in referring this passage to the popular superstition of the times, and some mention it as actually occurring in their days.

Paulo Emiliani-Giudici (*Storia della Lett. Ital.*, vol. i, p. 215) observes that the present passage is one of the most sublime touches of the Dantesque pencil, a mode of speech mysterious to us, which, although it bears in our eyes the obscurity of the answer of an oracle, must have been perfectly clear and intelligible to Dante's contemporaries, while to the Anjous it must have contained a bitter sarcasm, deriding their superstitions, and threatening vengeance for their crimes. We have here one of the many buried treasures, with which the whole poem would glitter, were it to be illustrated by a commentary rigidly historical.

Beatrice now shows how vain is such fancied security on the part of Philip *le Bel*, because the outrage on the Church will be speedily avenged by a special emissary of God.

Non sarà tutto tempo senza ereda \*

---

\* *senza ereda L' aquila*, i.e. the vacant Imperial throne. The vision is supposed to have taken place in 1300, in which year the Imperial throne was not really vacant, but only so in Dante's eyes. In the *Convivio* he speaks of Frederick II as the last

L' aquila che lasciò le penne al carro,  
 Per che divenne mostro e poscia preda ;  
 Ch' io veggio certamente, e però il narro,  
 A darne tempo già stelle propinque,  
 Sicure d' ogni intoppo e d' ogni sbarro ;  
 Nel quale un cinquecento dieci e cinque,  
 Messo da Dio, anciderà la fuia  
 Con quel gigante che con lei delinque.

Not for all time shall be without an heir the eagle that left his plumage in the Car, whereby it became a monster and afterwards the prey (of the giant) ; I can assuredly discern—and therefore I tell you—stars even now close at hand, secure from any impediment or hindrance (*i.e.* no power can prevent such a conjunction of planets), that will give us a time in which A FIVE HUNDRED AND TEN FIVE, sent from God, shall slay the thievish woman (*i.e.* the plunderer of God's heritage), together with the giant who is her accomplice in guilt.

The above passage is one of the most obscure and disputed in the whole of the *Divina Commedia*.

In the first place, Dante has again imitated the mystic in the *Revelations* (xiii, 18): "Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast; for it is the number of a man; and his number is six hundred three score and six." This last is not thought to be a difficult enigma, as St. John was a Jew, and when written in Hebrew letters, the number 666 exactly

#### NERON CAESAR.

But a new and most interesting solution of the enigma has been propounded by Dr. Moore in his essay

on the Emperor and King of the Romans. Dante evidently thought that, in a short time, an Emperor after his ideal would be Scartazzini thinks that the *Purgatorio* was written subsequent to the death of Henry of Luxembourg in 1313, and therefore he cannot be the monarch on whom Dante found his hopes.



D.X.V. Prophecy," in *Studies in Dante* (Third Series, pp. 253-81). Dr. Moore's solution is based upon the supposition that the number 515 is, like that in the Apocalypse, "the number of a man;" that the interpretation of it which confines it to the word "DUX" is an inadequate interpretation; that the deaths of the Harlot and the Giant (*i.e.* the first Avignon Pope, Clement V., and his patron, Philip the Fair), though they occurred in the year 1314, were not, in fact, attributable to the Emperor Lewis or to any other Deliverer; and that the enigma is, consequently, not one of Dante's retrospective, or *ex post facto*, prophecies, but expresses a genuine anticipation, which, like the Greyhound [*Veltro*] prophecy, was not eventually verified.

The substance of Dr. Moore's solution is embodied in the three following propositions, namely: *first*, that the Deliverer is the Emperor Henry VII; *secondly*, that his name, by a process familiar in the Middle Ages, will (except in the case of one letter of that name) actually give the number 515; and *thirdly*, that there is abundant reason for believing that the process was known to Dante.

As to the *First Proposition*, no one but an Emperor would have the power to overthrow the French domination over the Papacy. The Emperor in question must either have been Lewis of Bavaria, or Henry of Luxembourg, commonly known as Henry VII. But Lewis is entirely ignored in the rest of Dante's writings; whereas in many parts of these same writings Henry is treated with almost divine honours, and, in one remarkable passage (*Epist.* vii, 8), is exhorted to bestir himself and overthrow Goliath (*il Gigante*) with his sling and stone. In short, the presumption in favour of Henry

being the Deliverer is so strong, that it almost would require proof that 515 signifies some one else to induce us to abandon it.

As to his *Second Proposition*, Dr. Moore shows the transliteration of the name Henry, in its primitive form, ARRIC(H)O, will, according to Kabbalistic method of interpretation, give us, except the case of the last letter of the word, as to what guess is necessary, the number 515.

Dr. Moore justifies his *Third Proposition*, namely, that the Kabbalistic method was known to Dante, by showing that it was well known in Italy in Dante's time, and that among Dante's personal friends was a leading authority on that system. This person was a Jewish physician Emanuel ben Salomon, often called Emanuele da Ferrara, who was born in the same year as Dante, and was the recognised head of a considerable literary society of Italian Jews in Central Italy about the year 1290. From him Dr. Moore suggests that Dante obtained perhaps orally, the idea of expressing in the Kabbalistic method the name of Henry and the numerical equivalent which that method afforded, so far as it was capable of doing so, for the letters of that name. (See *Arti* *The Pilot* of 13th April, 1901, by D. R. Fearon, C.I.

Beatrice explains that, if her description appears obscure, it will soon be made clear by facts.

E forse che la mia narrazion buia,  
Qual Temi e Sfinge,\* men ti persuade,  
Perch' a lor modo lo intelletto attuia ; †

\* *Temi e Sfinge*: Themis was celebrated for her ambiguous oracles. The fable of the Sphinx is well known.

† *attuia*: This word only occurs in this one passage of *The Divine Comedy*. The older Commentators never noticed it. Benvenuto explains "obscures the intellect." I think it best to take *attui-*

Ma tosto fien li fatti le Naiàde,\*  
 Che solveranno questo enigma forte, 50  
 Senza danno di pecore o di biade.

And peradventure my obscure utterance, like Themis and the Sphinx, will be less able to persuade thee, because it clouds the intellect after their fashion (of speaking ambiguously); but before long the facts (that will occur) will be the Laiàdes (*not* Naiades, but Laiades, *i.e.* Œdipus the son of Laius), which will solve this difficult enigma, without destruction of flocks or of harvests (such as was wrought by the Sphinx in the country round Thebes).

Beatrice exhorts Dante to relate what he had observed when he returns to the world, and especially not to omit

---

signifying *offuscare*, which is the sense given to the word by the *Accademia della Crusca*.

\* *Naiàde*: It will be observed that, whereas in the text the word *Naiàde* occurs, I have translated it as if it were *Laiàde*. It is a very curious episode in the *Divina Commedia*, and I take this opportunity of thanking my friend Dr. Moore, who forewarned me of the passage. The idea of Naiades, or Laiàdes was evidently suggested to Dante by these lines from Ovid, *Met.* vii, 759-61:—

“Carmina Laiàdes non intellecta priorum  
 Solverat ingeniis; et precipitata jacebat,  
 Immemor ambagum, vates obscura, suorum.”

In Dante's time a clerical error in all the MSS. of Ovid had substituted Naiàdes for Laiàdes. Heinsius was the first to discover the error. It seems quite clear that Dante had Œdipus Laiàdes and the Sphinx in his mind, for the line “Senza danno di pecore o di biade,” evidently comes from the lines in Ovid immediately following those quoted above:—

“Protinus Aoniis immittitur altera Thebis  
 Pestis; et exitio multi pecorumque suaque  
 Rurigenæ pavere feram.”

“Forthwith a second plague is sent to Thebes in Bœotia, and many rustics supplied food to the monster, by the destruction of their flocks, and of their own persons;” while the line

“precipitata jacebat

“Immemor ambagum vates obscura suorum,”

meaning that the prophetess of obscure utterances forgot her riddles, and hurled herself down from a high cliff, can only refer to the Sphinx and not to the Naiades.

to mention the condition in which he saw the Tree of the Terrestrial Paradise.

Tu nota; e sì come da me son pôrte,  
 Così queste parole segna ai vivi  
 Del viver ch' è un correre alla morte;  
 Ed abbi a mente, quando tu le scrivi,  
 Di non celar qual hai vista la pianta,  
 Ch' è or due volte dirubata quivi.

Mark thou this; and even as these words are uttered by me, so do thou teach them to those who are living that life which is a hastening unto death; and be in mind, when thou writest them, not to conceal what plight thou hast seen the Tree, which has already in this place (the Terrestrial Paradise) been twice pillaged.

All the ancient Commentators agree that the first time the Tree was despoiled by Adam; and the second time by the giant.

Scartazzini says that the passage in xxxii, 39, where the tree being denuded of flowers and other foliage, every branch, and the murmuring of the name of God by the glorious company, denote the first spoliation of the Tree, beyond any possible dispute. Besides which, in line 40 of this *Canto*, Beatrice mentions what a long penalty befell Adam for having "bitten at" the Tree. The attacks either by the eagle, the wolf, or the dragon, who robbed the Tree, they only injured either it, or the Chariot. But the giant, by detaching the Chariot from the Tree, carrying it away from the Tree, of the wood of which the Tree was formed, did rob the tree.

Beatrice draws a general conclusion by affirming that not only Adam, but every other violator of the Tree, incurs the wrath of God.

Qualunque ruba \* quella o quella schianta,  
 Con bestemmia di fatto offende a Dio,  
 Che solo all' uso suo la credè santa. 60  
 Per morder quella, in pena † ed in disio  
 Cinquemili' anni e più ‡ l' anima prima  
 Bramò Colui che il morso in sè punio.

Whoever robs it (the Tree) or rends off its boughs,  
 with blasphemy of deed offends against God, Who  
 created it holy for His use alone. For tasting its  
 fruit, the first-born soul (Adam) in pain and in desire  
 for five thousand years and more had to long for the

---

\* *Qualunque ruba*: We remarked on ll. 49-51 of the last Canto, that the Chariot is the Church, the pole of it the Sacred Seat, and the Tree, in its allegorical signification, the Empire. The Tree is robbed by whomsoever deprives it of the Chariot, as did the giant: or when any of the goods or the rights which belong to the Empire are usurped, as is done by those, the clerical hierarchy, who ought to give themselves up to devotion and let Cæsar bestride the saddle (*Purg.* vi, 91-93):—

“Ahi gente, che dovresti esser devota,  
 E lasciar seder Cesare in la sella,  
 Se bene intendi ciò che Dio ti nota.”

The Tree is rent [*schiantato*] when any attack is made at the Imperial authority.

† *pena* refers to the years that Adam lived on earth; *disio* to the time he passed in *Limbo*, where the souls have this only torment, that they abide for ever longing and without hope. (See *Inf.* iv. 41-42.)

‡ *Cinquemili' anni e più*: In *Par.* xxvi, 118, Dante makes Adam say that he passed 4302 years in *Limbo*, and 930 years on Earth; for Adam's age see *Gen.* v, 5. According to Eusebius, Jesus Christ was born 5200 years after the creation of the world. The other chronologists differ greatly as to this date, but Dante has evidently followed that given by Eusebius. If Christ was born in the year 5200 from the Creation, and died in the thirty-third year of His age, the date of His descent into *Limbo* would be 5232, which is the exact date given by Dante. See *Par.* xxiv, 118-20:—

“Quindi, onde mosse tua Donna Virgilio,  
 Quattromila trecento e due volumi  
 Di Sol desiderai questo concilio.”

If to the figures 4302 we add the 930 years that Adam lived on Earth we obtain 5232, which is the date of Our Lord's death, according to the calculations of Eusebius.

advent of Him Who punished on His Own Self  
sin of) that tasting.

*Division III.*—Beatrice now remonstrates with  
on his ignorance as to the things he has seen co  
with the Tree.

Dorme lo ingegno tuo, se non estima  
Per singular cagione essere eccelsa \*  
Lei tanto, e sì travolta nella cima.  
E se stati non fossero acqua d' Elsa †  
Li pensier vani intorno alla tua mente,  
E il piacer loro un Piramo alla gelsa, ‡  
Per tante circostanze solamente  
La giustizia di Dio nello interdetto  
Conosceresti all' arbor moralmente. §

Thy intelligence must be asleep, if it does not  
prehend that for a special reason it (the Tree) i  
lofty, and so spreading at the top. And if thy

\* *eccelsa*: Graziani (*Interpret. dell' allegoria della Divina media*, p. 348) says: "The prodigious height of the Tree is an exact image of the vast size of the Empire, and the tapering of it at the top, that is, tapering downwards in the contrast to what pine and fir trees do, is perhaps stated for many reasons, but we will confine ourselves to Dante's description of the similar Tree (*Purg.* xxii, 135), alike too in its significance. 'Cred' io perchè persona su non vada,' and symbolizing the passage now before us, God's intention that the Empire be inviolate."

† *acqua d' Elsa*: The Elsa is a river in Tuscany, rising in the mountains near Colle, and flowing northward into the Arno between Florence and Pisa. Its waters have the power to petrify or petrify anything left in them.

‡ *un Piramo alla gelsa*: Alluding to the mulberry tree under which Pyramus and Thisbe died, staining it with their blood, from which circumstance the mulberry tree for ever after bears red fruit instead of white.

§ *moralmente*: In *Conv.* ii, cap. 1, *passim*, Dante says that the Scriptures can be understood, and must be expounded in four meanings or senses. The *literal sense*; the *allegorical sense*; the *moral sense*; the *anagogical sense*, that is, above all, as when one expounds a passage in Scripture in a *spiritus*

thoughts had not been as the (petrifying) waters of the Elsa round thy mind, and thy delight in them (had not stained thy mind) as Pyramus did the mulberry (with his blood), by so many circumstances alone thou wouldst, in the moral sense, have recognized the justice of God in the interdict upon the Tree.

Beatrice means that had not Dante's mind been so hardened with worldly cares, and stained with sinful pleasures, he would have seen the perfect justice of God in prohibiting access to the Tree. After all that had been shown to him in so many figures and allegories, he would assuredly have understood the moral signification of the justice of God in the precept given by Him to our first parents, almost as if it had borne the identical meaning of what was His Will as to the inviolability of the Empire.

Beatrice, in reproving Dante for the vain thoughts that cloud his intellect, is evidently speaking of his past life, and that his purification can only be complete and perfect after that he shall have tasted of the waters of Eunoe, which will render him, as we shall read in the concluding words of the *Purgatorio*, "renewed as are young trees with new foliage, pure, and disposed to mount up to the stars." He had been absolved and made free from sin, he had drunk forgetfulness of it in the waters of Lethe, but the consequences of his sin, a darkening of the mind, still remained. The waters of Lethe take away sin, while those of Eunoe waft away the darkness that, after sin, overclouds the soul.

Beatrice now tells Dante that she wishes him, at all events, to take back to the world what she has just said, and, as she sees his mind is too hardened and impenetrable for her words to be clearly engraved

in it, she desires that he should carry away a outline of the general sense of what she has said

Ma perch' io veggio te nello intelletto  
Fatto di pietra,\* ed, impietrato, tinto †  
Sì che t' abbaglia il lume del mio detto,  
Voglio anco, e se non scritto, almen dipinto,  
Che il te ne porti dentro a te, per quello  
Che sì reca il bordon di palma cinto." ‡—

But because I see thee with thine intellect hard into stone, and because of this hardening (I see thine intellect) so much darkened that the light of my course dazzles thee, it is furthermore my will, thou bear it (my discourse) away within thee, if written down, at least outlined (in thy memory) the same reason that the pilgrim's staff is brought home entwined with palm leaves."

A conversation now ensues between Dante and Beatrice. First assuring her that her words are soundly impressed in his mind, he asks her why her discourse soars so far above the level of his intelligence. She tells him that it is in order that he understand how little the learning, up till now

\* *Fatto di pietra*: Compare this with *Jer.* v, 3: "They have consumed them, but they have refused to receive correction; they have made their faces harder than a rock; they refused to return." And *Ezek.* xxxvi, 26: "A new heart will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you; I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you a heart of flesh."

† *impietrato, tinto*: "Quasi dica, io veggio ciò, che io ho fatto di sopra di te (cioè parlando dell' acqua d' Elsa e di Elsa) che t' ha impietrato, e la pietra è tinta di bruno, sicchè se' atto a ricevere la luce fulgida del mio mistico parlare." (*Ottimo*).

‡ *bordon di palma cinto*: Pilgrims carried their staves with palm leaves, a cockle shell in their hats, and wore a cord to show that they had been in the Holy Land. See the Ballad of "The Friar of Orders Grey."



lowed by him is of a character that can rise to the level of her lofty conceptions. "But," says Dante, "I do not remember that I ever was estranged from thee." "Naturally," replies Beatrice, "because only this day hast thou drunk oblivion in the waters of Lethe."

Ed io:—"Si come cera da suggello,\*  
Che la figura impressa non trasmuta, 80  
Segnato è or da voi lo mio cervello.

Ma perchè tanto sopra mia veduta  
Vostra parola disiata vola,  
Che più la perde quanto più s' aiuta?"—

—"Perchè conoschi,"—disse,—"quella scuola 85  
Ch' hai seguitata, e veggì sua dottrina  
Come può seguitar la mia parola;

E veggì vostra via dalla divina  
Distar cotanto, quanto si discorda  
Da terra il ciel che più alto festina."— 90

And I: "Even as wax which does not change the figure stamped upon it by a seal, so is my brain (*i.e.* memory) now imprinted by you. But why is it that your longed-for words range so far above my ken, that the more it (my intellect) looks for aid, the more it loses it?" "(It is in order) that thou mayest know," said she, "that school which thou hast followed (Philosophy), and mayest see how (little) its teaching is able to follow my discourse; and that thou mayest see that the way of you (philosophers) is as widely removed from the way of God, as is distant from the Earth the Heaven that speeds round highest of all."

She means the *Primum Mobile*, the farthest off and the

---

\* *cera da suggello*: Compare *De Mon.* ii, 2, ll. 73-76: "Nam occulto existente sigillo, cera impressa de illo quamvis occulto tradit notitiam manifestam." And *Conv.* i, 8, ll. 91, 92: "L' utilità suggella la memoria dell' imagine del dono." And *Purg.* xviii, 38, 39:—

"Non ciascun segno  
È buono, ancor che buona sia la cera."

highest of the movable heavens, beyond which was supposed to be the Empyrean, ever at rest.

The conception of this passage is taken from *Isaiah* lv, 8-9: "For My thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways My ways, saith' the Lord. For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are My ways higher than your ways, and My thoughts than your thoughts."

Ond' io risposi lei:—"Non mi ricorda  
Ch' io straniassi me giammai da voi,  
Nè honne coscienza che rimorda."—

—"E se tu ricordar non te ne puoi,"—

Sorridendo rispose,—"or ti rammenta  
Come bevesti di Letè ancoi;\*

95

E se dal fummo foco † s' argomenta,  
Cotesta oblivion chiaro conchiude ‡  
Colpa nella tua voglia altrove attenta.

Whereupon I answered her: "I cannot recollect that I ever estranged myself from you, nor have I any conscience of it that reproves me." "And, if thou canst not remember it," she answered with a

\* *Come bevesti di Letè ancoi*: The Aldine, *Quattro Fiorentini* and *La Crusca* read: *Sì come di Letèo beesti ancoi*. The Vatican and Mantua: *Come di Lethè bevesti ancoi*. *Ancoi* is equivalent to *ancora oggi*.

† *dal fummo foco*: This means, if one goes from the effect back to the cause. The water of Lethe causes forgetfulness of past sin, but not of deeds that are not sinful. Dante's very forgetfulness, after drinking of Lethe, of a certain period in his past life, is a distinct proof, it is argued, that that period was a sinful one. "Qui esemplifica a simile Beatrice che, sì come quando si vede fummo egli è notorio che quivi è fuoco, così quando l' uomo per la detta acqua è in oblivione, egli è notorio che prima vi fu vizio" (*Anon. Fior.*).

‡ *conchiude*: A scholastic expression signifying "to prove, to demonstrate by reasoning" (Poletto). So also in *Par.* xxiv. 94-96:—

"È sillogismo che la m' ha conchiusa  
Acutamente sì che in verso d' ella  
Ogni dimostrazion mi pare ottusa."

smile, "recollect how that on this very day thou hast drunk of Lethe; and if from the smoke a fire may be inferred, this forgetfulness of thine clearly proves fault in thy will (for being) intent elsewhere.

In the above words, Beatrice has applied to Dante's excuse in l. 93, *Nè honne coscienza che rimorda*. She now promises that thenceforward she will confirm him in good hope, will only speak to him in clear words, and will lay aside all enigmatical language.

Veramente oramai\* saranno nude 100  
 Le mie parole, quanto converrassi  
 Quelle scoprire alla tua vista rude." † —

Truly from this time forth, my words shall be undraped, so far as is befitting to lay them open to thy rude vision."

By drinking of Lethe, Dante has lost all memory of sin committed, but his mind is still in a state of confusion and his faculties dull and clouded. The water of Eunoe will clear up and illuminate his intellect.

*Division IV.*—In this concluding Division of the last Canto of the *Purgatorio*, Dante relates how he is led by Matelda to drink of the water of Eunoe, thereby acquiring the blessing of perfect virtue.

He begins by relating that it was mid-day.

---

\**oramai*: Tommaséo observes that, in other places in this Canto (see ll. 24 and 32) we have *omai*, which, like *oramai*, means "henceforward." It may be an accidental series of repetitions, but is more likely to have been intentional on Dante's part.

† *vista rude*: Compare *Purg.* x, 121-23:—

"O superbi Cristian, miseri lassi,  
 Che, della vista della mente infermi,  
 Fidanza avete ne' ritrosi passi," etc.

E più corrusco, e con più lenti passi,  
 Teneva il sole il cerchio di merigge,\*  
 Che qua e là, come gli aspetti, fassi,  
 Quando s' affisser, sì come s' affigge  
 Chi va dinanzi a gente per iscorta,  
 Se trova novitate a sue vestigge,†  
 Le sette donne al fin d' un ombra smorta,‡

\* *cerchio di merigge*: On this passage Dr. Moore has a wherein he alludes to two others, namely, *Par.* xxii, 151 *Par.* xxvii, 85, which some Commentators have strained to be allusions to time, still subsequent to Easter Wednesday. "I do not consider, therefore, that the discussion of these sagas falls within the scope of our present subject. At the time I admit (as I have already said) that Dante intends to give us generally to understand that, though himself be the limits and conditions of time, still the time passing while on this earth was such that, when he returned to it his ecstatic vision of Paradise, it would be found to be the evening of Thursday, April 14th" (*Time References*, pp. 126, 127). With regard to *più lenti passi*, Biagioli observes that at midday we seem to see the Sun move more slowly on account of the immensity of the distance of the highest point of the meridian from the horizon; and for the same reason, if we see it after sunrise, or just before sunset, we fancy we see it move upwards or downwards with increased rapidity. That this was a favourite one with Dante we may realise from his repeating it in *Par.* xxiii, 10-12:—

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

† *vestigge* for *vestigie* is here equivalent to *cammino*; *via*.

‡ *ombra smorta*, . . . *rami nigri* . . . *freddi rivi*: Compare *Georg.* iii, 332-34:—

"Sicubi magna Jovis antiquo robore quercus  
 Ingentes tendat ramos, aut sicubi nigrum  
 Illicibus crebris sacra nemus accubet umbra."

And Hor. *Carm.* iv., iv, 57-60:—

"Duris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus  
 Nigrae feraci frondis in Algido  
 Per damna, per caedes, ab ipso  
 Ducit opes animumque ferro."

And Poliziano, *Stanze*, lib. i, st. 80:—

"Sovresso il verde colle alza superba  
 L' ombrosa chioma u' il sol mai non arriva:  
 E sotto vel di spessi rami serba  
 Fresca e gelata una fontana viva."

On *ombra* Lana writes: "Per questa ombra intende la terra"

Qual sotto foglie verdi e rami nigri  
Sopra suoi freddi rivi l' Alpe \* porta.

110

Both more resplendent, and with slower paces, the Sun was keeping along the meridian circle (*i.e.* it was noon), which (noon) takes place here (in our hemisphere) and yonder (in the other hemisphere) according to the aspects (of the heavenly bodies), when—even as one who walks in front of a company by way of escort, if he encounters anything new upon his way, comes to a halt—the seven ladies came to a stand-still at the edge of a pale shadow, of the same kind as the high mountains cast upon their icy torrents beneath their dark-green foliage and their gloomy branches.

The above allusion to the time of day is the last that occurs in the *Divina Commedia*, and is intended to refer to noon on Easter Wednesday, 13th April, 1300. Dr. Moore (*Time References*, p. 113) remarks that it is hardly necessary to add that Dante gives us no such marks of time in the *Paradiso*, since there he has passed from time to eternity (*Par.* xxxi, 36). Also there they have no need of the Sun, neither of the Moon to shine in it, for there is no night there.

Dante now sees two rivers, which are Lethe and Eunoe, issuing from one source, and, remembering the rivers of Eden recorded in *Genesis*, thinks he sees Euphrates and Tigris.

---

sitade in che rimagnono le virtudi quando della Chiesa è fatto mal governo."

\* *Alpe*: The word is used here as a general term for a high mountain. Benvenuto remarks that, though Dante had doubtless witnessed Nature, as here described, in many places on the Alps, he had especially done so on the Apennines near Florence, in the upper Val d' Arno. Here, between Fiesole and Arezzo, is a most fertile territory, through which Hannibal marched.

Dinanzi ad esse Eüfratès e Tigri \*  
 Veder mi parve uscir d' una fontana,  
 E quasi amici † dipartirsi pigri.

In front of them (the seven ladies) methought I saw  
 Euphrates and Tigris issue forth from one spring,  
 and like friends about to part linger at their separation.

In *Inf.* ii, 76-78, Dante had told Beatrice that, though  
 her alone, the human race surpassed all within  
 heaven which has the smallest circles, meaning  
 heaven of the Moon, the lowest in the rank of  
 Spheres of Paradise, and which immediately covers  
 the Earth. Addressing her now as the Light of  
 the human race, he asks her what this bifurcation of  
 imports.

— "O luce, o gloria della gente umana,  
 Che acqua è questa che qui si dispiega  
 Da un principio, e sè da sè lontana?"—

"O Light, O glory of the human race, what water  
 is this which gushes forth from one source, and then  
 separates itself far away from itself?"

Scartazzini says this would be quite exaggerated  
 language, if Dante only intended to speak of the  
 daughter of Folco Portinari. But Beatrice is, in  
 Canto, an eminently symbolic and allegorical  
 sonage. *La Luce della gente umana* is the word of  
 God, Divine Revelation. "Thy word is a light"

\* *Eüfratès e Tigri*: Dante had evidently in his mind the famous  
 passage from Boëthius, *Philos. Consol.* v, metr. 1:—

"Tigris et Euphrates uno se fonte resolvunt,  
 Et mox abjunctis dissociantur aquis."

† *e quasi amici*: On this simile, Venturi (*Simil. Dant.*  
 sim. 182), remarks: "Que' due fiumi mostravano d' andarsi  
 per il dispiacere di doversi dividere, come sogliono gli  
 Concetto affettuosamente gentile."

my feet and a lantern unto my path" (*Ps.* cxix, 105). As she symbolizes the authority that is in possession of Divine Revelation, and who, according to the doctrines of that Revelation, ought to guide the human race to the highest felicity, Beatrice is really the light of the human race, she who walks before with the light of Revelation, with the lamp of the word of God in her hand, and gives light unto whoever follows it. Jesus Christ said: "I am the light of the World" (*St. John* viii, 12). So that the person called here *luce della gente umana* must be either Jesus Christ Himself, or His vicarious representative on earth. Now the Vicar of Jesus Christ on earth, according to the teaching of the Church to which Dante belonged, was the Pope. Therefore, in this passage, as in others, it is made clear that the Beatrice of the *Divina Commedia* symbolizes supreme Ecclesiastical Authority, which represents on Earth Him who is the light of the World.

Beatrice tells Dante to ask Matelda, who now for the first and only time is spoken of by name, to answer his question.

Per cotal prego detto mi fu:—"Prega  
Matelda\* che il ti dica;"—e qui rispose,  
Come fa chi di colpa si dislega,†

120

\* *Matelda*: Scartazzini remarks that not only does Beatrice here refer Dante to Matelda to answer his questioning about the water that he sees, but we shall find her also in the *Paradiso*, referring him in the same way to the glorified souls of the great Doctors of the Church, instead of solving his doubts herself. The ecclesiastical authority (Beatrice) refers the faithful children of the Church to the Priesthood (symbolized by Matelda) and to the learned Fathers of the Church.

† *di colpa si dislega*: Matelda, on being commanded by Beatrice to explain certain matters to Dante, answers that she had already done so. "La colpa è nodo che avvince l'animo; e, come tale,

La bella Donna:—"Questo, ed altre cose  
Dette gli son per me; e son sicura  
Che l'acqua di Letè non gliel nascose."—

To such entreaty reply was made to me: "Entreat Matelda to tell it thee." And hereupon, like one who clears himself from blame, the beautiful Lady replied (to Beatrice): "This, as well as other things have been told to him by me; and I am certain that the water of Lethe has not hidden them from him."

Matelda has not only given him the information desired (*Purg.* xxviii, 88-144) about the Terrestrial Paradise, but likewise about the wind of that elevated region, and the various conditions of it, and finally given him *un corollario ancor per grazia*. She felt quite assured that the waters of Lethe had not effaced from Dante's memory the information she had supplied about the wind and the water, because the only thing that they are capable of effacing is the recollection of past sins; and as we read in Canto xxx, 142 *et seq.*, Lethe cannot be passed until the sins in question have been repented of and atoned for. All the information she had given him would remain in his memory.

Beatrice now tells Matelda that Dante's mind and memory have undergone a great strain, considering the various incidents of his vision, which may well account for his forgetting what he saw and heard when he entered into the Terrestrial Paradise. She accordingly directs Matelda to lead him to Eunoe.

E Beatrice:—"Forse maggior cura,  
Che spesse volte la memoria priva,  
Fatta ha la mente sua negli occhi oscura.

---

lo slegarsene è più di sciogliersene. Vale lo stesso tanto in senso proprio, quanto nel figurato" (*Venturi, Simil. Dani.* p. 265).



Ma vedi Eünoè che là deriva :  
 Menalo ad esso, e come tu sei usa,  
 La tramortita sua virtù ravniva."—

And Beatrice: "Perchance some more pressing care, which oftentimes takes away the memory, has darkened the eyes of his mind. But behold Eunoë which gushes forth yonder; lead him thereto, and, as thou art wont, revive again in him his fainting powers."

Scartazzini fancies that the words *come tu sei usa* allude to former friendship in life between Dante and Matelda, whom he takes to be some Florentine lady, a friend of Beatrice, and Dante's confidant about his love for her, and who is probably mentioned, though not by name, in the *Vita Nuova*. He thinks that, in her lifetime she must often have restored Dante's *virtù tramortita*.

Matelda hastens to perform Beatrice's behests, with every loving proof of good will.

Com' anima gentil \* che non fa scusa, 130  
 Ma fa sua voglia della voglia altrui,  
 Tosto ch' ell' è per segno fuor dischiusa ;  
 Così, poi che da essa preso fui,  
 La bella Donna mossesi, ed a Stazio  
 Donnescamente † disse :—" Vien con lui."— 135

Like unto a noble soul that makes no excuse, but makes the will of another its own, as soon as that (other will) has been manifested even by a sign; thus,

\* "*l' anima gentile* è piena di virtù e così è piena di carità, e però imbasciata o richiesta a bisogno altrui non si scusa; ma adopera quello che sa e può" (Buti).

† *Donnescamente*: The *Gran Dizionario* interprets this: "After the manner of a lady (*Donna*) in the sense of *Domina*, combining a slight tinge of haughtiness with dignified courtesy. Let it be remembered that, in the Italian of Dante's time, *Donna* meant 'lady,' and the word 'woman' was expressed by *femmina*, which latter word is occasionally used by some of the great personages in the world of spirits who converse with Dante, somewhat as a term of contempt."

after she had taken hold of me, the beauteous L moved on, and with the courtesy of a high-born d said to Statius: "Come thou with him."

All through the great vision, and the passage th the Terrestrial Paradise, Statius has borne but a and secondary part, and even here Matelda sh marked difference between Dante, whom she ta the hand, and Statius, whom she bids follow Scartazzini thinks that the Latin poet is only a gorical personage in this Canto, without much Most of the old Commentators take it for grante he too drank of the water of Eunoe, and was bat it, but Dante does not mention the fact.

Dante now brings the *Cantica* of the *Purgator conclusion, relating how he was taken to Eunc how he returned from it regenerate, and fitted to to Paradise.*

S' io avessi, lettor, più lungo spazio  
Da scrivere, io pur canterei in parte \*  
Lo dolce ber che mai non m' avria sazio ;  
Ma perchè piene son tutte le carte †  
Ordite a questa *Cantica* seconda,  
Non mi lascia più ir lo fren dell' arte ‡  
Io ritornai dalla santissim' onda

\* *pur canterei in parte*: The word *pur* in this line may be of two interpretations. The one to be preferred is we phrased by Trissino as follows: "S' io avessi più spazio da scrivere, io pur canterei per quanto è possibile all' in sermon nostro ritrarre la dolcezza dell' acqua d' Eunoe This interpretation I have adopted, by translating in "least." Lombardi and a few others, including Casini, in "in disparte," "in un altro canto."

† *tutte le carte Ordite*: On the divisions by Dante of his and their symmetrical arrangement, see the *Preliminary*

‡ *lo fren dell' arte*: This Cesari explains: "il confine del servato sempre sin qui."

Rifatto sì, come piante\* novelle  
 Rinnovellate † di novella fronda,  
 Puro e disposto a salire alle stelle. ‡

145

If, Reader, I had a greater space for writing, I would, in part at least, sing of that sweet draught which never would have satiated me; but inasmuch as all the sheets allotted to this second Canticle are now full, the curb of my art lets me go no further (*i.e.* I may no longer give the rein to art). From that most holy water I returned (to where Beatrice was awaiting me) renewed even as new trees with new foliage, purified, and made fit to mount up to the stars.

The thirty-three Cantos destined for this second *Cantica* have now been completed. In the division of his poem, Dante scrupulously observes the laws of symmetry. Each of the three *Cantiche* has thirty-three Cantos, inasmuch as the first Canto of the *Inferno* must be regarded as the Introduction or Preface to the whole poem. And in fact, in the *Inferno*, the Invocation to the Muses is not in the first Canto, as it is in the *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso*, but in the second.

---

\* *come piante*: Compare Pindar, *Nemean Ode* viii, Antistr. iii (Moore's Translation):—

"Virtue exalted by the Muse,  
 As the tall pine refresh'd with dews  
 Lifts to the fostering heaven its branching head,  
 Among the just in glory thrives."

† *Rifatto*, and *Rinnovellate*: Compare *Eph.* iv, 23: "And be ye renewed in the spirit of your minds." And *Heb.* vi, 6: "To renew them again unto repentance." Compare also *Virg. Æn.* xii, 788-90:—

"Olli sublimes, armis animisque relecti,  
 Hic gladio fidens, hic acer et arduus hasta,  
 Assistunt contra certamine Martis anhelii."

‡ *stelle*: Dante, after drinking the water of Eunoe, is so renewed and refreshed that he feels himself fit to ascend to Heaven. Compare *St. John* iv, 14: "The water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life."

Each of the three *Cantiche* ends with the word "Perhaps," says Scartazzini, "Dante does so to tell to his readers what is the ultimate end of his *Purgatorio* to what point ought to be directed the eye of the reader who does not ignore its lofty origin and its exact purpose and aim. With the word '*stelle*,' as the concluding word of his Poem, Dante practically points his eye upwards, and exclaims: 'To Heaven! To Heaven!'"

END OF THE PURGATORIO.

## INDEX

- A guisa di leon*, i, 199.  
*Abate del Collegio*, ii, 396, 397.  
 Abbot of San Zeno, ii, 96.  
 Abel and Cain, i, 511.  
*Abido*, Abydos, ii, 449, 450.  
 Ablution, i, 37.  
 Abstinence, the Angel of, ii, 323.  
*Accidia*, ii, 38.  
*Accidia*, explanation of, ii, 55-57.  
*Aceto, l', e il fele*, ii, 163-165.  
 Achan, ii, 171.  
 Acheron, the river, i, 27; ii, 353.  
*Acheronte*, i, 70.  
 Achilles, i, 317, 318; ii, 201, 202.  
*Acqua d'Isa*, simile of the petrifying influence of worldly cares, ii, 617.  
*Ad vocem tanti senis*, probably a quotation by Dante of some line known to him, ii, 104.  
 Adam, murmuring against his disobedience, ii, 574.  
*Adamo, quel d', mortal flesh*, i, 311; *carne d'*, i, 387.  
*Adormentai, m'*, Dante's sleep after the Mystic Procession, ii, 581.  
*Adhaesit pavimento anima mea*, ii, 120, 121.  
 Adige, the river, ii, 31.  
 Adrian V, Pope, spirit of, i, xxxvii; ii, 122-124.  
 Aeneas, ii, 10.  
*Affricano*, allusion to the triumph of Scipio Africanus, ii, 491.  
 Agathon, famous Greek poet, ii, 243.  
 Aglauros, the nymph, i, 512.  
*Agnel di Dio*, ii, 5.  
*Agnus Dei*, the, ii, 5.  
 Agobbio, Oderisi d', the illuminator, i, xxxvii; 395-410.  
 Ahasuerus, ii, 45.  
 Alagia, niece of Pope Adrian V, and wife of Moroello Malaspina, ii, 134.  
 Alagna, town of, ii, 163.  
*Alberto Tedesco, i.e.* Albert of Hapsburg, i, xxxv; 206, 207.  
 Alberto della Scala, ii, 98.  
 Albia, the river Elbe, i, 245.  
 Aldighiero Aldighieri, Dante's great-grandfather, i, 384.  
 Aldobrandeschi, Guglielmo, i, 391.  
 Aldobrandeschi, Omberio, Count of Santafiora, i, 373; 389.  
 Alessandria, city of, i, 258.  
*Alpe, l'*, any high mountain, ii, 39, 40; 623.  
*Alpestro monte, l'*, meaning the chain of the Apennines, i, 486, 487.  
 Alphonso III, King of Aragon, i, 251-253.  
 Alps, Dante and the, i, xx.  
*Alto fato di Dio*, God's high decree, ii, 532.  
*Amaro e sozzo, l'aere*, the thick smoke in which the Angry do penance, ii, 4.  
 Amata, wife of King Latinus, ii, 45.  
*Ammannare*, to prepare, *lit.* to gather hay up into bundles, ii, 476.  
*Ammiragli, gli*, derisive title for the Sieneese overseers of the futile dredging of the port of Talamone, i, 475.  
*Ammiraglio*, simile, ii, 516.  
*Amor che nella mente mi ragiona*, i, 73.  
*Amore, o naturale, o d'animo*, Love, either natural or spiritual, when perverted, the cause of all sins, ii, 59-61.  
*Ampia gola d'inferno, l'*, meaning the first Circle, *Limbo*, ii, 187.  
*Anastogi, gli*, i, 503, 504.  
*Ancella sesta*, time reference, i, 431.  
*Ancelle*, handmaidens, ii, 555.  
 Anchises, Aeneas the son of, ii, 101.  
 Angel, the Pilot, the first seen by Dante in Purgatory, i, 45-56; called *l'Angel di Dio*, i, 50; also *celestial nocchiero*, i, 54; and *uccel divino*, i, 53; his approach, i, 48-50; his brilliancy, i, 53; the Angel Warder at the Gate of Purgatory, i, 324.

- 326; also called *il cortese portinaio*, i, 326; and *il Vicario di Pietro*, ii, 191, 192; his raiment and his keys, ii, 331, 332; is a symbol of the Confessor, ii, 334; the Angel of Humility, i, 429-435; called *la creatura bella*, i, 433; with a wing-stroke purges Dante from the sin of Pride, i, 435; the Angel of Brotherly Love, i, 515; his radiance, i, 519-527; purges Dante from the sin of Envy, i, 526-528; called *l'Angel benedetto*, i, 526; the Angel of Peace, ii, 46-51; his radiance, ii, 48, 49; called *divino spirito*, ii, 49; purges Dante from the sin of Anger, ii, 51; the Angel of the Love of God, ii, 104; 111; purges Dante of the sin of Accidia, ii, 114, 115; flies over the Poets' heads as they ascend the stairway, ii, 116, 117; the Angel of Abstinence, ii, 323-326; his glowing radiance, ii, 324; purges Dante from the sin of Gluttony, ii, 325, 326; the Angel of Purity, ii, 402, 406; absolves Dante from the sin of Sensuality, i, 405, 406; inviting him however to pass through the fire, *ibid.*; the song of another Angel guides Dante through the flames, probably the Angel of the Terrestrial Paradise, ii, 412-414.
- Angelica festa*, the flowers rained down by the Angels on Beatrice, ii, 517.
- Angeliche, le mani*, ii, 509.
- Angelico caribo*, the Angelic roundelay, ii, 560, 561.
- Angelico, Fra, or Il Beato, the great Dominican painter of Celestial subjects, i, 272.
- Angels, the seven, of the Cornices, i, xxix, xxx; xxxvii; 307; 322-335; 429-442; 519-528; ii, 46-50; 111-115; 214-219; 402-407; many appearances of, i, xxxvi, xxxvii; with flaming swords and green raiment, i, 267, 269; their special duties, 269; their defence of the flowery valley, 288-291; the holy ones and the evil ones, 432; their song in the Terrestrial Paradise, ii, 503-506.
- Anger, penalty of, ii, 2-4; 46-50.
- Anima degna*, Statius, ii, 246.
- Anima semplicetta*, ii, 23, 24.
- Animal*, applied to the human foetus, before after birth it becomes rational (*fante*), ii, 344, 345.
- Animal binato*, the Gryphon-fold nature, God and Man 577.
- Animale, il freddo*, meaning the constellation of Scorpio, i, 310.
- Animali, quattro*, four Living ii, 486.
- Anime donne* (i.e. *domine*) di souls endowed with comfort mistresses of consolation, to those penitents *qui la* 114, 115.
- Anime sante*, Dante and Statius dressed by the Angel of P 405, 406.
- Antarctic Pole, reference to the 11; 14.
- Antenor, the sons of, i, 165, 166.
- Ante-Purgatory, i, xxviii, xxxix xxxiii; contains eight Ca 2; entrance to, i, 26, 27; classes of spirits there, i, completion of Dante's through, i, 31-37.
- Antica matre*, Eve, ii, 514.
- Antifonia*, Antiphon, ii, 242, 243.
- Antigone, ii, 243, 244.
- Antipodes to each other, Je and Hill of Purgatory, 137.
- Antitypes in the Terrestrial P ii, 599-601.
- Apennines, i, xxi; 486, 487.
- Apennino*, the chain of mountains 173-175; 179, 180; 499, 500.
- Apulia, i, 255.
- Aquila, un'*, i, 314-317; *Aquila ereda*, I, ii, 609, 610.
- Aquilone*, the North, i, 132, 133; North Wind, ii, 5-6.
- Aquinas, St. Thomas, styled *L' Dottore*, i, 272; ii, 70; *passim*.
- Arachne, story of, i, 422.
- Aragona, l'onore di Sicilia e d'* King Frederick, King of Sicily Jacopo, King of Aragon, 110.
- Arbor, un'*, ii, 248; *ardore rubus*
- Arca santa*, the Ark of God, i, 173, 174; called *l'Archiano* i, 181.
- Archytas, the Tarentine, ii, 4.
- Aretin, f'*, Benincasa del Cas Laterina, murdered by Gh Tacco, i, 188, 189.

- Argia, wife of Polynices, ii, 243, 244.  
 Argo, the hundred-eyed Argus, ii, 486, 487.  
*Argomenti . . . corti alla salute sua*, all means for Dante's salvation insufficient, ii, 531, 532.  
 Aristotle, i, 90.  
 Arnaut Daniel, the noted troubadour, ii, 389-393; 397-401.  
*Arnese*, the equipment of lamps, ii, 477.  
 Arno, the river, i, xxii; 179, 180.  
 ARRIC(H)O, transliteration of 515 by the Kabbalistic method, ii, 611, 612.  
*Arrigo d'Inghilterra, il re della semplice vita*, our King Henry III, i, 256, 257.  
 Arrigo Mainardi, i, 501.  
 Asopus, a river of Boeotia, ii, 91-93.  
*Asperges me*, ii, 553.  
*Assenzio, dolce*, i.e. the sweet worm-wood of penitence, ii, 275.  
*Assiri*, the Assyrians, i, 426.  
 Athens, city of, i, 215.  
 Atmosphere, the, ii, 354, 355.  
*Augelletto, nuovo*, ii, 546.  
 August, the clouds of, i, 158.  
 Augusto, Cæsar Augustus, ii, 491.  
*Aura di maggio, l'*, ii, 325.  
 Austro, the South Wind, ii, 586.  
 Authors and Editions, list of, i, xlix-lxvii.  
 Avarice, ii, 119-224.  
*Ave*, Hail, i, 353, 354.  
 Avverroës, the Arabian Commentator of Aristotle in the twelfth century, ii, 345-347.  
*Avversaro, nostro*, the serpent in the Happy Valley, i, 288-291; *l'antico*, the Evil One, in the Lord's Prayer, i, 382.  
 Azzo VIII, Marquis of Este, i, 166, 167.  
 BABEL, tower of, i, 420.  
 Bacchus, the god, ii, 92, 93.  
 Bacon, i, xvii.  
 Bagnacavallo, castellated town, i, 506.  
*Balba, una femmina*, ii, 107, 108.  
*Balta*, Cato's jurisdiction, i, 20, 21.  
*Balzi*, terraces of Purgatory, i, 348.  
*Balzo*, cliff, i, 321, 322.  
*Bando, il novissimo*, the last trump, ii, 503.  
*Barba, aka la*, Beatrice's reminder to Dante that he was a full-grown man, ii, 547.  
*Barbagia, la*, mountainous region of Sardinia, ii, 277, 278.  
*Barbare*, women of Barbary, ii, 279, 280.  
 Barbarossa, the Emperor Frederick, ii, 96.  
*Basterna*, a litter, meaning the Triumphal Car, ii, 504.  
 Beatitudes, the, i, 439:—  
 The first, *Beati pauperes spiritu*, i, 438;  
 The second, *Beati misericordes*, i, 527;  
 The third, *Beati pacifici che son senza mala ira*, ii, 51;  
 The fourth, *Qui lugent*, ii, 114, 115;  
 The fifth, *Beati qui esuriunt*, ii, 215-218;  
 The sixth, *Beati cui alluma*, ii, 325, 326;  
 The seventh, *Beati mundo corde*, ii, 405, 406.  
*Beati quorum tecta sunt peccata*, Psalm sung by Mate da in the Divine Forest, ii, 466, 467.  
 Beatrice, i, xxi; xxxvii; first mention of, i, 19; name in text, i, 195; 538; ii, 80, 85; 285; 409; 411; 517; 561; 583; as Divine Theology, the *Scientia Scientiarum*, ii, 80; 187; 411, 412; 510; where Dante is to find her, ii, 285, 286; understanding his thoughts, ii, 332; in the Terrestrial Paradise, ii, 422; summoned to appear, ii, 502, 503; her first appearance and attire, ii, 507-510; recognised by Dante, and influence on him, ii, 510-512; her dignified mien, ii, 517, 518; her early acquaintance with Dante, ii, 528-532; Beatrice as Ecclesiastical Authority, ii, 555, 556; her beauty, ii, 556-564; her death, ii, 566.  
 Beatrice d'Este, widow of Nino Visconti, judge of Gallura, i, 283, 284.  
 Beatrice, daughter of Charles II of Naples, wedded to the wicked Azzo, Marquess of Este to gratify her father's cupidity, ii, 158.  
 Beatrice of Provence, wife of Charles I of Anjou, i, 255.  
 Beggars, the blind, in Italy, a simile, i, 459-461.  
 Belacqua, a friend of Dante, i, xxxvi; 119; 141-150; 150; ii, 273.  
*Belle, le quattro*, ii, 554.  
*Belle membra, le*, ii, 545.

- Bellezza, la seconda*, ii, 562.  
*Bellezze eterne*, i, 514.  
*Ben, lo sommo*, the Supreme Good, ii, 452, 453.  
*Bene, infinito ed ineffabil*, i, 534-536.  
*Benedetta tue*, Gabriel's address to the Virgin Mary, ii, 485.  
*Benedictus qui venis*, ii, 506.  
 Benevento, the bridge head at, i, 111-113.  
 Benvenuto da Imola, i, iii; v; x; xxii-xxiv; i, 1; lectured in the University of Bologna in a popular form of Latin, i, 33; intimate friend of Boccaccio, i, 429; professor and lecturer on Dante at Bologna, i, 536.  
 Bernardin di Fosco, i, 502.  
*Biada o loglio*, the pigeons feeding on, i, 76, 77.  
*Bianche bende*, widows' head-dress in Dante's time, i, 283, 284.  
*Bianchi e Neri*, political parties, i, 215, 219; 493; ii, 310, 311.  
*Biscia*, the serpent, i, 289.  
 Bismantova, a rocky height in the mountains of Reggio di Modena, i, xxii; 125.  
 Boccaccio, intimate friend of Benvenuto da Imola, i, x; xxiii; xxiv; 429.  
*Bogliente vetro*, hyperbole to express intense heat, ii, 411, 412.  
 Bologna, Fabbro di, i, 502.  
 Bologna, Franco di, i, 394.  
 Bolsena, the eels of Lake, ii, 294, 295.  
 Bonagiunta Urbiciani da Lucca, ii, 287; 293, 294.  
 Boniface VIII, outrageous treatment of, by Sciarra della Colonna, ii, 163-167.  
 Bonifazio, Archbishop of Ravenna, ii, 295, 296.  
*Bontà infinita, la*, God, the infinite Goodness, i, 110.  
*Bordon di palma cinto*, the palmer's staff, ii, 618.  
*Botoli*, curs, applied to the citizens of Arezzo, i, 489, 490.  
 Brabant, lady of, i, 191.  
 Brettinoro, small town in the Romagna, i, 505.  
 Briareus, the giant, i, 418.  
*Brolo*, ii, 497.  
 Bruges, the city of, ii, 148.  
 Brundisium, Virgil died at, i, 85, 86.  
 Brunetto Latini, said to be the author of *Fiore dei Filosofi*, i, 359.
- Bucolici carmi, il Cantor*  
 Virgil, ii, 231, 232.  
*Bue*, the heads of the char all, with ten horns, ii, 168.  
*Buio d'inferno*, the smokiness of the Third Circle compared to Hell, ii, 2-4.  
 Buonconte da Montefeltro, 168-181.  
 Butterfly, the Angelic, i, 36.
- CACCIAGUIDA, Dante's grandfather, i, xxix; 3.  
*Caddi vinto*, Dante swoot sin to rise again to Gra  
 Cæsar, Julius, ii, 94; 382.  
 Cæsar, the Emperor, i, 205.  
 Cain, i, 510; with Abel, i, 1.  
 Calboli, Rinieri da, i, 499.  
*Calendi*, a division of time.  
*Callais*, passage through 330.  
 Calliope, the Muse of Poets.  
 Camino, Da, a noble Lombard, ii, 35.  
*Cammin santo*, ii, 175, 176.  
 Campagnatico, the castle of  
 Campaldino, the battle of, 168-176; the plain of, i, 1.  
*Canavese*, a district on the Montefeltro, i, 258.  
 Candlesticks, the seven gold, 472-480.  
*Cangiata stola*, the vesture at the Transfiguration.  
*Cantica Seconda*, the *Purgatorio*, 628, 629.  
*Cantor di bucolici carmi*, Virgil, 232.  
 Cantos, number and length  
 Capet, Hugh, i, xxxvii; his succession, *ibid.*; him, ii, 149-151.  
 Capital Sins, seven in number  
 Pride is the chief, i, 33.  
*Capo reo*, the devil, i, 297, 298.  
*Cappelletti e Montecchi*, families of Verona, i, 2.  
*Capre*, simile of the goats, i, 1.  
*Capricorno*, sign of the Zodiac.  
*Cardini*, the pivots of the Purgatory, i, 335, 336.  
*Caribo*, a roundelay, mixtur and singing, ii, 560.  
 Carlo, see Charles.  
*Carro della luce*, the chariot of the Sun, i, 132, 133.



- Carro, il*, the Wain, Constellation of the Great Bear, i, 14.
- Carro*, the Mystic Chariot, ii, 489; 570, 577-585.
- Carro trionfale*, meaning the Church Universal, ii, 489.
- Carte ordite, le*, ii, 628.
- Caryatides, figures in stone or marble, i, 370, 371.
- Casella, the Musician, i, xxxii; xxxvi; 42; 61-77.
- Casentino, the valley, only twice mentioned in the whole poem, i, xxii; 173-175.
- Castelvecchio, Signorina L. P. de', i, xv.
- Castor and Pollux, i, 132, 133.
- Castrocaro, fortified town, i, 506.
- Cato of Utica, born B.C. 95, committed suicide B.C. 46, i, 12-32; Guardian of Purgatory, i, 74-77.
- Cavalcanti, Guido, Dante's greatest friend, i, xxxii; 401, 402.
- Cecilio*, S. Cæcilius, comic poet, ii, 240-242.
- Centesmo, più ch' al quarto*, for more than four hundred years, ii, 238, 239.
- Cera da suggello*, simile of, ii, 619.
- Cerchi*, term for the Cornices, i, ii; 71.
- Cerchio di meriggio*, time reference, ii, 328, 329.
- Cesare mio*, Albert of Hapsburg, i, 210.
- Changes in Florence, political, i, 218, 219.
- Chapter, first, or Canto, introductory to the *Purgatorio*, i, 2.
- Charity, three different kinds, i, 451.
- Charles of Anjou, King of Naples and Sicily, i, 248-250; 405-409; ii, 155-158.
- Charles of Valois, surnamed *Sans Terre*, ii, 158, 159.
- Charles II, King of Naples, surnamed *the Lame, le Boiteux*, father of Dante's friend Charles Martel, i, 255.
- Charon contrasted with Cato, i, 18, 19.
- Chaucer, i, xvii; on *Accidia*, ii, 56.
- Chiassi, the old sea-port of Ravenna, ii, 435, 436.
- Chiavari, i, xxii; ii, 125, 126.
- Chiesa, la*, San Miniato, i, 435, 437.
- Chiesa, la santa*, Holy Church, ii, 294, 295.
- Chiosiro*, the Cloister, i, 532; *Chiosiro*, Paradise, ii, 396.
- Chiron, the Centaur, i, 318.
- Christ, Our Lord, ii, 163, 165; 182, 183; 272, 273; 396, 397; 588.
- Christians, i, 367, 368; the early, i, xxxvii; ii, 231-239.
- Church, the late Dean, Introduction by, i, xvii-xxvii.
- Ciappetta*, s-e Capet.
- Cicognin*, a young stork, simile, ii, 331.
- Ciel, il, passim*.
- Ciel che più alto festina*, the *Primum Mobile*, ii, 619.
- Cilestro*, azure colour, ii, 368, 369.
- Cimabue, the painter, i, 394, 399.
- Cinghio*, Dante applies this term to the terraces in Ante-Purgatory, i, 130; only instance of this word as applied to one of the Cornices, i, 454, 455.
- Cinquecento anni*, duration of Statius' penance, ii, 197.
- Cinquecento dieci e cinque*, the DXV. prophe-y, probably referring to the Emperor Henry VII, ii, 610.
- Cinquemili' anni e più*, the time that Adam remained in Limbo, ii, 615.
- Circe, the sorceress, i, 488.
- Circle, the Meridian, i, 44, 45.
- Circles or Cornices of punishment of souls guilty of the seven sins, seven in number, i, 2; the Circles of Hell, i, 336, 337.
- Circuito*, the whole atmosphere revolves in a circuit, ii, 455, 456.
- Città, una vera*, ii, 25, 26.
- Cittade, la vera*, the heavenly Jerusalem, i, 466, 467.
- Clement IV, Pope, i, 111-113.
- Clement V, i, xxxiv.
- Clio, the Muse of history, ii, 231, 232.
- Clotho, one of the Fates, ii, 186, 187.
- Cock of Gallura, crest of Nino Visconti, i, 283, 284.
- Colle, fortress, and battle of, i, 470.
- Colonna, Sciarra, and Nogaret, likened to the thieves crucified with Our Lord, ii, 169.
- Color della petraia, livido*, i, 445, 446.
- Color*, the blush of shame, i, 152-154.
- Colours, the national Italian, in Dante's portrait by Giotto, ii, 507.
- Colui*, God, i, 281, 282; 469; ii, 8.
- Compagna, alla fida*, Virgil, i, 79.
- Compline hymn, i, xxxvi; 241, 242; 259; 264, 265.
- Conducitrice*, Matelda, ii, 583, 584.
- Conforto, il mio*, Virgil; i, 85, 86; 319-321.

- Confusion of the two Powers, the Papal and the Imperial, ii, 28-30.
- Congregation, the Holy (*religione*), of the mountain, ii, 189.
- Conio, castellated town, i, 506.
- Conrad Malaspina (*l'antico*), that is, the elder, Conrad I, i, 295.
- Conrad II, Malaspina, the younger, i, xxxvi; 278-280; 291-304.
- Consiglio, eterno*, the Eternal Will of God, ii, 270, 271.
- Consiglio saggio*, Virgil, i, 463.
- Consorto divieto, di*, interdict of sharing, i, 498; 520.
- Contrasts in the *Divina Commedia*, i, 176.
- Cornices of Purgatory, the seven, i, xxix, xxx; i, 17; the terraces, various names for, i, 348; sins to be punished on them, i, 351, 352; on the Fourth Cornice alone there are no requests for the intercessory prayer of others, ii, 103; all circular, ii, 119.
- Cornici*, term for the seven Cornices, i, 454:—  
 No. 1, i, 339.  
 No. 2, i, 443.  
 No. 3, i, 515.  
 No. 4, ii, 51.  
 No. 5, ii, 115.  
 No. 6, ii, 215.  
 No. 7, ii, 328.
- Corra da da Palazzo, a Lombard noble, ii, 32, 33.
- Corsica, island of, ii, 90.
- Corsier*, steeds of the Sun, ii, 579.
- Corte verace*, the Assembly of the Blessed, ii, 184.
- Cosenza, il pastor, di*, the Cardinal Archbishop of, i, 111, 112.
- Costa*, hill-side, ii, 276, 277.
- Costanza Imperadrice*, i, 109.
- Costanza, mia buona*, Manfred's daughter, i, 117.
- Cranes, simile of, ii, 376.
- Crassus, the Triumvir of Rome, ii, 171.
- Creationism*, theory adopted by Dante, ii, 343.
- Creatura, O*, addressed to Marco Lombardo, ii, 8.
- Cristian, O superbi*, i, 367-369.
- Cristo, passim*.
- Crocifisso, un*, Haman, ii, 44, 45.
- Cross of Christ, ii, 577, 578.
- Cruna*, ii, 188, 189.
- Cuna*, for *culla*, ii, 590, 591.
- Cunta*, delay, from *cuncta*.
- Cyrus, i, 425, 426.
- Cytheraea, ii, 419.
- Dalla sinistra quattro*, the four Cardinal Virtues in the O, ii, 493.
- Daniel, Arnaut, the Tr, 390-401.
- Daniel, the prophet, ii, 21.
- Dante, his age at the supposed vision, i, 10; entrance into Ante-Purg, i, 28, 29; his face was i, 34, 35; time spent from centre of Hell i of the Southern twenty-one hours, i, in Hell, twenty-five use of the word *qui*, i, turns to the right in Hell he had nearly al the left, i, 10, 11; his ence for Cato of Ut Virgil explains to C of Dante's journey, i, thirty-five years of D was a prey to Avarice piscence, i, 20; aston shades at his being a l ing being, i, 61; he spirits in Purgatory sometimes palpable impalpable, i, 62; l songs of love, i, 71, 72 Belacqua evokes l smile, i, 145, 146; spir at sight of Dante's sh 151; Sordello and N start on hearing him i, 278, 279; his aim 278; his exile, i, 298. dream, i, 313-318; l setting sin, i, 383, 38 his abstraction, i, 54. Dante's second dream anecdote of Dante a 130, 131; his living shadow on the flame sual, ii, 368, 369; l companions spend the stair, ii, 414-416; his li, 418-422; Dante's loss of Virgil, ii, 514. Dante by Beatrice, t tion of his name in 514; the reproaches

- li, 515-547; Matelda washes Dante in Lethe, ii, 552-554; his sleep in the Divine Forest, ii, 580; Beatrice directs Matelda to lead Dante to the sanctifying waters of Eunoë, ii, 626, 627.
- Dante's portrait by Giotto in the Bargello at Florence, ii, 507.
- Da tre mesi*, allusion to the Jubilee in 1300, i, 67-70.
- Date when the *Purgatorio* was written, i, xxxiv, xxxv.
- Dates, table of, i, 218, 219.
- David, i, 356-359.
- De Arte Venatica*, treatise by the Emperor Frederick II, i, 462.
- Decenne sete*, the ten years' longing of Dante for Beatrice since her death, ii, 566.
- Decimo suo passo*, ii, 605.
- De Civitate Dei*, great work by St. Augustine, ii, 17.
- Dee*, applied to the Three Maidens, representing the Christian Virtues, ii, 567.
- Dei*, heathen gods, i, 542; ii, 210.
- Deidamia, ii, 244.
- Deifile*, daughter of Adrastus, ii, 243, 244.
- Delectasti*, Psalm xcii, ii, 450, 451.
- Delia*, the moon; *il cinto*, the halo round the moon, ii, 483.
- Delos, ii, 173.
- Demonio*, nickname for Maghinardo Pagani, i, 507.
- Deterioration of the inhabitants of Lombardy, ii, 1.
- Deus venerunt gentes*, ii, 603.
- Diana, the goddess, ii, 362.
- Diana, a supposed subterranean river near Orbetello, i, 475.
- Dieci passi*, ii, 484.
- Dio*, the name of God in the text, *passim*.
- Discourse by Virgil on the Seven Sins, ii, 57-86.
- Distretta*, word only once used in the *Divina Commedia*, i, 139.
- Divieto, consorto e*, i, 529.
- Doagio, city of Douai, ii, 148.
- Dolce Duca*, title of Virgil, i, 200; *dolce padre*, i, 129; ii, 257, *et passim*.
- Dolce Maria*, the Virgin Mary, ii, 140, 141.
- Dolcissimo*, commonly used in Tuscany in conjunction with *amico*, mean-
- ing simply my dear friend, *not* my sweetest friend, ii, 514.
- Domitian, Emperor, ii, 237-240.
- Donati, Corso de', allusion to the death of, ii, 310-314.
- Donati, Forese de', i, xxxvii; ii, 262-314.
- Donati, Piccarda de', ii, 290-292.
- Donna di Brabante*, Mary, Queen of France, daughter of the Duke of Brabant, i, 190, 191.
- Donna*, title of Beatrice, i, 19; ii, 510; 516; 522; 591; *et passim*.
- Donna*, the Virgin Mary, i, 540, 541; ii, 378.
- Donna, la bella*, Matelda, ii, 464; 466; 467; 469; 626.
- Donna innamorata*, ii, 460.
- Donna soletta, una*, Matelda, ii, 440-443.
- Donne ch' avete intelletto d'amore*, ii, 304-307.
- Donnescamente*, with the courtesy of a high-born dame, ii, 628, 629.
- Doppia, fiera*, the Gryphon, of two-fold nature, God and Man, ii, 559.
- [*coi*] *Dossi delle man facendo insegne*, i, 101, 102.
- Dosso d'Italia*, the Apennine chain of mountains, ii, 521.
- Dottor, al mio*, Virgil, ii, 211, 212.
- Dottore, l'alto*, burst of praise from Dante about Virgil, ii, 72, 73.
- Dottori miei*, Virgil and Statius, ii, 324, 325.
- Drago*, meaning the dragon of the Apocalypse, ii, 593.
- Dramma di sangue*, ii, 513.
- Duca mio* (*i.e.* Virgil), i, 32; 47, 48; 94, 95; 150; 223; 286, 287; 321, 322; 442; ii, 51; 137; 180, 181; 241, 242; 246; 360.
- Duca, il savio*, ii, 199; 410.
- Due, i*, Virgil and Statius, ii, 315, 316.
- Due occhi del cielo*, the twin-eyes of Heaven, the Sun and Moon, ii, 173, 174.
- Due vecchi*, meaning St. Luke and St. Paul, ii, 494.
- D. X. V., i, xxxvii, xxxviii; mysterious prophecy, probably indicating the Emperor Henry VII, ii, 610-614.
- E quei che m'era ad ogni uopo soccorso*, ii, 100.
- Eagle, the, in Dante's dream, i, xxix, 314-317; ii, 589, 590; 610.
- Earthquake, ii, 172-174; 180; 188-193.

- Easter Day, 1300, i, xxxii; 299.  
 Easter Monday, i, xxxii.  
 Easter Tuesday, i, xxxii; ii, 111.  
 Easter Wednesday, i, xxxii; ii, 422.  
*Ebrei, gli*, the Jewish nation, i, 136, 137; ii, 320, 321.  
*Ecce ancilla Dei*, i, 354.  
 Eden, the garden of, i, xxx.  
 Editions and Authors, list of, i, xlix-lxvii.  
 Edward I of England, i, 256.  
 Elbe, the river, i, 245.  
 Elders, the four-and-twenty, ii, 483-485; 485; 499; 502, 503.  
*Eletti di Dio*, spirits of Avaricious penitents, ii, 121.  
*Eli*, Our Lord's dying exclamation, ii, 272, 273.  
*Elia*, Elijah at the Transfiguration, ii, 583, 594.  
*Elice*, Helice or Calisto, ii, 362.  
*Eliodoro*, Heliodorus, ii, 170, 171.  
*Ellesponto*, the Hellespont, ii, 449, 450.  
 Elsa, a river that petrified everything left in its waters, ii, 616, 617.  
 Emanuel ben Salomon, often called Emanuele da Roma, a writer on the Kabbalistic system, and a friend of Dante, ii, 612.  
*Eneida*, the *Aeneid*, ii, 203.  
 Envy, the sin of, i, 454, 455.  
*Eölo*, Æolus, King of the Lipari Isles, god of the winds, ii, 435, 436.  
 Equator, the, i, 136, 137.  
 Erisichthon, ii, 260, 261.  
*Ermafrodito*, figuratively used to express unbridled lust, ii, 382, 384.  
*Ermo, l'*, the hermitage of Camaldoli, i, 173-175.  
*Escalina*, the stairway, ii, 400.  
*Esercito, lo glorioso*, the Mystic Procession, ii, 568, 569.  
 Esther, Queen, ii, 44, 45.  
*Esti quel da*, Azzo VIII, Marquis of Este, i, 166, 167.  
*Età dell' oro*, the Golden Age, ii, 463.  
 Eteocles and Polynices, ii, 231, 232.  
*Etiöpo*, Æthiop, ii, 371.  
 Eunöe, the river, ii, 461; 627, 629; Dante led to it by Matelda, 627-629.  
 Euphrates and Tigris issue from one source, as do Lethe and Eunöe, ii, 624.  
 Euripides, the Greek poet, ii, 242, 243.  
 Europe, i, 206, 207.  
 Eurydice, ii, 514.  
 Eve, the mother of all living, 429; ii, 463; her fall ex Dante, ii, 471, 472.  
*Evangelico suono, quel santo*, Gospels, ii, 133.  
 Ezekiel, ii, 487.  
*Fabbro*, God, the Great Artificer.  
 Fabbro de' Lambertazzi, i, 5.  
 Fabricius Caius Luscinus, a heathen, ii, 141, 142.  
*Facelle, quelle tre*, three stars, vizing the Three Theologues, i, 287.  
 Faenza, i, 502.  
 Faggiuola, Uguccione della, i.  
 Faith, Hope and Charity, *tre*, 491, 492.  
*Falca, suo passo*, explanation.  
 Falcon, flight of the, Dante's upward compared to it, ii, *sparvier selvaggio*, i, 462.  
 Falterona, the mountain, i, 48.  
 Fame, its emptiness, i, 402-40.  
 Fancy, the power of (*Immaginazione*), ii, 42-44.  
 Fano, birthplace of Jacopo del Casentino, i, 164-166.  
*Fantolin, Ugolin de'*, i, 508.  
*Farfalla*, butterfly, type of the soul, 368, 369.  
*Farsi avanti*, to step forward, known Tuscan idiom, *far avanti*, to approach one, ii, 10.  
*Fascia*, the body, *lit.* swath, ii, 9.  
*Fattore*, the Creator, ii, 24; 6.  
*Fattore il sangue sparse*, Jesus Christ, ii, 403.  
*Fattura*, ii, 60.  
*Fe, la*, the Faith, ii, 232.  
 Fearon, Mr. D. R., C. B., i, 10, *passim*.  
 Federico, King of Sicily, i, 25.  
 Federico Novello, i, 189-191.  
 Federico Tignoso, i, 503, 504.  
*Femmina*, the Siren, ii, 107, 108.  
*Fiamma*, flame in the seventh circle, ii, 359.  
*Fiammelle*, the brilliancy of stars in the North, as seen in Purgatory, i, 11; the Car in the Mystic Procession, ii, 483.  
*Fiera*, the Gryphon, ii, 549; 483, ii, 559; *biforme*, the animal nature, God and Man

- Fieschi, Ottobuono de' (Pope Adrian V), ii, 124.
- Figlia di Taumante*, Iris (the rainbow), ii, 191, 192.
- Figlia d' Adamo benedetta tue*, hymn of praise to Beatrice sung by the Elders, ii, 484, 485.
- Figliuol*, term of endearment from Virgil to Dante, *passim*.
- Figliuole*, term of endearment from Virgil to Dante, *passim*.
- Figliuoli d' Eva*, Dante's apostrophe to Mankind on Pride, i, 429.
- Filippi*, the Phillips, descendants of Hugh Capet, ii, 149.
- Filippeschi e Monaldi, two ancient families of Orvieto, i, 208, 209.
- Fiordaliso*, fleur de lys, ii, 163-165; 485.
- Fiorentine, sfacciate donne*, ii, 279, 280.
- Fiorenza*, ii, 158, 159.
- Fiorenza mia*, i, 212-217.
- Fioretti del melo*, ii, 583, 584.
- Fiume*, the river Lethe, ii, 449, 450.
- Fiume real*, the Arno, i, 179, 180.
- Fiume Sacro*, ii, 535, 536.
- Five hundred and ten and five, i, xxxvii; ii, 610-612.
- Florence, first mention of, i, 212-217.
- Flowers, cloud of, ii, 509, 510.
- Flowery valley, i, 235-299.
- Foce*, mouth of a river, i, 70, 71; 180, 181.
- Foci*, entrances to Cornices, i, 439; ii, 218, 219.
- Forese de' Donati, ii, 254; 262-314.
- Forlì, city of, ii, 297.
- Forma sustanzial*, a scholastic expression for the soul, ii, 81.
- Formica*, an ant, ii, 373.
- Fortuna*, a tempest, ii, 589, 590.
- Fortuna, maggior*, Fortuna Major, a term used by geomancers to describe a combination of six stars, ii, 105.
- Fosco, Bernardino di, i, 502.
- Four maidens, typifying the Cardinal Virtues, ii, 492, 493.
- Four Stars, i, xxxvi; 10, 11.
- Fox, the, ii, 590, 591.
- Fra Angelico, i, 272.
- Fra Guittone d' Arezzo, ii, 394.
- Francescamente*, in the French fashion, ii, 32, 33.
- Francia*, France, ii, 149; 158, 159; *mal di*, Pest of France, meaning Philip le Bel, i, 246-248; Kings of, ii, 144-160.
- Franco Bolognese, a painter, i, 394-398.
- Frasca, vedova*, the denuded tree, allegorically meaning the Empire, ii, 577.
- Frate*, Virgil's address to Dante, *passim*.
- Frederick I, Barbarossa, ii, 96.
- Frederick II, the Emperor, ii, 31; his *De Arte Venatica*, i, 462.
- Frederick of Sicily, i, 252, 253.
- Free Will, ii, 15; 17; 19, 20; 58; 80; 86.
- Freschi mai*, luxuriant shrubs, ii, 441-443.
- Fresco smeraldo*, freshly split emerald giving the most brilliant green hue, i, 239.
- Fuia, la*, the thievish woman, the plunderer of God's heritage, ii, 610.
- Fulcieri da Calboli, i, 492-495.
- Fummo*, the thick smoke on the third Cornice, ii, 3.
- Futa for fuga*, ii, 591.
- GABRIEL, the Archangel, i, 353, 354.
- Gaia, daughter of Gherardo da Camino, ii, 36.
- Gallura, il Gallo di*, the arms of Nino Visconti, i, 282-284.
- Ganges, the river, denoting in Dante's conception, the Eastern boundary of the known world, i, 44, 45; ii, 403, 404.
- Ganymede, son of a king of Troy, and the cupbearer of the gods, i, 314, 315.
- Garden of Paradise, ii, 437.
- Gate of Purgatory, i, 322-336; 439; ii, 455.
- Gelso, il*, the mulberry-tree, ii, 409-411.
- Gemini*, the constellation of, i, 133.
- Gemma de' Donati, Dante's wife, ii, 262, 263.
- Gente*, meaning of, i, 94, 95; ii, 90, 91; spirits in Purgatory, ii, 120; *et passim*; *genti vestite di bianco*, the four and twenty Elders clad in white robes, ii, 480; *genti perdute, le*, ii, 531, 532; *gente vana*, the Sieneze, i, 475; *gente verace, la*, ii, 502, 503.
- Gentucca, of Lucca, i, xxxiv; ii, 299-301.
- Geomanti*, explanation of, ii, 105, 106.
- Geryon, ii, 407, 408.
- Ghent, the city of, ii, 148.
- Gherardo, lord of Treviso, ii, 32-36.

- Ghino di Tacco, a robber, i, 188, 189.  
 Gideon, ii, 321.  
 Gigante, the giant, ii, 598.  
 Giglio, the Lily of France, i, 247, 248.  
 Gilboah, Mount, the battle on, i, 421.  
*Giostre grame*, the grim jousts between the Misers and Prodigals, ii, 226, 227.  
 Giotto, the painter, i, 394, 400; his portrait of Dante, ii, 507.  
 Giovanna, Countess of Gallura, daughter of Nino Visconti, i, 281, 282.  
 Giovanna, Countess of Montefeltro, widow of Buonconte, i, 169.  
 Giovanni, St. John, ii, 488; 583, 584.  
 Giove, Jupiter, ii, 491.  
*Giove, o sommo*, O Supreme God, i, 211, 212.  
 Giove, uccel di, the eagle, ii, 589.  
 Giraud de Borneil, ii, 389-393.  
 Giri, term for the seven Cornices, i, 454; ii, 276, 277.  
 Giro, Cornice, ii, 54, 120, 215.  
 Girone, Cornice, i, 539; ii, 53, 54; 120-122.  
 Gironi, terraces in Ante-Purgatory, and in Purgatory, i, 348.  
*Giuda, la lancia con la qual giostrò Giuda*, the treachery of Judas Iscariot, ii, 158, 159.  
*Giudice, tal, God*, ii, 542.  
*Giudice Nin gentil*, Nino Visconti, i, 276, 277.  
*Giunco schietto*, a smooth rush, i, 28.  
*Giustizia e pietà*, i, 387, 388.  
 Giuseppe, the Abbot, ii, 98.  
*Gloria de' Latin, O, Sordello's words of homage to Virgil*, i, 225, 226.  
*Gloria in Excelsis Deo*, i, xxx; ii, 174, 175.  
 Gluttony, faults of, ii, 321.  
 God, the Grace of, i, 294, 295.  
*Godi tu che vinci*, rejoice ye that have conquered the sin of Envy. Words spoken by the Angel, i, 527.  
*Gomorra, Suddoma e, ii*, 374.  
*Grado soprano*, i, 324, 325.  
*Grado superno*, spot where Virgil addressed his last words to Dante, ii, 426-428.  
*Gramigna*, dog-grass, ii, 595.  
 Greci, the Greeks, i, 318; ii, 238; 243.  
 Greco, ii, 241, 242.  
 Green, the colour of Hope, i, 268, 269.  
 Gregorio, St. Gregory, the Pope, i, 360, 361.  
*Grembo di Maria*, i, 270, 271.  
*Gridavano alto*, ii, 362.  
*Gridò tre volte*, the words of Libano, proclaimed ii, 502, 503.  
*Grotte, mie*, i, 17.  
*Gru, i*, the Cranes, ii, 37.  
 Gryphon, the, ii, 489, *et*.  
*Guascogna, Gascoony*, ii.  
 Gubbio, town in Umbria.  
 Guccio de' Tarlati, i, 189.  
*Guida mia*, Virgil, Dante ii, 116, 117.  
*Guidavaci*, an angelic son of three Poets through the ages, 412, 414.  
 Guido di Carpigna, an Italian magnole, i, 500.  
 Guido Cavalcanti, i, 390.  
 Dante's best friend, i, 390.  
 Guido da Castello, of Romagna.  
 Guido del Duca, i, xxxvii, 508; ii, 13.  
 Guido Guinicelli, poet of Romagna, ii, 394; ii, 365; 370-392.  
 Guido da Prata, i, 503, 504.  
 Guittone d' Arezzo, Fra. HAMAN, ii, 44, 45.  
 Harlot, the, ii, 598-601.  
 Hazard, the game of, i, 1.  
 Hebrews, the, i, 135, 137.  
 Height of the Mount of Purgatory, ii, 128, 129.  
 Helice, or Callisto, an attendant of Diana, ii, 362, 363.  
 Helicon, Mount, ii, 474.  
 Heliodorus, ii, 170, 171.  
 Hell, 25 hours spent there, and Virgil, i, 3.  
 Hellespont, the, ii, 449, 450.  
 Hemispheres, the northern and southern, i, xxvii, xxviii.  
 Henry VII, of Luxembourg, ii, xxxv; xxxviii; 207.  
 Henry (the Fat) of Navarre, ii.  
 Henry III, of England, *il Re di Francia*, i, 256.  
 Heraclitus of Ephesus, i, 1.  
 Hero and Leander, ii, 448.  
 Hippocrates, ii, 495.  
 Holofernes, i, 426, 427.  
 Holy Spirit, the sevenfold, ii, 475.  
 Homer, Dante places his place among poets, i, 242.

- Honey and locusts, the food of St. John the Baptist, contrasted with the luxurious food of Dante's time, ii, 253.
- Hope, green the colour of, i, 268.
- Hope, Faith and Charity, i, 227.
- Horace, i, 442.
- Hosannah*, song of the Church Militant in the Mystic Procession, ii, 476.
- Hugh Capet, "the Great," i, xxxvii; ii, 135; 144-173.
- Hui*, exclamation of Marco Lombardo, ii, 14, 15.
- Hymn, St. Ambrose's *Te lucis ante terminum*, i, 264, 265; the Angels', ii, 520.
- Hypsipyle, ii, 244.
- Iarba, terra di*, the South East, ii, 548, 549.
- Ibero*, the river Ebro, ii, 403, 404.
- Ida, i, 314, 315.
- Il ciel non ha in sua cura*, God's nature stronger in Man than planetary influences, ii, 20, 21.
- Il dolce suon per canto era già inteso*, the distant sound of the chanting Procession, ii, 473.
- Ilerda, in Spain, ii, 94.
- Ilion, Troy, i, 427.
- Illuminating, the Art of, i, 396.
- Immaginativa*, O, ii, 41, 42.
- Imperadrice*, the Empress Constance, i, 109.
- Index, by Honourable Mrs. Vernon, i, xv.
- Indo o Eridpo*, meaning any dweller in a hot climate, ii, 371.
- Indi, gli*, Indians, ii, 575, 576.
- Indico*, supposed to mean azure colour, i, 238, 239.
- In exitu Israel de Ægypto*, psalm chanted by the souls coming to Purgatory, i, 54, 55.
- In te Domine speravi*, ii, 520.
- In vèr l'ocaso*, towards the West, i, 520.
- Infernale ambascia*, the anguish of Hell, ii, 9.
- Infernali, foci*, entrances to Hell, i, 439.
- Inferno*, the, all gloom and darkness, i, xxxvi; i, 34, 35; 225, 226; ii, 2, 3; 187.
- Influence of the Planets, ii, 17-20.
- Inghiottissi*, see note, ii, 554.
- Inno*, the hymn of the Mystic Procession, ii, 580, 581.
- Insegna, nostra*, our guide, ii, 246.
- Intagli*, the sculptures on the First Cornice, i, 350, 351.
- Introduction by Dean Church, i, xvii-xxv.
- Introduction to the poem i, xxxiii.
- Invidia*, Envy, i, 443-528.
- Iracondia*, Anger, ii, 6, 7.
- Iris, the rainbow, called here *figlia di Taumante*, ii, 191, 192.
- Ismene, famous Greek woman, ii, 243, 244.
- Ismenus, river of Bœotia, ii, 91-93.
- Isoletta, questa*, the Island of Purgatory, i, 30.
- Italia*, i, 202, 203; 466, 467; ii, 156, 157; *terre d' Italia*, i, 211, 212; *serva Italia*, i, 202, 203; *il dosso d' Italia*, the Apennines, ii, 521-523.
- Italy, outburst against the feuds and factions of, i, xxxvi.
- JACOMO II, King of Aragon, i, 252, 253.
- Jacopo del Cassero, i, 155; 161-168; 185.
- James, St., the Apostle, ii, 583, 584.
- Jerusalem, city of, i, xvii; 44, 45; the Greenwich of Dante, i, 39; its siege, ii, 200, 201; 261.
- Jocasta, ii, 231, 232.
- John the Baptist, *il Batista*, ii, 252, 253.
- Jordan, the river, ii, 100, 101.
- Joshua, ii, 170, 171.
- Jove, *Giove*, ii, 491.
- Jubilee of Pope Boniface VIII, i, 69-71.
- Judas Iscariot, ii, 158, 159.
- Judith and Holofernes, i, 426.
- Julius Cæsar, ii, 94; 382.
- Justice, Prudence, Fortitude and Temperance, the four Cardinal Virtues, ii, 491, 493.
- Justinian, the Emperor, i, 205.
- Juvenal, the poet, ii, 220, 221.
- KABBALISTIC method of transliteration known to Dante, ii, 612.
- Keys, the two held by the Angel Warder of the Gate of Purgatory, i, 331-334.
- Klopstock, the German poet, on Angels, i, 272.
- Là*, the sphere of the Moon, ii, 77.
- Labia mea, Domine*, ii, 257.
- Lacaita, Sir James, dedication of work

- to him, i, v; ix; xxiii; lecturer on Dante, i, 236, 237.
- Lacca*, any pit or hollow, used in the *Inferno* to describe the Fourth Circle of Hell, i, 236, 237.
- Lacedaemon or Sparta, the chief city of the Peloponnesus, i, 215.
- Lachesis, ii, 351.
- Laci*, ii, 317.
- Lafades*, misread as *Natades* in Dante's time in the MSS. of Ovid, ii, 613.
- L' altro*, meaning Charles II, King of Naples and Apulia, ii, 159-161.
- La Mira, a small town in Lombardy, on the river Brenta, i, 167.
- Lamb, Charles, i, xvii.
- Lambertazzi, Fabbro de', i, 502.
- Landscapes, ideal, ii, 432.
- Langia, the river, ii, 244.
- Lasca, la celeste*, the constellation of the Pisces, ii, 578.
- Last word in each of the *Cantiche* is *stelle*, ii, 630.
- Latin, o gloria de'*, i, 225.
- Latina, anima che sia*, any spirit that is Italian, i, 466.
- Latini, Brunetto, i, 359.
- Latino*, applied to Umberto Aldobrandeschi, i, 391.
- Latinus, King, ii, 45.
- Latona, goddess, mother of Apollo and Diana, and wife of Jupiter, ii, 174.
- Lavagna, the river, ii, 124-126.
- Lavinia, daughter of Amata and King Latinus, ii, 45, 46.
- Law of Purgatory that no ascent may be made in the night time, i, 320.
- Laws of Hell, i, 16.
- Leah, symbol in a dream of the real Matelda, ii, 419-421; and symbol of the active life, ii, 422.
- Leander, ii, 449, 450.
- Legno, il primo*, the pole of the triumphal Chariot, ii, 570.
- Lemost*, the Province of Limousin, ii, 394.
- Lentino, Jacopo da, *Il Notajo*, ii, 305-307.
- Lerici near Spezia, the Eastern limit of the Genoese Riviera, as Turbia above Monaco is the Western, i, 91, 92.
- Lethe, the river, i, xxxi; ii, 388, 389; 438-451; 459-461; 533; Dante's immersion in, ii, 554; the water of, causing forgetfulness, ii, 620, 621.
- Letter*, address to the  
267; 322, 323; 364  
487, 488.
- Levi, the sons of, ii, 34.
- Libero arbitrio*, Free Will
- Libertà va cercando*, passages in the *media* with a doubt, 21, 22.
- Libra, constellation of, i, 404.
- Libya, sands of, ii, 376.
- Light of the Sun interrupt right-hand side—time, 100.
- Lille, city of, ii, 148.
- Lily of France, the, i, 24.
- Limbo*, i, 26; 89, 90; ii, 100; 101; 102; 103; 104; 105; 106; 107; 108; 109; 110; 111; 112; 113; 114; 115; 116; 117; 118; 119; 120; 121; 122; 123; 124; 125; 126; 127; 128; 129; 130; 131; 132; 133; 134; 135; 136; 137; 138; 139; 140; 141; 142; 143; 144; 145; 146; 147; 148; 149; 150; 151; 152; 153; 154; 155; 156; 157; 158; 159; 160; 161; 162; 163; 164; 165; 166; 167; 168; 169; 170; 171; 172; 173; 174; 175; 176; 177; 178; 179; 180; 181; 182; 183; 184; 185; 186; 187; 188; 189; 190; 191; 192; 193; 194; 195; 196; 197; 198; 199; 200; 201; 202; 203; 204; 205; 206; 207; 208; 209; 210; 211; 212; 213; 214; 215; 216; 217; 218; 219; 220; 221; 222; 223; 224; 225; 226; 227; 228; 229; 230; 231; 232; 233; 234; 235; 236; 237; 238; 239; 240; 241; 242; 243; 244; 245; 246; 247; 248; 249; 250; 251; 252; 253; 254; 255; 256; 257; 258; 259; 260; 261; 262; 263; 264; 265; 266; 267; 268; 269; 270; 271; 272; 273; 274; 275; 276; 277; 278; 279; 280; 281; 282; 283; 284; 285; 286; 287; 288; 289; 290; 291; 292; 293; 294; 295; 296; 297; 298; 299; 300; 301; 302; 303; 304; 305; 306; 307; 308; 309; 310; 311; 312; 313; 314; 315; 316; 317; 318; 319; 320; 321; 322; 323; 324; 325; 326; 327; 328; 329; 330; 331; 332; 333; 334; 335; 336; 337; 338; 339; 340; 341; 342; 343; 344; 345; 346; 347; 348; 349; 350; 351; 352; 353; 354; 355; 356; 357; 358; 359; 360; 361; 362; 363; 364; 365; 366; 367; 368; 369; 370; 371; 372; 373; 374; 375; 376; 377; 378; 379; 380; 381; 382; 383; 384; 385; 386; 387; 388; 389; 390; 391; 392; 393; 394; 395; 396; 397; 398; 399; 400; 401; 402; 403; 404; 405; 406; 407; 408; 409; 410; 411; 412; 413; 414; 415; 416; 417; 418; 419; 420; 421; 422; 423; 424; 425; 426; 427; 428; 429; 430; 431; 432; 433; 434; 435; 436; 437; 438; 439; 440; 441; 442; 443; 444; 445; 446; 447; 448; 449; 450; 451; 452; 453; 454; 455; 456; 457; 458; 459; 460; 461; 462; 463; 464; 465; 466; 467; 468; 469; 470; 471; 472; 473; 474; 475; 476; 477; 478; 479; 480; 481; 482; 483; 484; 485; 486; 487; 488; 489; 490; 491; 492; 493; 494; 495; 496; 497; 498; 499; 500; 501; 502; 503; 504; 505; 506; 507; 508; 509; 510; 511; 512; 513; 514; 515; 516; 517; 518; 519; 520; 521; 522; 523; 524; 525; 526; 527; 528; 529; 530; 531; 532; 533; 534; 535; 536; 537; 538; 539; 540; 541; 542; 543; 544; 545; 546; 547; 548; 549; 550; 551; 552; 553; 554; 555; 556; 557; 558; 559; 560; 561; 562; 563; 564; 565; 566; 567; 568; 569; 570; 571; 572; 573; 574; 575; 576; 577; 578; 579; 580; 581; 582; 583; 584; 585; 586; 587; 588; 589; 590; 591; 592; 593; 594; 595; 596; 597; 598; 599; 600; 601; 602; 603; 604; 605; 606; 607; 608; 609; 610; 611; 612; 613; 614; 615; 616; 617; 618; 619; 620; 621; 622; 623; 624; 625; 626; 627; 628; 629; 630; 631; 632; 633; 634; 635; 636; 637; 638; 639; 640; 641; 642; 643; 644; 645; 646; 647; 648; 649; 650; 651; 652; 653; 654; 655; 656; 657; 658; 659; 660; 661; 662; 663; 664; 665; 666; 667; 668; 669; 670; 671; 672; 673; 674; 675; 676; 677; 678; 679; 680; 681; 682; 683; 684; 685; 686; 687; 688; 689; 690; 691; 692; 693; 694; 695; 696; 697; 698; 699; 700; 701; 702; 703; 704; 705; 706; 707; 708; 709; 710; 711; 712; 713; 714; 715; 716; 717; 718; 719; 720; 721; 722; 723; 724; 725; 726; 727; 728; 729; 730; 731; 732; 733; 734; 735; 736; 737; 738; 739; 740; 741; 742; 743; 744; 745; 746; 747; 748; 749; 750; 751; 752; 753; 754; 755; 756; 757; 758; 759; 760; 761; 762; 763; 764; 765; 766; 767; 768; 769; 770; 771; 772; 773; 774; 775; 776; 777; 778; 779; 780; 781; 782; 783; 784; 785; 786; 787; 788; 789; 790; 791; 792; 793; 794; 795; 796; 797; 798; 799; 800; 801; 802; 803; 804; 805; 806; 807; 808; 809; 810; 811; 812; 813; 814; 815; 816; 817; 818; 819; 820; 821; 822; 823; 824; 825; 826; 827; 828; 829; 830; 831; 832; 833; 834; 835; 836; 837; 838; 839; 840; 841; 842; 843; 844; 845; 846; 847; 848; 849; 850; 851; 852; 853; 854; 855; 856; 857; 858; 859; 860; 861; 862; 863; 864; 865; 866; 867; 868; 869; 870; 871; 872; 873; 874; 875; 876; 877; 878; 879; 880; 881; 882; 883; 884; 885; 886; 887; 888; 889; 890; 891; 892; 893; 894; 895; 896; 897; 898; 899; 900; 901; 902; 903; 904; 905; 906; 907; 908; 909; 910; 911; 912; 913; 914; 915; 916; 917; 918; 919; 920; 921; 922; 923; 924; 925; 926; 927; 928; 929; 930; 931; 932; 933; 934; 935; 936; 937; 938; 939; 940; 941; 942; 943; 944; 945; 946; 947; 948; 949; 950; 951; 952; 953; 954; 955; 956; 957; 958; 959; 960; 961; 962; 963; 964; 965; 966; 967; 968; 969; 970; 971; 972; 973; 974; 975; 976; 977; 978; 979; 980; 981; 982; 983; 984; 985; 986; 987; 988; 989; 990; 991; 992; 993; 994; 995; 996; 997; 998; 999; 1000.
- Limoges, Giraud de Bon  
the district of, ii, 392.
- List of political change between 1248 and 219.
- Liste*, streaks of light, ii, 501.
- Living Beings, the four, 100.
- Lizio di Valbona, Lord, 501.
- Locusts and honey, food of the Baptist, ii, 253.
- Lombardo, Marco, i, 11-37.
- Lombardo semplice*, d'Ambrasio, Guido da Castello, ii, 307.
- Lord's Prayer, i, 373-384; against Pride, i, 384.
- Love, according to Virgil, all sin as well as of the active life, ii, 38; 71-79.
- Luca, St. Luke, ii, 182, 183.
- Lucca, city of, i, xxxiv; 100; 101; 102; 103; 104; 105; 106; 107; 108; 109; 110; 111; 112; 113; 114; 115; 116; 117; 118; 119; 120; 121; 122; 123; 124; 125; 126; 127; 128; 129; 130; 131; 132; 133; 134; 135; 136; 137; 138; 139; 140; 141; 142; 143; 144; 145; 146; 147; 148; 149; 150; 151; 152; 153; 154; 155; 156; 157; 158; 159; 160; 161; 162; 163; 164; 165; 166; 167; 168; 169; 170; 171; 172; 173; 174; 175; 176; 177; 178; 179; 180; 181; 182; 183; 184; 185; 186; 187; 188; 189; 190; 191; 192; 193; 194; 195; 196; 197; 198; 199; 200; 201; 202; 203; 204; 205; 206; 207; 208; 209; 210; 211; 212; 213; 214; 215; 216; 217; 218; 219; 220; 221; 222; 223; 224; 225; 226; 227; 228; 229; 230; 231; 232; 233; 234; 235; 236; 237; 238; 239; 240; 241; 242; 243; 244; 245; 246; 247; 248; 249; 250; 251; 252; 253; 254; 255; 256; 257; 258; 259; 260; 261; 262; 263; 264; 265; 266; 267; 268; 269; 270; 271; 272; 273; 274; 275; 276; 277; 278; 279; 280; 281; 282; 283; 284; 285; 286; 287; 288; 289; 290; 291; 292; 293; 294; 295; 296; 297; 298; 299; 300; 301; 302; 303; 304; 305; 306; 307; 308; 309; 310; 311; 312; 313; 314; 315; 316; 317; 318; 319; 320; 321; 322; 323; 324; 325; 326; 327; 328; 329; 330; 331; 332; 333; 334; 335; 336; 337; 338; 339; 340; 341; 342; 343; 344; 345; 346; 347; 348; 349; 350; 351; 352; 353; 354; 355; 356; 357; 358; 359; 360; 361; 362; 363; 364; 365; 366; 367; 368; 369; 370; 371; 372; 373; 374; 375; 376; 377; 378; 379; 380; 381; 382; 383; 384; 385; 386; 387; 388; 389; 390; 391; 392; 393; 394; 395; 396; 397; 398; 399; 400; 401; 402; 403; 404; 405; 406; 407; 408; 409; 410; 411; 412; 413; 414; 415; 416; 417; 418; 419; 420; 421; 422; 423; 424; 425; 426; 427; 428; 429; 430; 431; 432; 433; 434; 435; 436; 437; 438; 439; 440; 441; 442; 443; 444; 445; 446; 447; 448; 449; 450; 451; 452; 453; 454; 455; 456; 457; 458; 459; 460; 461; 462; 463; 464; 465; 466; 467; 468; 469; 470; 471; 472; 473; 474; 475; 476; 477; 478; 479; 480; 481; 482; 483; 484; 485; 486; 487; 488; 489; 490; 491; 492; 493; 494; 495; 496; 497; 498; 499; 500; 501; 502; 503; 504; 505; 506; 507; 508; 509; 510; 511; 512; 513; 514; 515; 516; 517; 518; 519; 520; 521; 522; 523; 524; 525; 526; 527; 528; 529; 530; 531; 532; 533; 534; 535; 536; 537; 538; 539; 540; 541; 542; 543; 544; 545; 546; 547; 548; 549; 550; 551; 552; 553; 554; 555; 556; 557; 558; 559; 560; 561; 562; 563; 564; 565; 566; 567; 568; 569; 570; 571; 572; 573; 574; 575; 576; 577; 578; 579; 580; 581; 582; 583; 584; 585; 586; 587; 588; 589; 590; 591; 592; 593; 594; 595; 596; 597; 598; 599; 600; 601; 602; 603; 604; 605; 606; 607; 608; 609; 610; 611; 612; 613; 614; 615; 616; 617; 618; 619; 620; 621; 622; 623; 624; 625; 626; 627; 628; 629; 630; 631; 632; 633; 634; 635; 636; 637; 638; 639; 640; 641; 642; 643; 644; 645; 646; 647; 648; 649; 650; 651; 652; 653; 654; 655; 656; 657; 658; 659; 660; 661; 662; 663; 664; 665; 666; 667; 668; 669; 670; 671; 672; 673; 674; 675; 676; 677; 678; 679; 680; 681; 682; 683; 684; 685; 686; 687; 688; 689; 690; 691; 692; 693; 694; 695; 696; 697; 698; 699; 700; 701; 702; 703; 704; 705; 706; 707; 708; 709; 710; 711; 712; 713; 714; 715; 716; 717; 718; 719; 720; 721; 722; 723; 724; 725; 726; 727; 728; 729; 730; 731; 732; 733; 734; 735; 736; 737; 738; 739; 740; 741; 742; 743; 744; 745; 746; 747; 748; 749; 750; 751; 752; 753; 754; 755; 756; 757; 758; 759; 760; 761; 762; 763; 764; 765; 766; 767; 768; 769; 770; 771; 772; 773; 774; 775; 776; 777; 778; 779; 780; 781; 782; 783; 784; 785; 786; 787; 788; 789; 790; 791; 792; 793; 794; 795; 796; 797; 798; 799; 800; 801; 802; 803; 804; 805; 806; 807; 808; 809; 810; 811; 812; 813; 814; 815; 816; 817; 818; 819; 820; 821; 822; 823; 824; 825; 826; 827; 828; 829; 830; 831; 832; 833; 834; 835; 836; 837; 838; 839; 840; 841; 842; 843; 844; 845; 846; 847; 848; 849; 850; 851; 852; 853; 854; 855; 856; 857; 858; 859; 860; 861; 862; 863; 864; 865; 866; 867; 868; 869; 870; 871; 872; 873; 874; 875; 876; 877; 878; 879; 880; 881; 882; 883; 884; 885; 886; 887; 888; 889; 890; 891; 892; 893; 894; 895; 896; 897; 898; 899; 900; 901; 902; 903; 904; 905; 906; 907; 908; 909; 910; 911; 912; 913; 914; 915; 916; 917; 918; 919; 920; 921; 922; 923; 924; 925; 926; 927; 928; 929; 930; 931; 932; 933; 934; 935; 936; 937; 938; 939; 940; 941; 942; 943; 944; 945; 946; 947; 948; 949; 950; 951; 952; 953; 954; 955; 956; 957; 958; 959; 960; 961; 962; 963; 964; 965; 966; 967; 968; 969; 970; 971; 972; 973; 974; 975; 976; 977; 978; 979; 980; 981; 982; 983; 984; 985; 986; 987; 988; 989; 990; 991; 992; 993; 994; 995; 996; 997; 998; 999; 1000.
- Lucia, representative of Italy, i, 313; the same as Lucia, ii, 109.
- Lucifer, i, xxxvii, xxxviii; the morning star, the sunrise, i, 8; Chief of the fallen angels, i, 417.
- Lui, esce di mano a, . . . semplicità*, the newly



- issues from the hand of God, ii, 23, 24.
- Luigi, i Filippi e i*, the Philips and the Louises, descended from Hugh Capet, ii, 149.
- Luke, St., the Evangelist, ii, 182, 183; 494-496.
- Lume, l'alto*, God, i, 465, 466.
- Luna*, the Moon, ii, 86-89; 105; 477, 478.
- Lunigiana, the, i, 295-298.
- Lupa antica*, the She-Wolf, a symbol of Avarice; an important passage in the *Divina Commedia*, ii, 138-140.
- Lustro subito*, the flashing light of the approaching Candlesicks, ii, 469-471.
- Lycurgus, grief of, ii, 385-387.
- M, the mediæval (M) and human face, ii, 259-261.
- Madonna*, address to Beatrice, ii, 606, 607.
- Madre comune*, i, 392, 393.
- Maestri, i gran*, Virgil and Statius, ii, 423.
- Maestro*, Jesus Christ, ii, 583, 584.
- Maestro, il*, Virgil, *passim*.
- Maestro mio*, term of address to Virgil, i, 73; *il dolce*, i, 354; *il buon*, i, 454, *et passim*.
- Maggio, l'aura di*, the breeze of, ii, 325.
- Maghinardo Pagani, i, 507.
- Magra*, or *Mucra, Val di*, i, 295.
- Mainardi, Arrigo, i, 501.
- Malaspina, Conrad, i, xxxvi; i, 291-299.
- Malaspina, the family, i, 295-298; further notes on the Malaspina, i, 300-306.
- Maledetti*, the Centaurs so styled, i, 320, 321.
- Malsculchi, gran*, Virgil and Statius, ii, 315, 316.
- Mamma, il fantolin corre alla*, ii, 512, 513.
- Man in cloth of grey, a mysterious personage among the descendants of Hugh Capet, ii, 152-154.
- Mandria*, simile of a flock of sheep, i, 99.
- Mandrian*, the herdsman, ii, 417.
- Manfred, King of Sicily, i, xxix; xxxvi; i, 78; 99; 102-118; 158; 408.
- Manibus o date lilia plenis*, ii, 506.
- Manna, cotidiana*, our daily food from Heaven, sentence in the Lord's Prayer, i, 379, 380.
- Mantle, Beatrice's green, ii, 510.
- Mantles, the livid coloured mantles of the Envious, i, 457.
- Mantovana, villa*, the city of Mantua, ii, 90, 91.
- Mantua, i, 201.
- Marca d' Ancona, territory of the, i, 164, 165.
- Marcellus, i, 211, 212.
- Marchese, Messer degli Arguigliosi* of Forlì, ii, 297, 298.
- Marcia, wife of Cato; i, 25-27.
- Marco Lombardo, i, xxxvii; ii, 7-37.
- Maremma, district of the, i, 183, 184.
- Margaret, wife of Charles of Anjou, i, 255.
- Maria*, the Virgin Mary, see Virgin.
- Mariam, daughter of Eleazar, ii, 261.
- Mars, the planet, i, 47, 48.
- Mars, the God of war, i, 419, 420.
- Marseilles, city of, ii, 94.
- Masnada*, a company or band, i, 76, 77.
- Matelda, i, xxxvii; ii, 440-480; bathes Dante in Lethe, ii, 551-554; mentioned by name; leads Dante to the river Eunoe, ii, 625-628.
- Marzucco of Pisa, i, 190, 191.
- Matre, l'antica*, Eve, ii, 514.
- Melanese, il*, Galeazzo Visconti, i, 283; why this reading is preferable to *il Milanese*, i, 283, 284.
- Meleager, son of Althea, ii, 333-335.
- Melo, i fioretti del*, the blossoming of the Apple-tree, typical of the Transfiguration, ii, 583.
- Melodia dolce*, ii, 471, 472.
- Membra, le belle*, Beatrice's beautiful form in her life-time, ii, 544, 545.
- Membra d'oro*, the golden wings of the Gryphon, ii, 490.
- Mensola*, a corbel, an architectural term, i, 370, 371.
- Messagger che porta olivo*, i, 60, 61.
- Messo*, an Angel, i, 525, 526.
- Messo da Dio un cinquecento dieci e cinque*, the mysterious DXV, probably Henry VII, ii, 610.
- Metellus, a tribune who tried to prevent Julius Cesar from despoiling the treasury on the Tarpeian hill, i, 336.
- Michael, St., the Archangel, i, 457, 458.

- Micol*, Saul's daughter Michael, i, 358, 359, 361.
- Midas, King of Lydia, ii, 170.
- Midian, ii, 321.
- Migliata de' lunari*, for thousands of months had Statius suffered penance, ii, 224.
- Milan, the city of, ii, 96.
- Milizia del celeste regno*, ii, 570.
- Milton, on the subject of Angels, i, 272.
- Minerva, fronde di*, the olive wreath on Beatrice's head, ii, 517.
- Ministri e messaggier*, the Angels on the Triumphal Car, ii, 504.
- Ministro*, the Angel Warder, i, 29.
- Minos, the judge of Hell, i, 25.
- Mira, la*, a small town, i, 167.
- Miserere*, i, 155.
- Mitrio, corono e*, Virgil's last words to Dante, "I crown and mitre thee," ii, 428, 429.
- Modern' uso*, ii, 9.
- Modicum et non videbitis me*, Beatrice's words to the seven maidens, ii, 604.
- Moldau, the river, i, 245.
- Mole, the blind, ii, 40, 41.
- Monaldi e Filippeschi, i, 208.
- Monastery of S. Zeno, ii, 94-99.
- Mondo, a noi di questo, i.e.*, "to us spirits," ii, 396, 397.
- Monferrato, William, Marquis of, i, 258.
- Monks, their reciprocal salutations, ii, 183.
- Monster, the Chariot turned into a, ii, 596, 600.
- Montagna della Fata*, the explanation of the term, ii, 591.
- Monte alle Croci, i, 437, 438.
- Monte*, the Mountain of Purgatory, i, 75; ii, 170; 242; 357; 454. *et passim*; *il santo monte*, ii, 434-436; height of, i, 128, 129.
- Montecchi, great family of Verona, i, 208.
- Monte Corvo, tradition of Dante at the Monastery of, i, 378.
- Montefeltro, Buonconte da, i, xxxvi; 155, 156; 161; 168-181.
- Montefeltro, Guido da, the contrast between his damnation and his son Buonconte's salvation, i, 176.
- Montone*, the Zodiacal sign of Aries, i, 298, 299.
- Moon, the, i, 346, 347; ii, 86-89; 105; 477, 478.
- Moore, Dr. Edward, his i, xv; *et passim*.
- Mordcaai, the Jew, ii, 44.
- Morning Star, i, 433, 43.
- Morning Sun, i, 43-45.
- Morocco, i, 148.
- Moroello, Malaspina, i, 584.
- Moses at the Transfiguration, the beast into which was changed, ii, 596.
- Motor primo*, God, the Father of the Universe, ii, 347.
- Muse, o sante*, i, 5.
- Muses, the nine, ii, 241.
- Muta, lo*, the dumb raven, Dante, who wishes silent, i, 453.
- Mysteries of Man's first births, ii, 327; 332.
- Mystic Procession, the, i, 272.
- Naiades*, an error for *Laiades* (Edipus) that MSS. of Ovid in D 613.
- Naples, the city of, i, 85.
- Naples, the kingdom of.
- Nasetto, quel*, him of the name Philip III, King of France, named *le Hardi* and 246-248.
- Natuto, i'*, him of the name Charles I of Anjou, i, 240, 241; 526.
- Nature, i, 240, 241; 526.
- Nella, la*, wife of Ferrara, 255, 276.
- Neque nubent*, ii, 133.
- Neri*, the political party, Dante, i, 215; 263.
- Neron Caesar*, ii, 610.
- Nicholas, St., ii, 143, 144.
- Night, i, 275-277; ii, 52.
- Nile, the River, ii, 307.
- Nimrod, *Nembrod*, i, 42.
- Ninna nanna*, Tuscan cradle song, ii, 280.
- Nino Visconti, Justiceiar, xxxvi; i, 259; 263; *dice Nin gentili*, i, 263.
- Niobe, daughter of Tancred, Amphion, King of Tyre, 421.
- Nipote*, Fulcieri, the father of Rinieri da Montefeltro, 495.

- Nodo*, synonym of *drappello*, meaning, not a company, but a file of soldiers, ii, 494.
- Noli, town on the Genoese Riviera, i, 124, 125.
- Normandy, ii, 156, 157.
- Nostral vento*, the Tramontana, North wind, ii, 548, 549.
- Nostro*, explanation of, i, 531, 532.
- Notaro, il*, Jacopo da Lentino, ii, 305-307.
- Novello, Federico, i, 189, 190.
- Novembre, a mezzo*, "the thread spun in October does not last to mid-November," a metaphor referring to a changeable legislation, i, 215.
- Novissimo bando*, the last trump, ii, 503-503.
- Nuvola di fiori*, a cloud of flowers figuring the books of the Old Testament, ii, 509, 510.
- Nuvole d' agosto*, i, 157, 158.
- Nymphs, ii, 467, 468; the three, ii, 491, 492; the four, ii, 493; the seven, ii, 586; *noi siamo qui ninfe, e nel ciel siamo stelle*, ii, 555.
- O anima Lombarda*, Sordello, i, 198-200.
- Occam, William of, ii, 69.
- Occhi belli*, the eyes of Beatrice, ii, 427-429.
- Occhi del cielo*, the twin-eyes of Heaven, the Sun and the Moon, ii, 173, 174.
- Occhi giovinetti*, variously explained, ii, 528, 529.
- Occhi santi*, Beatrice's holy eyes, ii, 561.
- Occidente, l'*, the West, ii, 413, 414.
- Octavianus, the Emperor Augustus, i, 222, 223.
- October, "the thread spun in October does not last to mid-November," a stricture on fickleness, i, 215.
- Oderisi d' Agobbio, i, 373, 394-413.
- Ogni fante*, every child, i, 393.
- Olive, symbol of wisdom, ii, 509; 518.
- Oloferne*, Holofernes, i, 426.
- Olympus, i, 315; ii, 291, 292.
- Omberto, Aldobrandeschi, i, 393, 394.
- Ombra*, its significations, i, 445; as shadow, ii, 368, 369.
- Ombra and Ombre*, spirits in Purgatory, ii, 140, *et passim*.
- Ombra gentil*, allusion to Virgil, ii, 90, 91.
- Ombre con manti*, the Spirits of the Envious, on the Second Cornice, i, 457.
- Omnipotence of God, i, 87, 88.
- Omo*, the Mystic sign on the human face, ii, 260, 261.
- Orbetello, i, 475, 476.
- Orestes, i, 451-453.
- Oriago, village in Venetian territory, i, 167.
- Oriente*, i, 8; 263; 310, 311; ii, 105; 419, 420.
- Oriental sapphire, i, 229.
- Orizzonte*, i, 44, 45; ii, 415, 416.
- Orlo*, edge of the Cornice, ii, 366.
- Orse*, the Great and Little Bears, i, 133.
- Orso, Count, i, 190, 191.
- Orza, da*, to port (harboard), ii, 589.
- Osanna*, i, 378, 379; ii, 476.
- Ospizio, quell'*, the stable at Bethlehem, ii, 141.
- Ossa, le sacrate*, the anointed line of the Capets, ii, 154.
- Ostendali*, ii, 483.
- Ostia, castle at the mouth of the Tiber, i, 70, 71.
- Ottobre*, see October.
- Ottocar, King of Bohemia, i, 244, 245.
- Octavianus, Caesar Augustus, i, 222, 223.
- P's, the seven, i, xxix, xxx; i, 330, 331.
- Erasure of the first, Pride, i, 441, 442;
- the second, Envy, i, 526, 527; 538, 539;
- the third, Anger, ii, 51;
- the fourth, *Accidie*, ii, 113-115;
- the fifth, Avarice, ii, 215-218;
- the sixth, Gluttony, ii, 322-326;
- the seventh, Sensuality, ii, 403, 404.
- Paces, the ten, ii, 484.
- Padre, dolce, verace*, etc., title given by Dante to Virgil, *passim*.
- Padre nostro, o*, beginning of the Lord's Prayer, i, 375, 376.
- Paduans, territory of, called *in grembo agli Antenori*, i, 165-167.
- Pagani, a noble family of the Romagna, i, 507; Maghinardo, called *il Demonio*, i, 507.
- Palinurus, i, 194.
- Pallas, Minerva, i, 419, 420.
- Pappo e il dindi*, i, 403.

- Paradise, they of, that is, the Angels, i, 29.
- Paradise, the Terrestrial, i, xxvii; xxxvii; i, 2; ii, 320; 432-630.
- Paradiso, the book, i, xix-xxii.
- Parete di non caler, note on, ii, 566.
- Pargoleggia, i.e. acts as a child, ii, 23, 24.
- Pargoletta, a young girl, an allusion to past, not future, loves of Dante, ii, 546.
- Paris, the city, i, 396; ii, 149.
- Parnassus, the mountain, ii, 233, 234; 463; 563.
- Pasiphaë, ii, 374.
- Passages of unsurpassed excellence in the Purgatorio, i, xxxvi, xxxvii.
- Passi, the hours of the night, i, 310, 311.
- Passi dieci, ii, 484.
- Passi, tre, i, 274, 275; ii, 449, 450.
- Passo del perdono, i, 455.
- Pastor, allusion to the shepherds at Bethlehem, ii, 174, 175.
- Pastor di Cosenza, the Archbishop, i, 111-113; Roman Pastore, Pope Adrian V, ii, 126, 127; pastori, the shepherds, ii, 417.
- Paternostro, the Lord's Prayer, ii, 396, 397.
- Path through Purgatory, difficult, i, 344-347.
- Patron saint of Florence, St. John the Baptist, ii, 253.
- Pecorelle, stupid sheep, i, 98, 99.
- Pedagogo, dolce, term of addressing Virgil, i, 412, 413.
- Pedes meos, ii, 520.
- Pedro III, King of Aragon, i, 248-256.
- Pelorus, the headland, i, 486, 487.
- Penance, spirits undergoing it in Purgatory, ii, 369, 370.
- Pennelli, tratti di, strokes of a painter's brush, ii, 481.
- Per la riva, on the Cornice, i, 389.
- Perdoni, churches in which indulgences could be obtained, i, 459-461.
- Peregrin, wayfarers, ii, 422, 423.
- Pergamo, in, in the pulpit, ii, 278-280.
- Peripatetics, doctrine of the, ii, 23, 24.
- Persius, the young Stoic poet, ii, 241, 242.
- Persona in due nature, una, the Gryphon, typifying Jesus Christ, ii, 549, 550.
- Pescator, St. Peter, ii.
- Pesci, the Zodiacal sign.
- Peter, St., i, 333, 334; 4584.
- Petrone, un gran, rock.
- Phaëton, i, 135.
- Philip le bel of France, ii, 146, 147; 165, 167.
- Philomela, turned into a bird, ii, 43, 44.
- Philosophy, Scholastic.
- Phlegra, mythological.
- Pia de' Tolomei, passes beauty and senses, ii, 184.
- Pianger . . . per altro, for another wound, ii, 515.
- Pianeta, allusion to the planets, i, 8-10.
- Piani, one of the territories, ii, 454.
- Pianta, the mystic tree.
- Planta mala, the Capetian dynasty, ii, 145, 146.
- Picae, the nine daughters of King of Thessaly, ii, 417.
- Piccarda de' Donati, good, a saint in Paradise, ii, 290, 291.
- Pisani, the moist basin of Purgatory, ii, 344-347.
- Pier, Pedro III, i, 255.
- Pier Pettinagno, i, 472.
- Pier Traversaro, i, 501.
- Pierre de la Brosse, i, 10.
- Pietro, vicario di, the vicar, ii, 191, 192.
- Pietola, a small village.
- Pigeons, flock of, simile.
- Pignatelli, Cardinal of Cosenza, i, 111.
- Pigrizia, in reference to the sinners, ii, 142.
- Pila, Ubaldino della, ii.
- Pilato, il nuovo, Philip Pilot, the Angel, i, 50-51.
- Pisa, quel da, Farinagiani, i, 189-191.
- Pisans, styled volpi, i, 4.
- Pisces, constellation of the zodiac, ii, 542.
- Planets, influence of the zodiac, i, 74; 90; 121; 122.
- Plauto, the Mystic Christ, ii, 240-242.

- Pliny, his reasoning followed by Dante, i, 369, 370; his denunciation of Pride, ii, 63, 64.
- Po, the river, i, 499, 500; ii, 31.
- Poesy, Dante's, influenced by Virgil and Statius, ii, 247.
- Poeta*, Virgil, i, 132, *et passim*.
- Poeti*, li, ii, 245, 246.
- Poeti, a' miei*, ii, 464.
- Poggia, da*, to starboard, ii, 589.
- Poggia*, the height, the steep incline, the mountain, i, 82; 130; 138; 196; 444.
- Pole, the Arctic, i, 14.
- Pole, the Antarctic, i, 286, 287.
- Pollux and Castor, i, 132, 133.
- Polycletus, Greek sculptor, i, 350, 351.
- Polydorus, ii, 170, 171.
- Polymnestor, ii, 170, 171.
- Polynices, i, 424.
- Pome, quel dolce*, the Supreme Good, ii, 424, 425.
- Pomo, un altro*, another fruit tree, ii, 316, 317.
- Pomo*, the fruit, on the apple-tree (*melo*), figuring the Transfiguration of Jesus Christ, ii, 583, 584.
- Ponte alle Grazie (*Rubaconte*) at Florence, i, 435, 438.
- Ponthieu, li, 156, 157.
- Pope Boniface VIII, and the indignities suffered by him at Anagna, ii, 163-167.
- Pope Martin IV, ii, 294, 295.
- Porta sacrata*, Gate of Purgatory, i, 335; 343.
- Portinaio, il cortese*, the Angel, i, 326, 327.
- Posilipo, Promontory of, i, 85, 86.
- Post-Purgatory, i, 2.
- Potestate, una*, God, ii, 132.
- Poverty, examples of holy, ii, 140-144.
- Pratomagno, a mountain-ridge in Tuscany, i, 178.
- Prayer, position in, i, 262-264; in the Fourth Cornice no requests are made for intercessory prayer from others, i, 103; the Lord's prayer, i, xxxvii; 373-384.
- Pregli buoni*, i, 116, 117.
- Pride, sin of, i, 413; ii, 63; chief angel of, Lucifer, i, 416, 417; Cornice of, i, 357-442; the penalty of the Proud, i, 362-372.
- Prima acqua*, first subject treated by Dante, i, 4.
- Primavera*, the flowers of spring, ii, 444, 445.
- Prima gente*, Adam and Eve, i, 11.
- Prime creature*, Angels, ii, 540.
- Primizie tante*, the Terrestrial Paradise, a foretaste of the Celestial, ii, 472-473.
- Primo giro*, the Heaven of the Moon, i, 7, 8.
- Primo Ministro*, the Angel-Warder, i, 28, 29.
- Primum Mobile*, i, xxx; ii, 455, 456; *il ciel che più alto festina*, ii, 619, 620; the highest and most remote sphere of Heaven, i, 7.
- Procession, the Mystic, ii, 465.
- Procession of the Church Militant, ii, 472-584.
- Progne, changed into a swallow, i, 313, 314; ii, 44.
- Prode*, profit, advantage, note, i, 529.
- Prodigality, sin of, ii, 179.
- Prophecy, a mysterious, by Oderisi d' Agobbio, i, 409, 410.
- Proserpine, ii, 444, 445.
- Proterva*, for *altera*, expressing haughtiness, ii, 517.
- Provence, the County of, i, 255.
- Provenzal* lines as quoted by Arnaut Daniel, ii, 397-401.
- Provenzale, la gran dote*, ii, 155-157.
- Provenzano Salvani, great Ghibelline leader of Siena, i, 373; 404-409.
- Prudence, one of the four Cardinal Virtues, ii, 493.
- Psalms, the Penitential, i, 154, 155; ii, 466, 467.
- Ptolemaic System, the, i, xxvii; 403; ii, 191; 455, 456.
- Puglia, the Kingdom of Apulia, i, 255.
- Purgatorio*, the book, i, xxxiii; date of composition, i, xxxiv; time spent in composition, i, xxxv; the most beautiful passages in, i, xxxvi, xxxvii.
- Purgatory divided into three divisions, (a) Ante-Purgatory; (b) Purgatory proper; (c) Post-Purgatory, i, 1, 2; Ante-Purgatory, i, 1-336; Purgatory proper, i, 336-550, and ii, 1-429; Post-Purgatory, ii, 430-630.
- Purgatory, peculiarities of, i, xxvii, xxviii; i, 241-248; ii, 431, 432; the mountain of, i, xxvii-xxix, *et passim*; Gate of Purgatory, i, xxix; xxxvii; 322-336; the first day spent

- entirely in Ante-Purgatory, i, 299; sculptures on the First Cornice, i, 349-353; the penitent souls scrupulous not to evade their chastisement, ii, 8; 369, 370; nightfall a hindrance to progress in, i, 230-234; ii, 414-416.
- Purgatory (the plan of), i, opp. p. 1.
- Purgatory, Dante's admission into Ante-Purgatory by Cato, i, 26-32; into Purgatory proper by the Angel-Warder, who traces seven P's upon his brow, i, 330-335; into Post-Purgatory he passes from the charge of Virgil into that of Matelda, ii, 426-429; 442.
- Pylades, would have died to save Orestes, i, 451.
- Pygmalion, ii, 169.
- Pyramus, ii, 409, 410.
- Quando piove*, Aristotle's theory about rain, ii, 589.
- Quattro ancelle del giorno*, *le*, time reference, ii, 245, 246.
- Quattro animali*, the four Living Beings, symbols of the four Evangelists, ii, 486.
- Quattro [donne]*, ii, 493.
- Quattro belle*, *le*, the four Cardinal Virtues, ii, 554.
- Quattro in umile paruta*, the four of humble aspect symbolize the Epistles of St. James, St. Peter, St. John and St. Jude, ii, 496, 497.
- Quattro stelle*, the four bright stars, not the Southern Cross, i, 10, 12; symbolizing the four Cardinal Virtues, i, 287.
- Quel d' Inferno*, the Devil, i, 175.
- Quel dalle chiavi*, the Angel Warder, i, 442.
- Quel da Lucca*, Buonagiunta, ii, 298, 299.
- Quell' entrata aperta*, the gate of Purgatory, i, 320, 321.
- Quella ch' al serpente crese*, Eve, ii, 572.
- Questo trifforme amor*, three kinds of ill-directed Love, ii, 66.
- Quia, state contenti . . . al*, "be contented with knowing the fact, without enquiring the reason"; *quia* used for "that" in mediæval Latin, i, 88, 89.
- Qui lugent*, part of the Beatitude, "Blessed are they that mourn," ii, 114, 115.
- Quinci e quindi*, on both
- Rabbia fiorentina*, abstr. *i rabbiosi fiorentini*
- Rachel, symbol of the life, ii, 419, 420.
- Radice, l' umana*, Adam first parents of the h 463.
- Raggi, gli ultimi*, time 52.
- Ragion qui vede, quan- mere Reason can d 80.*
- Rain, the formation of, i
- Ramier*, Old French fou 384, 385.
- Ramogna*, derived from 384, 385.
- Ramora*, for *i rami*, ii, 5
- Raphael's *Stanza*, ii, 170
- Rats, see footnote, ii, 40.
- Ravenna, Boniface, Arc 295-297.
- Reason, obscure passage
- Rege, del sommo*, the most 201.
- Rege eterno*, God, ii, 117
- Rege*, the Emperor, ii, 21
- Regge sacra*, for the Gate i, 336.
- Regi antichi*, Carolingian 152-154.
- Regina*, *i.e.* Amata, w Latinus, ii, 45, 46; e at Julius Cæsar, ii, 3
- Reggimenti*, actions, ii, 5
- Regno dolente*, i, 226.
- Regno eterno*, ii, 237, 238
- Rehoboam, i, 423.
- Remedy for Anger, the 5.
- Reno*, the river, i, 499.
- Rhiphæan mountains, ii.
- Riccardo da Camino, ii.
- Rimbecca*, explanation 229.
- Rinieri, da Calboli, Rom i, 477; 498, 499.
- Ripa*, the rocky slope o tory, i, 116, 117; on nices, i, 349-351; 44
- Riva*, the margin of Cor 148; *riva, lascias* mountain's edge, ii.
- River, the dark, leading Purgatory, i, 16, 17.

- Rivers, the two, issuing from one source, ii, 623.
- Rivolge sè contro il taglio la rota*, the grindstone turns back so as to blunt the edge, ii, 542.
- Roccia*, cliff, i, 97, *et passim*.
- Romagna, i, 164, 165; 499, 502; *spirito di Romagna*, i, 529; general deterioration of its nobility, i, 499-509.
- Romagnoles of Brettinoro, the, i, 505, 506.
- Roman Pastore*, Pope Adrian V, ii, 126, 127.
- Romane antiche*, the Roman dames of old, ii, 251, 252.
- Romano, Cristo è*, explanation of, ii, 588.
- Rome, i, 210; ii, 28, 29; 87; 201; 490, 588; *Chiesa di Roma*, ii, 33.
- Rondinella peregrina*, beautiful Canzone by T. Grossi, i, 313, 315.
- Rote magne*, the Stars, *i.e.* planetary influence, ii, 525.
- Rubaconte*, now Ponte alle Grazie, at Florence, i, 436, 437.
- Rubecchio, Zodiaco*, the Zodiac fiery with the Sun's rays, i, 132, 133.
- Rudolph of Hapsburg, i, 243, 244.
- Rule of the road in Purgatory, i, 127, 128.
- Rules of Symmetry observed by Dante, i, xxxiii.
- Ruminar*, to chew the cud, ii, 26.
- Rush, Emblem of Humility, Dante girded with a, i, 26-30.
- SACRAMENTS of the Roman Church, the seven, ii, 472.
- Saggi, i, miei*, Virgil and Statius, ii, 415, 416.
- Saints, all the, i, 457, 458.
- St. Alberigo, ii, 10.
- St. Ambrose, i, 337; 365; ii, 496; hymn of, i, 264, 265.
- St. Apollinare in Classe, ii, 435.
- St. Augustine, ii, 496.
- St. Bernard, ii, 496.
- St. Brandan, ii, 10.
- St. Francis, i, 28.
- St. Gregory, i, 359; ii, 496.
- St. Jerome, ii, 496.
- St. John, ii, 496, 497.
- St. John, the last survivor of all his contemporaries, ii, 497.
- St. Luke, dressed as a physician, ii, 494-496.
- St. Paul, holding a sword, ii, 494-496.
- St. Stephen, being stoned, i, 542-544.
- St. Thomas Aquinas, i, 272; ii, 70; 157 *et passim*.
- Salmista, l'umile*, David, i, 357, 358.
- Salmodia*, the plaintive strain sung by the Seven Maidens, ii, 603.
- Salve Regina*, Complime Hymn, i, 242.
- Samaritan woman, the, ii, 180, 181.
- San Leo, suall town near Urbino, i, 124, 125.
- Sanesi*, people of Siena, i, 469.
- Sapia of Siena, i, xxxvii; 443; 466-478.
- Sapphira and Ananias, ii, 170, 171.
- Sapphire, chosen for Bishops' rings, i, 7, 8; Oriental, i, xxxvi.
- Saracen women, ii, 279, 280.
- Sardinia and Corsica, ii, 87.
- Sasso rotto*, hollow way in the Cliff, i, 126.
- Saturn, the planet, ii, 105.
- Saul, King, i, 421.
- Savi*, the Sages, ii, 566.
- Savio che ristette, il*, Statius, ii, 604, 605.
- Scabbia*, leprosy, ii, 266-268.
- Scaglioni*, the steps on which the three Poets slept, ii, 415, 416.
- Scaglioni santi*, steps of the second stairway, i, 440, 441.
- Scala, la*, i, 387, 388; stairway to the Second Cornice, i, 444, 445; ascent to Fourth Cornice, ii, 51; sixth stairway, ii, 215; ascent to the seventh stairway, ii, 328-330; ascent of the last stairway, ii, 402-428.
- Scalee*, the stairways on San Miniato, i, 436-438.
- Scaletta dei tre gradi, la*, the three steps at the Gate of Purgatory, i, 191, 192, description of the steps in detail, i, 327-330.
- Scales or Balances, the Zodiacal sign of i, 44, 45.
- Scemo della luna*, time reference, i, 346, 347.
- Scempio*, "simplex, contrario di doppio," ii, 12.
- Schiavi, venti*, Slavonian winds, ii, 520-523.
- Schiera, la*, the troop of spirits, i, 123, 124.
- Scholastic disputation, ii, 79.
- Scholastic philosophy, ii, 69, 70.

- Sciara della Colonna, ii, 163-165  
*Scias quod ego fui successor Petri*, words of Pope Adrian V, ii, 125, 126.  
*Scientia Scientiarum*, Theology, ii, 80.  
 Scipio Africanus, ii, 491.  
 Seirocco, the South-East wind, ii, 435, 436.  
 Scorpio, the Zodiacal sign of, i, 310, 311; ii, 328, 329.  
*Scorta mia*, Virgil, ii, 3.  
*Scorte, le buone*, Virgil and Statius, ii, 407, 408.  
 Scots, ii, 70.  
*Scotto*, scot, penalty, ii, 533.  
 Scotus Erigena, ii, 69.  
 Sculptures in the First Cornice, i, xxxvii; 414-416.  
*Scuola*, a company, ii, 583, 584.  
*Scuola, quella*, Philosophy, ii, 619.  
 Seyros, the town of, i, 317, 318.  
*Sè in sè rigira*, ii, 348, 349.  
*Secchione*, applied to the Moor, explanation, ii, 86, 87.  
*Secol, il*, the World, or Time, ii, 524.  
*Secol primo, lo*, the primal or Golden Age, ii, 252, 253.  
*Seconda bellezza* of Beatrice, ii, 562.  
*Seconda etade*, about twenty-five years old, ii, 529.  
*Selva antica*, the primeval garden of Paradise, ii, 437, 438.  
*Semenza*, the seed in the above garden, ii, 459.  
 Sennaar, plain of Shinar, i, 420.  
 Sennacherib, i, 424, 425.  
*Sentenza, la gran*, the Mighty Doom, i, 364.  
*Sequestra*, meaning of, ii, 359.  
 Sermoneta, Duke of, i, ix.  
 Serpent, the, i, xxxvi; 271; 288, 289; ii, 607, 608.  
 Sestos and Abydos, ii, 449, 450.  
*Sette arbori d'oro*, ii, 475, 476.  
*Sette donne*, ii, 622, 623.  
*Sette liste*, ii, 482.  
*Sette, questi*, seven personages in the Mystic Procession, ii, 497, 499.  
*Setteuion del primo cielo*, ii, 502.  
 Seven, the sacred number, ii, 475.  
 Seven capital sins, the, ii, 597.  
 Seven choirs, i, 356, 357.  
 Seven Cornices, i, xxix, xxx; 17; and see Cornices.  
 Seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, the, ii, 483.  
 Seven maidens, ii, 491, 492.  
 Seven P's, ii, 515; see  
 Seven stars, i, 285-288.  
 Seven vices, Virgil's d  
 57-86.  
 Sheep, famous simile o  
 Shinar, see *Sennaar*.  
 Shooting stars, i, 157.  
 Sichæus, King of Tyre  
*Sicilia e d' Aragona*,  
 kings of Sicily and  
 110.  
 Siena, city of, i, 182-  
 404-409.  
 Siense, the, i, 392-394.  
 Siestri e Chiavari, xxii;  
*Sigillum Pescatoris*, ii,  
 Sign-language, ii, 121, 1  
 Sign of the Holy Cross.  
*Signor*, term of addre  
 142; *il mio Signor*  
 mio, ii, 122.  
*Signor Caro*, God, i, 38  
*Silvano*, dweller in the  
 Terrestrial Paradisi  
 Similes:—  
 Dante's genius and :  
 3; sapphire, the co  
 the reverence a st  
 father, i, 14; the  
 nounces his life fo  
 freedom, i, 21-23;  
 his lost way, i, 34;  
 of their road and  
 48; a messenger  
 olive branch, i, 60,  
 pigeons scared awa  
 i, 76, 77; path E  
 and Turbia, i, 91  
 thrower casting as  
 sand paces, i, 96,  
 sheep following the  
 99; a villager bloc  
 in the vintage seas  
 a line drawn from n  
 the centre, i, 129; t  
 mountain, steep at  
 coming easier, i, 1  
 down a current in  
 139; attitude of  
 from indolence, i, 14  
 built tower resistin  
 hurricanes, i, 152, 1  
 feeble by too mar  
 152, 153; falling s  
 troop galloping, i,  
 formation of rain, i,  
 of hazard, i, 187,



*Similes* (continued):—

couching, i, 200; *Nave senza nocchiero*, i, 202, 203; Italy and a horse, i, 205, 206; Government of Athens and Lacedaemon, i, 215; thread spun in October not lasting till mid-November, i, 215; Florence to a sick woman on her bed of down, i, 216, 217; a person struck with surprise, i, 224; the mountain hollowed out after the fashion of the large valleys here on earth, i, 235; the many-coloured flowers in the Happy Valley compared to various pigments, i, 238-240; the sap of a tree running from root to branches, i, 253, 254; the hour when the thoughts of the mariner turn to his home, i, 261, 262; the voyager hearing the chimes at night, i, 261, 262; the vesture of the Angels green like newly opened leaflets, i, 268, 269; the rotation of a wheel near its axle, i, 286, 287; the Guardian Angels to falcons, i, 290; the Illuminating Grace of God to a lantern, i, 294, 295; the merit of good works to wax, i, 294, 295; the swallow singing at dawn, i, 314, 315; the mind at dawn more prophetic in visions, less hampered by things of flesh, i, 324, 325; lightning swooping down, i, 317; Achilles at the court of Lycomedes, King of Scyros, i, 317, 318; a fissure that divides a wall, i, 324; the Angel Warder's garb like the colour of ashes, i, 331, 332; the Tarpeian Rock, i, 336; the impressions on hearing persons chanting with an organ, i, 337, 338; a wave retreating and advancing, i, 345; the narrow path to a needle's eye, i, 346, 347; width of Cornice to three times the length of the human body, i, 348, 349; a figure stamped on wax, i, 354; a woman haughtily contemptuous and vexed, i, 358, 359; the worm, an incomplete being, i, 368, 369; a human figure sculptured as a corbel, i, 370, 371; one dreaming of burdens that purge away the defilements of the world, i, 385; the illuminated portraits of Franco Bolognese, i, 397, 398; earthly fame an ever-shifting

breath of wind, i, 402, 403; the twinkling of an eye to the fixed stars, i, 403; renown as the hue of the grass, i, 406; yoked oxen moving with even pace, i, 412, 413; the urging on a bark with sail and oars, i, 412, 413; the engraved effigies on tombs, i, 415, 416; a spider lying on the shreds of her work, i, 422; climbing the hill of San Miniato by the stairways, i, 435-437; attitude of men who seek, with their fingers, to ascertain some unknown thing on their head that attracts attention, i, 442; a distance reckoned by a mile on earth, i, 450, 451; posture of the Envious like blind beggars at the doors of Churches, i, 460, 461; their eyes sewn up like those of wild young falcons, i, 461, 462; the manner of a blind man, i, 467, 468; the blackbird crying for fine weather, i, 470, 471; a man concealing horrible things, i, 485; a man driving away a serpent, i, 487; the people of the Casentino to swine, i, 488, 489; those of Arezzo to noisy curs, i, 489, 490; the Florentines to wolves, i, 490; the Pisans to foxes, i, 491; thunder rolling away when storm cloud is spent, i, 510, 511; the Heaven of the Sun to a child, in ever-restless motion, i, 518, 519; raising one's hands as a sun-shade, i, 521; the light of God's Grace poured into the human heart, just as the Sun's rays into a mirror, i, 521-524; the way to spur on laggards, i, 549; anger and pungent smoke, ii, 2-4; a blind man following close behind his guide, ii, 4, 5; the human body to swathing bands, ii, 9; a little maid that cries and laughs in her childish sport, ii, 23, 24; the full-grown ear of corn, ii, 30; a mist overtaking the reader on a mountain, and then dispersed by the Sun, ii, 40, 41; the dim sight of a mole, ii, 40, 41; one absorbed in meditation unobservant of what goes on around, ii, 41, 42; the nightingale, ii, 43; a bubble of water breaking up, ii, 45; sleep broken by some new light striking on the closed eyelids,

*Similes* (continued):—

ii, 47, 48; the stillness of a ship when it reaches the shore, ii, 53, 54; the ill-belated oar, ii, 55; fire moving upward, ii, 77; a sealed impression in wax, ii, 78; life in plants shown by green leaves sprouting forth, ii, 81; the instinct of the bee to make honey, ii, 82, 83; the Moon shaped like a bucket all on fire, ii, 86, 87; the Sun seen from Rome when setting between Sardinia and Corsica, ii, 86, 87; one who from weariness rambles in his conversation, ii, 90, 91; the Thebans rising at night to chant the praises of Bacchus, ii, 92, 93; the Sun reviving chilled limbs, ii, 107, 108; one who overwhelmed with thought walks along stooping, and resembles the halt arch of a bridge, ii, 112; the Angel with outstretched wings like a swan, ii, 114, 115; six or seven references in the *Divina Commedia*, to talcons, ii, 118, 119; ungratified wish for information likened to an un-filled sponge, ii, 136, 137; walking as on a wall close to battlements, ii, 136, 137; a woman in labour, ii, 141; corsairs haggling over the price of female slaves, ii, 160, 161; speaking loud or soft according as one is moved to do, ii, 171, 172; the earthquake of Delos, when Latona gave birth to Apollo and Diana, ii, 173, 174; the Shepherds at Bethlehem, ii, 174, 175; the thirst for knowledge to be quenched by the Water of Life, ii, 180, 181; account by St. Luke of Christ's appearance after His Resurrection, ii, 182, 183; Lachesis spinning the thread of life, ii, 186, 187; Dante's wish to know described as the needle's eye of his desire, ii, 188; drinking enjoyed in proportion to thirst, ii, 198; smiling as one who takes a hint, ii, 205-207; Statius said to have sailed in the wake of the Fisherman, St. Peter, *i.e.* to have been a Christian, ii, 232; one who carries a light behind him, guiding others, but not himself, ii, 233; a fir-tree tapering from branch to branch, ii, 248; Roman dames of old satisfied with water

*Similes* (continued):—

- Thisbe, ii, 409, 410; a child conquered by the promise of fruit, ii, 410, 411; goats quiet while ruminating, ii, 416, 417; the shepherd watching his goats, and the herdsman resting by his flock at night, ii, 417; the rustling of the branches in the Pineta at Chiassi, ii, 435, 436; a lady dancing, ii, 446, 447; a maiden who lowers her eyes, ii, 446, 447; the brilliancy of the eyelids of Venus when shot by her son, ii, 448; the Hellespont, which kept Hero and Leander apart, ii, 449, 450; the Golden Age, ii, 463; singing like a lady in love, ii, 466, 467; like nymphs roaming in sylvan shades, ii, 467, 468; lightning, ii, 470; the newly wedded brides, ii, 479; Dante's face reflected in Lethe as in a mirror, ii, 480, 481; the strokes of a painter's brush, ii, 483; the chariot of the Church militant likened to the triumphal cars of Scipio and Cæsar, ii, 491; the chariot of the Sun badly driven by Phæton, ii, 491; the Septentrio, implying the Sevenfold Holy Spirit, ii, 502, 503; a lovely sunrise, ii, 508; a trusting little child running to its mother, ii, 512, 513; an admiral inspecting his ships and crews, ii, 516-518; a mother's haughty compassion for her son, ii, 519, 520; snow congealing on the Aennines, ii, 520-523; fire melting a candle, ii, 520-523; a cross-bow discharged at too much tension, breaks string and bow, and the bolt smites with diminished force, ii, 538; only a fledgeling awaits two or three shots, but the full-grown bird cannot be so deluded, ii, 546, 547; children penitently avowing their faults, ii, 547; a stout oak uprooted, ii, 548; the nettle of remorse, ii, 550, 551; as the Sun seen in a mirror, so was the Gryphon reflected in his twofold nature in Beatrice's eyes, ii, 558, 559; a troop of soldiers manoeuvring to protect itself from the enemy, ii, 569, 570; the distance traversed by the Poets about three flights of an arrow, ii, 573, 574; an Indian's wonderment at the height of trees, ii, 575, 576; the swelling of trees at the beginning of spring, ii, 578, 579; an artist who paints from a model, ii, 581; the Transfiguration, ii, 583, 584; a swift motion like fire from a cloud, ii, 588, 589; a ship in a tempest, now reeling to starboard, now to port, ii, 589, 590; the Chariot covered as quickly with plumage as fertile soil with dog-grass, ii, 595, 596; the Chariot secure as a citadel on some lofty hill, ii, 598, 599; the Virgin Mary at the Cross, ii, 603; the low indistinct utterance of an inferior addressing a superior, ii, 606, 607; Themis and the Sphinx, 612, 613; the petrifying waters of the river Elsa, ii, 616, 617; the blood of Pyramus staining the mulberry, ii, 616, 617; the pilgrim's staff entwined with palm leaves, ii, 618; wax which does not change the figure impressed upon it, ii, 619; a fire being inferred from smoke, ii, 620, 621; a noble soul, without making excuse, makes the will of another its own, ii, 627, 628; new trees renewed with new foliage, ii, 628, 629.
- Simonides, ii, 213.  
 Sion, i, 134, 135.  
*Sire, del giusto*, the Righteous Lord, ii, 130.  
*Sire, d'alto*, God, i, 543, 544.  
 Siren, the, ii, 108, 109; the Sirens, ii, 543.  
*Sirocchia*, i, 142; ii, 186, 187.  
*Sitiunt*, ii, 216.  
 Six hundred and sixty-six, symbolic value of the number, ii, 610.  
 Slaves, galley, their hapless condition, ii, 55.  
*Slegare*, to unbind, contrary of *legare*, i, 545; ii, 116, 117.  
 Sloth, i, 139-147; 538; ii, 71; Spiritual Sloth or Accidia purged on the Fourth Cornice of Purgatory, ii, 38-115.  
*Smeraldi*, emeralds, i.e. the eyes of Beatrice, ii, 557.  
 Sodom, ii, 382; Sodom and Gomorrah, ii, 374.  
*Soglia*, name for each Sphere of Heaven, ii, 197.

- Solar Spectrum, the prismatic colours of, ii, 483.
- Sole*, i, 31; 44; 57; 101; 122; 319; 447; 461; i, 40; 48; 87; 203; 232; 282; 367; 371; 376; 404; 413; 415; 427; 439; 467; 483; 491; 559; 568; 579; *Soli, due*, ii, 28, 29.
- Solomon, Song of, *the Canticles*, ii, 502.
- Song of "The Bow," i, 421, 422.
- Sonno* and *Sogno*, Dante's dreams, i, 311-321; ii, 102-112; ii, 418, 422; 580-584.
- Sopr' esso* for *proprio sopra*, ii, 552.
- Sorceress, type of pleasures of the world, ii, 115-117.
- Sordello, poet and troubadour, i, 185; 197-290; 319-321.
- Sotto la fronda*, the fruits and roots of the Mystic tree, ii, 583, 584.
- Soul, how the Embryo endowed with a, ii, 343-352.
- Souls of the great, i, xxxvi; 227-229; 273-275; vegetative, sensitive, intellectual, i, 120-122.
- Southern Cross, the four bright stars not the, i, 10, 11.
- Spada*, wound, *lit. sword*, ii, 515.
- Spada lucida ed acuta*, sword held by St. Paul as a champion of Christ, ii, 495, 496.
- Spada Nuda*, sword of the Angel-Warder, i, 324, 325.
- Spenser, Edmund, i, xvii.
- Sphinx, the, ii, 612, 613.
- Spia*, expounder, ii, 22.
- Spider, Arachne turned into a, i, 422.
- Spirito, divino*, an Angel, ii, 49, 50.
- Spirito Santo, unica sposa dello, i.e. the Blessed Virgin*, ii, 168.
- Spirits and *Spiriti, passim*.
- Splendor, uno*, a dazzling light, ii, 582.
- Spola*, shuttle of a loom, ii, 552.
- Sponda del carro sinistra, la*, the left-hand edge of the Chariot, ii, 516-518.
- Sposa, unica dello Spirito Santo*, the Blessed Virgin, the Bride of the Holy Ghost, ii, 168.
- Squilla*, the *Angelus*, the *Ave Maria*, or evening chime, i, 261, 262.
- Stairways into Cornices. See *Scala*.
- Stairways, believed always to mount straight up, ii, 119.
- Stars, see *Stelle*.
- Stattius, i, xxxvii; ii, 179; 181-286; his reverence shown to Virgil, ii, 203-213; his exposition of man's first and 336-357; passes through with Dante and *passim*.
- Stavano all' ombra*, w. standing, in the 141.
- Stelle* and Stars, *Stelle* 16; *quattro chiare stella mattutina*, i, 433-435; *stelle*, (probably the *quattro* of i, 23), ii, 555.
- Stelle*, the concluding the three *Cantiche*.
- Stella*, the constellation 579.
- Stelo*, the axle of a wheel 192.
- Stork, the young, ii, 3.
- Strada*, an allusion to 135.
- Strega antica*, see *Strega* 117.
- Su* (in xvi, 49) up to the nice and *su* (*ibid.*) dice, ii, 11, 12.
- Succession of France centuries and a half, ii.
- Summae Deus clemens* Seventh Cornice, ii.
- Summa Theologiae*, b. Aquinas, ii, 70 et *passim*.
- Summit of Judgment decree of God, i, 1.
- Sun, the, see *Sole*.
- Sun, the position of the Dante's supposed 1.
- Sunrise in Purgatory, i.
- Suns, the two lights of the Emperor and the 29.
- Suo passo falca*, meaning *Suora, la*, the Moon, ii.
- Superbia*, Pride, i, 394.
- Suppe*, curious superstition, ii, 608.
- Sustanzie pie*, the Angels.
- Swallows, the, i, 313-315.
- Swords of the Angels of 268.
- Sword of Justice, ii, 54.
- Symmetry, rules of, i, 1.
- Syrinx, her story told Mercury, ii, 581.

- TABLE of Dates, from Scartazzini, i, 218, 219.
- Taci*, Virgil's attempt to silence Dante before Statius, ii, 204-206.
- Talamone, fortress of the Sienese, i, 475.
- Talpe*, a mole, at Florence, a rat, ii, 40.
- Tamiri*, Tomyris, a Scythian queen, i, 425, 426.
- Tan m' abelis vostre cortes deman*, ii, 397-400.
- Tarpeian rock, i, 336.
- Taurus, constellation of, ii, 328, 329; 578, 579.
- Tebe*, city of Thebes, ii, 201.
- Te Deum laudamus*, i, 337, 338; 439.
- Tedder, Mr. H. R., i, x; xvi.
- Te lucis ante*, hymn of St. Ambrose, i, 264, 265.
- Témo*, the pole of the Chariot, symbolizing the Seat of the Church, ii, 577.
- Temptation, see conditions of, i, 265.
- Terence, Latin poet and dramatist, ii, 240-242.
- Tereus, cruel vengeance on him by Procne or Philomela, ii, 44.
- Terra*, the Earth, ii, 457, 458; 491.
- Terra vera*, the bare earth, ii, 585.
- Terre d' Italia, le*, the towns and villages of Italy, i, 211, 212.
- Terrestrial Paradise described in Post-Purgatory, i, 2.
- Teseo*, Theseus, ii, 320, 321.
- Tesoro dei Tesori*, a work of Sordello, i, 258.
- Text, Dr. Moore's, adopted in this work, i, xv.
- Thebaid* of Statius, the, ii, 238, 239.
- Thebes, its rivers, ii, 238, 239; the Thebans, ii, 92, 93.
- Themis, ii, 612, 613.
- Theodosius, Emperor, i, 365.
- Theology, science of, ii, 510; 545; 554; 555; 558; exemplified by Beatrice, ii, 412.
- Thetis, mother of Achilles, ii, 244.
- Thisbe and Pyramus, ii, 409-411.
- Thomas Aquinas, St., i, 272; ii, 70; 157 *et passim*.
- Thomists, the, ii, 70.
- Three Theological Virtues, ii, 507; 554; 560, 561; 567.
- Thymbraeus (*i.e.* Apollo), i, 419, 420.
- Tiber, the river, i, xxxii; 70, 71.
- Tiemmi, tiemmi*, words spoken by Matelda to Dante when immersing him in Lethe, ii, 552.
- Tignoso, Federigo, i, 503, 504.
- Tigris, the river, ii, 624.
- Time, indications and references to in the *Purgatorio*, about thirty in number, i, xxxii, xxxiii; 8-10; 31-33; 40; 42-45; 56-58; 83, 84; 100, 101; 122, 123; 132-137; 147, 148; 196; 229-332; 260-262; 273, 274; 287; 299; 308-312; 318-321; 346, 347; 430-432; 447; 516-520; 549, 550; ii, 40, 41; 51, 52; 86-89; 105; 245, 246; 328, 329; 367-369; 403, 404; 415, 416; 419, 420; 422; 427-429; 432, 433; 621-623.
- Tiresias, ii, 244.
- Titone antico, la concubina di, i.e.* the Moon, i, 309-311.
- Titus, Emperor, ii, 200, 201.
- Tolomei, Pia de', i, xxxvi; 161; 181-184.
- Tolosano*, native of Toulouse, ii, 201.
- Tommaso*, St. Thomas Aquinas, ii, 157, *et passim*.
- Tornale già in sull' usato pianto*, ii, 176.
- Torso*, the city of Tours, ii, 294, 295.
- Tortura, l' ultima*, the last turning-place, ii, 358, 359.
- Tusco, un gran*, Guglielmo Aldobrandeschi, i, 391.
- Tosco*, Dante twice so addressed, i, 503; 509.
- Tosco, parlando*, speaking Tuscan, ii, 36.
- Toynbee, Dr. Paget, author of the Dante Dictionary.
- Traducianism, theory of, as taught by Averrhoës and others, ii, 343, 344.
- Trajan, the Emperor, i, xxxvii; 359-361.
- Tramontana*, the North wind, ii, 548.
- Tratti, pennelli*, strokes of a painter's brush, ii, 481.
- Traversara, la casa*, i, 503, 504.
- Tre di là, le*, the three Theological Virtues on the far side of the Chariot, ii, 555.
- Tre donne . . . dalla destra rota*, the Three Theological Virtues in the New Testament, ii, 491.
- Tre fate mi diei, nel petto*, Dante performing acts of penitence, i, 329, 330.
- Tre gradi*, the three steps at the Gate of Purgatory, i, 323, 324; 329, 330.

- Tre occhi in testa*, Prudence, who looks at past, present and future, ii, 493.
- Tre passi*, allegorical meaning, i, 274; ii, 449.
- Trees in Purgatory, the first, ii, 248-258; the second, ii, 288; 316-320; the Tree of Knowledge, ii, 271; 572-575; the Tree of Life, ii, 271; the renovated tree, ii, 578-580; 613-617.
- Trinity, the Holy, i, 87-89.
- Troia, the city of Troy, i, 427.
- Troppo fiso*, ii, 567.
- Troya, Carlo, the historian, i, 291, 292; his *Veltro di Dante*, ii, 300.
- Turbia, town of, i, xxii; i, 91, 92.
- Turkish proverb, ii, 20, 21.
- Turnus, story of, in the *Aeneid*, ii, 45, 46.
- Tuscany, i, 405, 406; 475; 477; 481-496.
- UBALDIN della Pila, ii, 295, 206.
- Uccel di Dio, l'*, the Angel Warder, i, 146, 147; *l' uccel divino*, i, 53; *l' uccel di Giove*, ii, 589.
- Ugolin d' Azzo, i, 503, 504.
- Ugolin de Fantolin, i, 508.
- Uguecione della Faggiuola, i, xxxiv; ii, 300; 311-312.
- Ulysses, ii, 109.
- Una persona in due nature*, the Gryphon, symbolical of Jesus Christ, God and Man, ii, 549.
- Urania, the Muse of Astronomy, ii, 474.
- Uscio de' morti*, the Gateway of Hell, i.e. *Limbo*, ii, 531, 532.
- Utica, birthplace of Cato, i, 24.
- Vagheggiare*, to contemplate with delight, ii, 23, 24.
- Val di Magra, the territory of the Malaspina family, i, 295.
- Valdimagra, vapor di*, Moricello III, the most renowned of the Malaspina, i, 304-306.
- Valley of the Arno, i, 481-496; ii, 623.
- Valley, the Flowery, i, xxxvi; 235-315.
- Valley, the Infernal, i, 16, 17.
- Valore, l' eterno*, the Eternal Glory, i, 535-536.
- Vapori accesi*, falling stars, i, 157.
- Vapore, dolce*, the Supreme Wisdom of God, *lit.* sweet effluence, i, 376.
- Varca, qui si*, here is the passage, i.e., the Fifth Cornice, ii, 113-119.
- Varco*, passage to F, 9, 10.
- Varro, Greek writer, i.
- Vecchi due*, St. Luke, 494-496.
- Vecchi tre, viz.*, Corrado Gherardo da Castello, ii, 32.
- Vedovella mia, la*, 1 Forese de' Donati.
- Veduta eterna*, the second, ii, 336, 337.
- Voglio onesto*, the meaning Cato, i, 548.
- Voglio solo*, St. John, of the Apostles, ii.
- Velen dell' argomez*, Beatrice to Dante, sins, ii, 548.
- Veltro, not the same as* prophecy, ii, 610-612.
- Vendetta di Dio non ha* of a popular superstition.
- Venere, sotto le ciglia*, Vengeance, cruel, of Ercilla on Tereus, i.
- Veni, sponsa, de Libano*.
- Venite benedicti patris*.
- Ventiquattro senatori*, the Old Testament.
- Venus, the goddess, ii, planet, a morning star then called Lucifer, all the stars, i, 8-8; evening star is called 8.
- Vera città*, i, 466, 467, 25.
- Verde, the river, i, 11.
- Vergini, o sacrovante*.
- Vernaccia*, a white wine.
- Vernon, Honourable 3 Index, i, xv.
- Verona, city of, ii, 96.
- Veronese, Abbot of St. 97.
- Vespa*, the wasp, mean ii, 593.
- Vespero*, the evening, *per lo vespero*, i, 5331, 332.
- Vestimento*, raiment 165.
- Vicar of Christ, Bonif 165.
- Vicar of St. Peter, Gate of Purgatory.
- Vices, the; Pride, i, 2

- 443-538; Anger, i, 539 to ii, 48; *Accidie*, ii, 52-115; Avarice, ii, 119-231; Gluttony, ii, 246-326; Sensuality, ii, 357-411.
- Vico*, meaning a small town, ii, 241.
- Vinea, friend of Provenzano Salveni, i, 404-407.
- Vinum non habent*, i, 453.
- Vipera*, la, arms of the Milanese Visconti, i, 283, 284.
- Virgil, continuously mentioned; his titles, *duca mio*, i, 18; 32; 47; 123; 286; 345; 442; *Maestro*, i, 34; 49; 127; 136; 152; 156; *fiida compagna*, i, 79; *Confortio*, i, 85; *Dolce Signor mio*, i, 142; *O Luce mia*, i, 192; *Poeta*, *il*, i, 132; 147; *Signore*, i, 196; *Gloria de Latin*, i, 225; *dolce Padre mio*, i, 545; ii, 332; 411; *dottore*, *l'alto*, ii, 72; *savio duca*, ii, 410; derivation of Virgil's name according to Benvenuto, i, 223; his smiles, i, 442; his disappearance, ii, 506-515; he represents Reason, i, 321.
- Virgin Mary, the, i, 88, 89; 174, 175; 352-354; 452, 453; 457, 458; 539, 540; 546; ii, 93, 94; 164; 168; 250; 378; 603.
- Virtualmente*, potentially, ii, 525.
- Virtues, the nine, four Cardinal and three Theological, i, 227, 228.
- Virum non cognosco*, ii, 362.
- Visconti, Nino, Justiciary of Gallura, i, xxxvi; 274-285; 293.
- Visconti, Galeazzo, of Milan, who bears a Viper on his arms, i, 283, 284.
- Vita nuova*, meaning Dante's early years, not his book *La Vita Nuova*, ii, 525.
- Vita Nuova*, construction of, i, xxxiii, xxxiv.
- Vivagni*, margins, ii, 321.
- Vive travi*, le, the living rafters, meaning the pine-trees on the Apennines, ii, 520.
- Voglia*, God's Will, ii, 272, 273.
- Voi* or *tu*, the uses of, ii, 387, 388.
- Voices, the first, i, 438; on the Second Cornice, i, 452-454; 510-512; on the Third Cornice, ii, 5, 6, 7; 504, 505; *voce rivestita*, ii, 504, 505; *gridd tre volte*, ii, 502; three calls from Virgil, ii, 112; voices of Angels, i, 526; ii, 48, 49; 323, 324; of the Angel of Purity, ii, 413, 414; voice from heaven, ii, 592, 593.
- Volpe, una*, a fox, ii, 590.
- Volpi*, the Pisans, i, 491.
- Vostri*, see above, *voi* and *tu*, i, 295, 296.
- Vostro viso*, Dante's address to Beatrice with the respectful *voi*, ii, 541.
- Vulcan, golden necklace made by him, i, 423, 424.
- WAIN, the constellation of the Great Bear, i, 14.
- Warder, the Angel, at the Gate of Purgatory, i, 307; 323-344.
- Waterfall, ii, 249.
- Wednesday in Easter-week, ii, 422.
- Wenceslaus IV, King of Bohemia, surnamed the Good, i, 245.
- White, green and red, symbolical, ii, 510; the colours of Dante's attire in his portrait by Giotto, ii, 507, 508.
- William of Occam, i, 69.
- William, Marquess of Monferrato, i, 257, 258.
- Wisdom, typified by a lady, ii, 109-111.
- Wolf, Avarice likened to a, ii, 137-139.
- Wolves, the Florentines likened to, i, 490.
- XERXES, ii, 449, 450.
- YEAR 1300, i, xxxii, xxxiii; ii, 302; 314.
- Year 1308, ii, 314.
- Years 1314 and 1319, the *Purgatorio* completed between the, i, xxxiv, xxxv.
- Zara*, the game of hazard, i, 186, 187.
- Zeno, Abbot of St., ii, 94-99.
- Zion, i, 134, 135.
- Zodiac, the signs of, i, 130-135.



THE ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY PRESS LIMITED



A SELECTION OF BOOKS  
 PUBLISHED BY METHUEN  
 AND CO. LTD. LONDON  
 36 ESSEX STREET  
 W.C.

CONTENTS

	PAGE		PAGE
General Literature . . . .	2	Miniature Library . . . .	19
Ancient Cities . . . .	12	New Library of Medicine . .	19
Antiquary's Books . . . .	12	New Library of Music . . . .	20
Arden Shakespeare . . . .	13	Oxford Biographies . . . .	20
Classics of Art . . . .	13	Seven Plays . . . .	20
'Complete' Series . . . .	14	Sport Series . . . .	20
Connoisseur's Library . . . .	14	States of Italy . . . .	20
Handbooks of English Church History . . . .	15	Westminster Commentaries . .	20
Handbooks of Theology . . . .	15	'Young' Series . . . .	21
Health Series . . . .	15	Shilling Library . . . .	21
'Home Life' Series . . . .	15	Books for Travellers . . . .	22
Leaders of Religion . . . .	16	Some Books on Art . . . .	22
Library of Devotion . . . .	16	Some Books on Italy . . . .	23
Little Books on Art . . . .	17	Fiction . . . .	24
Little Guides . . . .	17	Books for Boys and Girls . .	29
Little Library . . . .	18	Shilling Novels . . . .	29
Little Quarto Shakespeare . .	19	Sevenpenny Novels . . . .	31

A SELECTION OF  
MESSRS. METHUEN'S  
PUBLICATIONS

---

In this Catalogue the order is according to authors. An asterisk denotes that the book is in the press.

Colonial Editions are published of all Messrs. METHUEN'S Novels issued at a price above 2s. 6d., and similar editions are published of some works of General Literature. Colonial Editions are only for circulation in the British Colonies and India.

All books marked net are not subject to discount, and cannot be bought at less than the published price. Books not marked net are subject to the discount which the bookseller allows.

Messrs. METHUEN'S books are kept in stock by all good booksellers. If there is any difficulty in seeing copies, Messrs. Methuen will be very glad to have early information, and specimen copies of any books will be sent on receipt of the published price *plus* postage for net books, and of the published price for ordinary books.

This Catalogue contains only a selection of the more important books published by Messrs. Methuen. A complete and illustrated catalogue of their publications may be obtained on application.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p><b>Andrewes (Lancelot).</b> PRECES PRIVATAE. Translated and edited, with Notes, by F. E. BRIGHTMAN. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.</p> <p><b>Aristotle.</b> THE ETHICS. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by JOHN BURNET. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.</p> <p><b>Atkinson (T. D.).</b> ENGLISH ARCHITECTURE. Illustrated. Fourth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.</p> <p><b>A GLOSSARY OF TERMS USED IN ENGLISH ARCHITECTURE.</b> Illustrated. Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.</p> <p><b>ENGLISH AND WELSH CATHEDRALS.</b> Illustrated. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.</p> <p><b>Atteridge (A. H.).</b> FAMOUS LAND FIGHTS. Illustrated. Cr. 8vo. 6s.</p> <p><b>Bain (F. W.).</b> A DIGIT OF THE MOON: A HINDOO LOVE STORY. Eleventh Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.</p> <p><b>THE DESCENT OF THE SUN: A CYCLE OF BIRTH.</b> Sixth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.</p> <p><b>A HEIFER OF THE DAWN.</b> Ninth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.</p> <p><b>IN THE GREAT GOD'S HAIR.</b> Sixth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.</p> <p><b>A DRAUGHT OF THE BLUE.</b> Fifth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.</p> | <p><b>AN ESSENCE OF THE DUSK.</b> Fourth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.</p> <p><b>AN INCARNATION OF THE SNOW.</b> Third Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.</p> <p><b>A MINE OF FAULTS.</b> Fourth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.</p> <p><b>THE ASHES OF A GOD.</b> Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.</p> <p><b>BUBBLES OF THE FOAM.</b> Second Edition. Fcap. 4to. 5s. net. Also Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.</p> <p><b>A SYRUP OF THE BEES.</b> Fcap. 4to. 5s. net. Also Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.</p> <p><b>Balfour (Graham).</b> THE LIFE OF ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON. Fifteenth Edition. In one Volume. Cr. 8vo. Buckram, 6s. net.</p> <p><b>Baring (Hon. Maurice).</b> LANDMARKS IN RUSSIAN LITERATURE. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.</p> <p><b>THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE.</b> Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 15s. net.</p> <p><b>Baring-Gould (S.).</b> THE LIFE OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE. Illustrated. Second and Cheaper Edition. Royal 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.</p> <p><b>THE TRAGEDY OF THE CESARS: A STUDY OF THE CHARACTERS OF THE CESARS OF THE JULIAN AND CLAUDIAN HOUSES.</b> Illustrated. Seventh Edition. Royal 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.</p> |
|---|--|

- A BOOK OF CORNWALL. Illustrated. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- A BOOK OF DARTMOOR. Illustrated. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- A BOOK OF DEVON. Illustrated. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- Baring-Gould (S.) and Sheppard (H. F.). A GARLAND OF COUNTRY SONG. English Folk Songs with their Traditional Melodies. *Demy 4to. 6s. net.*
- Baring-Gould (S.), Sheppard (H. F.), and Bussell (F. W.). SONGS OF THE WEST. Folk Songs of Devon and Cornwall. Collected from the Mouths of the People. New and Revised Edition, under the musical editorship of Cecil J. Sharp. *Large Imperial 8vo. 5s. net.*
- Barker (E.). THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF PLATO AND ARISTOTLE. *Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*
- Bastable (G. F.). THE COMMERCE OF NATIONS. *Seventh Edition. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*
- Beckett (S. J.). THE FJORDS AND FOLK OF NORWAY. Illustrated. *Fcap. 8vo. 5s. net.*
- Beckford (Peter). THOUGHTS ON HUNTING. Edited by J. OTHO PAGET. Illustrated. *Third Edition. Demy 8vo. 6s. net.*
- Belloc (H.). PARIS. Illustrated. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.*
- HILLS AND THE SEA. *Tenth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.*
- ON NOTHING AND KINDRED SUBJECTS. *Fourth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.*
- ON EVERYTHING. *Third Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.*
- ON SOMETHING. *Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.*
- FIRST AND LAST. *Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.*
- THIS AND THAT AND THE OTHER. *Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.*
- MARIE ANTOINETTE. Illustrated. *Third Edition. Demy 8vo. 15s. net.*
- THE PYRENEES. Illustrated. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*
- Bennett (Arnold). THE TRUTH ABOUT AN AUTHOR. *Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*
- OVER THERE: WAR SCENES ON THE WESTERN FRONT. *Fcap. 8vo. 1s. net.*
- Bennett (W. H.). A PRIMER OF THE BIBLE. *Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*
- Bennett (W. H.) and Adney (W. F.). A BIBLICAL INTRODUCTION. With a concise Bibliography. *Sixth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d. net. Also in Two Volumes. Cr. 8vo. Each 3s. 6d. net.*
- Beresford (Admiral Lord Charles). THE MEMOIRS OF ADMIRAL LORD CHARLES BERESFORD. Illustrated. *Demy 8vo. Cheaper Edition 10s. 6d. net.*
- Berriman (Algernon E.). AVIATION. Illustrated. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*
- MOTORING. Illustrated. *Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*
- Bicknell (Ethel E.). PARIS AND HER TREASURES. Illustrated. *Fcap. 8vo. Round corners. 5s. net.*
- Blake (William). ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE BOOK OF JOB. With a General Introduction by LAURENCE BINYON. Illustrated. *Quarto. £1 1s. net.*
- Bloemfontein (Bishop of). ARA CÆLI: AN ESSAY IN MYSTICAL THEOLOGY. *Seventh Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*
- FAITH AND EXPERIENCE. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*
- THE CULT OF THE PASSING MOMENT. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*
- THE ENGLISH CHURCH AND REUNION. *Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*
- Brabant (P. G.). RAMBLES IN SUSSEX. Illustrated. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- Braid (James). ADVANCED GOLF. Illustrated. *Eighth Edition. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*
- Bulley (M. H.). ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL ART. Illustrated. *Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.*
- Gulman (W. T.). THE LIFE OF CRUSTACEA. Illustrated. *Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.*
- Carlyle (Thomas). THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. Edited by C. R. L. FLETCHER. *Three Volumes. Cr. 8vo. 18s. net.*
- THE LETTERS AND SPEECHES OF OLIVER CROMWELL. With an Introduction by C. H. FIRTH, and Notes and Appendices by S. C. LOMAS. *Three Volumes. Demy 8vo. 18s. net.*
- Chambers (Mrs. Lambert). LAWN TENNIS FOR LADIES. Illustrated. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*

- Chesterfield (Lord).** THE LETTERS OF THE EARL OF CHESTERFIELD TO HIS SON. Edited, with an Introduction by C. STRACHEY, and Notes by A. CALTHROP. Two Volumes. Cr. 8vo. 12s. net.
- Chesterton (G. K.).** CHARLES DICKENS. With two Portraits in Photogravure. Eighth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- THE BALLAD OF THE WHITE HORSE. Fifth Edition. 5s. net.
- ALL THINGS CONSIDERED. Tenth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.
- TREMENDOUS TRIFLES. Fifth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.
- ALARMS AND DISCURSIONS. Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.
- A MISCELLANY OF MEN. Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.
- WINE, WATER, AND SONG. Sixth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 1s. net.
- Claussen (George).** ROYAL ACADEMY LECTURES ON PAINTING. Illustrated. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- Clutton-Brock (A.).** THOUGHTS ON THE WAR. Ninth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 1s. net.
- MORE THOUGHTS ON THE WAR. Third Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 1s. net.
- Conrad (Joseph).** THE MIRROR OF THE SEA: Memories and Impressions. Fourth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.
- Coulton (G. G.).** CHAUCER AND HIS ENGLAND. Illustrated. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Cowper (William).** POEMS. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by J. C. BAILEY. Illustrated. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Cox (J. C.).** RAMBLES IN SURREY. Illustrated. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- RAMBLES IN KENT. Illustrated. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- Davis (H. W. G.).** ENGLAND UNDER THE NORMANS AND ANGEVINS: 1066-1279. Fourth Edition. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Dearmer (Mabel).** A CHILD'S LIFE OF CHRIST. Illustrated. Second and Cheaper Edition. Large Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.
- Dickinson (G. L.).** THE GREEK VIEW OF LIFE. Tenth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.
- Ditchfield (P. H.).** THE VILLAGE CHURCH. Illustrated. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.
- THE ENGLAND OF SHAKESPEARE. Illustrated. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- Dowden (J.).** FURTHER STUDIES IN THE PRAYER BOOK. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- Durham (The Earl of).** THE REPORT ON CANADA. With an Introductory Note. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 4s. 6d. net.
- Egerton (H. E.).** A SHORT HISTORY OF BRITISH COLONIAL POLICY. Fourth Edition. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- Evans (Herbert A.).** CASTLES OF ENGLAND AND WALES. Illustrated. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.
- Fairbrother (W. H.).** THE PHILOSOPHY OF T. H. GREEN. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.
- Houlkes (Charles).** THE ARMOURER AND HIS CRAFT. Illustrated. Royal 4to. £2 2s. net.
- DECORATIVE IRONWORK. From the xth to the xviiiith Century. Illustrated. Royal 4to. £2 2s. net.
- Firth (G. H.).** CROMWELL'S ARMY. A History of the English Soldier during the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth, and the Protectorate. Illustrated. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- Fisher (H. A. L.).** THE REPUBLICAN TRADITION IN EUROPE. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- FitzGerald (Edward).** THE RUBÁIYÁT OF OMAR KHAYYÁM. Printed from the Fifth and last Edition. With a Commentary by H. M. BATSON, and a Biographical Introduction by E. D. ROSS. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Flux (A. W.).** ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- Fraser (E.).** THE SOLDIERS WHOM WELLINGTON LED. Deeds of Daring, Chivalry, and Renown. Illustrated. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.
- THE SAILORS WHOM NELSON LED. Their Doings Described by Themselves. Illustrated. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.

- Gibbins (H. de B.).** INDUSTRY IN ENGLAND: HISTORICAL OUTLINES. With Maps and Plans. *Ninth Edition.* Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- THE INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND.** With 5 Maps and a Plan. *Twenty-first Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 3s.
- Gibbon (Edward).** THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE. Edited, with Notes, Appendices, and Maps, by J. B. Bury. Illustrated. *Seven Volumes.* Demy 8vo. Illustrated. Each 10s. 6d. net. Also in *Seven Volumes.* Cr. 8vo. Each 6s. net.
- Gladstone (W. Ewart).** SPEECHES. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.
- Glover (T. R.).** THE CONFLICT OF RELIGIONS IN THE EARLY ROMAN EMPIRE. *Fifth Edition.* Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- POETS AND PURITANS. *Second Edition.* Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.**
- \*FROM PERICLES TO PHILIP.** Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- VIRGIL. *Third Edition.* Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.**
- THE CHRISTIAN TRADITION AND ITS VERIFICATION.** (The Angus Lecture for 1912.) *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.
- Grahame (Kenneth).** THE WIND IN THE WILLOWS. *Eighth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Griffin (W. Hall) and Minchin (H. G.).** THE LIFE OF ROBERT BROWNING. Illustrated. *Second Edition.* Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.
- Haig (K. G.).** HEALTH THROUGH DIET. *Fourth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.
- Hale (J. R.).** FAMOUS SEA FIGHTS: FROM SALAMIS TO TSU-SHIMA. Illustrated. *Third Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- Hall (H. R.).** THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE NEAR EAST FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE BATTLE OF SALAMIS. Illustrated. *Third Edition.* Demy 8vo. 15s. net.
- Hannay (D.).** A SHORT HISTORY OF THE ROYAL NAVY. Vol. I., 1217-1688. *Second Edition.* Vol. II., 1689-1815. Demy 8vo. Each 7s. 6d. net.
- Harker (Alfred).** THE NATURAL HISTORY OF IGNEOUS ROCKS. With 112 Diagrams and 2 Plates. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.
- Harper (Charles G.).** THE 'AUTOCAR ROAD-BOOK. With Maps. *Four Volumes.* Cr. 8vo. Each 7s. 6d. net.
- Vol. I.—SOUTH OF THE THAMES.  
Vol. II.—NORTH AND SOUTH WALES AND WEST MIDLANDS.  
Vol. III.—EAST ANGLIA AND EAST MIDLANDS.  
Vol. IV.—THE NORTH OF ENGLAND AND SOUTH OF SCOTLAND.
- Haskell (Arthur).** THE LIFE OF NAPOLEON. Illustrated. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- Henley (W. E.).** ENGLISH LYRICS: CHAUCER TO POE. *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.
- Hill (George Francis).** ONE HUNDRED MASTERPIECES OF SCULPTURE. Illustrated. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Hind (G. Lewis).** DAYS IN CORNWALL. Illustrated. *Third Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- Hirst (W. A.).** A GUIDE TO SOUTH AMERICA. With 10 Maps. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- Hobhouse (L. T.).** THE THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE. *Second Edition.* Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Hobson (J. A.).** INTERNATIONAL TRADE: AN APPLICATION OF ECONOMIC THEORY. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.
- PROBLEMS OF POVERTY: AN INQUIRY INTO THE INDUSTRIAL CONDITION OF THE POOR. *Eighth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.**
- THE PROBLEM OF THE UNEMPLOYED: AN INQUIRY AND AN ECONOMIC POLICY. *Sixth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d.**
- GOLD, PRICES AND WAGES: WITH AN EXAMINATION OF THE QUANTITY THEORY. *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.**
- Hodgson (Mrs. W.).** HOW TO IDENTIFY OLD CHINESE PORCELAIN. Illustrated. *Third Edition.* Post 8vo. 6s. net.
- Holdsworth (W. S.).** A HISTORY OF ENGLISH LAW. *Four Volumes.* Vols. I., II., III. Each *Second Edition.* Demy 8vo. Each 10s. 6d. net.

FLORENCE AND NORTHERN TUSCANY, WITH GENOA. Illustrated. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.*

SIENA AND SOUTHERN TUSCANY. Illustrated. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.*

VENICE AND VENETIA. Illustrated. *Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.*

ROME. Illustrated. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.*

COUNTRY WALKS ABOUT FLORENCE. Illustrated. *Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 5s. net.*

THE CITIES OF SPAIN. Illustrated. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.*

NAPLES AND SOUTHERN ITALY. Illustrated. *Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.*

Ibsen (Henrik). BRAND. A Dramatic Poem, translated by WILLIAM WILSON. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*

Inge (W. R.). CHRISTIAN MYSTICISM. (The Bampton Lectures of 1899.) *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.*

Innes (A. D.). A HISTORY OF THE BRITISH IN INDIA. With Maps and Plans. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

ENGLAND UNDER THE TUDORS. With Maps. *Fourth Edition. Dewey 8vo. 70s. 6d. net.*

Innes (Mary). SCHOOLS OF PAINTING. Illustrated. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.*

Jonks (E.). AN OUTLINE OF ENGLISH LOCAL GOVERNMENT. *Third Edition. Revised by R. C. K. ENSOR. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*

A SHORT HISTORY OF ENGLISH LAW: FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO

- Lane-Poole (Stanley). A HISTORY OF EGYPT IN THE MIDDLE AGES. Illustrated. *Second Edition, Revised.* Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- Lankester (Sir Ray). SCIENCE FROM AN EASY CHAIR. Illustrated. *Eighth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- SCIENCE FROM AN EASY CHAIR. *Second Series.* Illustrated. *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- DIVERSIONS OF A NATURALIST. Illustrated. *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- SECRETS OF EARTH AND SEA. Illustrated. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- Lewis (Edward). EDWARD CARPENTER: AN EXPOSITION AND AN APPRECIATION. *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.
- Lock (Walter). ST. PAUL, THE MASTER BUILDER. *Third Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.
- THE BIBLE AND CHRISTIAN LIFE. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Lodge (Sir Oliver). MAN AND THE UNIVERSE: A STUDY OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE ADVANCE IN SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE UPON OUR UNDERSTANDING OF CHRISTIANITY. *Ninth Edition.* Crown 8vo. 5s. net.
- THE SURVIVAL OF MAN: A STUDY IN UNRECOGNISED HUMAN FACULTY. *Seventh Edition.* *Wide Cr. 8vo.* 5s. net.
- REASON AND BELIEF. *Fifth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.
- MODERN PROBLEMS. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.
- RAYMOND: A TREATISE ON LIFE AND DEATH. *Demy 8vo.* 10s. 6d. net.
- THE WAR AND AFTER: SHORT CHAPTERS ON SUBJECTS OF SERIOUS PRACTICAL IMPORT FOR THE AVERAGE CITIZEN IN A.D. 1915 ONWARDS. *Eighth Edition.* *Fcap.* 8vo. 1s. net.
- Loreburn (Earl). CAPTURE AT SEA. *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.
- Lorimer (George Horace). LETTERS FROM A SELF-MADE MERCHANT TO HIS SON. Illustrated. *Twenty-fourth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- OLD GORGON GRAHAM. Illustrated. *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s. *Also Cr. 8vo.* 2s. net.
- Lorimer (Norma). BY THE WATERS OF EGYPT. Illustrated. *Third Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- Lucas (E. V.). THE LIFE OF CHARLES LAMB. Illustrated. *Sixth Edition.* *Demy 8vo.* 7s. 6d. net.
- A WANDERER IN HOLLAND. Illustrated. *Sixteenth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- A WANDERER IN LONDON. Illustrated. *Seventeenth Edition, Revised.* Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- LONDON REVISITED. Illustrated. *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- A WANDERER IN PARIS. Illustrated. *Twelfth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s. net. *Also Fcap. 8vo.* 5s.
- A WANDERER IN FLORENCE. Illustrated. *Sixth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- A WANDERER IN VENICE. Illustrated. *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- THE OPEN ROAD: A LITTLE BOOK FOR WAYFARERS. *Twenty-fifth Edition.* *Fcap. 8vo.* 5s. *India Paper,* 7s. 6d. net. *Also Illustrated.* Cr. 4to. 15s. net.
- THE FRIENDLY TOWN: A LITTLE BOOK FOR THE URBANE. *Eighth Edition.* *Fcap. 8vo.* 2s. 6d. net.
- FIRESIDE AND SUNSHINE. *Eighth Edition.* *Fcap. 8vo.* 2s. 6d. net.
- CHARACTER AND COMEDY. *Seventh Edition.* *Fcap. 8vo.* 2s. 6d. net.
- THE GENTLEST ART: A CHOICE OF LETTERS BY ENTERTAINING HANDS. *Eighth Edition.* *Fcap. 8vo.* 2s. 6d. net.
- THE SECOND POST. *Fourth Edition.* *Fcap. 8vo.* 2s. 6d. net.
- HER INFINITE VARIETY: A FEMININE PORTRAIT GALLERY. *Seventh Edition.* *Fcap. 8vo.* 2s. 6d. net.
- GOOD COMPANY: A RALLY OF MEN. *Third Edition.* *Fcap. 8vo.* 2s. 6d. net.
- ONE DAY AND ANOTHER. *Sixth Edition.* *Fcap. 8vo.* 2s. 6d. net.
- OLD LAMPS FOR NEW. *Sixth Edition.* *Fcap. 8vo.* 2s. 6d. net.
- LOITERER'S HARVEST. *Second Edition.* *Fcap. 8vo.* 2s. 6d. net.
- CLOUD AND SILVER. *Second Edition.* *Fcap. 8vo.* 5s. net.
- LISTENER'S LURE: AN OBLIQUE NARRATION. *Eleventh Edition.* *Fcap. 8vo.* 2s. 6d. net.
- OVER BEMERTON'S: AN EASY-GOING CHRONICLE. *Fourteenth Edition.* *Fcap. 8vo.* 2s. 6d. net.
- MR. INGLESIDE. *Eleventh Edition.* *Fcap. 8vo.* 2s. 6d. net.
- LONDON LAVENDER. *Eleventh Edition.* *Fcap. 8vo.* 2s. 6d. net.
- LANDMARKS. *Fifth Edition.* *Fcap. 8vo.* 5s.
- THE BRITISH SCHOOL: AN ANECDOTAL GUIDE TO THE BRITISH PAINTERS AND PAINTINGS IN THE NATIONAL GALLERY. *Fcap. 8vo.* 2s. 6d. net.
- REMEMBER LOUVAIN! A LITTLE BOOK OF LIBERTY AND WAR. With a Preface by E. V. Lucas. *Second Edition.* *Fcap. 8vo.* *Paper Covers,* 1s. net.

- Lydekker (R.). THE OX AND ITS KINDRED. Illustrated. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- Macaulay (Lord). CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL ESSAYS. Edited by F. C. MONTAGUE. Three Volumes. Cr. 8vo. 18s. net.
- Macdonald (J. R. M.). A HISTORY OF FRANCE. Three Volumes. Cr. 8vo. Each 7s. 6d. net.
- McDougall (William). AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. Tenth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.
- BODY AND MIND: A HISTORY AND A DEFENCE OF ANIMISM. Third Edition. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Maeterlinck (Maurice). THE BLUE BIRD: A FAIRY PLAY IN SIX ACTS. Translated by ALEXANDER TEIXEIRA DE MATTOS. Fcap. 8vo. Deckle Edges. 3s. 6d. net. An Edition, illustrated in colour by F. CAYLEY ROBINSON, is also published. Cr. 4to. £1 12s. net. Of the above book Thirty-nine Editions in all have been issued.
- MARY MAGDALENE: A PLAY IN THREE ACTS. Translated by ALEXANDER TEIXEIRA DE MATTOS. Third Edition. Fcap. 8vo. Deckle Edges. 3s. 6d. net.
- OUR ETERNITY. Translated by ALEXANDER TEIXEIRA DE MATTOS. Fcap. 8vo. 5s. net.
- THE UNKNOWN GUEST. Translated by ALEXANDER TEIXEIRA DE MATTOS. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.
- POEMS. Translated by BERNARD MIALL. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.
- THE WRACK OF THE STORM. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.
- Maeterlinck (Mme. M.) (Georgette Leblanc). THE CHILDREN'S BLUE-BIRD. Translated by ALEXANDER TEIXEIRA DE MATTOS. Illustrated. Fcap. 8vo. 5s. net.
- Mahaffy (J. P.). A HISTORY OF EGYPT UNDER THE PTOLEMAIC DYNASTY. Illustrated. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- Maitland (F. W.). ROMAN CANON LAW IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. Royal 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- Marett (R. R.). THE THRESHOLD OF RELIGION. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.
- Marriott (J. A. R.). ENGLAND SINCE WATERLOO. With Maps. Second Edition, Revised. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- Masefield (John). SEA LIFE SON'S TIME. Illustrated. 3s. 6d. net.
- A SAILOR'S GARLAND. Edited. Second Edition. Cr. net.
- Masterman (C. F. G.). AS A RELIGIOUS TEACHER. Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- THE CONDITION OF. Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Medley (D. J.). ORIGINAL CONDITIONS OF ENGLISH NATIONAL HISTORY. Cr. 8vo.
- Miles (Eustace). LIFE AFTER DEATH, OR, THE THEORY OF REINCARNATION. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.
- THE POWER OF CONCERN HOW TO ACQUIRE IT. Fcap. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.
- PREVENTION AND CURE. Edition. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- Miles (Mrs. Eustace). ECONOMY IN WAR-TIME; OR, HEALTHY MEAT. Second Edition. Fcap.
- Millaud (J. G.). THE LIFE AND DEEDS OF SIR JOHN MILLAIS. Illustrated. Tenth Edition. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- Milne (J. G.). A HISTORY OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE UNDER ROMAN RULE. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Moffat (Mary M.). QUEEN OF PRUSSIA. Illustrated. Fcap. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Money (Sir Leo Chiozza). RICHES AND POVERTY, 1910. Eleven Editions. Demy 8vo. 5s. net.
- Montague (C. E.). DRAMATIC LITERATURE. Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 5s.
- Noyes (Alfred). A SALUTE TO THE FLEET, AND OTHER POEMS. Edition. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.
- RADA: A BELGIAN CHRISTMAS PLAY. Illustrated. Fcap. 8vo. 4s. 6d. net.
- Oman (C. W. C.). A HISTORY OF THE ART OF WAR IN THE PRESENT AGES. Illustrated. Demy 8vo. 10s. net.
- ENGLAND BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST. With Maps. Edition, Revised. Demy 8vo. 10s. net.



- Oxenham (John).** BEES IN AMBER: A LITTLE BOOK OF THOUGHTFUL VERSE. *Forty-first Edition. Small Pott 8vo. Paper 1s. net; Cloth Boards, 2s. net; Velvet Persian Yapp, 2s. 6d. net; Full Calf, gilt top, 7s. 6d. net. Also Illustrated. Fcap 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*
- ALL'S WELL: A COLLECTION OF WAR POEMS.** *Small Pott 8vo. Paper, 1s. net; Velvet Persian Yapp, 2s. 6d. net. Also Illustrated. Fcap. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*
- THE KING'S HIGH WAY.** *Small Pott 8vo. 1s. net; Velvet Persian Yapp, 2s. 6d. net.*
- Oxford (M. H.).** A HANDBOOK OF NURSING. *Seventh Edition, Revised. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*
- Pakes (W. G. C.).** THE SCIENCE OF HYGIENE. *Illustrated. Second and Cheaper Edition. Revised by A. T. NANKIVELL. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.*
- Petrie (W. M. Flinders).** A HISTORY OF EGYPT. *Illustrated. Six Volumes. Cr. 8vo. Each 6s. net.*
- VOL. I.** FROM THE 1ST TO THE XVII<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTY. *Seventh Edition.*
- VOL. II.** THE XVII<sup>TH</sup> AND XVIII<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTIES. *Fifth Edition.*
- VOL. III.** XIX<sup>TH</sup> TO XXX<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTIES.
- VOL. IV.** EGYPT UNDER THE PTOLEMAIC DYNASTY. *J. P. MAHAFFY. Second Edition.*
- VOL. V.** EGYPT UNDER ROMAN RULE. *J. G. MILNE. Second Edition.*
- VOL. VI.** EGYPT IN THE MIDDLE AGES. *STANLEY LANE POOLE. Second Edition.*
- RELIGION AND CONSCIENCE IN ANCIENT EGYPT.** *Illustrated. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*
- SYRIA AND EGYPT, FROM THE TELL EL AMARNA LETTERS.** *Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*
- EGYPTIAN TALES.** *Translated from the Papyri. First Series, 17th to 19th Dynasty. Illustrated. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*
- EGYPTIAN TALES.** *Translated from the Papyri. Second Series, 18th to 19th Dynasty. Illustrated. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*
- EGYPTIAN DECORATIVE ART.** *Illustrated. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*
- Pollard (Alfred W.).** SHAKESPEARE FOLIOS AND QUARTOS. *A Study in the Bibliography of Shakespeare's Plays, 1594-1685. Illustrated. Folio. £1 1s. net.*
- Porter (G. R.).** THE PROGRESS OF THE NATION. *A New Edition. Edited by F. W. HIRST. Demy 8vo. £1 1s. net.*
- Power (J. O'Connor).** THE MAKING OF AN ORATOR. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- Price (L. L.).** A SHORT HISTORY OF POLITICAL ECONOMY IN ENGLAND FROM ADAM SMITH TO ARNOLD TOYNBEE. *Ninth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*
- Rawlings (Gertrude B.).** COINS AND HOW TO KNOW THEM. *Illustrated. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- Reade (Arthur).** FINLAND AND THE FINNS. *Illustrated. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*
- Regan (G. Tate).** THE FRESHWATER FISHES OF THE BRITISH ISLES. *Illustrated. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.*
- Reld (G. Archdall).** THE LAWS OF HEREDITY. *Second Edition. Demy 8vo. £1 1s. net.*
- Robertson (C. Grant).** SELECT STATUTES, CASES, AND DOCUMENTS, 1660-1832. *Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*
- ENGLAND UNDER THE HANOVERIANS.** *Illustrated. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*
- Ros (Fred).** OLD OAK FURNITURE. *Illustrated. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*
- Rolle (Richard).** THE FIRE OF LOVE AND THE MENDING OF LIFE. *Edited by FRANCES M. COMPER. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.*
- Ryley (A. Beresford).** OLD PASTE. *Illustrated. Royal 8vo. £2 2s. net.*
- 'Saki' (H. H. Munro).** REGINALD. *Fourth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*
- REGINALD IN RUSSIA.** *Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*
- Schidrowitz (Phillip).** RUBBER. *Illustrated. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*
- Selous (Edmund).** TOMMY SMITH'S ANIMALS. *Illustrated. Fourteenth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*
- TOMMY SMITH'S OTHER ANIMALS.** *Illustrated. Seventh Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d.*
- JACK'S INSECTS.** *Illustrated. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- Shakespeare (William).** THE FOUR FOLIOS, 1623; 1639; 1664; 1685. *Each £4 4s. net, or a complete set, £12 12s. net.*
- THE POEMS OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.** *With an Introduction and Notes by GEORGE WYNDHAM. Demy 8vo. Buckram, 10s. 6d. net.*

Smith (Adam). THE WEALTH OF NATIONS. Edited by EDWIN CANNAN. Two Volumes. Demy 8vo. £1 1s. net.

Smith (G. F. Herbert). GEM-STONES AND THEIR DISTINCTIVE CHARACTERS. Illustrated. Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.

Stancilffe. GOLF DO'S AND DONT'S. Sixth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 1s. net.

Stevenson (R. L.). THE LETTERS OF ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON. Edited by Sir SIDNEY COLVIN. A New Re-arranged Edition in four volumes. Fourth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. Each 5s. net. Leather, each 6s. net.

Surtees (R. S.). HANDLEY CROSS. Illustrated. Sixth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. Gilt top. 3s. 6d. net.

MR. SPONGE'S SPORTING TOUR. Illustrated. Third Edition. Fcap. 8vo. Gilt top. 3s. 6d. net.

ASK MAMMA; OR, THE RICHEST COMMONER IN ENGLAND. Illustrated. Fcap. 8vo. Gilt top. 3s. 6d. net.

JORROCK'S JAUNTS AND JOLLITIES. Illustrated. Fifth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. Gilt top. 3s. 6d. net.

MR. FACEY ROMFORD'S HOUNDS. Illustrated. Second Edition. Fcap. 8vo. Gilt top. 3s. 6d. net.

HAWBUCK GRANGE; OR, THE SPORTING ADVENTURES OF THOMAS SCOTT, Esq. Illustrated. Fcap. 8vo. Gilt top. 3s. 6d. net.

PLAIN OR RINGLETS? Illustrated. Fcap. 8vo. Gilt top. 3s. 6d. net.

Suso (Henry). THE LIFE OF THE BLESSED HENRY SUSO. By HIMSELF. Translated by T. F. KNOX. With an Introduction by DEAN LINGARD. Second Edition.

- READINGS ON THE PURGATORIO OF DANTE.** With an Introduction by the late DEAN CHURCH. *Two Volumes. Third Edition, Revised. Cr. 8vo. 15s. net.*
- READINGS ON THE PARADISO OF DANTE.** With an Introduction by the BISHOP OF RIPON. *Two Volumes. Second Edition, Revised. Cr. 8vo. 15s. net.*
- Vickers (Kenneth H.). ENGLAND IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES.** With Maps. *Second Edition, Revised. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.*
- Waddell (L. A.). LHASA AND ITS MYSTERIES.** With a Record of the Expedition of 1903-1904. Illustrated. *Third and Cheaper Edition. Medium 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*
- Wade (G. W. and J. H.). RAMBLES IN SOMERSET.** Illustrated. *Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.*
- Wagner (Richard). RICHARD WAGNER'S MUSIC DRAMAS.** Interpretations, embodying Wagner's own explanations. By ALICE LEIGHTON CLEATHER and BASIL CRUMP. *Fcap. 8vo. Each 2s. 6d.*
- THE RING OF THE NIBELUNG.** *Sixth Edition.*
- LOHENGREN AND PARISVAL.** *Third Edition.*
- TRISTAN AND ISOLDE.** *Second Edition.*
- TANNHÄUSER AND THE MASTERSINGERS OF NUREMBERG.**
- Waterhouse (Elizabeth). WITH THE SIMPLE-HEARTED.** Little Homilies. *Third Edition. Small Pott 8vo. 2s. net.*
- THE HOUSE BY THE CHERRY TREE.** A Second Series of Little Homilies. *Small Pott 8vo. 2s. net.*
- COMPANIONS OF THE WAY.** Being Selections for Morning and Evening Reading. *Large Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.*
- THOUGHTS OF A TERTIARY.** *Second Edition. Small Pott 8vo. 1s. net.*
- VERSES.** *Second Edition, Enlarged. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. net.*
- A LITTLE BOOK OF LIFE AND DEATH.** *Eighteenth Edition. Small Pott 8vo. Cloth, 1s. 6d. net; Velvet Persian Yapp, 2s. 6d. net.*
- Waters (W. G.). ITALIAN SCULPTORS.** Illustrated. *Cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*
- Weigall (Arthur E. P.). A GUIDE TO THE ANTIQUITIES OF UPPER EGYPT: FROM ABYDOS TO THE SUDAN FRONTIER.** Illustrated. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*
- Wells (J.). OXFORD AND OXFORD LIFE.** *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*
- A SHORT HISTORY OF ROME.** *Fourth Edition. With 3 Maps. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*
- Whitten (Wilfred). A LONDONER'S LONDON.** Illustrated. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.*
- Wilde (Oscar). THE WORKS OF OSCAR WILDE.** *Twelve Volumes. Fcap. 8vo. Each 5s. net.*
- i. LORD ARTHUR SAVILE'S CRIME AND THE PORTRAIT OF MR. W. H. ii. THE DUCHESS OF PADUA. iii. POEMS. iv. LADY WINDERMERE'S FAN. v. A WOMAN OF NO IMPORTANCE. vi. AN IDEAL HUSBAND. vii. THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING EARNEST. viii. A HOUSE OF POMEGRANATES. ix. INTENTIONS. x. DE PROFUNDIS AND PRISON LETTERS. xi. ESSAYS. xii. SALOMÉ, A FLORENTINE TRAGEDY, and LA SAINTE COURTISEANE. xiii. \*THE CRITIC IN PALL MALL. xiv. SELECTED PROSE OF OSCAR WILDE.
- A HOUSE OF POMEGRANATES.** Illustrated. *Cr. 4to. 12s. 6d. net.*
- Wilding (Anthony F.). ON THE COURT AND OFF.** With 58 Illustrations. *Seventh Edition. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.*
- Wilson (Ernest H.). A NATURALIST IN WESTERN CHINA.** Illustrated. *Second Edition. 2 Vols. Demy 8vo. £1 10s. net.*
- Wood (Sir Evelyn). FROM MIDSHIPMAN TO FIELD-MARSHAL.** Illustrated. *Fifth Edition. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.*
- THE REVOLT IN HINDUSTAN (1857-59).** Illustrated. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- Wood (Lieut. W. B.) and Edmonds (Col. J. E.). A HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WAR IN THE UNITED STATES (1861-65).** With an Introduction by SPENSER WILKINSON. With 24 Maps and Plans. *Third Edition. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.*
- Wordsworth (W.). POEMS.** With an Introduction and Notes by NOWELL C. SMITH. *Three Volumes. Demy 8vo. 15s. net.*
- Yeats (W. B.). A BOOK OF IRISH VERSE.** *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

Cr. 8vo. 4s. 6d. net  
With Illustrations by E. H. N

BRISTOL. Alfred Harvey	Er
CANTERBURY. J. C. Cox.	Li
CHESTER. Sir B. C. A. Windle.	Si
DUBLIN. S. A. O. Fitzpatrick.	W

## The Antiquar

General Editor, J. C

*Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d.*

With Numerous

ANCIENT PAINTED GLASS IN ENGLAND.  
Philip Nelson.

ARCHAEOLOGY AND FALSE ANTIQUITIES.  
R. Munro.

BELLS OF ENGLAND, THE. Canon J. J.  
Raven. *Second Edition.*

BRASSES OF ENGLAND, THE. Herbert W.  
Macklin. *Third Edition.*

CASTLES AND WALLED TOWNS OF ENGLAND,  
THE. A. Harvey.

The Antiquary's Books—*continued*

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>OLD ENGLISH LIBRARIES. Ernest A. Savage.</p> <p>OLD SERVICE BOOKS OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH. Christopher Wordsworth, and Henry Littlehales. <i>Second Edition.</i></p> <p>PARISH LIFE IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND. Cardinal Gasquet. <i>Fourth Edition.</i></p> <p>PARISH REGISTERS OF ENGLAND. THE. J. C. Cox</p> | <p>REMAINS OF THE PREHISTORIC AGE IN ENGLAND. Sir E. C. A. Windle. <i>Second Edition.</i></p> <p>ROMAN ERA IN BRITAIN, THE. J. Ward.</p> <p>ROMANO-BRITISH BUILDINGS AND EARTHWORKS. J. Ward.</p> <p>ROYAL FORESTS OF ENGLAND, THE. J. C. Cox.</p> <p>SCHOOLS OF MEDIEVAL ENGLAND, THE. A. F. Leach. <i>Second Edition.</i></p> <p>SHRINES OF BRITISH SAINTS. J. C. Wall.</p> |
|---|---|

## The Arden Shakespeare

*Demy 8vo. 2s. 6d. net each volume*

An edition of Shakespeare in Single Plays; each edited with a full Introduction, Textual Notes, and a Commentary at the foot of the page

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL.</p> <p>ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA. <i>Second Edition.</i></p> <p>AS YOU LIKE IT.</p> <p>CYMBELINE. <i>Second Edition.</i></p> <p>COMEDY OF ERRORS, THE.</p> <p>HAMLET. <i>Fourth Edition.</i></p> <p>JULIUS CAESAR.</p> <p>KING HENRY IV. PT. I.</p> <p>KING HENRY V.</p> <p>KING HENRY VI. PT. I.</p> <p>KING HENRY VI. PT. II.</p> <p>KING HENRY VI. PT. III.</p> <p>KING HENRY VIII.</p> <p>KING LEAR.</p> <p>KING RICHARD II.</p> <p>KING RICHARD III.</p> <p>LIFE AND DEATH OF KING JOHN, THE.</p> <p>LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST. <i>Second Edition.</i></p> | <p>MACBETH.</p> <p>MEASURE FOR MEASURE.</p> <p>MERCHANT OF VENICE, THE. <i>Third Edition.</i></p> <p>MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR, THE.</p> <p>MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM, A.</p> <p>OTHELLO.</p> <p>PERICLES.</p> <p>ROMEO AND JULIET.</p> <p>SONNETS AND A LOVER'S COMPLAINT.</p> <p>TAMING OF THE SHREW, THE.</p> <p>TEMPEST, THE.</p> <p>TIMON OF ATHENS.</p> <p>TITUS ANDRONICUS.</p> <p>TROILUS AND CRESSIDA.</p> <p>TWELFTH NIGHT.</p> <p>TWO GENTLEMEN OF VERONA, THE.</p> <p>VENUS AND ADONIS.</p> <p>WINTER'S TALE, THE.</p> |
|---|---|

## Classics of Art

Edited by DR. J. H. W. LAING

*With numerous Illustrations. Wide Royal 8vo*

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>ART OF THE GREEKS, THE. H. B. Walters. 12s. 6d. net.</p> <p>ART OF THE ROMANS, THE. H. B. Walters. 15s. net.</p> <p>CHANDIN. M. E. A. FUGÈ. 12s. 6d. net.</p> | <p>DONATELLO. Maud Cruttwell. 15s. net.</p> <p>FLORENTINE SCULPTORS OF THE RENAISSANCE. Wilhelm Bode. Translated by Jessie Hynes. 12s. 6d. net.</p> <p>GEORGE ROMNEY. Arthur B. Chamberlain. 22s. 6d. net.</p> |
|--|--|

## The 'Complete

*Fully Illustrated.*

- COMPLETE AMATEUR BOXER, THE. J. G. Bohun Lynch. 5s. net. Co  
COMPLETE ASSOCIATION FOOTBALLER, THE. B. S. Evers and C. E. Hughes-Davies. 5s. net. Co  
COMPLETE ATHLETIC TRAINER, THE. S. A. Mussabini. 5s. net. Co  
COMPLETE BILLIARD PLAYER, THE. Charles Roberts. 10s. 6d. net. Co  
COMPLETE COOK, THE. Lillian Whiting. 7s. 6d. net. Co  
COMPLETE CRICKETER, THE. Albert E. Knight. 7s. 6d. net. *Second Edition.* Co  
COMPLETE FOXHUNTER, THE. Charles Richardson. 12s. 6d. net. *Second Edition.* Co  
COMPLETE GOLFER, THE. Harry Vardon. 10s. 6d. net. *Fourteenth Edition, Revised.* Co  
COMPLETE HOCKEY-PLAYER, THE. Eustace E. White. 5s. net. *Second Edition.* Co  
COMPLETE HORSEMAN, THE. W. Scarth Dixon. *Second Edition.* 10s. 6d. net. Co  
COMPLETE JUIJITSUAN, THE. W. H. Garrud. 5s. net. Co

## The Connoisset

*With numerous Illustrations. Wide*

- ENGLISH COLOURED BOOKS. Martin Hardie.  
ENGLISH FURNITURE. F. S. Robinson.  
ETCHINGS, Sir F. Wedmore. *Second Edition.*  
EUROPEAN ENAMELS. Henry H. Coode.

## Handbooks of English Church History

Edited by J. H. BURN. *Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net each volume*

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| FOUNDATIONS OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH, THE. J. H. Maude.        | REFORMATION PERIOD, THE. Henry Gee.                               |
| SAXON CHURCH AND THE NORMAN CONQUEST, THE. C. T. Cruttwell. | STRUGGLE WITH PURITANISM, THE. Bruce Blaxland.                    |
| MEDIEVAL CHURCH AND THE PAPACY, THE. A. C. Jennings.        | CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, THE. Alfred Plummer. |

## Handbooks of Theology

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| DOCTRINE OF THE INCARNATION, THE. R. L. Otley. <i>Fifth Edition. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.</i>             | INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE CREEDS, AN. A. E. Burn. <i>Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.</i>                              |
| HISTORY OF EARLY CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE, A. J. F. Bethune-Baker. <i>Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.</i>              | PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA, THE. Alfred Caldecott. <i>Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.</i>                   |
| INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF RELIGION, AN. F. B. Jevons. <i>Sixth Edition. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.</i> | XXXIX ARTICLES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, THE. Edited by E. C. S. Gibson. <i>Ninth Edition. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.</i> |

## Health Series

*Fcap. 8vo. 1s. net*

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| CARE OF THE BODY, THE. F. Cavanagh.          | HOW TO LIVE LONG. W. Carr.                            |
| CARE OF THE TEETH, THE. A. T. Pitts.         | HYGIENE OF THE SKIN, THE. G. Pernet.                  |
| EYES OF OUR CHILDREN, THE. N. Bishop Harman. | PREVENTION OF THE COMMON COLD, THE. O. K. Williamson. |
| HEALTH FOR THE MIDDLE-AGED. Seymour Taylor.  | THROAT AND EAR TROUBLES. Macleod Yearsley.            |
| *HEALTH OF A WOMAN, THE. H. J. F. Simpson.   | HEALTH OF THE CHILL, THE. O. Hildeheim.               |

## The 'Home Life' Series

*Illustrated. Demy 8vo. 6s. to 10s. 6d. net*

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| HOME LIFE IN AMERICA. Katherine G. Busbey. <i>Second Edition.</i> | HOME LIFE IN ITALY. Lina Duff Gordon. <i>Third Edition.</i> |
| HOME LIFE IN CHINA. I. Taylor Headland.                           | HOME LIFE IN NORWAY. H. K. Daniels. <i>Second Edition.</i>  |
| HOME LIFE IN FRANCE. Miss Betham-Edwards. <i>Sixth Edition.</i>   | HOME LIFE IN RUSSIA. A. S. Rappoport.                       |
| HOME LIFE IN GERMANY. Mrs. A. Sidgwick. <i>Third Edition.</i>     | HOME LIFE IN SPAIN. S. L. Bensusan. <i>Second Edition.</i>  |
| HOME LIFE IN HOLLAND. D. S. Meldrum. <i>Second Edition.</i>       |   |

## Leaders of Religion

Edited by H. C. BEECHING. *With Portraits**Crown 8vo. 2s. net each volume*

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| CARDINAL NEWMAN. R. H. Hutton. <i>Second Edition.</i>     | JOHN KEBLE. Walter Lock. <i>Series</i>          |
| JOHN WESLEY. J. H. Overton.                               | THOMAS CHALMERS. Mrs. Oliphant. <i>Edition.</i> |
| BISHOP WILBERFORCE. G. W. Daniell.                        | LANCELOT ANDREWES. R. L. Ould. <i>Edition.</i>  |
| CARDINAL MANNING. A. W. Hutton. <i>Second Edition.</i>    | AUGUSTINE OF CANTERBURY. E.                     |
| CHARLES SIMON. H. C. G. Moule.                            | WILLIAM LAUD. W. H. Hudson. <i>Edition.</i>     |
| JOHN KNOX. F. MacCunn. <i>Second Edition.</i>             | JOHN DONNE. Augustus Jessop.                    |
| JOHN HOWE. R. F. Horton.                                  | THOMAS CRANMER. A. J. Mason.                    |
| THOMAS KEN. F. A. Clarke.                                 | LATIMER. R. M. and A. J. Carlyle.               |
| GEORGE FOX, THE QUAKER. T. Hodgkin. <i>Third Edition.</i> | BISHOP BUTLER. W. A. Spooner.                   |

## The Library of Devotion

With Introductions and (where necessary) Notes

*Small Pott 8vo, cloth, 2s.; leather, 2s. 6d. net each volume*

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE, THE. <i>Ninth Edition.</i>         | DEVOTIONS OF ST. ANSELM, THE  |
| IMITATION OF CHRIST, THE. <i>Eighth Edition.</i>                 | BISHOP WILSON'S SACRA PRIVATA   |
| CHRISTIAN YEAR, THE. <i>Fifth Edition.</i>                       | GRACE ABOUNDING TO THE CHRISTIANS.  |
| LYRA INNOCENTIIUM. <i>Third Edition.</i>                         | LYRA SACRA. A Book of Sacred Songs. <i>Second Edition.</i>                    |
| TEMPLE, THE. <i>Second Edition.</i>                              | DAY BOOK FROM THE SAINTS AND ANGELS.  |
| BOOK OF DEVOTIONS, A. <i>Second Edition.</i>                     | LITTLE BOOK OF HEAVENLY WISDOM. Selection from the English Mystics.           |
| SERIOUS CALL TO A DEVOUT AND HOLY LIFE, A. <i>Fifth Edition.</i> | LIGHT, LIFE, and LOVE. A Selection from the German Mystics.                   |
| GUIDE TO ETERNITY, A.  | INTRODUCTION TO THE DEVOUT LIFE.  |
| INNER WAY, THE. <i>Third Edition.</i>                            | LITTLE FLOWERS OF THE GARDEN OF ST. FRANCIS AND OF HIS FRIENDS.               |
| ON THE LOVE OF GOD.  | DEATH AND IMMORTALITY.  |
| PSALMS OF DAVID, THE.  | SPIRITUAL GUIDE, THE. <i>Third Edition.</i>                                   |
| LYRA APOSTOLICA.   | DEVOTIONS FOR EVERY DAY IN THE YEAR AND THE GREAT FESTIVALS.                  |
| SONG OF SONGS, THE.  | PRECES PRIVATAE.  |
| THOUGHTS OF PASCAL, THE. <i>Second Edition.</i>                  | HORAE MYSTICAE. A Day Book of the Writings of Mystics of Mary and the Virgin. |
| MANUAL OF CONSOLATION FROM THE SAINTS AND FATHERS, A.            |   |
| DEVOTIONS FROM THE APOCRYPHA.                                    |   |
| SPIRITUAL COMBAT, THE.   |   |



## Little Books on Art

*With many Illustrations. Demy 16mo. 2s. 6d. net each volume*

Each volume consists of about 200 pages, and contains from 30 to 40 Illustrations, including a Frontispiece in Photogravure

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| ALBRECHT DÜRER. L. J. Allen.                         | GREUZE AND BOUCHER. E. F. Pollard.                            |
| ARTS OF JAPAN, THE. E. Dillon. <i>Third Edition.</i> | HOLBEIN. Mrs. G. Fortescue.                                   |
| BOOKPLATES. E. Almack.                               | ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS. J. W. Bradley.                       |
| BOTTICELLI. Mary L. Bonnor.                          | JEWELLERY. C. Davenport. <i>Second Edition.</i>               |
| BURNE-JONES. F. de Lisle. <i>Third Edition.</i>      | JOHN HOPFNER. H. P. K. Skipton.                               |
| CELLINI. R. H. H. Cust.                              | SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS. J. Sime. <i>Second Edition.</i>          |
| CHRISTIAN SYMBOLISM. Mrs. H. Jenner.                 | MILLET. N. Peacock. <i>Second Edition.</i>                    |
| CHRIST IN ART. Mrs. H. Jenner.                       | MINIATURES. C. Davenport, V.D., F.S.A. <i>Second Edition.</i> |
| CLAUDE. E. Dillon.                                   | OUR LADY IN ART. Mrs. H. Jenner.                              |
| CONSTABLE. H. W. Tompkins. <i>Second Edition.</i>    | RAPHAEL. A. R. Dryhurst. <i>Second Edition.</i>               |
| COROT. A. Pollard and E. Birnstingl.                 | RODIN. Muriel Ciolkowska.                                     |
| EARLY ENGLISH WATER-COLOUR. C. E. Hughes.            | TURNER. F. Tyrell-Gill.                                       |
| ENAMELS. Mrs. N. Dawson. <i>Second Edition.</i>      | VANDYCK. M. G. Smallwood.                                     |
| FREDERIC LEIGHTON. A. Corkran.                       | VELAZQUEZ. W. Wilberforce and A. R. Gilbert.                  |
| GEORGE ROMNEY. G. Paston.                            | WATTS. R. E. D. Sketchley. <i>Second Edition.</i>             |
| GREEK ART. H. B. Walters. <i>Fifth Edition.</i>      |   |

## The Little Guides

With many Illustrations by E. H. NEW and other artists, and from photographs

*Small Pott 8vo. 2s. 6d. net each volume*

The main features of these Guides are (1) a handy and charming form; (2) illustrations from photographs and by well-known artists; (3) good plans and maps; (4) an adequate but compact presentation of everything that is interesting in the natural features, history, archæology, and architecture of the town or district treated.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| CAMBRIDGE AND ITS COLLEGES. A. H. Thompson. <i>Third Edition, Revised.</i> | OXFORD AND ITS COLLEGES. J. Wells. <i>Tenth Edition.</i>          |
| CHANNEL ISLANDS, THE. E. E. Bicknell.                                      | ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL. G. Clinch.                                  |
| ENGLISH LAKES, THE. F. G. Brabant.   | SHAKESPEARE'S COUNTRY. Sir B. C. A. Windle. <i>Fifth Edition.</i> |
| ISLE OF WIGHT, THE. G. Clinch.   | SOUTH WALES. G. W. and J. H. Wade.                                |
| LONDON. G. Clinch.   | TEMPLE, THE. H. H. L. Belloc.                                     |
| MALVERN COUNTRY, THE. Sir B. C. A. Windle. <i>Second Edition.</i>          | WESTMINSTER ABBEY. G. E. Troutbeck. <i>Second Edition.</i>        |
| NORTH WALES. A. T. Story.  |   |

## The Little Guides—continued

BERKSHIRE. F. G. Brabant.	NORTHUMBERLAND. J. E.
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE. E. S. Roscoe. <i>Second Edition, Revised.</i>	NOTTINGHAMSHIRE. L. C.
CAMBRIDGESHIRE. J. C. Cox.	OXFORDSHIRE. F. G. Brabant.
CHESHIRE. W. M. Gallichan.	SHROPSHIRE. J. E. Auden.
CORNWALL. A. L. Salmon. <i>Second Edition.</i>	SOMERSET. G. W. and J. <i>Edition.</i>
DERBYSHIRE. J. C. Cox. <i>Second Edition.</i>	STAFFORDSHIRE. C. Mass.
DEVON. S. Baring-Gould. <i>Third Edition.</i>	SUFFOLK. W. A. Dutt.
DORSET. F. R. Heath. <i>Fourth Edition.</i>	SURREY. J. C. Cox. <i>Second Edition, Revised.</i>
DURHAM. J. E. Hodgkin.	SUSSEX. F. G. Brabant.
ESSEX. J. C. Cox. <i>Second Edition.</i>	WARWICKSHIRE. J. C. Cox.
GLOUCESTERSHIRE. J. C. Cox.	WILTSHIRE. F. R. Heath.
HAMPSHIRE. J. C. Cox. <i>Second Edition.</i>	YORKSHIRE, THE EAST
HERTFORDSHIRE. H. W. Tompkins.	Morris.
KENT. J. C. Cox. <i>Second Edition, Revised.</i>	YORKSHIRE, THE NORTH
KERRY. C. P. Crane. <i>Second Edition.</i>	Morris.
LEICESTERSHIRE AND RUTLAND. A. Harvey and V. B. Crowther-Beynon.	YORKSHIRE, THE WEST
LINCOLNSHIRE. J. C. Cox.	Morris. 3s. 6d. net.
MIDDLESEX. J. B. Firth.	
MONMOUTHSHIRE. G. W. and J. H. Wade.	BRITTANY. S. Baring-Gould.
NORFOLK. W. A. Dutt. <i>Third Edition, Revised.</i>	NORMANDY. C. Scudamore.
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE. W. Dry. <i>Second Edition, Revised.</i>	ROME. C. G. Ellaby.
	SICILY. F. H. Jackson.

## The Little Library

With Introduction, Notes, and Photogravure Frontispiece

*Small Pott, 8vo. Each Volume, cloth, 1s. 6d. net*

Anon. A LITTLE BOOK OF ENGLISH LYRICS. <i>Second Edition.</i>	Blake (William). SELECTED POEMS. THE WORKS OF WILLIAM BLAKE. <i>Two Volumes.</i>
Austen (Jane). PRIDE AND PREJUDICE. <i>Two Volumes.</i>	Borrow (George). LAMMERSMOOR. THE ROMANY RYE.
NORTHANGER ABBEY.	Browning (Robert). SELECTED POEMS. THE EARLY POEMS OF ROBERT BROWNING.
Bacon (Francis). THE ESSAYS OF LORD BACON.	Canning (George). SELECTED SPEECHES. THE ANTI-JACOBIN POEMS BY GEORGE CANNING.
Barham (R. H.). THE INGOLDSBY LEGENDS. <i>Two Volumes.</i>	Cowley (Abraham). THE WORKS OF ABRAHAM COWLEY.
Barnett (Annie). A LITTLE BOOK OF ENGLISH PROSE. <i>Third Edition.</i>	
Beckford (William). THE HISTORY OF THE CALIPH VATHEK.	

**The Little Library—continued**

**Crabbe (George).** SELECTIONS FROM THE POEMS OF GEORGE CRABBE.  
**Crashaw (Richard).** THE ENGLISH POEMS OF RICHARD CRASHAW.  
**Dante Alighieri.** PURGATORY. PARADISE.  
**Darley (George).** SELECTIONS FROM THE POEMS OF GEORGE DARLEY.  
**Dickens (Charles).** CHRISTMAS BOOKS. *Two Volumes.*  
**Gaskell (Mrs.).** CRANFORD. *Second Edition.*  
**Hawthorne (Nathaniel).** THE SCARLET LETTER.  
**Kinglake (A. W.).** EOTHEN. *Second Edition.*  
**Locker (F.).** LONDON LYRICS.  
**Marvell (Andrew).** THE POEMS OF ANDREW MARVELL.  
**Milton (John).** THE MINOR POEMS OF JOHN MILTON.

**Moir (D. M.).** MANSIE WAUCH.  
**Nichols (Bowyer).** A LITTLE BOOK OF ENGLISH SONNETS.  
**Smith (Horace and James).** REJECTED ADDRESSES.  
**Sterne (Laurence).** A SENTIMENTAL JOURNEY.  
**Tennyson (Alfred, Lord).** THE EARLY POEMS OF ALFRED, LORD TENNYSON. IN MEMORIAM. THE PRINCESS. MAUD.  
**Vaughan (Henry).** THE POEMS OF HENRY VAUGHAN.  
**Waterhouse (Elizabeth).** A LITTLE BOOK OF LIFE AND DEATH. *Seventeenth Edition.*  
**Wordsworth (W.).** SELECTIONS FROM THE POEMS OF WILLIAM WORDSWORTH.  
**Wordsworth (W.) and Coleridge (S. T.).** LYRICAL BALLADS. *Third Edition*

**The Little Quarto Shakespeare**

Edited by W. J. CRAIG. With Introductions and Notes

*Pott 16mo. 40 Volumes. Leather, price 15. net each volume  
 Mahogany Revolving Book Case. 10s. net*

**Miniature Library**

*Demy 32mo. Leather, 25. net each volume*

**EUPHRANOR: A Dialogue on Youth.** Edward FitzGerald. | **OLONIUS; or, Wise Saws and Modern Instances.** Edward FitzGerald.

**THE RUBÁIYÁT OF OMAR KHAYYÁM.** Edward FitzGerald. *Fifth Edition. 12. net.*

**The New Library of Medicine**

Edited by C. W. SALEEBY. *Demy 8vo*

**AIR AND HEALTH.** Ronald C. Macfie. *7s. 6d. net. Second Edition.*

**CARE OF THE BODY, THE.** F. Cavanagh. *Second Edition. 7s. 6d. net.*

**CHILDREN OF THE NATION, THE.** The Right Hon. Sir John Gorst. *Second Edition. 7s. 6d. net.*

**DISEASES OF OCCUPATION.** Sir Thos. Oliver. *10s. 6d. net. Second Edition.*

**DRUGS AND THE DRUG HABIT.** H. Sainsbury. *7s. 6d. net.*

**FUNCTIONAL NERVE DISEASES.** A. T. Schofield. *7s. 6d. net.*

**HYGIENE OF MIND, THE.** Sir T. S. Clouston. *Sixth Edition. 7s. 6d. net.*

**INFANT MORTALITY.** Sir George Newman. *7s. 6d. net.*

**PREVENTION OF TUBERCULOSIS (CONSUMPTION), THE.** Arthur Newsholme. *10s. 6d. net. Second Edition.*

GIULIANO CATONARINI  
*Sixth Edition.*  
JOHN HOWARD. E. C. S. Gibson.

Seve

*Facp. 8*

HONEYMOON, THE. A Comedy in Three Acts  
Arnold Bennett. *Third Edition.*

GREAT ADVENTURE, THE. A Play of Fancy in  
Four Acts. Arnold Bennett. *Fourth Edition.*

MILESTONES. Arnold Bennett and Edward  
Knoblauch. *Seventh Edition.*

WARR CASE, T

Spo

*Illustrated.*

FLYING, ALL ABOUT. Gertrude Bacon.

GOLFING SWING, THE. Burnham Har  
*Fourth Edition.*

\*GYMNASTICS. D. Scott.

The Sta

Edited by E. ARMSTRONG

*Illustrated.*

MILAN UNDER THE SPORZA, A HISTORY OF  
Cecilia M. Ady. 10s. 6d. net.

PERUJIA, A HISTORY OF

The Westmin

General Edito

*D*

ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, THE. Edited by  
B. Rackham. *Seventh Edition.* 10s. 6d. net.

FIRST EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE  
TO THE CORINTHIANS, THE. Edited by H.  
Goudge. *Fourth Edition.* 6s. net.

BOOK OF AMOS, THE. Edited by E.

## The 'Young' Series

*Illustrated. Crown 8vo*

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| YOUNG BOTANIST, THE. W. P. Westell and C. S. Cooper. 3s. 6d. net. | YOUNG ENGINEER, THE. Hammond Hall. <i>Third Edition.</i> 5s. |
| YOUNG CARPENTER, THE. Cyril Hall. 5s.                             | YOUNG NATURALIST, THE. W. P. Westell. 6s.                    |
| YOUNG ELECTRICIAN, THE. Hammond Hall. <i>Second Edition.</i> 5s.  | YOUNG ORNITHOLOGIST, THE. W. P. Westell. 5s.                 |

## Methuen's Shilling Library

*Fcap. 8vo. 1s. net*

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| ALL THINGS CONSIDERED. G. K. Chesterton.                             | MAN AND THE UNIVERSE. Sir Oliver Lodge.                      |
| BEST OF LAMBS, THE. Edited by E. V. Lucas.                           | MARY MAGDALENE. Maurice Maeterlinck.                         |
| BLUE BIRD, THE. Maurice Maeterlinck.                                 | MIRROR OF THE SEA, THE. J. Conrad.                           |
| CHARLES DICKENS. G. K. Chesterton.                                   | OLD COUNTRY LIFE. S. Baring-Gould.                           |
| CHARMIDES, AND OTHER POEMS. Oscar Wilde.                             | OSCAR WILDE: A Critical Study. Arthur Ransome.               |
| CHITRAL: The Story of a Minor Siege. Sir G. S. Robertson.            | PARISH CLERK, THE. P. H. Ditchfield.                         |
| CONDITION OF ENGLAND, THE. G. F. G. Masterman.                       | PICKED COMPANY, A. Hilaire Belloc.                           |
| DE PROFUNDIS. Oscar Wilde.   | REASON AND BELIEF. Sir Oliver Lodge.                         |
| FAMOUS WITS, A BOOK OF. W. Jerrold.                                  | SCIENCE FROM AN EASY CHAIR. Sir Ray Lankester.               |
| FROM MIDSHIPMAN TO FIELD-MARSHAL. Sir Evelyn Wood, F.M., V.C.        | SELECTED POEMS. Oscar Wilde.                                 |
| HARVEST HOME. E. V. Lucas.   | SELECTED PROSE. Oscar Wilde.                                 |
| HILLS AND THE SEA. Hilaire Belloc.                                   | SEVASTOPOL, AND OTHER STORIES. Leo Tolstoy.                  |
| HOME LIFE IN FRANCE. M. Betham-Edwards.                              | SHEPHERD'S LIFE, A. W. H. Hudson.                            |
| HOKLEY, THOMAS HENRY. P. Chalmers-Mitchell.                          | SHILLING FOR MY THOUGHTS, A. G. K. Chesterton.               |
| IDEAL HUSBAND, AN. Oscar Wilde.                                      | SOCIAL EVILS AND THEIR REMEDY. Leo Tolstoy.                  |
| IMPORTANCE OF BEING EARNEST, THE. Oscar Wilde.                       | SOME LETTERS OF R. L. STEVENSON. Selected by Lloyd Osbourne. |
| INTENTIONS. Oscar Wilde.   | SUBSTANCE OF FAITH, THE. Sir Oliver Lodge.                   |
| JOHN BOYES, KING OF THE WA-KIKUYU. John Boyes.                       | SURVIVAL OF MAN, THE. Sir Oliver Lodge.                      |
| LADY WINDERMERE'S FAN. Oscar Wilde.                                  | TENNYSON. A. C. Benson.                                      |
| LETTERS FROM A SELF-MADE MERCHANT TO HIS SON. George Horace Lorimer. | TOWER OF LONDON, THE. R. Davey.                              |
| LIFE OF JOHN RUSKIN, THE. W. G. Collingwood.                         | TWO ADMIRALS. Admiral John Moresby.                          |
| LIFE OF ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON, THE. Graham Balfour.                 | UNDER FIVE REIGNS. Lady Dorothy Nevill.                      |
| LITTLE OF EVERYTHING, A. E. V. Lucas.                                | VAILIMA LETTERS. Robert Louis Stevenson.                     |
| LORD ARTHUR SAVILE'S CRIME. Oscar Wilde.                             | VARIETY LANE. E. V. Lucas.                                   |
| LORE OF THE HONEY-BEE, THE. Tickner Edwards.                         | VICAR OF MORWENSTOW, THE. S. Baring-Gould.                   |
|  | WOMAN OF NO IMPORTANCE, A. Oscar Wilde.                      |

## Books for Travellers

Crown 8vo. 6s. net each

Each volume contains a number of Illustrations in Colour

- AVON AND SHAKESPEARE'S COUNTRY, THE. A. G. Bradley
- BLACK FOREST, A BOOK OF THE. C. E. Hughes.
- BRETONS AT HOME, THE. F. M. Gostling.
- CITIES OF LOMBARDY, THE. Edward Hutton.
- CITIES OF ROMAGNA AND THE MARCHES, THE. Edward Hutton.
- CITIES OF SPAIN, THE. Edward Hutton.
- CITIES OF UMBRIA, THE. Edward Hutton.
- DAYS IN CORNWALL. C. Lewis Hind.
- EGYPT, BY THE WATERS OF. N. Lorimer.
- FLORENCE AND NORTHERN TUSCANY, WITH GENOA. Edward Hutton.
- LAND OF PARDONS, THE (Brittany). Anatole Le Braz.
- NAPLES. Arthur H. Norway.
- NAPLES RIVIERA, THE. H. M. Vaughan.
- NEW FOREST, THE. Horace G. Hutchinson.
- NORFOLK BROADS, THE. W. A.
- NORWAY AND ITS FJORDS. M.
- RHINE, A BOOK OF THE. S. B.
- ROME. Edward Hutton.
- ROUND ABOUT WILTSHIRE. A.
- SCOTLAND OF TO-DAY. T. F. E. Francis Watt.
- SIENA AND SOUTHERN TUSCANY. Edward Hutton.
- SKIRTS OF THE GREAT CITY, THE. G. Bell.
- THROUGH EAST ANGLIA IN A. J. E. Vincent.
- VENICE AND VENETIA. Edward Hutton.
- WANDERER IN FLORENCE, A.
- WANDERER IN PARIS, A. E. V.
- WANDERER IN HOLLAND, A. E.
- WANDERER IN LONDON, A. E.
- WANDERER IN VENICE, A. E.

## Some Books on Art

- ARMOURER AND HIS CRAFT, THE. Charles Houliker. Illustrated. Royal 4to. 4s. 2s. net.
- ART, ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL. M. H. Bulley. Illustrated. Crown 8vo. 5s. net.
- BRITISH SCHOOL, THE. An Anecdotal Guide to the British Painters and Paintings in the National Gallery. E. V. Lucas. Illustrated. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.
- DECORATIVE IRON WORK. From the XIII to the XVIIIth Century. Charles Houliker. Royal 4to. 4s. 2s. net.
- FRANCESCO GUARDI, 1712-1793. G. A. Simonson. Illustrated. Imperial 4to. 4s. 2s. net.
- ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE BOOK OF JOB. William Blake. Quarto. 4s. 12. net.
- ITALIAN SCULPTORS. W. G. Waters. Illustrated. Crown 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- OLD PASTE. A. Beresford Ryley. Illustrated. Royal 4to. 4s. 2s. net.
- ONE HUNDRED MASTERPIECES OF PAINTING. With an Introduction by R. C. Witt. Illustrated. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- ONE HUNDRED MASTERPIECES OF SCULPTURE. With an Introduction by R. C. Witt. Illustrated. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. net.
- ROMNEY FOLIO, A. With an Introduction by Chamberlain. Imperial Folio. 10s. 6d. net.
- ROYAL ACADEMY LECTURES ON PAINTING. George Clausen. Illustrated. 5s. net.
- SAINTS IN ART, THE. Margaret Murray. Illustrated. Third Edition. 3s. 6d. net.
- SCHOOLS OF PAINTING. Mary Cassatt. Illustrated. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.
- CELTIC ART IN PAGAN AND CHRISTIAN TIMES. J. R. Allen. Illustrated. Second Edition. Demy 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.
- 'CLASSICS OF ART.' See page 1
- 'THE CONNOISSEUR'S LIBRARY.'
- 'LITTLE BOOKS ON ART.' See

## Some Books on Italy

- ETRURIA AND MODERN TUSCANY, OLD. Mary L. Cameron. Illustrated. *Second Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- FLORENCE: Her History and Art to the Fall of the Republic. F. A. Hyett. *Demy 8vo.* 7s. 6d. net.
- FLORENCE, A WANDERER IN. E. V. Lucas. Illustrated. *Sixth Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- FLORENCE AND HER TREASURES. H. M. Vaughan. Illustrated. *Fcap. 8vo.* 5s. net.
- FLORENCE, COUNTRY WALKS ABOUT. Edward Hutton. Illustrated. *Second Edition*. *Fcap. 8vo.* 5s. net.
- FLORENCE AND THE CITIES OF NORTHERN TUSCANY, WITH GENOA. Edward Hutton. Illustrated. *Third Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- LOMBARDY, THE CITIES OF. Edward Hutton. Illustrated. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- MILAN UNDER THE SPORZA, A HISTORY OF. Cecilia M. Ady. Illustrated. *Demy 8vo.* 10s. 6d. net.
- NAPLES: Past and Present. A. H. Norway. Illustrated. *Fourth Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- NAPLES RIVIERA, THE. H. M. Vaughan. Illustrated. *Second Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- NAPLES AND SOUTHERN ITALY. E. Hutton. Illustrated. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- PERUGIA, A HISTORY OF. William Heywood. Illustrated. *Demy 8vo.* 12s. 6d. net.
- ROME. Edward Hutton. Illustrated. *Third Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- ROMAGNA AND THE MARCHES, THE CITIES OF. Edward Hutton. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- ROME OF THE PILGRIMS AND MARTYRS. Ethel Ross Barker. *Demy 8vo.* 12s. 6d. net.
- ROME. C. G. Ellaby. Illustrated. *Small Folt 8vo.* Cloth, 2s. 6d. net; leather, 3s. 6d. net.
- SICILY. F. H. Jackson. Illustrated. *Small Folt 8vo.* Cloth, 2s. 6d. net; leather, 3s. 6d. net.
- SICILY: The New Winter Resort. Douglas Sladen. Illustrated. *Second Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.
- SIENA AND SOUTHERN TUSCANY. Edward Hutton. Illustrated. *Second Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- UMBRIA, THE CITIES OF. Edward Hutton. Illustrated. *Fifth Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- VENICE AND VENETIA. Edward Hutton. Illustrated. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.
- VENICE ON FOOT. H. A. Douglas. Illustrated. *Second Edition*. *Fcap. 8vo.* 5s. net.
- VENICE AND HER TREASURES. H. A. Douglas. Illustrated. *Fcap. 8vo.* 5s. net.
- VERONA, A HISTORY OF. A. M. Allen. Illustrated. *Demy 8vo.* 12s. 6d. net.
- DANTE AND HIS ITALY. Lonsdale Ragg. Illustrated. *Demy 8vo.* 12s. 6d. net.
- DANTE ALIGHIERI: His Life and Works. Paget Toynbee. Illustrated. *Fourth Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.
- HOME LIFE IN ITALY. Lina Duff Gordon. Illustrated. *Third Edition*. *Demy 8vo.* 10s. 6d. net.
- LAKES OF NORTHERN ITALY, THE. Richard Bagot. Illustrated. *Second Edition*. *Fcap. 8vo.* 5s. net.
- LORENZO THE MAGNIFICENT. E. L. S. Horsburgh. Illustrated. *Second Edition*. *Demy 8vo.* 15s. net.
- MEDICI POPES, THE. H. M. Vaughan. Illustrated. *Demy 8vo.* 15s. net.
- ST. CATHERINE OF SIENA AND HER TIMES. By the Author of 'Middle Mori.' Illustrated. *Second Edition*. *Demy 8vo.* 7s. 6d. net.
- S. FRANCIS OF ASSISI, THE LIVES OF. Brother Thomas of Celano. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.
- SAVONAROLA, GIROLAMO. E. L. S. Horsburgh. Illustrated. *Fourth Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.
- SKIES ITALIAN: A Little Breviary for Travellers in Italy. Ruth S. Phelps. *Fcap. 8vo.* 5s. net.
- UNITED ITALY. F. M. Underwood. *Demy 8vo.* 10s. 6d. net.

## PART III.—A SELECTION OF WORKS OF FICTION

- Albanesi (E. Maria).** SUSANNAH AND ONE OTHER. *Fourth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- I KNOW A MAIDEN.** *Third Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE INVINCIBLE AMELIA; OR, THE POLITE ADVENTRESS.** *Third Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
- THE GLAD HEART.** *Fifth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- OLIVIA MARY.** *Fourth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE BELOVED ENEMY.** *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Aumonier (Stacey).** OLGA BARDEL. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.
- Bagot (Richard).** A ROMAN MYSTERY. *Third Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- ANTHONY CUTHBERT.** *Fourth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- LOVE'S PROXY.** Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE HOUSE OF SERRAVALLE.** *Third Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- DARNELEY PLACE.** *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Bailey (H. G.).** THE SEA CAPTAIN. *Third Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE GENTLEMAN ADVENTURER.** *Third Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE HIGHWAYMAN.** *Third Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE GAMESTERS.** *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.
- Baring-Gould (S.).** THE BROOM-SQUIRE. Illustrated. *Fifth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- PABO THE PRIEST.** Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- WINEFRED.** Illustrated. *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Barr (Robert).** IN THE MIDST OF ALARMS. *Third Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE COUNTESS TEKLA.** *Fifth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE MUTABLE MANY.** *Third Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Begbie (Harold).** THE CURIOUS AND DIVERTING ADVENTURES OF SIR JOHN SPARROW, BART.; OR, THE PROGRESS OF AN OPEN MIND. *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Belloc (H.).** EMMANUEL BURDEN, MERCHANT. Illustrated. *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- A CHANGE IN THE CABINET.** *Third Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Bennett (Arnold).** CLAYHANGER. *Twelfth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- HILDA LESSWAYS.** *Eighth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THESE TWAIN.** *Fourth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE CARD.** *Thirteenth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE REGENT: A FIVE TOWNS STORY OF ADVENTURE IN LONDON.** *Fourth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE PRICE OF LOVE.** *Fourth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- BURIED ALIVE.** *Sixth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- A MAN FROM THE NORTH.** *Third Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE MATADOR OF THE FIVE TOWNS.** *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- WHOM GOD HATH JOINED.** *A New Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- A GREAT MAN; A FROLIC.** *Seventh Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Benson (E. F.).** DODO: A DETAIL OF THE DAY. *Seventeenth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Birmingham (George A.).** SPANISH GOLD. *Seventeenth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE SEARCH PARTY.** *Tenth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- LALAGE'S LOVERS.** *Third Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE ADVENTURES OF DR. WHITE.** *Fourth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- GOSSAMER.** *Fourth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.



- Bowen (Marjorie), I WILL MAINTAIN.** *Ninth Edition. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- DEFENDER OF THE FAITH.** *Seventh Edition. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- WILLIAM, BY THE GRACE OF GOD.** *Cr. 800. 5s. net.*
- GOD AND THE KING.** *Sixth Edition. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- PRINCE AND HERETIC.** *Third Edition. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- A KNIGHT OF SPAIN.** *Third Edition. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- THE QUEST OF GLORY.** *Third Edition. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- THE GOVERNOR OF ENGLAND.** *Third Edition. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- THE CARNIVAL OF FLORENCE.** *Fifth Edition. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- MR. WASHINGTON.** *Third Edition. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- "BECAUSE OF THESE THINGS. . ."** *Third Edition. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- Castle (Agnes and Egerton), THE GOLDEN BARRIER.** *Third Edition. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- FORLORN ADVENTURERS.** *Second Edition. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- Conrad (Joseph), A SET OF SIX.** *Fourth Edition. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- UNDER WESTERN EYES.** *Second Edition. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- VICTORY: AN ISLAND TALE.** *Fifth Edition. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- CHANCE.** *Ninth Edition. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- Conyers (Dorothea), SALLY.** *Fourth Edition. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- SANDY MARRIED.** *Fifth Edition. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- OLD ANDY.** *Fourth Edition. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- Corelli (Marie), A ROMANCE OF TWO WORLDS.** *Thirty-third Edition. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- VENDETTA; OR, THE STORY OF ONE FORGOTTEN.** *Thirty-third Edition. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- THELMA: A NORWEGIAN PRINCESS.** *Forty-seventh Edition. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- ARDATH: THE STORY OF A DEAD SELF.** *Twenty-third Edition. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- THE SOUL OF LILITH.** *Nineteenth Edition. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- WORMWOOD: A DRAMA OF PARIS.** *Twenty-first Edition. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- BARABBAS: A DREAM OF THE WORLD'S TRAGEDY.** *Forty-eighth Edition. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- THE SORROWS OF SATAN.** *Sixtieth Edition. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- THE MASTER-CHRISTIAN.** *Sixteenth Edition. 181st Thousand. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- TEMPORAL POWER: A STUDY IN SUPREMACY.** *Second Edition. 150th Thousand. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- GOD'S GOOD MAN: A SIMPLE LOVE STORY.** *Eighteenth Edition. 157th Thousand. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- HOLY ORDERS: THE TRAGEDY OF A QUIET LIFE.** *Second Edition. 120th Thousand. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- THE MIGHTY ATOM.** *Thirty-second Edition. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- BOY: A SKETCH.** *Thirteenth Edition. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- CAMEOS.** *Fifteenth Edition. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- THE LIFE EVERLASTING.** *Seventh Edition. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- Crockett (S. R.), LOCHINVAR.** *Illustrated. Fifth Edition. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- THE STANDARD BEARER.** *Second Edition. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- Doyle (Sir A. Conan), ROUND THE RED LAMP.** *Twelfth Edition. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- Drake (Maurice), WO.** *Sixth Edition. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- Dudeny (Mrs. H.), THE SECRET SON.** *Second Edition. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- Fry (B. and G. B.), A MOTHER'S SON.** *Fifth Edition. Cr. 800. 6s.*
- Harraden (Beatrice), THE GUIDING THREAD.** *Second Edition. Cr. 800. 5s. net.*
- Hichens (Robert), THE PROPHET OF BERKELEY SQUARE.** *Second Edition. Cr. 800. 6s.*

- TONGUES OF CONSCIENCE. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- FELIX: THREE YEARS IN A LIFE. *Seventh Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- THE WOMAN WITH THE FAN. *Eighth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- BYEWAYS. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- THE GARDEN OF ALLAH. *Twenty-sixth Edition. Illustrated. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- THE CALL OF THE BLOOD. *Ninth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- BARBARY SHEEP. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*
- THE DWELLER ON THE THRESHOLD. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- THE WAY OF AMBITION. *Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- Hops (Anthony). A CHANGE OF AIR. *Sixth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- A MAN OF MARK. *Seventh Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- THE CHRONICLES OF COUNT ANTONIO. *Sixth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- PHROSO. *Illustrated. Ninth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- SIMON DALE. *Illustrated. Ninth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- THE KING'S MIRROR. *Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- QUISANTÉ. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- THE DOLLY DIALOGUES. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- TALES OF TWO PEOPLE. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- A SERVANT OF THE PUBLIC. *Illustrated. Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- THE GREAT MISS DRIVER. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- MRS. MAXON PROTESTS. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- A YOUNG MAN'S YEAR. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- Hyne (C. J. Cutcliffe). MR. HORROCKS, PURSER. *Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- FIREMAN HOT. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- CAPTAIN KETTLE ON THE WARPAT. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- Jacobs (W. W.). MANY CARGOES. *Thirty-third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*
- SEA URCHINS. *Eighteenth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*
- A MASTER OF CRAFT. *Illustrated. Tenth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*
- LIGHT FREIGHTS. *Illustrated. Eleventh Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*
- THE SKIPPER'S WOOING. *Twelfth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*
- ATSUNWICH PORT. *Illustrated. Eleventh Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*
- DIALSTONE LANE. *Illustrated. Eighth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*
- ODD CRAFT. *Illustrated. Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*
- THE LADY OF THE BARGE. *Illustrated. Tenth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*
- SALTHAVEN. *Illustrated. Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*
- SAILORS' KNOTS. *Illustrated. Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*
- SHORT CRUISES. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*
- King (Basil). THE WILD OLIVE. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- THE STREET CALLED STRAIGHT. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- THE WAY HOME. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- THE LETTER OF THE CONTRACT. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- THE SIDE OF THE ANGELS. *Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.*
- Lethbridge (Sybil C.). LET BE. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- London (Jack). WHITE FANG. *Ninth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- Lowndes (Mrs. Belloc). MARY PECHELL. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- STUDIES IN LOVE AND IN TERROR. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- THE END OF HER HONEYMOON. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- THE LODGER. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- Lucas (E. V.). LISTENER'S LURE: AN OBLIQUE NARRATION. *Eleventh Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*
- OVER BEMERTON'S: AN EAST-OWN CHRONICLE. *Thirteenth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*
- MR. INGLESIDE. *Tenth Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*
- LONDON LAVENDER. *Eleventh Edition. Fcap. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.*
- LANDMARKS. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- THE VERMILION BOX. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.*

- Lyal (Edna). DERRICK VAUGHAN, NOVELIST. *44th Thousand. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*
- Macnaughtan (S.). THE FORTUNE OF CHRISTINA M'NAB. *Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- PETER AND JANE. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- Malet (Lucas). A COUNSEL OF PERFECTION. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- COLONEL ENDERBY'S WIFE. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- THE HISTORY OF SIR RICHARD CALMADY: A ROMANCE. *Seventh Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- THE WAGES OF SIN. *Sixteenth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- THE CARISSIMA. *Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- THE GATELESS BARRIER. *Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- Mason (A. E. W.). CLEMENTINA. *Illustrated. Ninth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- Maxwell (W. B.). VIVIEN. *Thirteenth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- THE GUARDED FLAME. *Seventh Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- ODD LENGTHS. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- HILL RISE. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- THE REST CURE. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- Milne (A. A.). THE DAY'S PLAY. *Sixth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- THE HOLIDAY ROUND. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- ONCE A WEEK. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- Montague (G. E.). A HIND LET LOOSE. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- THE MORNING'S WAR. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- Morrison (Arthur). TALES OF MEAN STREETS. *Seventh Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- A CHILD OF THE JAGO. *Sixth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- THE HOLE IN THE WALL. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- DIVERS VANITIES. *Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- Oppenheim (E. Phillips). MASTER OF MEN. *Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- THE MISSING DELORA. *Illustrated. Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- THE DOUBLE LIFE OF MR. ALFRED BURTON. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- A PEOPLE'S MAN. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- MR. GREX OF MONTE CARLO. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- THE VANISHED MESSENGER. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- Oxenham (John). A WEAVER OF WEBS. *Illustrated. Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- PROFIT AND LOSS. *Sixth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- THE LONG ROAD. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- THE SONG OF HYACINTH, AND OTHER STORIES. *Second Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- MY LADY OF SHADOWS. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- LAURISTONS. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- THE COIL OF CARNE. *Sixth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- THE QUEST OF THE GOLDEN ROSE. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- MARY ALL-ALONE. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- BROKEN SHACKLES. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- "1914." *Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.*
- Parker (Gilbert). PIERRE AND HIS PEOPLE. *Seventh Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- MRS. FALCHION. *Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- THE TRANSLATION OF A SAVAGE. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- THE TRAIL OF THE SWORD. *Illustrated. Tenth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- WHEN VALMOND CAME TO PONTIAC: THE STORY OF A LOST NAPOLEON. *Seventh Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- AN ADVENTURER OF THE NORTH: THE LAST ADVENTURES OF 'PRETTY PIERRE.' *Fifth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- THE SEATS OF THE MIGHTY. *Illustrated. Nineteenth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- THE BATTLE OF THE STRONG: A ROMANCE OF TWO KINGDOMS. *Illustrated. Seventh Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- THE POMP OF THE LAVIETTES. *Third Edition. Cr. 8vo. 3s. 6d.*
- NORTHERN LIGHTS. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*
- THE JUDGMENT HOUSE. *Fourth Edition. Cr. 8vo. 6s.*

- Pemberton (Max). THE FOOTSTEPS OF A THRONE. Illustrated. *Fourth Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- I CROWN THEE KING. Illustrated. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Perrin (Alice). THE CHARM. *Fifth Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE ANGLO-INDIANS. *Fifth Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE HAPPY HUNTING GROUND. *Third Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Phillipotts (Eden). LYING PROPHETS. *Third Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- CHILDREN OF THE MIST. *Sixth Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE HUMAN BOY. With a Frontispiece. *Seventh Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- SONS OF THE MORNING. *Second Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE RIVER. *Fourth Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE AMERICAN PRISONER. *Fourth Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE STRIKING HOURS. *Second Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- DEMETER'S DAUGHTER. *Third Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE HUMAN BOY AND THE WAR. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Pickthall (Marmaduke). SAID, THE FISHERMAN. *Tenth Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Playdell (George). THE WARE CASE. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Pryce (E.). DAVID PENSTEPHEN. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- 'Q' (A. T. Quiller-Gouch). MERRY-GARDEN AND OTHER STORIES. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- MAJOR VIGOUREUX. *Third Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Ridge (W. Pett). A SON OF THE STATE. *Third Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- SPLENDID BROTHER. *Fourth Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THANKS TO SANDERSON. *Second Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE REMINGTON SENTENCE. *Third Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE HAPPY RECRUIT. *Second Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE KENNEDY PEOPLE. *Second Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- MADAME PRINCE. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.
- Rohmer (Max). THE YELLOW CLAW. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE DEVIL DOCTOR. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Sidgwick (Mrs. Alfred). THE LANTERN-BEARERS. *Third Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- ANTHEA'S GUEST. *Fourth Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- LAMORNA. *Third Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- BELOW STAIRS. *Second Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- IN OTHER DAYS. *Third Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- SALT AND SAVOUR. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.
- Somerville (E. G.) and Ross (Martin). DAN RUSSEL THE FOX. Illustrated. *Seventh Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Swinnerton (F.). ON THE STAIRCASE. *Second Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Wells (H. G.). BEALBY. *Third Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Weyman (Stanley). UNDER THE RED ROBE. Illustrated. *Thirtieth Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- Williamson (G. N. and A. H.). THE LIGHTNING CONDUCTOR; THE STRANGE ADVENTURES OF A MOTOR CAR. Illustrated. *Twenty-second Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE PRINCESS PASSES; A ROMANCE OF A MOTOR. Illustrated. *Ninth Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- LADY BETTY ACROSS THE WATER. *Eleventh Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE BOTOR CHAPERON. Illustrated. *Tenth Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE CAR OF DESTINY. Illustrated. *Fifth Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- MY FRIEND THE CHAUFFEUR. Illustrated. *Thirteenth Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- SCARLET RUNNER. Illustrated. *Third Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- SET IN SILVER. Illustrated. *Fifth Edition*. Cr. 8vo. 6s.

- LORD LOVELAND DISCOVERS AMERICA. Illustrated. *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE GOLDEN SILENCE. Illustrated. *Seventh Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE GUESTS OF HERCULES. Illustrated. *Fourth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE HEATHER MOON. Illustrated. *Fifth Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- IT HAPPENED IN EGYPT. Illustrated. *Seventh Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- A SOLDIER OF THE LEGION. *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE SHOP GIRL. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE LIGHTNING CONDUCTRESS. Cr. 8vo. 5s. net.
- SECRET HISTORY. Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE LOVE PIRATE. Illustrated. *Second Edition.* Cr. 8vo. 6s.
- THE WAR WEDDING. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.
- THIS WOMAN TO THIS MAN. Cr. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.
- Wadehouse (P. O.). SOMETHING FRESH. Cr. 8vo. 6s.

### Books for Boys and Girls

*Illustrated. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d.*

- GETTING WELL OF DOROTHY, THE. Mrs. W. K. Clifford.
- GIRL OF THE PEOPLE, A. L. T. Meade.
- HONOURABLE MISS, THE. L. T. Meade.
- MASTER ROCKAFELLAR'S VOYAGE. W. Clark Russell.
- ONLY A GUARD-ROOM DOG. Edith E. Cuthell.
- RED GRANGE, THE. Mrs. Molesworth.
- SYD BELTON: The Boy who would not go to Sea. G. Manville Fenn.
- THERE WAS ONCE A PRINCE. Mrs. M. E. Madd.

### Methuen's Shilling Novels

*Fcap. 8vo. 1s. net*

- ADVENTURES OF DR. WHITTY, THE. G. A. Birmingham.
- ANGLO-INDIANS, THE. Alice Perrin.
- ANNA OF THE FIVE TOWNS. Arnold Bennett.
- BABES IN THE WOOD. B. M. Croker.
- BAD TIMES, THE. G. A. Birmingham.
- BARBARY SHEEP. Robert Hichens.
- BELLOVED ENEMY, THE. E. Maria Albanesi.
- BOTOR CHAPRON, THE. C. N. and A. M. Williamson.
- BOY. Marie Corelli.
- BURIED ALIVE. Arnold Bennett.
- CALL OF THE BLOOD, THE. Robert Hichens.
- CARD, THE. Arnold Bennett.
- CRANCE. J. Conrad.
- CHANGE IN THE CABINET, A. Hilaire Belloc.
- CHINK IN THE ARMOUR, THE. Mrs. Belloc Lowndes.
- CHRONICLES OF A GERMAN TOWN. The Author of "Mercia in Germany."
- COIL OF CARNE, THE. John Oxenham.
- COUNSEL OF PERFECTION, A. Lucas Malet.
- DAN RUSSEL THE FOX. E. G. Somerville and Martin Ross.
- DEMON, THE. C. N. and A. M. Williamson.
- DOUBLE LIFE OF MR. ALFRED BURTON, THE. E. Phillips Oppenheim.
- DUKE'S MOTTO, THE. J. H. McCarthy.
- FIRE IN STUBBLE. Baroness Orczy.
- FLOWER OF THE DUSK. Myrtle Reed.

## Methuen's Shilling Novels—continued.

- GATE OF THE DESERT, THE. John Oxenham.  
 GATES OF WRATH, THE. Arnold Bennett.  
 GENTLEMAN ADVENTURER, THE. H. C. Bailey.  
 GOLDEN CENTIPEDE, THE. Louise Gerard.  
 GOVERNOR OF ENGLAND, THE. Marjorie Bowen.  
 GUARDED FLAME, THE. W. B. Maxwell.  
 HALO, THE. Baroness von Hutten.  
 HEART OF THE ANCIENT WOOD, THE. Charles G. D. Roberts.  
 HEATHER MOON, THE. C. N. and A. M. Williamson.  
 HILL RISE. W. B. Maxwell.  
 HOUSE OF SERRAVALLE, THE. Richard Bagot.  
 HYENA OF KALLU, THE. Louise Gerard.  
 JANE. Marie Corelli.  
 JOSEPH. Frank Danby.  
 LADY BETTY ACROSS THE WATER. C. N. and A. M. Williamson.  
 LALAGE'S LOVERS. G. A. Birmingham.  
 LANTERN BEARERS, THE. Mrs. Alfred Sidgwick.  
 LAVENDER AND OLD LACE. Myrtle Reed.  
 LIGHT FREIGHTS. W. W. Jacobs.  
 LODGER, THE. Mrs. Belloc Lowndes.  
 LONG ROAD, THE. John Oxenham.  
 LOVE PIRATE, THE. C. N. and A. M. Williamson.  
 MAJOR OF TROY, THE. "Q."  
 MESS DECK, THE. W. F. Shandon.  
 MIGHTY ATOM, THE. Marie Corelli.  
 MIRAGE. E. Temple Thurston.  
 MISSING DELORA, THE. E. Phillips Oppenheim.  
 MR. WASHINGTON. Marjorie Bowen.  
 MRS. MAXON PROTESTS. Anthony Hope.  
 MY DANISH SWEETHEART. W. Clark Russell.  
 MY HUSBAND AND I. Leo Tolstoy.  
 MYSTERY OF DR. FU-MANCHU, THE. Sax Rohmer.  
 MYSTERY OF THE GREEN HEART, THE. Max Pemberton.  
 NINE DAYS' WONDER, A. B. M. Croker.  
 OCEAN SLEUTH, THE. Maurice Drake.  
 OLD ROSE AND SILVER. Myrtle Reed.  
 PATHWAY OF THE PIONEER, THE. Dolf Wyllarde.  
 PEGGY OF THE BARTONS. B. M. Croker.  
 PETER AND JANE. S. Macraughian.  
 QUEST OF THE GOLDEN ROSE, THE. John Oxenham.  
 REGENT, THE. Arnold Bennett.  
 REMINGTON SENTENCE, THE. W. Pett Ridge.  
 ROUND THE RED LAMP. Sir A. Conan Doyle.  
 SAID, THE FISHERMAN. Marmaduke Pickthall.  
 SANDY. Dorothea Conyers.  
 SANDY MARRIED. Dorothea Conyers.  
 SEA CAPTAIN, THE. H. C. Bailey.  
 SEA LADY, THE. H. G. Wells.  
 SEARCH PARTY, THE. G. A. Birmingham.  
 SECRET WOMAN, THE. Eder Phillpotts.  
 SET IN SILVER. C. N. and A. M. Williamson.  
 SHORT CRUISES. W. W. Jacobs.  
 SPANISH GOLD. G. A. Birmingham.  
 SPINNER IN THE SUN, A. Myrtle Reed.  
 STREET CALLED STRAIGHT, THE. Basil King.  
 TALES OF MEAN STREETS. Arthur Morrison.  
 TERESA OF WATLING STREET. Arnold Bennett.  
 THE SECRET AGENT. John Conrad.  
 THERE WAS A CROOKED MAN. Dolf Wyllarde.  
 TYRANT, THE. M<sup>rs</sup>. Henry de la Pasture.  
 UNDER THE RED ROSE. Stanley J. Weyman.  
 UNOFFICIAL HONEYMOON, THE. Dolf Wyllarde.  
 VIRGINIA PERFECT. Peggy Webbing.  
 WALLET OF KAI LUNG. Ernest Bramah.  
 WARE CASE, THE. George Pleydell.  
 WAY HOME, THE. Basil King.  
 WAY OF THESE WOMEN, THE. E. Phillips Oppenheim.  
 WEAVER OF WEBS, A. John Oxenham.  
 WEDDING DAY, THE. C. N. and A. M. Williamson.  
 WHITE FANG. Jack London.  
 WILD OLIVE, THE. Basil King.  
 WOMAN WITH THE FAN, THE. Robert Hichens.  
 WO<sub>2</sub>. Maurice Drake.

## Methuen's Sevenpenny Novels

*Fcap. 8vo. 7d. net*

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| ANGEL. B. M. Croker                                | KATHERINE THE ARROGANT. Mrs. B. M. Croker.          |
| BARBARA REBELL. Mrs. Belloc Lowndes.               | LADY IN THE CAR, THE. William le Queux.             |
| BLUNDER OF AN INNOCENT, THE. E. Maria Albanesi.    | LATE IN LIFE. Alice Perrin.                         |
| BROOM SQUIRE, THE. S. Baring-Gould.                | LONE PINE. R. B. Townshend.                         |
| BY STROKE OF SWORD. Andrew Balfour.                | MASTER OF MEN. E. Phillips Oppenheim.               |
| COUNT'S CHAUFFEUR, THE. William le Queux.          | MISER HOADLEY'S SECRET. A. W. Marchmont.            |
| DERRICK VAUGHAN, NOVELIST. Edna Lyall.             | MIXED MARRIAGE, A. Mrs. F. E. Penny.                |
| DODO. E. F. Benson.                                | MOMENT'S ERROR, A. A. W. Marchmont.                 |
| DRAMA IN SUNSHINE, A. H. A. Vachell.               | MOTHER'S SON, A. B. and C. B. Fry.                  |
| DRIFT. L. T. Meade.                                | PETER, A PARASITE. E. Maria Albanesi.               |
| GREEN GRAVES OF BALGOWRIE, THE. Jane H. Findlater. | POMP OF THE LAVIETTES, THE. Sir Gilbert Parker.     |
| HEART OF HIS HEART. E. M. Albanesi.                | PRINCE RUPERT THE BUCCANEER. C. J. Cutcliffe Hyde.  |
| HOUSE OF WHISPERS, THE. William le Queux.          | PRINCESS VIRGINIA, THE. C. N. and A. M. Williamson. |
| HUMAN BOY, THE. Eden Phillpotts.                   | PROFIT AND LOSS. John Oxenham.                      |
| I CROWN THREE KING. Max Pemberton.                 | RED DERELICT, THE. Bertram Mitford.                 |
| INCA'S TREASURE, THE. E. Glanville.                | RED HOUSE, THE. E. Nesbit.                          |
| IN THE ROAR OF THE SEA. S. Baring-Gould.           | SIGN OF THE SPIDER, THE. Bertram Mitford.           |
| INTO TEMPTATION. Alice Perrin.                     | SON OF THE STATE, A. W. Pett Ridge.                 |
|  | WO. Maurice Drake.                                  |

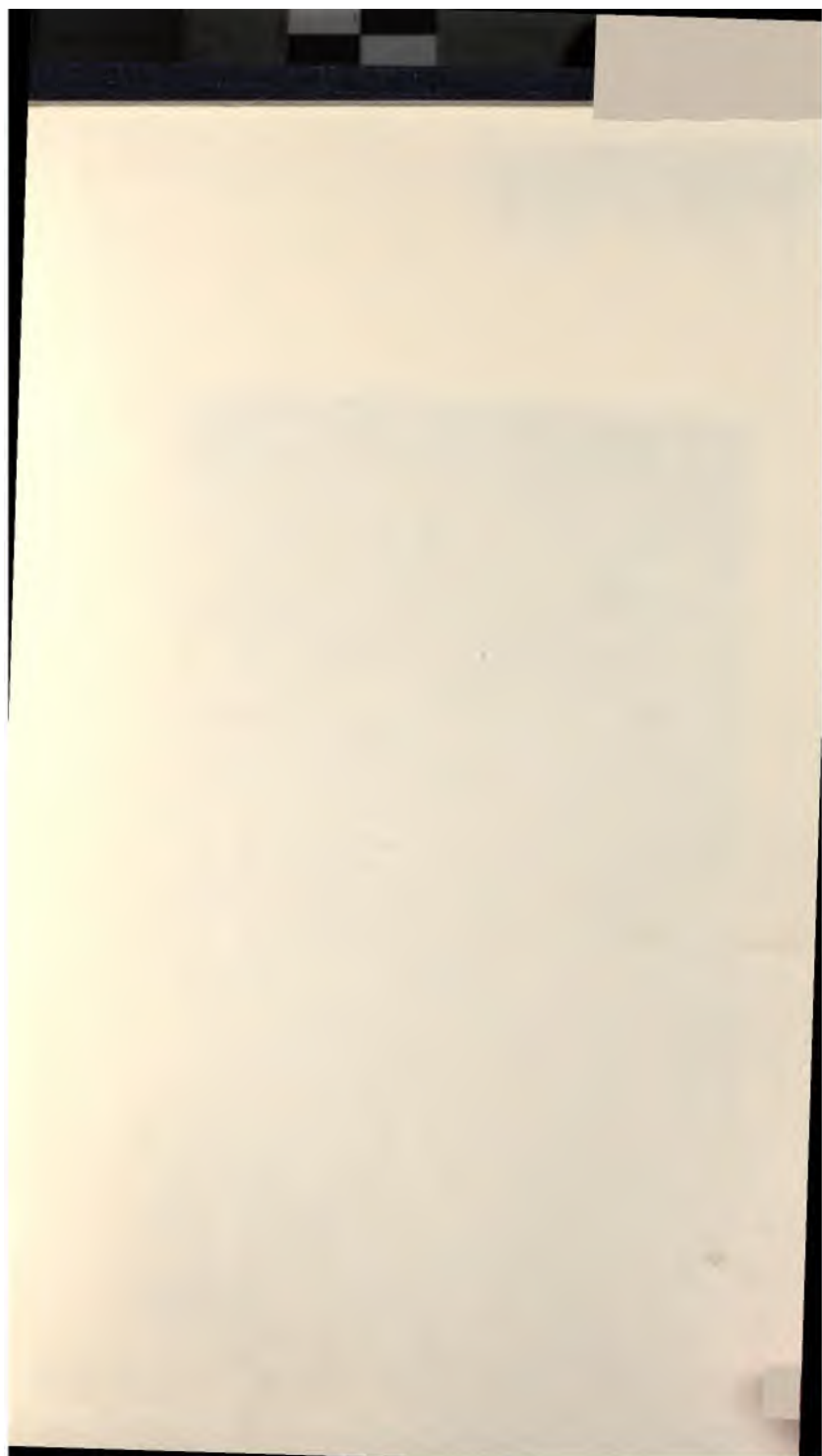


*[The text in this section is extremely faint and illegible. It appears to be a list or table with multiple columns and rows of text.]*



SECRET







3 2044 015 608 664

A FINE IS INCURRED IF THIS BOOK IS NOT RETURNED TO THE LIBRARY ON OR BEFORE THE LAST DATE STAMPED BELOW.

4838850

CANCELLED

APR 25 1975

APR 1 1976

5290957

JUN 19 1976

CANCELLED  
JUN 19 1976

CANCELLED

BOOK DUE WID  
APR 3 1978

APR 3 1978

6030964

BOOK DUE WID

MAY 3 1978

BOOK DUE WID

FEB 5 1979

6255533

BOOK DUE WID

MAR 2 1978

MAR 2

CANCELLED

6678930

FEB 12 1980

MARYLAND COLLEGE  
COMMERCIAL  
10/2000-508

